

University of Reading
Department of Politics and International Relations

**Self-presentation in Eurasian Integration: National role
conceptions and public rhetoric in Armenia, Belarus,
Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, 2010 - 2017**

Gaini Nygymetova

Supervised by Professor Alan Cromartie

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics,
Department of Politics and International Relations

Date of Submission: 19 January 2020

Declaration of Original Authorship

Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all materials from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Gaini Nygymetova

*To my Mum,
Akaiasha Zhalmukhambetkyzy,
in loving memory.*

Acknowledgments

Undertaking this PhD has been a truly life-changing experience for me and I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to those who have made it possible. First, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor Alan Cromartie for his patience, support, and, most importantly, for his belief in me. It was a great privilege to write my research under his guidance.

I would also like to extend my deep gratitude to Professor Beatrice Heuser for inspiring me when I joined the university and for supporting me in my hardest times. I would also like to thank Professor Dianne Berry without whose understanding and empathy this thesis would not have been possible.

A deep debt of gratitude is also due to the Bolashak International Scholarship, whose financial support has allowed me to pursue my dream.

I would like to express the warmest gratitude to my Nygmet-Harding family for their unconditional love and always being there for me throughout my PhD.

Finally, I would not be able to get here if not for my husband. You supported me, you inspired me, pushed me when needed and never gave up on me. And, most importantly, you survived! I will always be grateful for your patience, kindness and belief in me. Thank you!

Abstract

For the fifteen former Soviet states that had been cast out into the international arena following the collapse of the USSR, newly-gained independence brought with it significant economic, political and even cultural challenges. Not only were these states forced to contend with economic decline, domestic instability, inter-ethnic conflicts and political power struggles, but there was also the problem of rediscovering a sense of national identity, something which had been actively suppressed by the Soviets during the seventy years of the USSR.

For the leaders of many of these states, the solution to these challenges was to create a regional integration project to mitigate any potential extraneous or intrinsic shocks. Over the years since independence there have been multiple attempts at integration, each with varying levels of success. It is widely assumed that the main problem has been the persistently divergent views of the leaders of Eurasian states over what form integration should take and what its objectives should be. These disagreements have led to assumptions that the Eurasian integration project is simply 'doomed to failure'.

This thesis expands and modernizes Kalevi Holsti's 1970 work on role theory to analyze the public rhetoric of policy-makers in four Eurasian states (Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan) to examine how they present the country on the international stage in the context of Eurasian integration since 2010. It aims to document whether the existence of divergent views is the reality by constructing a typology of 'role conceptions' for each case and comparing and contrasting their respective views and approaches. It then asks how this has affected integration efforts and concludes that divergent and incompatible role conceptions have constrained the approaches of these states to Eurasian integration.

Crucially, until now, there has been a serious lack of empirical applications of role theory as well as a lack of research and widespread misconceptions and misunderstandings of the Eurasian region in the English-speaking literature. However, the importance of the region cannot be overstated given the natural resources of each state and their strategic location. Thus, an empirical study of four key states in the region will go some way to filling a large gap in the literature and improving our understanding of the political and cultural idiosyncrasies of the area.

Acronyms

EAEU	Eurasian Economic Union
ECU/CU	Eurasian Customs Union
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
CA	Central Asia
CES	Common Economic Space
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
NRC	National Role Conception
US	Union State

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 The collapse of the Soviet Union and the impact on Eurasian integration

The collapse of the Soviet Union was undoubtedly one of the most globally significant geopolitical events of the 20th century. It created a political, economic and social vacuum in the space that had formerly connected the civilizations of East and West.¹ For the fifteen former Soviet states, it was a period of great uncertainty; new governments struggled to find collective solutions for creating a new peace and security policy in the post-Soviet area. Many states grappled with serious domestic instability, power struggles, territorial conflicts, unprecedented economic decline, a decline in industrial production created by a shift to commodity-based economies, the deterioration of the quality of life of the population, and increasing criminality.² Furthermore, the fragmentation of the single economic space in the early 1990s meant former Soviet states abruptly lost access to certain markets meaning the production chains that had been constructed in the decades since the early twentieth century were suddenly dissolved.³

In order to try and mitigate the impending economic crisis, between 1989 and 1993, the former Soviet states began to adopt a range of different policy approaches: the Russian Federation (Russia) initially took the path of economic reform and instigated ‘shock therapy’, i.e. mass privatization, limited governance, the promotion of competitive markets, global connections and, crucially, trade liberalization. This model did not prove to be successful. The prominent economist Josef Stiglitz was particularly critical of Russia’s brand of shock therapy as rapid privatization created an oligarchical system leading to poor wealth distribution and a rise in corruption.⁴ In real terms, Russia saw its GDP (Current US\$) fall by 23.5% between 1990 and

¹ Grachev, Andrei S. *Final Days: The Inside Story of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. London: Routledge, 1995, trans. Margot Milne, pp. 195-201

² Gaidar, Yegor. *Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007, pp. 220-249

³ Dutkiewicz, Piotr and Sakwa, Richard (eds.) *Eurasian Integration – The View from Within*, 1st edition, Oxon: Routledge, 2015, p. 79

⁴ Stiglitz, Joseph E. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002

1995, its unemployment rate nearly double from 5.2% in 1992 to 9.4% in 1995 and inflation (consumer prices, annual %) reach a high of 874% in 1993.⁵

Regardless of the counter-measures that were adopted in the former Soviet states, prolonged economic and political crises and a decline in production were unavoidable. Belarus chose a path characterized by the conservation of large state-owned enterprises, large-scale financing of social policy and the imposition of pricing controls. Nevertheless, its GDP fell by 35.5% and the country saw enormous inflation rates of 1,190% in 1993 reaching a high of 2,221% in 1994. Central Asia was equally affected: Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan saw respective declines in GDP (US\$) of 24.4% and 37.9% between 1990 and 1995 while Armenia saw a drop of 35%.⁶ These economic woes had serious effects on the physical well-being of the former Soviet states. The Lancet Medical Journal found that, tragically, the transition to privatization and serious economic decline contributed to increases in the death rate. This was particularly the case in Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia where unemployment tripled and, as a result of such unprecedented economic decline, male deaths increased by an average of 42% between 1991 and 1994.⁷

An equally significant implication of the collapse was cultural severance. In Central Asia (CA), states which had formerly possessed common characteristics associated with shifting socio-economic foundations and similar geographies, were left with mono-cultural export structures and faced the steady divergence from Russian culture.⁸ Thus, in order to try and preserve a sense of ‘spiritual unity’ and stability among former Soviet states,⁹ the leaders of Russia (Boris Yeltsin), Belarus (Stanislav Shushkevich), and Ukraine (Leonid Kravchuk) signed the Minsk Agreement (also referred to as the Belovezha Accords) on 8 December 1991. This Agreement formally dissolved the USSR and founded the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The CIS is a regional intergovernmental organization which, according to the mission statement on the Belarusian Diplomatic Service website, is ‘focused on cooperation on political,

⁵ All GDP, Inflation, and Unemployment data gathered from the World Bank. Averages calculated by author based on figures available at the World Bank: <https://data.worldbank.org>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Stuckler, D. King, L. and McKee, M., ‘Mass privatisation and the post-communist mortality crisis: a cross-national analysis.’ *The Lancet Medical Journal* Vol. 373, no. 9661, 2009, pp. 399–407.

⁸ Baranovsky, Vladimir. Conflict developments on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Stockholm: SIPRI Yearbook, 1994, pp. 320-328

⁹ Kubicek, Paul. ‘The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?’, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, Feb. 2009, p.237

economic, environmental, humanitarian, cultural and other issues between a number of former Soviet Republics.¹⁰ Principally, according to the Agreement, this entails:

coordination of foreign policy activity; cooperation in the formation and development of a common economic space, common European and Eurasian markets, and in the sphere of customs policy; cooperation in developing communications and transport systems; cooperation in the sphere of protecting the environment, participation in creating an all-encompassing international system for environmental protection; questions concerning migration policy; combating organized crime.¹¹

In its first year, over 250 documents were signed by member states in order to try and refine the broad focus of the CIS. On 21 December 1991, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan (later an associate member) and Uzbekistan also signed up to the CIS.¹²

In spite of its longevity (1991 – present day), the CIS has not proved to be an enduring solution to the issues of economic and political instability in the region. Domestic problems related to electoral fraud and corruption are still present and, in many cases, have led to power struggles and serious unrest. For example, in the early 2000s two CIS states (the Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan) erupted into so-called “color revolutions”; these were widespread and largely peaceful protests that challenged the *status quo* and attempted to incite political change. In the Ukraine, the Orange revolution of 2004 broke out due to suspicions of electoral fraud in the Presidential elections. When the official election count differed significantly from the figures provided by exit polls, the presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko called for mass protests. Around 500,000 people gathered at Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) and, as a result, constitutional changes were implemented.¹³ In 2005 in Kyrgyzstan, rising anger at electoral fraud and Askar Akayev’s authoritarian regime led to widespread protests and the occupation of several government buildings. Akayev was forced to flee the country and resign and was replaced by Kurmanbek Bakiyev.¹⁴

¹⁰ Belarusian Diplomatic Service, Commonwealth of Independent States. See: <https://bit.ly/2Zvuijm> (accessed 01/05/2018)

¹¹ AGREEMENT on the Establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, 08/12/1991

¹² World Courts Conventions Database, 1991

¹³ These were overturned by Viktor Yanukovych’s government on 1 October 2010 on the grounds that the changes were unconstitutional.

¹⁴ The Rose revolution also occurred in Georgia in 2003. It was fueled by anger at rampant corruption, serious economic mismanagement and the perception of fraudulent parliamentary elections. Three weeks of demonstrations between 3rd and 23rd of November saw the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze and the rise to power of Mikheil Saakashvili. However, Georgia is not a member of the CIS and was therefore omitted here.

More significantly, the CIS has been regularly criticized as an attempt to re-forged the USSR, of having 'failed to integrate the Soviet successor states in any meaningful sense',¹⁵ of being 'a failure by almost any measure',¹⁶ of having 'no prospects', having 'lost its political significance' and that 'none of [the CIS] structures really work'.¹⁷ Regionalism expert Paul Kubicek even points out that some of the criticisms have come from Russian leaders who have 'compared [the CIS] to a drowning man or a sick patient.'¹⁸

Indeed, the recognition from within the Eurasian region that the CIS has been fairly ineffective has been a contributory factor in the formation of several, often overlapping, Eurasian integration initiatives since 1991. Each of these initiatives has adopted a slightly different overall focus. For example, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was established in 1992 and took effect in 1994. It was intended to promote military cooperation between members (Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan). The Union State (US), established in 1996, is a bilateral supranational union between Belarus and Russia which was intended to promote greater political, economic and social integration. The Organization of Central Asian Cooperation (OCAC, 2002-2005) was intended to be a union similar in scope to that of the European Union (EU) before its dissolution. There is also the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC, 2001-2014), the Eurasian Customs Union (ECU, 2010), the Common Economic Space (CES, 2012), and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU, 2015) all of which were intended to promote deeper economic integration between member states.

However, many integration processes have taken years to enter into force. For example, the agreement on Eurasian Customs Union (CU) was signed in 1995, but was only formally established in January 2010. On 26 February 1999 Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed the Treaty on Common Economic Space (CES) which aimed to create a single market for the free movement of people, goods and services in the Eurasian region. However, it took seven years (16 August 2006) for the decision to establish CES between Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia to be taken. Meanwhile, the treaty on the establishment of the

¹⁵ Sakwa, Richard and Webber, Mark. 'The Commonwealth of Independent States, 1991-1998: Stagnation and Survival', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 51, no. 3, 1999, p. 379

¹⁶ Oleott, Martha B., Aslund, Anders, and Garnett, Sherman. *Getting It Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999, p. v

¹⁷ Zholkver, Nikita. 'Немецкий эксперт: У СНГ нет перспектив'. *Deutsche Welle*. 18/08/2009. <https://bit.ly/2ZANL3H> (accessed 01/05/2018)

¹⁸ Kubicek, Paul. 'The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, Feb. 2009, p.238

EurAsEc was signed in 2000, but it took until 2012 for the Eurasian Economic Commission to be established with the majority of regional agreements and treaties being implemented in 2010. Table 1 outlines some of the major integration initiatives along with the member states of each initiative:

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) 1991-present members	Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) 2000 – 2014 members	Eurasian Customs Union (ECU / CU) 2010 – present members	Common Economic Space (CES) 2012 – present members	Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) 2015 – present members
Armenia	Belarus	Armenia (2015)	Armenia (2015)	Armenia
Azerbaijan	Kazakhstan	Belarus (2010)	Belarus (2012)	Belarus
Belarus	Kyrgyzstan	Kazakhstan (2010)	Kazakhstan (2012)	Kazakhstan
Kazakhstan	Russia	Kyrgyzstan (2015)	Kyrgyzstan (2015)	Kyrgyzstan
Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Russia (2010)	Russia (2012)	Russia
Moldova	Uzbekistan (suspended in 2008)			Tajikistan - prospective member
Russia	Armenia-observer			
Tajikistan	Moldova-observer			
Uzbekistan	Ukraine-observer			
Ukraine – associate member				
Turkmenistan-associate member				

Figure 1 – Summary of major Eurasian integration initiatives 1991 - present

Source: Own composition, based on official documents of CIS, EurAsEc, ECU, CES and EAEU.

Ultimately, as Tatyana Valovaya, a Russian statesperson and economist who served from 2012 to 2019 as a member of the board of the Eurasian Economic Commission as the minister in charge of development of integration and microeconomics, notes, each of these initiatives was building towards the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in 2015, which is often considered to be the Eurasian equivalent of the EU. She argues, therefore, that criticisms aimed at the perceived lack of success of initiatives are unfounded since previous initiatives were iterative and aimed at building towards a more successful union in 2015; she stated ‘often the

evaluations of the activities of the Eurasian Union are based on the dynamics of indicators for 2015-2016, which, in my opinion, is completely wrong. Yes, the starting point for the functioning of the EAEU is formally considered January 1, 2015, but we have been going to the union for 25 years, and all this time integration has been developing.’¹⁹ She even pointed to the fact that, based on an index they had designed to measure the success of various global integration initiatives, which took into account variables such as level of decisions made and institutional organization, the EAEU ranked above ASEAN and MERCOSUR.²⁰

Valovaya’s point is valid and, arguably, the EAEU has already been far more successful than its predecessors. However, we should also consider how one gauges the concept of success. To use the analogy of a marriage, we could argue that a marriage can be deemed successful if the basics function adequately: for example, the bills are paid on time, there is food on the table, the children are picked up from school, and neither party initiates divorce proceedings. However, if both parties involved in the marriage are unhappy and regularly voice their frustrations to their friends, can we still consider the union to be successful? The crucial point to consider here is that just because a series of laws, regulations and other protocol documents exist and the union is still functioning, does not mean it can be considered successful. For example, although on paper each of the Eurasian initiatives has been successful in that they still function as intended, several of the member states of the EAEU have been vocally critical of the policy agendas and priorities of the various integration initiatives. The disparate opinions of the member states were perfectly epitomized by the former Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is credited with stating, ‘we sleep in the same bed, but have different dreams.’²¹

¹⁹ Kazantseva, Olga. ‘There are only two advanced integration unions in the world – European and Eurasian’ *Eurasian Studies*, 23/04/2017, See: <http://eurasian-studies.org/archives/3289> (accessed 03/05/2018) Original: Казанцева, Ольга. ‘В мире есть только два продвинутых интеграционных союза – Европейский и Евразийский’. *Евразийские исследования*. 23/04/2017

²⁰ Antonova, Elizaveta. ‘Tatyana Valovaya: we need a breakthrough on the scientific and technological track’ *The International Affairs*. See: <https://interaffairs.ru/news/show/21558> (accessed 06/03/2019)

Original: Елизавета Антонова. ‘Татьяна Валова: нам нужен прорыв на научно-технологическом треке’. *Международная жизнь*. 04/02/2019

²¹ Bryantseva, Daria. Interview with Kirschning, Thomas quoting Nazarbayev: ‘We sleep in the same bed, but have different dreams’. *Deutsche Welle*. 21/09/2002. See: <https://bit.ly/2mnOsvE> (accessed 06/02/2017)

Original: Брянцева, Дарья. интервью с Киршнинг, Томас. ‘Мы спим в одной кровати, но видим разные сны’. *Deutsche Welle*. 21/09/2002

1.2. Research Question and Hypothesis

When Nazarbayev spoke of sleeping in the same bed but having different dreams, he perfectly encapsulated the crux of the issue affecting regional integration efforts; each state within the Eurasian region supports the idea of integration in principle, however their respective visions of what integration entails differ significantly. This is particularly the case among smaller states within the region namely, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Thus, this thesis aims to explore these divergent attitudes by asking the following two-part research question:

Within the context of Eurasian integration, through public rhetoric from 2010 to 2017:

*How have Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan **self-presented** on the international stage?*

*And what **national role conceptions** can be identified in the speeches and statements of policy-makers in each state?*

These questions are addressed by constructing a typology of self-presentation themes and national role conceptions for each state that emerge from the rhetoric. For the purposes of this thesis, national role conceptions can be understood as policy-makers' self-defined assertions of appropriate and distinctive functions specific to that country within a broader international order. An example may be the expression of the desire to act as the bridge between Europe and Asia. Self-presentation is related to this concept, but concerns image rather than behavior. For the purposes of this thesis, self-presentation is the image projected by a state in its public rhetoric. Self-presentation themes contribute to, but do not necessarily amount to, national role conceptions: that is, to claims to a habitual pattern of behavior that gives it a distinctive useful function within a broader international order. These concepts and how they are identified in the rhetoric will be discussed in depth in the literature review and methodology, respectively.

Based on the research questions, which aim to document how each state self-presents, it is hypothesized that differing national role conceptions constrain the approaches of each state to integration initiatives. In short, what states say constrains what they do.

This thesis is not concerned with explaining the concept of integration (or Eurasian integration) as a general phenomenon. Instead, the purpose of this research is to improve our understanding of the impact of national characteristics on state behavior, particularly how small states present themselves internationally and whether there are common themes that are identifiable in the approaches they adopt. Deeper understanding of the factors that drive the foreign policy

approaches of Eurasian states, the ways they interact with one another, and how they present themselves to an international audience will provide a clear insight into how the region operates. Further, understanding the impact of different cultural perspectives on regional cohesion is paramount to avoiding failure in regional integration and is a lesson that is transferrable beyond the Eurasian focus of this thesis.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

This thesis, by virtue of its small-n methodological approach, is unable to make any general claims about the nature of Eurasian integration or the phenomenon of integration. Instead, the overarching objective is to explore, through public rhetoric, the approaches of four Eurasian states to regional integration. However, its narrow focus should not be considered a weakness since, by analyzing the national role conceptions and self-presentation of certain Eurasian states, it is hoped that this thesis will contribute significantly to our understanding of the potential influence that public rhetoric has on foreign policy action. In other words, it aims to contribute to the understanding of whether what states *say* constrains what they *do*. Thus, an in-depth study of the rhetoric will demonstrate how looking at the language used by states' policy-makers can improve our understanding of state behavior in more general terms.

Furthermore, by focusing on the public rhetoric of four small states, this thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of how small states present themselves internationally. As Iver Neumann and Gsthöhl Sieglinde argued in 2006, 'small states are often treated as objects, not as subjects of international relations'²² However, the analysis of the public rhetoric and self-presentation of small states in Eurasia in relation to regional integration initiatives is crucial to enhancing our understanding of how they seek to gain influence. For example, as IR theorist Tom Long asks, is influence achieved through 'derivative power' (how a small state maintains its relationship with a great power)? Or 'collective' power (how small states may form coalitions through supporting institutions)?²³ Or perhaps by the officials of that state projecting a particular image and inhabiting roles through public rhetoric?

²² Neumann, Iver and Sieglinde, Gsthöhl. 'Lilliputians in Gulliver's World?' In Ingebritsen, Christine et al. eds. *Small States in International Relations*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006, pp. 3–36.

²³ Long, Tom. Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence Through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power. *International Studies Review*, vol. 19, 2017, pp. 185–205

A tertiary, related, aim is to improve our understanding of the Eurasian region since, at present, the western literature is relatively weak in terms of empirical studies of the area. The literature review on the study of regional integration shows that most of the theories (i.e. neo-functionalism, realism/neo-realism, liberal inter-governmentalism, neo-liberal institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, and constructivism) have been limited by focusing too heavily on European cases,²⁴ while there is also the misconception that Eurasian states are still *de facto* satellites of Russia.²⁵ Expressing his views on the dissolution of USSR, President Putin called the collapse of the USSR ‘the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century’.²⁶ This statement has unfortunately warped our understanding of integration projects in Eurasia and, as a result, it is increasingly common for politicians and scholars, especially from the Western world, to claim that the efforts of post-Soviet states to integrate are an attempt to recreate the former Soviet Union. However, the concept of Eurasian integration was presented by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in his speech at Lomonosov Moscow State University in 1994. Nazarbayev proposed to develop a working union of states brought together via interconnected economies.²⁷ Twenty years later in 2014, he reiterated his belief in the benefits of Eurasian integration when he delivered a speech at the same University, on the same subject. He stated:

The strategy of the Eurasian Economic Union is based on the truth similarly close and clear to any citizen of our countries. The common history, the mutual economic attraction, the close interconnection of the cultures and proximity of the human aspirations give our nations a chance to build a new type of multilateral interstate connections.²⁸

Eurasian states are still clearly in the shadow of the regional hegemon, Russia. However, the assumption that Russia still dominates and determines their affairs is an outdated notion. For example, Kazakhstan’s recent decision to abandon the Cyrillic alphabet in favor of the Roman alphabet was clearly an attempt to escape the historical influence of Russia. Indeed, over the

²⁴ Choi, Young Jong and Caporaso, James. ‘Comparative regional integration.’ In Carlsnaes, Walter, Risse, Thomas and Simmons, Beth A. eds. *Handbook of International Relations*, London: Sage, 2005, pp. 480-99

²⁵ Cooley, Alexander. ‘Whose Rules, Whose Sphere? Russian Governance and Influence in Post-Soviet States’ *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Task Force White Paper*. 30/06/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2Mmh7uO>

²⁶ BBC News, ‘Putin deplures collapse of USSR’, *BBC*, 25/04/2005. See: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/4480745.stm> (accessed 17/03/2018)

²⁷ Eurasian Economic Commission, ‘Eurasian Economic Integration: Facts and Figures’, *Eurasian Economic Commission*, 2015, p. 8

See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/en/Documents/broshura26_ENGL_2014.pdf

²⁸ Eurasian Economic Commission, ‘Eurasian Economic Integration: Facts and Figures’, *Eurasian Economic Commission*, 2015, p. 9

See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/en/Documents/broshura26_ENGL_2014.pdf

last decade it has become apparent that many Eurasian states are stepping out from Russia's shadow and this warrants greater academic attention. These are autonomous states that determine their own affairs and as they continue to mature both politically and economically it will be crucial to understand what drives their current thinking and how we can expect them to behave in the future.

Until now, no studies exist that examine role theory and Central Asia or Eurasia. Indeed, there is a tendency either to dismiss these regions as "Russia plus" or to consider the regions as definite geographical areas with firmly defined boundaries. However, it is important to understand that the idea that these countries belong together had to be created. At this stage, a brief definition of Central Asia and Eurasia is necessary as both regions are geopolitical and cultural ideas rather than distinct geographical divisions. The idea of Central Asia is said to have originated with the Prussian geographer and explorer Alexander von Humboldt. He travelled to the region in the early 19th Century to conduct a climatological study of mountain ranges and wrote a series of three books entitled *Asie Centrale*.²⁹ In these works Humboldt defined the region as encompassing Afghanistan, East Turkestan (now referred to as Xinjiang province in China), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Even the modern colloquial reference to Central Asia as 'the stans' refers to Humboldt's early categorization of the region.

However, Humboldt was not the final word on the countries that comprised the region. One interesting definition of Central Asia was that used by the Russians in the early nineteenth century until the 1990s. In the mid-1800s, under the Tsarist rule of Alexander II, the Russian empire began a process of expansion into Turkestan. Conquering Kazakhstan would be necessary to then reach the countries to its south. Kazakhstan, with its vast steppes and nomadic people proved to be a strategic challenge and so the Russians established fortifications along its borders and moved inwards until the country had been conquered. By virtue of the fact that Kazakhstan now provided Russia with a buffer zone and base of operations to launch campaigns to the south and the east, the country was considered as separate from the rest of the region.³⁰ Thus, the Russians came to define it as 'Казахстан и Средняя Азия' – Kazakhstan and Central Asia. This definition lasted throughout the twentieth century and it was not until 1992, at a

²⁹ Humboldt, Alexander von. *Asie centrale: Recherches sur les chaines des montagnes et la climatologie comparée*. Paris: Gide, 1843

³⁰ Lewis, Robert A., Rowland, Richard H. and Clem, Ralph S., 'Modernization, Population Change and Nationality in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan'. *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*. Vol. 17, No. 2/3, Russian And Soviet Central Asia (Summer and Fall, 1975), pp.288-289

summit of Central Asian states, that Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev suggested abandoning this definition in favor of just Central Asia.

Today, Central Asia is seen to comprise more than just the five Central Asian states or even the seven states suggested by Humboldt. Indeed, the most appropriate definition can be found in UNESCO's publication: *History of civilizations of Central Asia*. In this publication, UNESCO adopt a cultural approach to the research that takes into account 'the long history of civilizations of peoples of the region.' Based on these historical, linguistic, religious, and ethnic commonalities, UNESCO defines the regions as comprising the five former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, as well as Afghanistan, Mongolia, Western China, and even some sections of India, Iran, and Pakistan.³¹ It is this definition that this thesis will be referring to when the term Central Asia is used.

Central Asia has also been associated with the slightly broader concept of Eurasia. The prominent Russian historian, Lev Gumilev, is associated with the theory of Eurasianism which developed in the 1920s and posits that Russia is a distinct *Eurasian* state rather than European or Asian. He defined the Eurasian area as comprising three regions: High Asia (including Mongolia, Dzungaria in northwest China and the trans-Baikal territory), the Southern region (which included Central Asia), and the Western region (which included Eastern Europe).³² Ultimately, it can be considered as a geo-cultural entity in that it is usually associated with Russian, or Russified, culture. Spatially, it has been historically defined by distinct geographical features; an idea that had been inspired by Peter the Great's geographer, Vasily Tatishchev, who suggested that the Ural mountain range could be used to draw a distinction between Asia and Europe.³³ Today, it is considered to comprise the countries contained by features such as the Himalayas and the Pacific Ocean to the east, the Caucasus and Caspian Sea to the south-west, the Arctic to the North and the great steppes and deserts to the south.³⁴ Meanwhile, its western border is usually thought to coincide with Russia's border. In this regard, when using the term "Eurasia" this thesis is referring to the states that exist within the geographical confines mentioned above that possess some historical connection with Russia. Studying integration experiences and role theory in these important, but under-researched areas will contribute

³¹ Adle, Chahryar, Palat, Madhavan K. and, Tabyshaliev, Anara. *History of civilizations of Central Asia, Volume 6: Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century*, Paris: UNESCO, 2005, p.14

³² Gumilev, Lev Nikolayevich. *Ritmy Evrazii*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1993

³³ Nugraha, Aryanta. Neo-Eurasianism in Russian Foreign Policy: Echoes from the Past or Compromise with the Future? *Jurnal Global & Strategis*, 9(1):95, February 2018, p.3
See: <http://journal.unair.ac.id/download-fullpapers-jgs82772ff7f0full.pdf>

³⁴ Vemadskii, George. *Nachertanie russkoi istorii*, Prague, 1927, p. 24.

significantly to the diversification of the literature and the enrichment of our understanding of the forces that shape cooperation among Eurasian states.

A final, broader, aim of this thesis is to update and improve the validity of Holsti's role theory which is often dismissed as outdated. There is some merit to this claim given that many of the roles identified in Holsti's study (seventeen in total – which will be discussed in later chapters) were a function of the fact he was writing during the Cold War. It is also perhaps an overly prescriptive and deterministic theory at present and must therefore be combined with other, more flexible, theories such as self-presentation, which will be discussed in detail later, in order to increase its relevance to modern states. Ultimately, this thesis aims to form an expanded typology based on a combination of roles and overarching themes identified in the rhetoric within the context of Eurasian integration in order to try and understand what is motivating the behavior of each state. While it is not the intention of this thesis to explain why integration in the region has taken its current shape, a deeper understanding of how each state self-presents may offer some small insight in that regard as well.

1.4. Research structure

This thesis will be structured as follows: the remainder of this chapter presents a broad overview of the literature in order to put the research into its relevant scholarly context. It begins with a general discussion of some of the classical theories of international relations and how they relate to Eurasian integration. Specifically, the merits and weaknesses of neo-realism, institutionalism, state-centric views, cultural constructivism, organized hypocrisy and ontological security are analyzed. Although none of these theories form the theoretical foundation of this thesis, it is argued that several of these theories (particularly cultural-constructivism and ontological security) do have aspects relating to the role of culture and identity, and how states may present a particular image through managed narratives in order to preserve this.

From here, the concept of role theory is discussed. The review begins with a discussion and critique of Kalevi Holsti's approach as the progenitor of the theory. It introduces two of his frameworks for understanding human behavior generally and foreign policy behavior specifically. It is argued that there is great utility in Holsti's idea that the state's own view of itself contributes to the formation of its policies and that the construction of a typology of roles has great descriptive power. However, the theory also has a number of significant weaknesses that are also addressed. It is concluded that role theory alone is perhaps too inflexible and

deterministic and it is thus appropriate to combine it with the theory of self-presentation – a theory that emerged in the 1950s with Erving Goffman’s book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.³⁵ The theory, which will be discussed in greater depth in the literature review, relates to how individuals manage their ideal image in social situations and this thesis contends that the idea can also be expanded and applied to state, as well as individual, behavior.

It is then argued that the notion of national identity emerges in the literature as a major source of both role conceptions and self-presentation. Therefore, a brief discussion of the importance of national identity is conducted (although it is not the purpose of this thesis to dwell on the concept) followed by a broader discussion of some of the other sources of role conceptions and self-presentation. This section concludes with a summary of publically-available opinion polls and interviews with the general public on the subject of Eurasian integration. It is argued that differing locations, capabilities, resources, national identities, and public opinions go some way to clarifying why the case study states have adopted such disparate approaches.

The methodology for the empirical analysis is then discussed. This section looks at the strengths and weaknesses of the small-n approach and provides the justification for the case study selection as well as the decision to take an approach that blends both content and discourse analysis. Again, here the strength and weaknesses of the approach are discussed. It then outlines the specific process by which the analysis will be carried out; namely gathering hundreds of speeches and statements from government officials for each year of the time period and analyzing them for evidence of roles or themes related to self-presentation.

This thesis is then divided into six additional chapters. Chapter II, introduces the context to the project by providing an overview of integration processes in the Eurasian area since 1991; from the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Eurasian Economic Union. This chapter examines how approaches to integration have changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. This begins with the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991-present), the Eurasian Economic Community (2001-2014), Eurasian Customs Union (2010), Common Economic Space (2012), and Eurasian Economic Union (2015-present). The focus of this section will be to ascertain exactly what has changed in the Eurasian area over the time period. The chapter also analyzes the roles of Belarus and Kazakhstan (the founding member states of EAEU) and Armenia and Kyrgyzstan (new member states of EAEU) in the pursuit of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEc) with Russia; the precursor to the Eurasian Economic Union

³⁵ Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, 1959

(EAEU) in 2015. The chapter concludes with an investigation of existing Eurasian (i.e. Russian-speaking) literature on integration theories.

The next four chapters are dedicated to the case studies of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia. The purpose of each chapter is to provide a detailed analysis of the speeches made by policy-makers over the time period (2010-2017). Each case study is divided into two eras, 2010-2014 and 2015-2017. This because the first era can be considered to be the build-up to the creation of the EAEU. It included the creation of the Customs Union and overlapped with the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEc). The second era is when the EAEU, the main integration initiative, was formed. Therefore, it is appropriate for analytical purposes to draw a distinction between pre-EAEU and intra-EAEU eras.

Chapter III presents the Armenian case and argues that the rhetoric displays the desire to be seen as a rational, pragmatic actor as well as a good ally to Russia, but also a bridge between Europe and Asia. Chapter IV looks at Belarus. It argues that most of the rhetoric presents the image of Belarus as a key and loyal ally to Russia as well as a bridge between Europe and Asia. Chapter V examines the Kazakh case. It argues that Kazakhstan wholeheartedly supports the idea of Eurasian integration provided it remains economic in nature and presents the image of itself as a founder and driver of the integration initiative. It is argued that Kazakhstan too wants to inhabit the role of bridging state, although in this context between China and the rest of Asia. Chapter VI looks at Kyrgyzstan and argues that internal turmoil, political instability and economic woes have meant the country has struggled to “settle down” post-1991. Thus, there is no definite continuous image that the country presents, nor any abiding roles across the time period. Nevertheless, certain interesting themes are identifiable such as the projection of the idea of Kyrgyzstan as a “maturing state” and the potential role as a “transit state” for trade between east and west.

The final section, Chapter VII, compares and summarizes the main findings of this thesis related to how each state has presented itself in the context of Eurasian integration. It is argued that each of the case studies initially found it challenging to settle upon a clear role in the many integration processes, but some countries found their feet quicker than others. It argues that the hypothesis is confirmed since, not only do the sources for role conceptions and self-presentation differ greatly, but this also seems to be affecting the rhetoric of policy-makers, which shows that differing national role conceptions are constraining their approaches. Proposals for how this research could be developed for further studies are then outlined.

Chapter 2. Literature Review and Methodology

2.1. Literature Review

This chapter will first discuss the advantages and disadvantages of some classical theories such as realism, institutionalism and cultural constructivism as well as some increasingly popular theories such as organized hypocrisy and Ontological Security Theory (OST) in order to discern the advantages and disadvantages of each theory for this thesis. It will conclude that certain aspects of cultural constructivism and OST that relate to the use and meaning of language can be applied in this thesis. It will then discuss role theory in depth by outlining Kalevi Holsti's theory before discussing more recent contributions. Role theory, it is argued, is an effective tool for analyzing foreign policy behavior as it possesses both descriptive and explanatory utility.

However, it is also argued that, while role theory provides a potentially effective analytical framework, there are significant weaknesses which need to be remedied. The most glaring gaps in the literature are that most of the works were written during the Cold War. Given that role theory is usually concerned with the construction of typologies of role conceptions, the theory must be brought up to date. Second, the theory fails to account for the tone of what states say. This is an essential component of understanding how states behave as it provides new meaning to the words that are used. As a result, this thesis discusses the merits of self-presentation theory. This theory usually relates how individuals present themselves in social situations, however, this chapter will argue that it can usefully be applied to the behavior of states on the international stage as well. Thus, the aim of this chapter is not only to provide a summary of the relevant literature, but also to build on role theory to construct a more effective and inclusive theory for understanding how states in the Eurasian region behave.

Clearly, having unity based on membership of an organization (i.e. the "bed" referred to by Nazarbayev) is insufficient and a clear and common vision (the "dreams") is a pre-requisite for successful integration. In this regard, Kubicek outlines four predominant theories for what makes for successful regional development:³⁶

³⁶ Kubicek, Paul. 'The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?' *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 35, Feb. 2009, pp. 237-256

- 1) **Geopolitical factors or international structures.** This theory is an extension of the neo-realist balance of power perspective that states, feeling threatened, will be more likely to form cooperative alliances in order to offset the relative power of an external entity and augment their own. Within such a regional arrangement, the hegemon can play a defining role both in promoting and dictating agendas. In the Eurasian case, Russia would therefore use the strength of the collective alliance to pursue its own ends and, as Kubicek argues, '[o]ther states would then bandwagon with the hegemon in the hope of receiving some benefits from the more powerful state or from regional structures themselves.' While this may be the case to a certain extent, as this thesis will explore, this perspective risks down-playing the role that small states can play in influencing great powers.

- 2) **Institutionalism.** This theory holds that power is not the primary consideration of states when electing to join a union, but that a desire to cooperate and solve collective problems is the motivation. This is particularly the case when there are expectations that transnational issues are likely to affect a region as a whole and therefore the challenge is best overcome by pooling resources and working together. These considerations were certainly crucial factors for member states of the CIS who attempted to use the initiative as a means of managing likely economic shock. It is also arguably the reason that Eurasian states have attempted to pursue subsequent initiatives since increasing Eurasia's collective prosperity through measures such as Free Trade Agreements bolsters the international reputation of the region and limits the potential impact of global or regional economic crises. However, the theory of institutionalism does not adequately explain why the CIS and subsequent initiatives have seen limited success, nor why each state has adopted such disparate approaches.

- 3) **Norm-based state-level explanations.** This theory relates to individual states' ability to find common ground. Typically, it is argued that democratic states are more likely to be successful in regional integration initiatives as they are seen to have similar norms and values. Meanwhile, authoritarian regimes may be unwilling to sign up to an initiative that could undermine their self-determination. Furthermore, weak states are seen as a hindrance to regional cooperation by virtue of the fact that they cannot contribute effectively economically, politically and, if required, militarily. While new states are not considered to be in possession of the requisite social cohesion and may be more inclined to pursue national rather than regional agendas or pander to the will of the regional hegemon (in this case Russia) in order to preserve their domestic order.

Kubicek argues that this may explain the lack of success of the CIS. There is perhaps some merit to this perspective given that it relates to what role each state adopts (or wants to be seen to be adopting) within an initiative.

- 4) **Cultural-Constructivist approaches.** The final theory that Kubicek argues that cultural components play a crucial role in determining the success or failure of integration initiatives. Regions, it is argued, are socially constructed and thus the process of regionalism ‘can be made and un-made with shifting socio-cultural boundaries.’ In other words, a strong sense of national and regional identity is key for fostering trust and a sense of community or what Andrew Hurrell calls ‘cognitive interdependence’.³⁷ In terms of Eurasian integration, this theory would posit that disparate ideologies and cultures have hindered the integration process. As with the state-level explanations category, there is significant merit to this idea. This is due to the fact that it relates to each states’ understanding of what integration means to them (i.e. the “different dreams” referred to by Nazarbayev) and, crucially, what each state considers its “role” within the initiative to be and how this is expressed to a wider audience.³⁸

To the four main theories outlined by Kubicek, we could also add two more that have generated much interest in the academic literature in recent years: ‘organized hypocrisy’ and ‘ontological security’.

- 5) **Organized hypocrisy.** In 1999, the International Relations theorist, Stephen D. Krasner’s released the book *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Krasner, who subscribes to a realist perspective of state behavior, argued that ‘it is impossible for any institutional arrangement at the international level to become embedded’.³⁹ Krasner divided the concept of sovereignty into four categories: ‘domestic’, ‘interdependent’, ‘Westphalian’, and ‘international legal’.⁴⁰ He was not directly concerned with the analysis of integration initiatives, but his theory is nevertheless worth bearing in mind given his discussion of the desire of rulers to maintain their own power. For example,

³⁷ Fawcett, Louise and Hurrell, Andrew eds., *Regionalism in World Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p.64

³⁸ Kubicek, Paul. ‘The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?’ *Review of International Studies*. Vol. 35, Feb. 2009, pp. 237-256

³⁹ Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, p.220

⁴⁰ Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999, pp.9-25

if a ruler feels that an initiative is no longer in the state's, or even his/her, best interest they could sever ties with that initiative. As Benedict Kingsbury writes 'every institution of the international system is liable to be displaced whenever rulers, who are interested in maintaining their own power and furthering their own constituencies, have the will and capacity to do so.'⁴¹ In terms of this thesis, the idea that Eurasian integration could be affected, not by the norms and values of the state, but by the will of its leaders is worth bearing in mind when carrying out the analysis.

- 6) Ontological security theory (OST).** This theory has increased in popularity in the academic literature since the turn of the 21st century. Ontology is a branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and meaning of being and grouping entities according to both similarities and differences. In keeping with this perspective, OST argues that states will not only seek the preservation of their physical security, but also their ontological security, i.e. 'security of the self' which relates to safeguarding common ideational and cultural values.⁴² This runs contrary to the realist perspective that states are only concerned with territorial survival. The theory posits instead that states will also attempt to protect their own identity on the international stage.⁴³ There are some problems with the concept of Ontological Security – the term 'ontology' usually refers to a branch of philosophy that deals with the existence (or non-existence) of certain beings such as God. It asks broad philosophical questions such as 'what can be considered to exist' and argues a lack of real-world evidence necessitates the application of reason to these questions. In terms of OST, this assumes that culture or identity are abstract philosophical concepts that lack evidence of existence. However, this is not the case as there is clear tangible evidence of culture and identity through specific symbols such as flags, language, cuisine, music, and art to name a few. Nevertheless, there is a useful aspect of OST that informs some of the thinking in this thesis. It is found in the theory posited by the political theorist Jim Marlow in 2002. Marlow argued that leaders and government officials, as 'the symbolic embodiment of the nation', will promote a narrative through political discourse to unite the people and provide them with a sense

⁴¹ Kingsbury, Benedict. 'Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy: Review.' *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Jul. 2000, pp. 591-595

⁴² See: Mitzen, Jennifer. 'Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma'. *European Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 12, No.3, 2006: pp. 341–370 and Steele, Brent J. *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State*. New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2008

⁴³ Schelenz, Laura. 'Ontological security – what's behind this new theory trending in IR?' *Sicherheits Politik-blog*. 28/08/2017. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2uaWT0t> (accessed 03/03/2018) ; Brent J. Steele. *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State*. New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2008, p.2

of stability.⁴⁴ This point was also emphasized by Jelena Subotić in 2016 who used discourse analysis to argue that examining the narratives propagated by government representatives of a state leads to a deeper understanding of foreign policy behavior.⁴⁵

The point Subotić and Marlow make on the relevance of political discourse to analyzing foreign policy behavior and how a state may present an ideal image (or “narrative”) in order to preserve unity or protect a state’s values is extremely interesting. In 1970, the Finnish-American political scientist Kalevi Holsti had promoted a related theory that suggested, through content analysis of political messaging, that states will inhabit particular “roles” on the international stage.

2.1.1. The Concept of Role Theory

Role theory began as a sociological theory that rose to academic prominence from the 1930s.⁴⁶ The theory posits that people hold particular ‘social positions’, defined as a position in a social system involving designated rights and obligations’,⁴⁷ from which patterns of expected behavior can be derived.⁴⁸ These characteristic patterns are known as ‘roles’ and include assumptions about how individuals should behave. However, this branch of role theory was more concerned with the behavior of individuals or small groups in relation to wider society rather than state interactions. In fact, in 1986, the sociologist Bruce J. Biddle wrote a review of *recent developments in role theory*, but did not mention any of the scholars working on role theory in the context of international relations.⁴⁹

Kalevi Holsti applied the term “role theory” to foreign policy analysis in his 1970 article *National role conceptions in the study of foreign policy*.⁵⁰ Here, he discussed the tendency of International Relations scholars and officials to identify and categorize ‘patterned or recurring decisions and actions by governments’ in their analyses of foreign policy behavior. According

⁴⁴ Marlow, Jim. ‘Governmentality, Ontological Security and Ideational Stability: Preliminary Observations on the Manner, Ritual and Logic of a Particular Art of Government.’ *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2002, pp. 241-259.

⁴⁵ Subotić, Jelena. ‘Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change’, *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Vol. 12, 2016, pp. 610–627

⁴⁶ Biddle, Bruce J. and Thomas, Edwin J. eds. *Role theory: Concepts and research*. New York: John Wiley, 1966, Ch.1

⁴⁷ Merton, Robert K. ‘The role-set: Problems in sociological theory’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol.8, no.2, 1957 p.110

⁴⁸ Biddle, Bruce J., ‘Recent developments in role theory’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 12, 1986, pp. 67–92.

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Holsti, Kalevi J. ‘National Role Conceptions and the Study of Foreign Policy’, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, September 1970, pp.233-309

to Holsti, these categories may include ‘nonaligned’ states, ‘bloc leaders’, ‘balancers’ and ‘satellites’.

However, Holsti argued that groupings such as this are too narrow, only a ‘rough categorization of reality, and perhaps increasingly obsolete.’ As such, according to Holsti it was necessary to ‘construct a typology of national roles that is richer in detail and more sensitive to distinctions in actual diplomatic behavior than the ones currently fashionable’ in order to move beyond the traditional and limited understanding of state behavior as it existed until 1970.⁵¹ In particular, he attempted to argue that not only do a multitude of national role types exist, but that states are also likely to fulfill multiple roles simultaneously. Furthermore, Holsti theorized that perceptions of policy-makers will influence how they view the roles they feel their nation should play. Ultimately, Holsti was concerned with ‘the utility of role analysis for understanding foreign policy’⁵² and with uncovering what we can ‘predict about the structure and processes of an international system...’⁵³.

In order to achieve this, Holsti introduced a complex system of inter-dependent variables encompassing *role performance, role prescriptions, and role conceptions*. First, he introduced a role theory model for analyzing human behavior (see figure 1). At the apex of this system is the ‘role performance’. These are the outcomes, i.e. the decisions and actions undertaken by people which are informed by the present position (‘rights, duties, and special responsibilities’). The position is, in turn, influenced by both the Ego’s (individual) role conceptions (views, preferences, and expectations) and the Alter’s (others’) role prescriptions, which are defined as the ‘norms and expectations cultures, societies, institutions, or groups attach to particular positions.’⁵⁴ Each role conception in the ‘sources of human behaviour’ model was seen as a function of a number of variables including: interests, goals, attitudes and values, and personality needs. While the sources of ‘prescriptions’ were seen as the state’s wider culture, its social institutions, organizations, and laws.

⁵¹ Holsti, Kalevi J. ‘National Role Conceptions and the Study of Foreign Policy’, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, September 1970, p.235

⁵² Walker, Stephen G. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.1

⁵³ Holsti, Kalevi J. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.6

⁵⁴ Holsti, Kalevi J. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.7

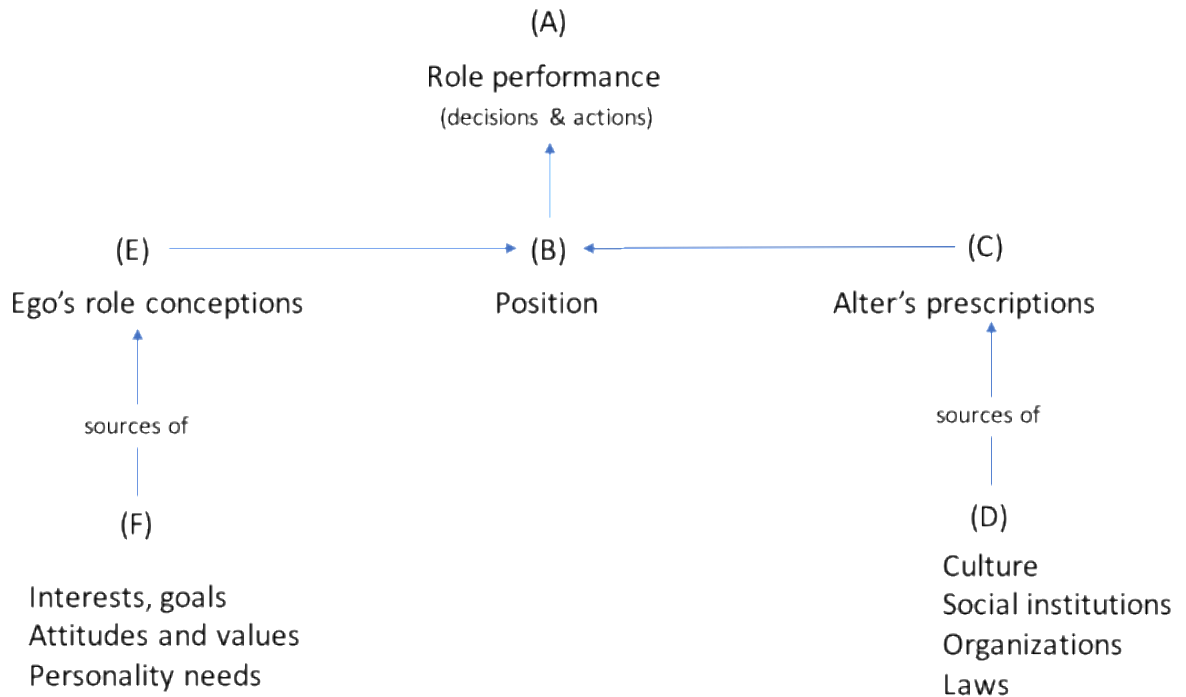


Figure 2: Role theory and the sources of human behaviour, K.J. Holsti in Stephen G. Walker ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987) p.8

Holsti argued that most social studies which employ some form of role theory examine foreign policy behavior, i.e. (A) role performance, by investigating relationships between (B) Position and (C) Prescriptions and some, but rarely all, sources listed under (D). Alternatively, he states, some phenomenological studies attempt to explain (A) as a function of (B), (E) role conceptions, and certain combinations of (F). Neither of these approaches, he argues, is sufficient given that typical ‘human behaviour’ models fail to capture the reality of foreign policy behavior. Therefore, he introduced a second model that was tailored specifically to foreign policy behavior building on all of the factors listed above and also taking their interdependence into account (see figure 2).

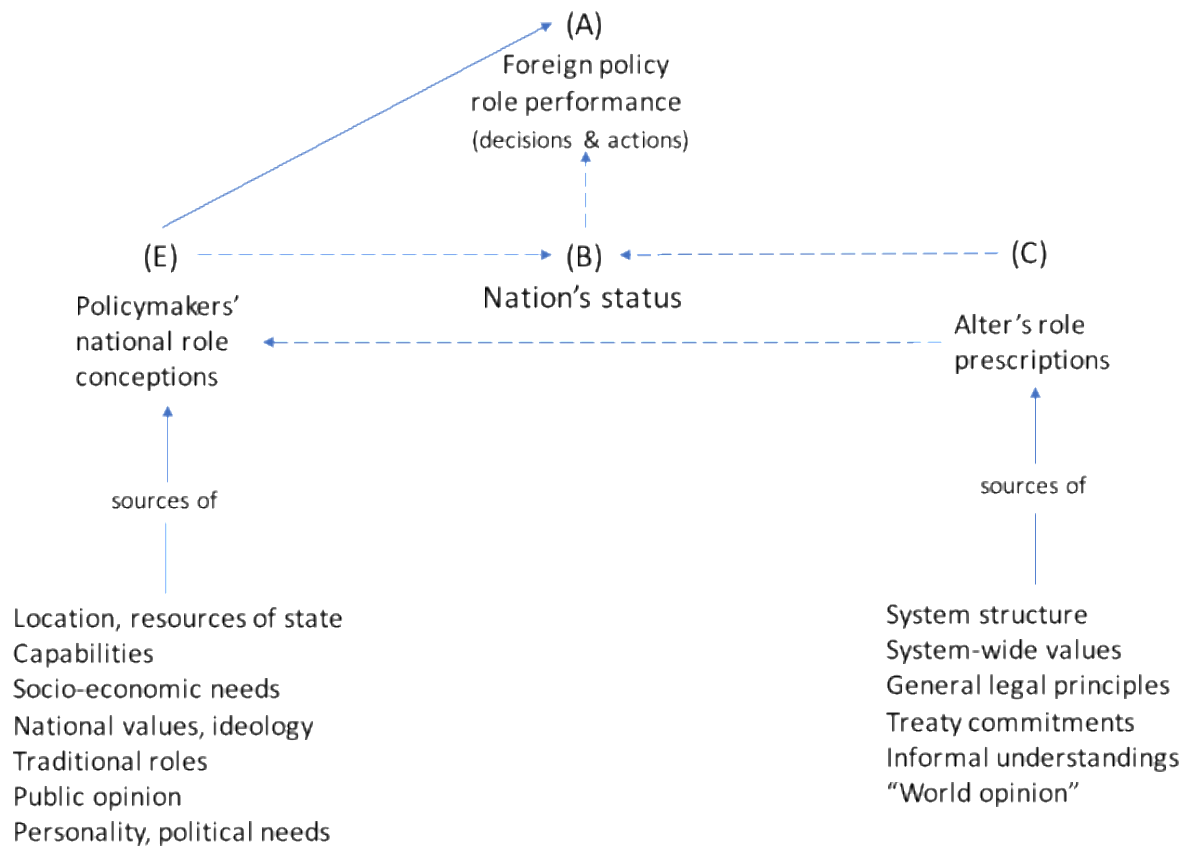


Figure 3: Role theory and foreign policy: national role conceptions and prescriptions as independent variables, K.J. Holsti in Stephen G. Walker ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987) p.11

The key terms in Holsti's foreign policy behavior model are defined differently from his human behavior model. Foreign policy role performance (which Holsti also refers to as *national role performance, national roles* or simply *roles*) is defined as 'the general foreign policy behavior of governments. It includes patterns of attitudes, decisions, responses, functions, and commitments toward other states.' A national role conception is defined as 'the policymakers' own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules, and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system or in subordinate regional systems.'⁵⁵

This model differs from the previous one in a number of additional ways: 1) "Nation's status" has replaced "position" at the center as, according to Holsti, status 'denotes only a rough estimate of a state's ranking in the international system' which is a less tangible, but more

⁵⁵ Holsti, Kalevi. J in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.12

appropriate representation of reality. 2) The role conceptions and role prescriptions are now dashed lines representing the potential and intermittent effect they have on status. 3) Alter's role prescriptions are a function of more tangible factors than listed in the human behavior model; for example, the system's structure, its values, its legal principles, treaty commitments, and 'world opinion'. 4) Policy-makers' role conceptions are a function of a series of domestic sources such as national values, public opinion, state capabilities, location, and resources and, 5) these role conceptions have a direct effect on foreign policy role performance (decisions & actions), often bypassing the nation's status.

Once Holsti had established his model, he attempted to construct a typology of national role conceptions. To achieve this, he analyzed the statements of world leaders and high-ranking government officials in 71 governments from 972 different sources (roughly 10 to 15 sources per state) over a time period of several years. These sources included speeches, parliamentary debates, radio broadcasts, official communiqués, and press conferences.⁵⁶ He attempted to examine how often different pre-defined role conceptions could be identified in each state and concluded that the more active a state was in the international community, the more roles that could be identified. For example, the United States mentioned eight roles, the Soviet Union mentioned seven, while at the other end of the spectrum, just one was identifiable in Iran and none were identified in the Ivory Coast.⁵⁷

Holsti concluded that role theory and, more specifically, the concept of national role conceptions, 'offers one avenue for describing types of, and explaining changes in, international systems.' Role theory has subsequently been adopted by scholars across a range of disciplines such as Politics, International Relations, Sociology, Social Psychology and Anthropology.⁵⁸ As Stephen G. Walker wrote in his 1987 collected volume of works on role theory's utility is threefold: first, as a *descriptive* device which provides 'a vocabulary of images' for categorizing beliefs and identities that influence behavior. Second, as an *organizational* tool for researchers to adopt structure or process-oriented approaches and therefore analyze foreign policy behavior across all units of analysis. Third, as an *explanatory* tool, provided the research is grounded in a strong methodological approach, for developing role theory and marrying its concepts to

⁵⁶ Holsti, Kalevi J. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.13

⁵⁷ Holsti, Kalevi J. 'National Role Conceptions and the Study of Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, September 1970, p.284

⁵⁸ Backman, Carl. 'Role theory and international relations'. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14, 1970, pp. 310-319

alternative theories.⁵⁹ As such, it is a useful framework for any empirical analysis of foreign policy behavior as well as bridging ‘those who work at the personal and national levels of analysis, and those who adopt the broader perspective of international systems studies.’⁶⁰

2.1.2. Weaknesses in Holsti’s Role Theory

The notion that states develop role conceptions that are identifiable in the statements of policy-makers lends great potential explanatory power not only to studies addressing the foreign policy behavior of states, but also to research focused on understanding how rhetoric reflects cultural norms and affects state behavior. It thus provides the framework for the method used in this thesis. However, the theory is also clearly problematic for a number of reasons. This section briefly examines some of the weaknesses in Holsti’s study before moving on to how these issues are addressed.

First, many of the roles identified and states analyzed by Holsti are out of date. Despite his belief that pre-1970 Cold War literature was too narrow in categorizing states, Holsti was still writing during the Cold War. Thus, the bipolar world order undoubtedly affected the foreign policy behavior of states and will likely have influenced his findings. It is necessary to bring role theory up to date post-collapse of the Soviet Union and this thesis hopes to go some way towards achieving that objective.

Second, despite his accurate statement that so-called “smaller” states play a significant role in the international system (for example, how small states ‘frequently offer mediation or peace-keeping services in conflict situations’⁶¹), Holsti still struggles to ascribe roles to these smaller states. He writes that he failed to identify a worthwhile number of statements in Jamaica, Malta, Cyprus, Libya, the ‘small African states’, and ‘most Latin American governments’ and thus felt as though he should exclude them from his study. In addition to this, by virtue of the fact that he was writing during the Cold War, he does not manage to include any of the Central Asian states in his study as they had been subsumed into the USSR and would not have been considered as objects for analysis. This is clearly something that needs to be addressed in order to deepen our understanding not merely of the Central Asian region, but also of potentially

⁵⁹ Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.2

⁶⁰ Holsti, Kalevi J. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, p.43

⁶¹ Holsti, Kalevi. J. ‘National Role Conceptions and the Study of Foreign Policy’, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, September 1970, p.242

under-researched sources and modes of foreign policy behavior that may be applied to other states in the future. This thesis is therefore concerned with the analysis of four small, newly independent states: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

Third, the time period that Holsti uses in his study is perhaps too brief to generalize about the roles that each state conceives of. He looks at statements between January 1965 and December 1967 - just three years. Thus, not only is his study potentially too restrictive in terms of the roles he prescribes to states, but it is also limited in terms of conceptual space for change in a state's role. A role will naturally evolve over time as the state adapts to changing internal and external circumstances. One need only look at the potential impact of "Brexit" on the UK's foreign policy behavior or the election of Donald Trump to the White House in 2016 to see how rapidly a state's role in the international community may change. Thus, if a state were to be categorized as a 'Mediator' in 1965, it is conceivable that it may emerge as an 'Aggressor' in 2017. Thus, by extending the number of years analyzed in this study (2010 - 2017), we can develop a more dynamic understanding of both continuity and change in role conceptions and foreign policy behavior.

Fourth, Holsti's role theory is arguably too static and deterministic. His analysis was pivotal in demonstrating that states will fulfill a number of functions in the international system and his argument is accurate that any analysis that fails to acknowledge the presence of multiple roles will be 'empirically deficient' and 'theoretically inadequate'. However, Holsti perhaps undermines his own argument about static categories (i.e. the four categories 'nonaligned', 'bloc leaders', 'balancers' and 'satellites' he mentions in his introduction) when he provides evidence of just seventeen different role conceptions for 71 states such as 'Developer', 'Mediator-integrator', 'Defender of the faith' and 'Anti-imperialist agent'. Holsti's definition of a national role conception was policy-makers' own notions of 'decisions, commitments, rules, and actions suitable to their state', and yet he concludes that there are just seventeen of these "suitable actions".

Part of the problem may be that, in an attempt to generalize his findings, Holsti did not select an overarching project or sphere of action from which to derive his role conceptions (for example military intervention or assisting in the economic development of a third-party state). Instead he looked at the concept of foreign policy behavior in general terms. By his own admission, this left his analysis with some gaps for certain states, while the themes identified in the rhetoric were arguably too disparate to glean a deeper insight into what factors are driving particular foreign policy responses. Instead, it is perhaps more appropriate to examine a smaller

number of case studies in order to understand the factors that may be influencing behavior and, by using a single concept (in this case Eurasian integration) as the focal point, to describe rather than prescribe roles. One particular benefit of this approach is that a focal point (consisting, to change the metaphor, in a common sphere of action) allows for an exploration of the extent to which there is overlap or competition between states to inhabit a particular role. For example, this thesis uses Eurasian integration as the sphere of action; this will allow us to examine what the effect is when two different states present themselves as playing the role of, say, leader (conceivably, of course, in slightly different respects). Equally, it will facilitate an exposition of the impact of incompatible role conceptions within the integration; for example, what happens if multiple states all declare their intention to perform the role of a ‘bridging state’? Thus, placing role theory within a specific sphere of action is an essential amendment to Holsti’s original work that gives the theory greater practical utility. Not only does it allow for deeper insights into the motivations of each state, but it also helps to illuminate the dynamics of the particular process, in this case Eurasian integration. This approach necessitates adding to and expanding role theory in order to update it for the post-Cold War era.

2.1.3. Role Theory, continued...

For many years, both explaining and understanding state behavior in the international system has been a priority for scholars of international relations. The question of why governments behave as they do in the international system has often been complicated by a failure to accurately identify and analyze policy-makers’ perceptions. The importance of incorporating the decision makers’ psychological and operational environment to effectively analyze foreign policy behavior was first suggested by Harold and Margaret Sprout in 1957.⁶² Their argument was that a state’s foreign policy is affected by environmental factors as they are filtered through the policy-maker’s perceptual lens. However, as noted by Naomi Wish, much of the early work investigating decision makers’ perceptions focused on their perception of enemies.⁶³ Since then other scholars have conducted research on the value of cognitive variables in explaining foreign policy behavior and the idea of “role conception” emerged in 1970 with Holsti’s analysis.⁶⁴

⁶² Sprout, Harold and Sprout, Margaret. ‘Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics’. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Dec. 1957, pp. 309-328

⁶³ Wish, Naomi Bailin. ‘Foreign Policy Makers and Their National Role Conceptions’. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, no. 4, December 1980, p. 532

⁶⁴ George, 1969; Holsti, 1976; Axelrod, 1976; Jervis, 1976; Jervis, Lebow and Stein, 1985

Although Holsti's theory certainly has a great deal of utility, as illustrated by the section on the weaknesses of the theory, a broader and more flexible theory for understanding foreign policy behavior is required. Many subsequent studies attempted to refine Holsti's original framework, with varying degrees of success. Studies on role theory can usually be divided into two "waves". The first wave was mostly concerned with identifying the sources of role conceptions and the effect on foreign policy behavior. It was typified by the research of Naomi Wish (1980), Stephen Walker (1987), Margaret Hermann (1987) and James Rosenau (1987).⁶⁵

In 1980, Wish wrote that role theory can be understood as 'foreign policy makers' perceptions of their nations' positions in the international system.' She attempted to narrow the focus of Holsti's original contribution by applying content analysis to the speeches of 29 policy-makers from 17 different countries. She focused on the idea of the perceptions of policy-makers and offered three criteria that she believed influenced these perceptions: status, motivational orientation, and problem area. According to Wish, status is measured by the range of a given state actor's influence; i.e. its ability to affect the behavior of other state actors. The effect of their perceptions extends through domestic policy; bilateral relations; bilateral relations with the presence of a dominant partner; and on the global scale.⁶⁶ Based on this classification the degree of influence of the actor is determined. For example, the degree of state influence within the framework of bilateral parity relations presupposes partnership. Motivational orientation is determined by the opinion of the person making the decision.⁶⁷ So the author singles out individual, cooperative, competitive, or mixed types of orientations. Considering the typology offered by Holsti, to some extent, the concept of "active independent" or "isolate" corresponds to an individual orientation. The problem area was seen as being both physical and value-oriented space, for example territorial defense, ideological, political/diplomatic, economic and universal values. Classification can be adapted to the concepts of the national role, since states fulfill economic, political, religious, or military functions. At the same time, based on internal potential, a state can occupy several concepts of the national role and carry out its activities in

⁶⁵ Wish, Naomi Bailin. 'Foreign Policy Makers and Their National Role Conceptions'. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, no. 4, December 1980, pp. 532-554; Hermann, Margaret G. 'Foreign Policy Role Orientations and the Quality of Foreign Policy Decisions' in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987; Rosenau, James N. 'Roles and Role Scenarios in Foreign Policy' in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987; Walker, Stephen G.. 'The Relevance of Role Theory to Foreign Policy Analysis'. in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, pp.1-4

⁶⁶ Wish, Naomi Bailin. 'National Attributes as Sources of National Role Conceptions: A Capability-Motivation Model' in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, pp.94-103

⁶⁷ Wish, Naomi Bailin. 'Foreign Policy Makers and Their National Role Conceptions'. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1980, pp. 532-554

several areas at the same time. Wish's analysis is convoluted at times and the connection between her categories and role theory is not always obvious. Further, Wish concluded that role conceptions will differ between states, but will be broadly similar between policy-makers of the same state.⁶⁸ While there is validity in Wish's conclusion, it should also be noted that there can be disagreements between policy-makers within a state and this can result in differing role conceptions and potential inconsistency in foreign policy behavior. As a result, this thesis will also consider the effect of disunity on foreign behavior.

In 1987, Martin W. Sampson and Stephen G. Walker developed the more normative side of role theory by focusing on the subject of cultural norms and the impact they have on national roles. Their analysis used Holsti's original framework relating to the four key concepts (1) Role performance, (2) National role conceptions, (3) Role prescriptions, and (4) position in order to compare the approaches of Japan and France to foreign policy. They concluded that rational decision making based on an assessment of what would be the most effective policy did not always occur, but instead normative constraints influenced decisions. The main weakness in their approach was that they did not attempt to alter Holsti's original theory or his categories for role conceptions, but instead supplanted their own findings on top of his typology. However, their conclusion that culture can place constraints on behavior is valid and is considered throughout this thesis.⁶⁹

Margaret Hermann's contribution focused almost exclusively on identifying the sources of behavior. She examined six specific traits that she believed had a tangible effect on 'what governments do'. These were: nationalism; belief in one's own ability to control events; need for power; need for affiliation; conceptual complexity; and distrust of others.⁷⁰ She then matched these sources to policy-makers' role orientations for example 'expansionist', 'Active independent' or 'Mediator/integrator'. By her own admission, the 'role orientations' she identifies are 'idealized' and perhaps not a true reflection of reality. Further, her conclusion that 'the goals of the various types of leaders differ as do their means of resolving conflict' seems to be an obvious point to make. Nevertheless, the crucial role that leaders play in determining state behavior, especially if their policy decisions are norm contravening, is a consideration that should be taken into account when analyzing speeches and statements.

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Walker, Stephen G. and Sampson, Martin W. 'Cultural Norms and National Roles: A Comparison of Japan and France', in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, pp. 105 - 122

⁷⁰ Hermann, Margaret G. 'Foreign Policy Role Orientations and the Quality of Foreign Policy Decisions' in Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987p. 123

Rosenau's study in 1987 was more concerned with role scenarios (analysis of costs and benefits of particular actions) and how researchers can make conceptual sense of them. He argued that the individuals who are tasked with making foreign policy decisions are constrained by external factors such as the wider social system in which they operate and the nature of their interactions with the smaller decision-making community (i.e. other policy-makers). He posited that policy-makers will create role scenarios as a result of the complexity of the situations that arise and, furthermore, that these scenarios are transitory, shifting and evolving over time. According to Rosenau, this renders any analysis of the concept more problematic.

2.1.4. The Second Wave

Studies in the 1990s mostly focused on expanding the typology devised by Holsti in order to bring it into the post-Cold War era. For example, Thibault and Levesque added six new role conceptions: member of Western world, independent player, instrument for changing the state, arms control and disarmament agent, co-patriot protector and defender of democratic principles and human rights;⁷¹ and Grossman added two: member of CIS and nuclear free-state.⁷² Their approaches were still relatively inflexible, however and were affected by the same problems that Holsti and his acolytes had encountered.

As a result of these persistent deficiencies, it was not until the early 2000s that the "second wave" of thought on role theory began, with many studies from this era adopting a constructivist approach. Well-known role theorists, Cameron G. Thies and Marijke Breuning's attempted to enhance the cultural-constructivist understanding of role theory by arguing in 2012 that role theory had an 'intermittent' presence in IR theory, but nevertheless had great potential utility, particularly for constructivist scholars who believe that states construct their own roles and manage their own images when interacting on the international stage.⁷³

⁷¹ Thibault, Jean-François and Levesque, Jacques. 'The Soviet Union/Russia: Which Future for Which Past?' in Le Prestre, Philippe ed. *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen University Press, 1997, pp. 23-30

⁷² Grossman, Michael. *Identity, Rhetoric, And Behavior In Post-Soviet Russia And Ukraine: Testing The Applicability Of Role Theory In Foreign Policy Analysis*, PhD thesis, submitted at the University of South Carolina, 2003., pp. 35 - 40

⁷³ Thies, Cameron G. and Breuning, Marijke. 'Integrating Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations through Role Theory'. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 2012, pp. 1-4

Oppermann (2012) conducts an analysis of Germany's foreign policy in terms of national role conception using three components: 1) the expectations of Germany's external partners, mainly its Western allies; 2) internal restrictions, including competition between political parties, and public opinion; 3) national role conceptions formed as a derivative of the interaction of the two previous factors. Based on the results of Oppermann's analysis, he identified a change in Germany's national role conception from a 'regional leader' to a 'normal ally'. Changes in conceptions were explained as being a function of shifting priorities from the 'requirements and expectations of Western allies' to focus on 'domestic policy' and the prioritisation of 'national interests.' One of the factors that affected the changes was the increased politicization of foreign policy in the internal political debate.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, some scholars lamented the predominantly western focus of role theory. For example, Richard Adigbuo examined national role conceptions in Nigeria and Namibia, emphasizing the influence of statesmen on foreign policy decisions, in particular their perception of the social and political environment and cultural values.⁷⁵

Balakhova, too, noted the lack of coverage afforded the concept of the role and role behavior in the Russian-language literature and argued for the need for more studies focusing on Eurasia and Central Asia.⁷⁶ Balakhova then singled out two dimensions of the role of the state: 'vertical' and 'horizontal'. The vertical dimension refers to the appeal to the historical past of the country marked by significant events, or to the future promising opportunity. The horizontal dimension embodies the realization of the role through its interaction with other roles of participants in international relations.⁷⁷

A summary of the literature on role theory shows that there are myriad methodological approaches with authors tackling a wide, and often mind-boggling range of related concepts. The main problem is that the term 'role' is used in so many different contexts and across such a range of academic disciplines that it is in danger of losing its analytical utility. As Thies wrote in 2009, 'the proliferation of meanings and understandings of the role concept can be

⁷⁴ Oppermann, Kai. 'National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy: the Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond', *German Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2012, pp. 502 - 519

⁷⁵ Adigbuo, Richard. 'Beyond IR Theories: The Case for National Role Conceptions', *Politikon*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 83-97

⁷⁶ Balakhova, Zalina. 'Role conception in the foreign policy of the modern state.' *Science and World*. Vol. 2, No. 7, 2016, pp. 108-110.

⁷⁷ Ibid

problematic.⁷⁸ Le Prestre had raised this point in 1997 demonstrating that, although the problem had been acknowledged, little progress towards clarification has been made.⁷⁹ The one general consensus seems to be that, given that each nation-state occupies myriad social positions and roles in relation to other subjects, both national role conceptions and the international system can be viewed as social constructs. This is a sentiment echoed across the generations of debate.

Clearly, role theory has great potential utility in the analysis of foreign policy behavior. As Walker argued in 1987, role theory is ‘conceptually rich but methodologically poor,’ and, furthermore, that the value of role theory may lie in how it is combined with alternative theories.⁸⁰ Thus, this thesis largely ignores many of the alternative aspects of role theory such as ‘role performance’, ‘role prescriptions’, and ‘status’ in favor of concentrating simply on role conceptions. For the purposes of this thesis, these are understood as *the self-defined notions of distinctive functions specific to that country within a broader international order*. It should be noted that a state may also form private role conceptions and, in truth, these may more accurately reflect the true objectives of the policy-makers of a state. Nevertheless, this thesis is more concerned with idea of projection of a national role conception; in other words, the contribution a state wishes to be seen to be making (or to be seen to be capable of making), regardless of whether they intend to follow through on the rhetoric with policy action. This is due to the fact that Eurasian integration is a project of interactions; thus, how a state presents itself publically within an international community is an essential part of that.

It will use role conceptions as the foundation for the research, but additionally seeks to expand on Holsti’s theory by drawing some inspiration from the methodological approaches of the “classical” theories referred to earlier (principally cultural constructivism) and, more specifically, combining role theory with the concept of self-presentation; a theory that is usually associated with social psychology. Holsti sees a state’s foreign policy actions and behavior as a function of the role performance of the policy-makers (the ‘Ego’) and, therefore, as a fundamentally human endeavor. Taken in this sense, self-presentation theory could enhance

⁷⁸ Thies, Cameron G. ‘Role Theory and Foreign Policy’. Research Paper, *International Studies Association Compendium Project, Foreign Policy Analysis section*, p. 3, See: <http://myweb.uiowa.edu/bhlai/workshop/role.Pdf>.

⁷⁹ Le Prestre, Philippe ed. *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997, pp. 3-4

⁸⁰ Walker, Stephen G. ed. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, pp. 2-3

our understanding of role theory by allowing us to create a general typology of recurring *themes* in the discourse of policy-makers rather than the more restrictive role conceptions.

2.1.5. From Role Conceptions to Self-Presentation

Self-presentation theory arguably originated with Erving Goffman's important 1959 book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.⁸¹ Goffman adopted what became known as a "dramaturgical" approach which compared everyday social interactions to a performance in the theatre. He argued that individuals will adopt 'roles' for the purposes of 'impression management' such as performer, audience member, or outsider. These roles are then played out on different 'stages' (i.e. social spaces). In other words, Goffman argues that the objective is to portray the image of one's best self while also hiding aspects that may undermine your social standing and adapting to social situations as they arise. To a certain extent, Goffman's theory attempts to bridge the gap in the debate between structure and agency in human behavior. In other words, the dichotomy between the limited choices available to the individual due to the constraint of social structures and the independence humans are able to exhibit as agents in possession of free will.

The concept of self-presentation was developed further by Roy F. Baumeister and Debra G. Hutton in 1987, who argued that it is one of the core motivations in human behavior. According to Baumeister and Hutton, it can be defined simply as the attempt 'to convey some information about oneself or some image of oneself to other people.' They argue that two forms of self-presentation can be identified. The first relates to 'pleasing the audience'; in other words, projecting an image of oneself that the individual deems will be best received by an external body and the expectations that they hold. The second form is 'self-construction' which is the creation of an image that the individual feels meets their own expectation of what constitutes the ideal.⁸² As with Goffman's work, the unit of analysis in Baumeister and Hutton's research is at the individual level; principally how individuals are perceived within a group.

⁸¹ Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, 1959

⁸² Baumeister, Roy F. and Hutton, Debra G. 'Self-Presentation Theory: Self-Construction and Audience Pleasing' in Mullen, Brian and Goethals, George R. eds. *Theories of Group Behaviour*. Chapter 4, New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987, pp. 71-87

The idea of self-construction or image management is prevalent in the literature on self-presentation. For example, in 1986, Robert A. Giacalone & Paul Rosenfeld argued that people ‘act as publicity agents who conduct public relations campaigns on their own behalf, highlighting their virtues while minimizing their deficiencies.’⁸³ While, in 1999, the broadcasting researcher, Joseph R. Dominick defined self-presentation as the ‘process by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others have of them.’⁸⁴ However, it was not until the early 2000s that scholars began to move beyond the individual level and examine the utility of self-presentation theory for states.

Much of the early analysis focused on how states harness developing technologies such as the internet and, more recently, social media to present their state as a brand. For example, in 2002, Elfriede Fürsich and Melinda Robins used a textual analysis of the websites of twenty-nine sub-Saharan governments to explore how states self-present online and, crucially, how they ‘assert their role’ in the international community.⁸⁵ This idea was developed by the multimedia theorist, Shaheed N. Mohammed, who, in 2004, also used the content of government websites to argue that small states and developing countries always strive to find new means of ‘express[ing] themselves more adequately on the world stage.’⁸⁶ He concluded that small states self-present for a range of reasons, for example ‘international trade and investment promotion, preservation of national identity in diasporic citizens and even promotion of news from their point of view to a potentially international audience.’⁸⁷ A similar point was made by Mary Eugenia Charles in 1997 whose book *A Future for Small States* argued that the desire to protect their national identity and core values was a primary motivating factor in self-presentation.⁸⁸

Clearly, on the surface there appears to be significant overlap between role theory and self-presentation. Goffman even wrote about the “roles” that people play in social situations. Thus, at this stage it is worth clarifying what the key difference between the two is and why combining the two theories is useful. Fundamentally, role theory relates to the duty that a state wants to be

⁸³ Giacalone, Robert A. and Rosenfeld, Paul. ‘Self-Presentation and Self-Promotion in an Organizational Setting’, *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 126, No. 3, 1986, p. 321

⁸⁴ Dominick, J.R. ‘Who Do You Think You Are? Personal Home Pages and Self-Presentation on the World Wide Web’, *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 4, 1999, p. 647

⁸⁵ Fürsich, Elfriede and Robins, Melinda. ‘Africa.com: the self-representation of sub-Saharan nations on the World Wide Web’, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2002, pp. 190-211

⁸⁶ Mohammed, Shaheed N. ‘Self-presentation of small developing countries on the world wide web: a study of official websites’. *New Media & Society*. Vol. 6, No. 4, 2004, pp. 469–486

⁸⁷ Mohammed, Shaheed N. ‘Self-presentation of small developing countries on the world wide web: a study of official websites’. *New Media & Society*. Vol. 6, No. 4, 2004, p. 470

⁸⁸ Charles, Mary Eugenia. *A Future for Small States: Overcoming Vulnerability*, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997, p.155

seen to be inhabiting within the context of a broader foreign policy situation. For Holsti, this was foreign policy behavior in general terms and, for this thesis, Eurasian integration. In other words, during the creation and implementation of a regional integration project, a state may want to inhabit the role of a bridge between members, or perhaps even as a leader. By way of contrast, self-presentation can be understood as the general themes that characterize the behavior of the state on the international stage. For example, presenting the image of an assertive, pragmatic state.

For clarification, we can use the analogy of an employee at a company. This worker is employed as a researcher and wants to be regarded by colleagues as punctual and professional. In order to present this image, the worker is never late, polite to their co-workers, and dresses appropriately. While these are certainly desirable traits in any worker, they do not relate to the research duties of the employee which, ultimately, are their role within the company and the position that they had originally applied for. Instead, punctuality and professionalism relate more to self-presentation while “researcher” is the role. Combining role theory with the idea of self-presentation in the context of former Soviet states is a unique contribution to the literature that should provide a deeper understanding of how each state behaves and, crucially, how it wants to be seen to be behaving.

2.1.6. National Identity

It is not the purpose of this thesis to dwell on the concept of national identity, nor its theoretically problematic counterpart, nationalism. However, Holsti’s argument that national values and ideology are sources of role conceptions (see figure 3) and Charles and Mohammed’s respective arguments on the importance of national identity in self-presentation render a brief discussion of the concept necessary insofar as national identity feeds directly into the role conceptions of policy-makers and how the state presents itself.

An Ngram analysis of the term ‘nation’ shows that it has been in frequent usage in academic texts since the early 1800s, however, by contrast, ‘national identity’ has only been referred to since 1957. Since then it has been used with increasing prevalence reaching a peak in 1999.⁸⁹ However, in spite of the relatively recent academic attention that national identity has

⁸⁹ An N-gram is a form of text analysis used in computational linguistics to analyze trends across time. Google’s Ngram Viewer allows users to track specific words or phrases in books from 1800 to 2008. For the analysis used in this section see: <https://bit.ly/2nQpIN6>

generated, there has always been a sense that the notion of “nation” was also linked to a collective sense of belonging. Indeed, the term ‘nation’ is derived from the old French word *nacion* which means ‘birth’ or ‘place of origin’. It usually refers to a social collective who share a common identity stemming from history, culture, symbols, language, religion, ethnicity, geography and even a common economic or political base, the resources at the disposal of the state and expectations for how these resources are allocated.⁹⁰ The nation, and by extension national identity, is therefore a psychological concept that relates to a general feeling of belonging. This theme is frequently expressed in the academic literature; for example, political scientist Rupert Emerson wrote in his 1960 book *From Empire to Nation*, that the nation is ‘a body of people who feel that they are a nation,’⁹¹ and, in his famous lecture *What is a Nation?*, delivered at the Sorbonne University in 1882, Ernest Renan stated that a nation is ‘a soul. A spiritual principle’ which is bound together by a group of people in possession ‘of a rich legacy of memories.’⁹² The celebrated social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, made a similar point in his seminal work *Nations and Nationalism*, where he wrote that ‘identity is based [...] on culture,’⁹³

The concept of national identity as something inherently cultural relates to Kubicek’s summary of the cultural-constructivist theory of regional integration which was mentioned earlier. To briefly revisit this theory, it is argued that regional integration initiatives are more successful if a common national or regional identity is present. However, for the fifteen former Soviet states this concept of common identity, regional or national, is a problematic concept. These states had been (forcibly) politically, economically and ideologically unified in the USSR. Religious expression was outlawed as was, in some cases, freedom to speak the mother tongue of your country (e.g. the use of the Kazakh language was banned in Kazakhstan). However, the disintegration of the USSR thrust fifteen “new” states into the international community, each with its own political system, different geographical locations, resources and capabilities (see figure 4). Part of the challenge for these “new” states was the rediscovery or even formulation of a national identity in a post-Soviet world. Autonomous rule and sovereignty had to be re-learned after the collapse of the Soviet Union and, in a sense, the foreign policy approaches that the former Soviet states have adopted post-1991 have also been a quest for identity.

⁹⁰ Evans, Graham and Newnham, Jeffrey. *Dictionary of International Relations*, London: Penguin Books, 1998, p.343 ; Kelman, Herbert. *Nationalism, Patriotism and National Identity: Social-Psychological Dimensions*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1997, pp. 171–173.

⁹¹ Emerson, Rupert. *From Empire to Nation: the rise to self-assertion of Asian and African peoples*, Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1960, p. 102

⁹² Renan, Ernest. ‘*What is a Nation?*’ text of a conference delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882, in Ernest Renan, *Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*, translated by Rundell, Ethan, Paris, Presses-Pocket, 1992. Available at: http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf

⁹³ Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1983, p. xxiv

2.1.7. Sources of Role Conceptions and Self-Presentation

One of the primary objectives of this thesis is to examine how Eurasian states present themselves internationally and understand why they have adopted such disparate approaches to Eurasian integration. Although it is not the purpose of this thesis to explain the character of Eurasian integration that we see today, understanding is the starting point for explanation. Thus, the following section, which looks at the possible sources of role conceptions and self-presentation, may elucidate some of the possible reasons for the disparate approaches taken in four of the states, it also provides the necessary context for the substantive analysis that will be conducted.

Holsti's model for role theory and foreign policy behavior (*figure 3*) listed a number of sources that he believed directly influenced policy-makers' role conceptions. These were:

- National values, ideology
- Location, resources of state
- Capabilities
- Socio-economic needs
- Traditional roles
- Public opinion
- Personality, political needs

This is a helpful starting point, although Holsti has omitted certain sources that are nonetheless crucial to behavior. For example, he mentions national values, ideology. This can perhaps be understood as aspects of a broader national identity. The values or ideologies that are preserved are cherished because they are considered to be defining characteristics of that state and, thus, part of its identity. Further, Holsti's human behavior model mentions culture as a factor in shaping behavior (see *figure 2*), but he does not refer to it in his foreign policy model (*figure 3*). However, culture both determines and is determined by behavior. For example, strength of public opinion on an issue could be shaped by cultural consensus and, equally, public opinion could alter the normative environment and shape culture. It is therefore appropriate to expand the sources outlined by Holsti and organize them according to type. *Figure 4* shows the crucial, but more nebulous and harder to pin down categories in the left column. Culture is placed in this column as it is notoriously difficult, if not impossible, to measure (although it should be understood that culture can also be influenced by all of the other categories). The more tangible

(i.e. easier to measure) categories are in the center and the sources relating either to individual or group opinions are listed in the right-hand column.

Sources of Self-Presentation and role conceptions		
Culture	Location	Personality
Ideology	Geography	Public opinion
History	Population density	
Language	Resources	
Traditions	Capabilities	
Values	Socio-economic needs	
Symbols	Ethnic diversity	

Figure 4: Sources of self-Presentation and role conceptions. Author's re-interpretation of Holsti

Figure 5 outlines several of what could be referred to as the more tangible sources of self-presentation and role conceptions. It shows that the four case studies analyzed in this thesis have vastly different key statistics. Armenia is the smallest of these states with a size of just 29,743 km² and a population of just under three million. It is entirely landlocked and is bordered by Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iran, and Turkey. As a result of its geographical position it is often classified as being both within Europe and Asia and is therefore usually seen as typically “Eurasian”. According to the United Nations (UN), its population density ranks as 110th out of 235.⁹⁴ Its main exports are copper and gold which account for most of its fairly low GDP of US\$ 12.4 billion. With a poverty rate of 25.7%, a significant proportion of the population lives below the poverty line.

Belarus is a landlocked country in Eastern Europe. It is around 0.2 million km² and, with a population of 9.5 million, is ranked 166th in terms of population density by the UN.⁹⁵ It is bordered by Poland to its west, Latvia and Lithuania to its north, Ukraine to its south and, with a border of around 770 miles, Russia to its east. As a result of its geographical location, like Armenia it is also often to be considered as a Eurasian state. Belarus is highly dependent on Russia for its economic well-being, but does possess fairly large, undeveloped oil shale reserves. It boasts moderate GDP statistics at nearly US\$ 60 billion in 2018, a vast improvement from the early 2000s when it stood at around US\$ 13 billion. Belarus has also made great

⁹⁴ *United Nations*, World Population Prospects 2019. CSV data files available at: <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>

⁹⁵ *Ibid*

improvements in wealth distribution; according to the World Bank, in 2001 the number of people below the poverty line stood at 41.9%, by 2016 this had fallen to 5.7%.⁹⁶

Country	Size (million km²)	Population (million, 2018)	GDP (Current US\$, billion, 2018)
Armenia	0.03	2.93	12.433
Belarus	0.208	9.508	59.662
Kazakhstan	2.725	18.04	170.539
Kyrgyzstan	0.200	6.2	8.093

Figure 5: Summary of key statistics, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan.

Kazakhstan is by far the largest in terms of size at 2.7 million km², but is also one of the least densely populated countries in the world with just 18 million people spread over this area. To the north, it shares a large border with Russia that is around 4,254 miles long and, to its east, a 1,107-mile-long border with China. To its west, is the resource-rich Caspian sea. It has vast oil wealth with the twelfth-largest proven oil reserves (30,000 MMbbl)⁹⁷ and this contributes significantly to its GDP of US\$ 170.5 billion.

Kyrgyzstan is comparable to Belarus in terms of its overall size and population at 0.2 million km² and 6.2 million inhabitants. It is only slightly less densely populated than Belarus too, ranking 180th overall according to the UN. It is a landlocked country in the heart of Central Asia and is bordered by Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to the southwest, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan to the north, and China to the east. However, its mountainous terrain means it is geographically isolated. The agricultural industry is the main source of income in Kyrgyzstan, but its overall GDP is just US\$ 8 billion. This makes it one of the poorest countries on earth ranking below Haiti and Somalia.⁹⁸ This is also reflected in the fact that 25.6% live below the international poverty line,⁹⁹ which is defined by the World Bank as less than US \$1.90 a day.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ *The World Bank*. ‘Poverty Reduction in Belarus’. 17/10/2017. Available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2017/10/17/poverty-reduction-in-belarus> (accessed 02/05/2018)

⁹⁷ Figures according to OPEC at the end of 2017. (MMbbl refers to “millions of barrels”) See: OPEC, Annual Statistical Bulletin 2018

⁹⁸ *International Monetary Fund*: World Economic Outlook Database. January 2018. See: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2018/01/weodata/download.aspx> (accessed 11/05/2018)

⁹⁹ *Asian Development Bank*. Poverty in the Kyrgyz Republic. Basic Statistic 2019. See: <https://www.adb.org/countries/kyrgyz-republic/poverty> (accessed 13/06/2019)

¹⁰⁰ *World Bank* ‘World Bank Forecasts Global Poverty to Fall Below 10% for First Time; Major Hurdles Remain in Goal to End Poverty by 2030’ 04/10/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2uYtgjO> (accessed 02/05/2018)

Clearly, these substantial differences will have an effect on how we might expect each state to present itself and the roles it attempts to inhabit in the context of Eurasian integration. We might expect, for example, to see Kazakhstan behaving more assertively as a function of its size and resources relative to the other states. By way of contrast, Armenia or Kyrgyzstan may demonstrate a more passive outlook due to their weaker economies and high poverty rate. These factors may also influence the roles that each of these states seeks to inhabit. However, there are also more nebulous concepts relating to history and culture that may play an equally important role in influencing behavior.

2.1.8. The role of Russia

Each of the states examined in this thesis had been subsumed into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the early 20th Century. For example, Belarus, the Ukraine, and the Transcaucasus (divided into Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in 1936) had been under Soviet rule since 1922. While Kyrgyzstan became part of the USSR in 1936 having been established as the Kara-Kirghiz Autonomous Oblast under the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (SFSR) in 1924. Similarly, Kazakhstan became part of the Russian SFSR in 1920 as the Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It too was re-integrated as the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic along with the other states in 1936.

However, for each of these states, Russia's role (or even interference) in their affairs can be traced back further. In Kazakhstan, for example, Russian influence had existed in some forms since the early seventeenth century. From around 1620, Russian soldiers began making incursions into Kazakh territory and established strongholds in modern-day Oral and Atyrau in order to give them a strategic foothold in the geographically massive Kazakh territory. This idea was then developed further under Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century and continued until the late nineteenth century when, during the period known as the 'Great Game', the Russian empire attempted to counter British influence in India and Southeast Asia by building its political and military presence in Kazakhstan. By 1820, the Kazakh Great Horde had been forced to lay down arms and accept Russian rule meaning Kazakhstan had been integrated into the Russian empire. Russia ensured its language was taught in all schools and constructed fortresses in key strategic locations such as Pavlodar, Petropavl, and Semey

(formerly Semipalatinsk) to maintain order.¹⁰¹ From that point on, Russia implemented some of its harshest policies against Kazakhstan perhaps most famously including the *Goloshchekin* genocide: a famine in 1932-33 that was artificially induced by the Soviets who seized grain and livestock from the inhabitants leading to the deaths of between 1.5 and 2.3 million people and rendering the ethnic Kazakhs a minority in their own country.

These experiences under Russian rule have had a tangible effect on attitudes in modern day Kazakhstan, particularly in relation to national identity and the question of ‘who are we’? During the era of the Soviet Union, for political and ideological reasons, the priority for Kazakhstan was that it was part of the USSR. In other words, at that stage the concept of “Kazakhstan”, as well as the concepts of citizenship, carried political and ideological, rather than national importance. This means that in the Soviet system of values and priorities for Kazakhstan it was more important to be part of the USSR than the “country of the Kazakhs”. In this sense, the people of Kazakhstan were part of the “new historical community” - the Soviet people, the part that lived on the territory of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhs were part of Kazakhstani people, who, in turn, were part of the Soviet people. This was the definition of the Kazakhs in the spirit of Soviet ideology, which asserted internationalism and denied the nationalism of minorities, which included the Kazakhs, under the threat of harsh sanctions and repression.

Today, there is no consensus over what citizens of Kazakhstan should call themselves. In fact, two terms exist: Kazakh and Kazakhstani. This is more than a semantic point as both terms are loaded with ethnic meaning; “Kazakh” refers to the indigenous people and therefore carries more of an ethno-cultural, ethno-national significance. The term is usually used by those who both speak the Kazakh language and can trace their lineage back for generations. By contrast, the term “Kazakhstani” is a legacy of the Soviet era. It was introduced by the Soviets to refer to the total population of the Kazakh SSR, which includes representatives of all nationalities brought from across the USSR to Kazakhstan. Due to historical continuity, this term is widely used in modern, sovereign Kazakhstan in the same collective meaning, although its content has undergone a certain transformation, as will be discussed below. Thus, the word “Kazakhstani” has strong territorial connotations with Soviet administrative, political and ideological undertones. It is usually used by those who have citizenship, but are not ethnically Kazakh.

To give a more specific example, there are particular “Kazakh” breeds of horse which are well recognized across Central Asia, China and Mongolia for their stamina and strength. The term

¹⁰¹ Bacon, Elizabeth E. *Central Asians Under Russian Rule: A Study in Culture Change*, London: Cornell University Press, 1966, pp. 92-96

has an obvious ethno-cultural meaning, since it refers to the Kazakhs as the indigenous population of Kazakhstan, who, since 5th Century B.C., led a nomadic lifestyle and engaged in the breeding of the “Kazakh” horses. These horses remain a source of pride for the Kazakh people and the horse is one of the major symbols that most ethnic Kazakhs would associate with their national identity. At the same time, there are a number of “Kazakhstani” wheat varieties. This has an obvious non-ethnic, but territorial significance. It refers to the wheat varieties that are cultivated in Kazakhstan, but the grain industry began to develop in Kazakhstan as a result of the development of virgin lands (освоения целинных земель). This campaign was carried out under the leadership and direction of the Communist party, which mobilized representatives of Slavic peoples from the European part of the USSR for this. However, Kazakhs, as cattle breeders and nomads, were not engaged in farming and harvesting and therefore would not necessarily associate it with part of their identity. Therefore, the word “Kazakhstani” carries more of a recent political and ideological subtext and, as a result, many citizens define their national identity as Kazakh (“we are Kazakhs”) and reject the term Kazakhstani.

Each former Soviet state has similar experiences with Russian/Soviet rule. The USSR, like its predecessor, Tsarist Russia, was an imperial-type state entity which pursued numerous territorial conquests, expansionism, colonial methods of administration, and the cultural assimilation of numerous ethnic groups in order to promote the Russian language and culture. The ruling communist bureaucracy tightly regulated the daily life of citizens, violating their rights and freedoms, ignoring their interests and requests, including those related to their ethnic culture and values. Thus, Russia is one of the key topics about which states may have differing opinions and which may define or, at the very least, influence self-presentation and role conceptions.

2.1.9. Public attitudes to integration¹⁰²

One of the final categories that is mentioned by Holsti as a potential source of role conceptions and which this thesis considers to be equally important to self-presentation, is public opinion.

¹⁰² All evidence in this section is drawn from one source: EURASIAN MEDIAINDEX Q1 2017
Authors: Fidrya, Efim; et al. Moscow - Minsk, 2017, See:
<https://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/i-2017-76456969>
Original: ЕВРАЗИЙСКИЙ МЕДИАИНДЕКС I КВАРТАЛ 2017 г.
Авторы: Фидря, Ефим et al. Москва — Минск, 2017.

As was mentioned earlier, public opinion can shape the attitudes of the policy-makers. This is also the case in autocratic states that want to avoid revolution or mass protest. It is therefore a factor that is worth investigating further. The following section examines a series of surveys, opinion polls, and interviews with influential members of the business community conducted on the subject of Eurasian integration over the last few years. The results of the surveys reveal a number of startling conclusions about the current state of the Eurasian integration project. First, they show that it is increasingly challenging to identify common values between Eurasian states despite broadly comparable historical experiences. Second, they demonstrate that there has been a serious decline in interest in the integration project and this is largely a result of a lack of understanding as to what it actually is and what each state stands to gain from it. One particular concern that was highlighted in the surveys was a fear among states of a loss of sovereignty – i.e. losing possession of territory, governmental autonomy, permanent and settled population and the ability to conduct relations with other states.¹⁰³ This is in keeping with ontological security theory whereby states will seek to preserve values and identity in the international arena as well as their territorial integrity and is also linked to the importance of the influence of values on role conceptions and self-presentation.

It is generally understood in most Eurasian states that the Eurasian Economic Union is seriously affected by internal contradictions. Across the region, public confidence in the project is falling and is being exacerbated by Russia's policy towards its regional allies which of late has not been taking their interests in account. The result of this increasing dissonance has been for Kazakhstan to move from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet, Belarus has opened its borders to imports, and Armenia has signed a partnership agreement with the EU. However, each of these steps indicates that each state is pulling in very different directions; the problem is that the members of the EAEU do not seem to have any common unifying values.

The founding of the Eurasian Economic Union was approved by more than half the population of its participating countries - Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia. The peak of its public approval ratings came in 2014, however, according to data released at the end of 2017 by the Center for Integration Studies and the Eurasian Monitor Agency. Since then support has been decreasing every year. The strongest decline in the very idea of the Eurasian Union is observed in Russia (from 78% in 2015 to 68% in 2017) and in Armenia (from 56% to 46% in 2015-2016). In other EAEU countries, public support for Eurasian integration was decreasing

¹⁰³ See Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, 26/12/1933, which outlines those four criteria as the essential conditions of state sovereignty. Available at: <https://www.ilsa.org/Jessup/Jessup15/Montevideo%20Convention.pdf> (accessed 05/03/2018)

at a moderate pace: in Kazakhstan - from 80% to 76%, in Belarus - from 60% to 56%. The slowest rate of decline in attitudes towards membership in the Union is observed in Kyrgyzstan. Although a devaluation in support for the project is still apparent: from 86% to 83%. Similar sentiments are observed in Tajikistan and Moldova – this is a concern given that both of these countries have been considering joining the EAEU.

Some experts have also identified, not only growing indifference to the fate of the EAEU, but also an increase in the number of those who find it difficult to answer the questions in the most recent survey. This can be interpreted one of two ways: either they do not want to lend their approval to it, but are reluctant to categorically say “no”. Or, they simply are no longer armed with the requisite level of knowledge on the subject to adequately answer the questions. This is more than likely the result of a decline in interest for what the project represents. For example, the results of the survey are interpreted by Vladimir Pereboyev, head of the Eurasian Development Bank as follows: ‘People do not turn their backs on integration, but simply lose interest in it’. In keeping with this statement, the number of so-called “indifferent” answers increased from 15% in the last survey to 25% in the latest iteration.

Decline in interest in the integration project is shown by existing and new conflicts managed by the Eurasian Economic Commission (the executive body of the EAEU). Belarus, for example, is not satisfied with the numerous exceptions from the seemingly uniform customs rules for all members of the Union. The Minsk administration believes that over the 10 years of the Union's existence, it has not been possible to create a “common market” for goods and services as there are numerous non-tariff barriers that do not unite, but instead divide and thereby negate any possibility of a single economic space. The President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko, is regularly quoted constantly on this subject and finds support not in the Kremlin, but at the expert level. For example, Alexei Kudrin, head of the Center for Strategic Research in Russia, believes that through the removal of barriers, trade within the EAEU could make a breakthrough by 25% in few years.

2.1.10. National Selfishness – the role of Russia

Kudrin also thinks that Eurasian integration is being held back by Western sanctions against Russia and, equally, by Russia's response to the economic measures. Russia introduced counter-

sanction measures without consulting the partner countries of the EAEU, and thus created a precedent for making unilateral decisions that are beneficial only at the national level. He called this an example of ‘national selfishness’. Meanwhile, the economist Magbat Spanov made the following statement: ‘Their system does not stand sanctions, accordingly, they need an enemy to rally in the conditions of the beginning of the election race. It's clear that they cannot cope with external enemies, so they start beating allies’.

As a result, Russia's partners in the EAEU are becoming increasingly vocal about Russia's disruptive behavior. For example, the Russian media often makes jokes at the Belarussian President, Lukashenka referring to him as a producer of Minsk shrimp, salmon and “Belovezhskaya” mango. However, Lukashenka has frequently made it clear that Belarus is not obliged to support the Russian embargo and will continue to benefit from its position as a transit country between Russia and Europe.

In the Kazakh media, there have been a number of articles on Russia being engaged in a so-called “search for enemies” as a result of its introduction of a ban on the import of sanctioned goods from the territory of Kazakhstan. For example, from November to December in 2017, at the Kazakh-Russian border, customs officers detained 120 tons of sanctioned pears and apples which they had tried to transport to Russia under the guise of being Kyrgyz and Chinese products.

In 2017, President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed a decree ‘On the translation of the Kazakh alphabet from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin script’ in order to provide a phased transition into full usage of the Latin alphabet by 2025. By this decree Nazarbayev made it unclear where he sees the future of Kazakhstan, especially if one takes into account the fact that the idea of creating the Eurasian Union was Nazarbayev’s idea. Now he seems to be disappointed in his own brainchild. Kazakhstan is actively reaching out to the west - to the European Union, or to the east - to China. And China is reciprocating by promising to build a new Silk Road to Europe through border points on the Chinese-Kazakh border.

Each of the countries, in what is already a large Eurasian family, harbors their own particular resentments and have their own ideas on how to improve mutual coexistence. These ideas are sometimes expressed to each other, but more often to Russia, which is still considered to be the first among equals.

2.1.11. Smaller state tensions

Conflicts also frequently occur among the members of the EAEU. In one of the more heated diplomatic crises, last year Kyrgyzstan accused Kazakhstan of interfering in the Kyrgyz presidential elections. Allegedly, Astana imposed its candidate for the presidency of Kyrgyzstan, an opposition leader Omurbek Babanov. Kazakhstan then imposed restrictions on the passage of Kyrgyz goods across its border, thereby cutting off Kyrgyz entrepreneurs from the single economic space of the Eurasian Union.

As a result, then president of Kyrgyzstan, Almazbek Atambayev, considered whether Kyrgyzstan was going to withdraw from the Eurasian Union and made some statements that caused a political scandal among the partners on the Eurasian Union: ‘We placed too high hopes on the EAEU. We, in economic development, should not deceive ourselves and put hopes on an alliance.’ Eventually, the outgoing president Atambayev declared that Kyrgyzstan would remain a member, but his successor, Sooronbai Jeenbekov, set about renegotiating the agreement on the demarcation of the Kazakh-Kyrgyz state border. The border was restored and while it may seem to observers that within the Eurasian Union, there are no borders and no problems, they are buried just beneath the surface.

Until recently, the country that been the least disruptive to Moscow had been Armenia. However, Armenia recently signed the “Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement” with the European Union within the framework of the “Eastern Partnership” program initiated by the EU. To use a Russian idiom, for many observers, the Armenian President Sargsyan is “attempting to sit on two chairs” - he is friends with both Moscow and Brussels – this is the most common opinion on Armenian partnership with EU and EAEU. Now the situation is developing in such a way that strong ties between Moscow and Yerevan are based on Armenia's security guarantees in its confrontation with Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In short, the alliance between Russia and Armenia, above all, is military, not economic.

2.1.12. What does the future hold?

Experts loyal to the idea of the Eurasian Union point to the pressure points of unification. For example, according to Mikhail Demidenko, deputy director of the Center for Integration Studies of the Eurasian Development Bank, even in 2018 the problem of the ‘transport and logistics

infrastructure of the EAEU' has not been solved since '[t]he actions of the EAEU countries in the planning and implementation of cross-border infrastructure projects are largely uncoordinated.' The practical implication of this is that situations arise where member states launch infrastructure projects that are part of international transport corridors; Demidenko argues that this significantly reduces the effectiveness of their work.'

Plans for the co-ordination of monetary policies and taking more decisive steps towards the formation of the common financial market of the EAEU have long been ready for implementation. However, despite this, changes to the financial infrastructure are not being carried out by member states. Principally, this is due to disagreements over the important issue of allowing mutual settlements in the national currencies. At present, the ruble is widely used only in bilateral settlements with Russia (roughly 70% of settlements) while the rest of the EAEU countries still prefer to use US dollars in settlements between each other. For example, in settlements between Belarus and other EAEU members (with the exception of Russia) the dollar accounted for over 50% of transaction and, in settlements between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan with other EAEU countries (again, with the exception of Russia) about 80%.¹⁰⁴

The political scientist and first vice-president of the Center for Political Technologies, Alexei Makarkin, argued that the foundations of the Eurasian Union are being eroded. He stated that although the political elites 'are united by a common past' new elites 'are completely different people'. The problem, according to Marakin, is that there is still the absence of common values in the region. Marakin argued that 'The Eurasian Union, unlike the European Union, is not united by common liberal values and is held either by a military factor or linked to the economic state of Russia. Russia loves Eurasianism, as long as it is able to provide money'. The concern is that if this issue cannot be solved then the longevity of the Eurasian integration project may be threatened. For example, when Zbigniew Brzezinski, the US national security advisor during Jimmy Carter's administration, was asked the question whether there will be a Eurasian Union after the departure of current leaders from the political arena, he answered that he did not see long-term prospects:

I doubt that the Eurasian Union will last 10-20 years, especially if during this time its leadership changes its outlook. In addition, the EAEU will become unnecessary as Russia normalizes its

¹⁰⁴ EURASIAN MEDIAINDEX Q1 2017: Authors: Fidrya, Efim; et al. Moscow - Minsk, 2017, See: <https://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/i-2017-76456969>
Original: ЕВРАЗИЙСКИЙ МЕДИАИНДЕКС I КВАРТАЛ 2017 г. Авторы: Фидря, Ефим et al. Москва — Минск, 2017.

relations with the western part of Europe, as well as with the recognition by the Russian authorities of the fact that the country is ultimately a European and not a Eurasian state.¹⁰⁵

Given the overall perception of the precarious state of the Eurasian Integration project and the fact that finding common ground seems to be one of the main sticking points, it is essential that more academic studies are carried out to try and identify areas of divergence and common interest as well as broader research on understanding how the region operates and what general themes seem to be most important to each of the states. This project aims to go some way to achieving that.

2.2. Methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how small states in Eurasia present themselves to an international audience in the context of Eurasian integration and what roles they adopt or, more specifically, express the desire to adopt. By creating a typology of both roles and themes for each state across the time period, it is hoped that we will arrive at a deeper understanding, not only of the priorities of each state towards Eurasian integration, but also of how these states wish to be viewed, what their priorities are and, to a certain extent, how the Eurasian region operates.

In order to achieve this, this thesis adopts a small-n case study methodology. Small-n refers simply to a small number of case studies. Clearly, small-n comparative analysis has its weaknesses and, as James Mahoney noted in 2000, there has been a great deal of debate in the academic literature regarding whether small-n approaches are even useful to scholarly research. Mahoney points to criticism of small-n in the works of Lijphart (1971, 1975), Campbell (1975), Smelser (1976), Collier (1993), Goldthorpe (1997) and Ragin (1997) as evidence of this claim.

One of the major criticisms that this method encounters, particularly from those who favor quantitative methods, is that small-n is weaker in terms of drawing causal inferences than studies using a large number of cases and, furthermore, that the ‘logic of inference’ between small-n and large-n studies may be different.¹⁰⁶ This criticism may be too harsh and, in keeping

¹⁰⁵ Brzezinski, Zbigniew. “ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI: THE EEU WILL LAST 10-20 YEARS” *Russian reality*. 07/04/2017. See: <https://rusreality.com/2017/04/02/zbigniew-brzezinski-the-eeu-will-last-10-20-years/> (Accessed on 18/06/2019)

¹⁰⁶ Mahoney, James. ‘Strategies of Causal Inference in Small-N Analysis’. *Sociological Methods & Research*. Vol. 28 No. 4, May 2000, p.388

with the large-n approach, is clearly a generalization. This point was highlighted by Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba in 1994 when they wrote ‘the difference between the quantitative and qualitative traditions are only stylistic and are methodologically and substantively unimportant.’¹⁰⁷

However, as David Collier writes, the decision to use small-n analysis is usually determined by the type of phenomenon the analyst is trying to observe.¹⁰⁸ The fundamental reason for selecting a small-n approach is that this thesis is principally concerned with furthering scholarly understanding of how small states in Eurasia present themselves to an international audience and describing what this means in the context of Eurasian integration. This relates to the explaining *versus* understanding dichotomy in political science as presented by Martin Hollis and Steve Smith.¹⁰⁹ In essence, this thesis aims to present an ‘insider’s’ view and, rather than being a search for causes, aims to analyze the meaning behind how certain role conceptions are expressed. This necessitates sacrificing an element of generalizability by using a smaller number of case studies, so we can go into greater depth in terms of meanings.

For this research, four case studies have been selected: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. These states were selected as each has around seventy years of shared history under Communist rule – an ideology based on uniformity. They have often been seen as having similar preconditions for deepening regional integration, (i.e. social and political institutions), similar historical trajectories, and internal characteristics both during the Soviet Union and after its collapse such as political and economic instability. It should be noted that the extent to which these states are, in reality, similar is debatable and it is predominantly western literature that classifies them as such (i.e. as post-Soviet states). However, there are sufficient similarities to justify their use in this study. It was important to focus on similarity, rather than difference, in terms of case selection as this adds an additional layer of interest to the thesis: why, given these similar preconditions is such divergent behaviour towards Eurasian integration observed? The greater the similarity, the greater the importance of role conceptions and self-presentation. Needless to say, this principle explains the omission of Russia: the need to manage relations with the local hegemon is an important feature the four cases have in common.

¹⁰⁷ King, Gary; Keohane, Robert and Verba, Sidney. *Designating Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994, p.4

¹⁰⁸ Collier, David in Finifter, Ada ed., ‘Political Science: The State of a Discipline II,’ Chapter 5, *The Comparative Method*; Washington D.C., American Political Science Association, 1993, p.105

¹⁰⁹ Hollis, Martin and Smith, Steve. *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990

A further consideration for the study was to include cases that provided reasonable geographical coverage of the Eurasian region. For example, as noted above, similarity was the principal criterion for case inclusion and, therefore, a study that examined the five Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan) would have been valid given these states' cultural and historical similarities. However, this would have skewed the study in favor of Central Asia, rather than Eurasia – which is the focus of the study. It was also crucial to select states that have played a significant or formative role in Eurasian integration initiatives or that have been involved in integration projects since their inception. This is due to the fact that the thesis is interested in examining small states that, through their role conceptions or self-presentation, may affect the nature of Eurasian integration. This is not the case for a number of states that might have been examined. For example, Uzbekistan's status in the Eurasian Economic Community (2000 – 2014) was suspended in 2008, while Moldova and the Ukraine have 'observer' status. They are also not members of Eurasian Customs Union (2010 - present), Common Economic Space (2012 – present) or Eurasian Economic Union (2015 – present). Tajikistan was a member of EurAsEC but never joined CU, CES or EAEU.

By contrast, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, while not the only emerging states in the Eurasian area which underwent dramatic changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union (there are fifteen former Soviet republics), have actively participated in all of the major Eurasian integration processes (the CIS, EurAsEc, the CU, the CES and the EAEU).¹¹⁰ This means they are the most appropriate cases to include given their status as small, newly-independent powers with economies in transition and located in different areas of the Eurasian region. Russia would, of course, also adhere to these criteria, but the reason for its exclusion is detailed below.

Before discussing the specific methods that will be used for the analysis, it is necessary to clarify two things: 1) what do we mean by the term “small” state? And 2) why is Russia not included as a case study?

1) The term “small state”, is still a contested concept. As Henrikson argued in 2001, ‘there is no internationally established or academically agreed upon definition of the ‘small state’¹¹¹ Clearly, size is relative. According to the IMF, Russia ranks twelfth according to nominal GDP (US\$) while the United Kingdom (UK) ranks fifth.¹¹² However, ranked by landmass, Russia

¹¹⁰ The only exception is that Armenia was never a member of EurAsEc. However, this is unimportant given that EurAsEC was amalgamated into the EAEU in 2015 – of which Armenia is a member.

¹¹¹ Henrikson, Alan K., ‘A coming ‘Magnesian’ age? Small states, the global system, and the international community’. *Geopolitics*, Vol. 6, 2001, p. 56

¹¹² *The World Bank*. ‘GDP (current US\$)’. World Development Indicators.

ranks first while the UK ranks seventy-eighth. How then is a small state conceptualized in this thesis? The World Bank argues that three criteria should be met to be classified as a small state:

- Small population (less than 1.5 million)
- Limited human capital (low GDP or economic growth)
- Confined land area (geographically small)¹¹³

However, according to these quantifiable criteria, none of the case study states included in this thesis would be classified as small as none satisfies all three. Nevertheless, many argue that population is the most appropriate factor. Most definitions, for example that of Ken Ross, see a population of under 5 million as constituting a small state.¹¹⁴ While Peter Katzenstein and David Vital broaden the concept to a population of 20-30 million for economically under-developed countries. Other definitions regard more nebulous criteria as the most important aspects for describing small states. For example, having a lower level of international prestige, less influence on events that occur outside its borders, or a lack of ability to impose the power they possess.¹¹⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, small states are considered to be defined by a combination of all of these quantitative and vaguer factors: smaller populations, lower GDPs, fewer resources, a lower level of international prestige, less ability to compete militarily or impose their will on others and less involvement in international affairs particularly relative to the regional hegemon, in this case, Russia.

2) Russia is excluded as a case study since: first, it is a hegemon and thus to include a larger power into the study would skew the analysis due to its relative geographical size, and economic and military strength. As was mentioned earlier, Russia is the largest country in terms of territory in the world. Even Kazakhstan, the ninth largest in the world, pales in comparison. Furthermore, even though much is made of Russia's relatively weak economy relative to its size and global status, it still has a nominal GDP that places it twelfth globally. Again, Kazakhstan is the only Eurasian country that comes close, but still only ranks fifty-fifth in the world. Second, Russia is excluded due to the role they played in guiding the affairs of its satellite states throughout history; it is highly likely that many of the role conceptions and

See: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?year_high_desc=true (accessed October 2018)

¹¹³ *The World Bank*. 'The World Bank In Small States.' 09/04/2019. See:

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/smallstates/overview> (accessed 13/06/2019)

¹¹⁴ Ross, Ken. (1997) *The Commonwealth: a leader for the world's small states?* The Round Table (Small Statehood and the Commonwealth Reconsidered: Presented to Delegations at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Edinburgh, October). p.71

¹¹⁵ Maass, Matthias. 'The elusive definition of the small state.' *International Politics*. Vol. 46, No. 1: January 2009, pp. 65-83.

themes that emerge during the analysis will relate to perceptions of Russia and thus, again, would skew the analysis.

2.2.1. Data gathering

Having clarified the basic approach that will be adopted in this thesis, it is now appropriate to discuss the specific method that will be used for the analysis. In a similar manner to the approach employed by Holsti, this thesis will focus on the statements and speeches of policy-makers made between 2010 and 2017. The speeches of presidents, prime ministers, and ministers of foreign affairs and, in some cases, high-impact speeches of their official spokespersons such as ambassadors, or other officials were gathered. The statements were collected from reputable media sources in Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and were limited to public pronouncements including official speeches, policy briefings, interviews, press briefings and articles by policy-makers. Only speeches that: 1) made direct reference to Eurasian integration and 2) were delivered in the Russian language were included in the analysis. The reason for only including speeches on the subject of Eurasian integration was simply to ensure the relevance of the data that was gathered. The reason for excluding speeches made in the native languages of the case study states (Armenian, Belarusian, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz) was to ensure that the speeches were targeting an international, rather than a domestic audience. This is because one would expect to observe significant differences in the tone and content of speeches that are delivered to a state's domestic audience compared with those intended for the policymakers of partner states; as noted previously, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the projection of role conceptions on the international stage. Given that Russian is a far more globally-accessible language than, say, Kyrgyz, it was important to examine speeches that were clearly intended to have a degree of international, rather than domestic, impact. In total, over 230 speeches and statements that fulfilled the criteria listed above were identified and analyzed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 in the appendix provide a comprehensive list of the actors whose statements were examined. Statements of policy-makers in temporary positions (i.e. "acting") are not included in the analysis.

State	Number of speeches
Armenia	59
Belarus	63
Kazakhstan	53
Kyrgyzstan	62

Figure 6. Number of Speeches & statements analyzed for this thesis

Speeches that were identified were given an equal weighting in this study. In other words, a speech that was delivered at a large international conference was attributed the same significance as an interview that appeared in an article online. It was important to equally weight the speeches and statements as any impact that they may have had can only be assumed, not proved. Thus, it would not have been fair to afford some speeches greater significance than others. One exception to this was made; in the process of collecting speeches and statements, when speeches and statements were identified in the media, only media agencies with an international audience were used. As noted above, this is due to the fact that the focus of this thesis is on the projection of role conceptions internationally and it would be a reasonable assumption that, for example, the international impact of a small, local Armenian news agency would be limited.

Role conceptions were not pre-defined, but rather each speech was read and analyzed, and roles attributed based on their contents. Identifying roles and self-presentation themes was conducted according to the following process: First, in many cases, direct references were made to roles. For example, in 2017, the then Armenian prime minister Karen Karapetyan stated that Armenia ‘aims to become a bridge between the EAEU club and other economic blocs.’ This is a clear reference to the role conception of ‘bridging state’ and was coded as such. In other cases, more interpretation was necessary. For example, for the role conception of ‘full-spectrum integration promoter’ there were no direct references to this specific phrase. Speeches and statements thus had to be read carefully and, if they were judged to be expressing a desire to integrate beyond purely economic lines, were coded according to this role. Of course, the reverse was true for the role conception ‘economic union promoter’. In some cases, it was necessary to identify synonyms that would adhere to particular role conceptions. For example, for the role conception ‘leader’ words or phrases such as ‘lead’, ‘drive’, ‘manage’ ‘direct’, ‘conduct’, ‘control’,

'influence' were considered to be evidence of adherence to this particular role conception. (See appendix 3 for full explanation of each national role conception).

Speeches were available for every year for each of the states. However, in some cases only one or two could be found for a given year. This in itself is interesting and, while it made identifying role conceptions or self-presentation challenging, the lack of statements did offer some insight into the priorities of the state at the time. For example, only two speeches were identified for Kyrgyzstan in 2010. However, this was hardly surprising given that the country was in the middle of the Kyrgyz revolution at the time. Nevertheless, this study has attempted to remain objective and, if no role conception or theme related to self-presentation could be identified, it was coded as such.

Policy-makers are the focus since they can determine the course of the decision-making process and therefore the actions and behavior of the state, but may also be equally vulnerable to normative constraints such as culture or public opinion. Regional integration initiatives are selected as the political context that frames the thesis since this has been the priority for Central Asian states since the collapse of the Soviet Union. It will focus on the years 2010 - 2017; although 1994 was when the first regional integration project began, formal discussions on integration were infrequent and evidence of role conceptions will therefore be lacking. It was only from 2010 that realistic and frequent discussions on the concept of Eurasian integration started to take place. Furthermore, the relatively recent time period was selected as one of the purposes of this thesis is to try and represent how things are in order to maximize the potential policy impact.

While analyzing statements of top policy-makers it was important to note that official speeches are rarely written by the decision makers and often do not correspond to the speaker's own beliefs or perceptions of the choices for action the speaker sees as available. Nevertheless, as Le Prestre notes, speechwriters only lend 'technical expertise' and do not 'put words in the mouth' of policy-makers.¹¹⁷ Source bias is taken into consideration, but is not a main concern for this project as speeches from policy-makers in Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were gathered when topics related to Eurasian integration had recently been discussed in the country. This ensured initial objectivity when it came to analyze the material.

¹¹⁷ Le Prestre, Philippe. 'Author! Author! Defining Foreign Policy Roles after the Cold War' in Le Prestre ed. *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era*, Montreal: McGill and Queen's University Press, 1997, pp. 13-14

As such, the analysis relied primarily on newspapers and other news publications from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, as well as including non-region specific sources. Several other sources were used such as official government documents issued by the foreign policy establishments of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, along with others, that provide broad overviews on the foreign policies of these countries.

Data collection included secondary sources through archival research. The study relied on editorial pieces in newspapers and journal articles published by governmental officials, members of the opposition, as well as leading opinion-makers in Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and important policy documents including the Treaty on the Establishment of Commonwealth of Independent States (or Belavezha Accords), Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community, Treaty on the Customs Union and Common Economic Space, Declaration on Eurasian Economic Integration, and various agreements and declarations relevant to the Eurasian integration project. Other data sources included official EurAsEC, Customs Union, Common Economic Space, EAEU reports, their secretariat communiqués and press releases, official documents from Eurasian governments, as well as statistical reports from Eurasian integration websites.

When available, transcripts of intergovernmental policy discussions were used, including, for example, presentations by foreign ministers to the legislature and inter-parliamentary debates. In addition, several secondary sources were used which provided summaries of the policy options that were discussed. Other sources included official interviews of academics, local analysts and observers to avoid bias in the research. The different methods of comparing archived information, scholarly books, journals and interviews, and regional newspapers, provided a practical approach for investigating the nature of public statements towards regional integration in Eurasia and resulted in a comprehensive list of possible role conceptions the government could reflect or undertake in addressing specific foreign policy and integration issues. All speeches that were gathered for this thesis are appended in the original Russian. Only relevant sections that were used as direct speech in this thesis have been translated by the author into English.

This thesis is only incidentally concerned with the policy action taken by states. It instead focuses on the idea of whether what states say constrains what they do. It should be noted here that this thesis has a very specific focus in that it only examines the rhetoric of high-ranking policy-makers over an eight-year period regarding what they have said on Eurasian integration

initiatives. Hence why around 50 speeches and statements were analyzed for each state. This thesis recognizes this limitation, but it should be considered as a starting point for much broader research in the future that could take into account the plethora of political rhetoric that is available on related subject areas.

2.2.2. Analysis - why language?

Given the small-n approach of this thesis, this study conforms to a predominantly qualitative methodology which combines content and discourse analysis of decision makers' speeches in order to better understand how countries want to be seen by international audience in the context of Eurasian integration. Given the complexity of regional integration, many scholars have argued that academic studies of the phenomenon benefit from a mixed methods approach.¹¹⁸ As such, this study develops a framework which combines case study, an element of content analysis and discourse analysis of policy-makers' speeches in order to better understand what states consider their role to be in Eurasian integration and how they present themselves to an international audience.

Although role conception and self-presentation cannot be regarded as the only explanatory factor that affects states' foreign policies towards regional integration, and this research will not argue to the contrary, it is nevertheless a key component of how integration processes take shape and can certainly demonstrate an influential, if not causal, relationship to foreign policy behavior. Thus, a study of this nature will shed further light on how a state's view of its own importance in the international arena can help or hinder foreign policy making. This *must* be carried out by analyzing the language that is used by policy-makers since role theory and self-presentation relates to *expression* and, as Hollis and Smith argue, 'language [is] the usual vehicle of expression.'¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Gilpin, Robert, 2001. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*, Princeton, NJ Oxford: Princeton University Press; Moravcsik, Andrew and Schimmelfennig, Frank. 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism.' in Wiener, Antje and Diez, Thomas eds. *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 67-90

¹¹⁹ Hollis, Martin and Smith, Steve. *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 69

Other methods were considered for this thesis, such as Mills' method of difference and Process Tracing in order to try and demonstrate a causal link between role conceptions and foreign policy behavior. However, this is perhaps something that could be developed for future research given that *understanding* and not *explaining* is the principle aim here.

2.2.3. Frequency analysis

Once all of the data was gathered, the first step was conduct a frequency analysis. A frequency analysis will allow for clearer identification and comparison of national priorities in each of the states across time; particularly whether certain themes are becoming discussed more or less often, whether there are any identifiable "turning point" and, if so, why this is the case and what the implications for regional integration projects may be. As Holsti writes, a state's role conception is a function of the perceptions of the policy-makers. The sources of these perceptions include variables such as national values and ideology, political and socio-economic needs, attitudes to the hegemon, feelings of (in)security. Thus, the first step for each case study state was to draw up a list of concepts that appear in the statements of key policy-makers and chart the frequency that they occur across time.

2.2.4. Discourse analysis - tone and content

The second stage of the analysis is to address the meaning of the statements in the context of role theory through discourse analysis based on the assumption that language is a mode of cultural expression. By examining the tone and content of statements it is possible to identify the extent to which certain concepts have endured over time and which of those have not. This facilitates the identification of the core values of each state and, as a result, allows us to (tentatively) ascribe roles to each state without falling into the trap of lending too much significance to a statement that became irrelevant a few years later or was a significant departure from the norms and values of the state. If certain statements are made frequently in the same tone across the whole time period, it will be possible to assert with a fair degree of confidence that it reflects a more enduring role or the desire to promote a certain image. The final stage then, is to ascribe roles and self-presented themes to each of the states based on the rhetoric.

2.3. Limitations to the study

There are, of course, a number of limitations to this approach. For example, rhetoric is not the only mode of cultural expression. Habitual actions or recurring symbols could also be included; however, these are more nebulous concepts and harder to analyze with academic rigor. The framework is kept deliberately narrow by focusing simply on the language of policy-makers since (as Holsti writes) it is they who devise the role conceptions which then feed into the role performance of the state. This approach also avoids the ‘kitchen sink’ issue of too many potentially conflicting or inter-dependent variables.

Second, there may be a mismatch between what is stated by policy-makers and what is actually carried out. In other words, there is the potential for “empty rhetoric” that may skew how we analyze each state’s role. To address this, this study focuses on the rhetoric of high-ranking officials in order to maximize the likelihood that a speech or statement had a substantial impact on policy or, equally, was simply intended to ‘toe the party line’. Furthermore, each of the statements is contextualized in order to ensure it either had an impact or was part of a wider discussion of a particular issue.

Another limitation is that the explanatory value of this thesis is limited. It focuses on four small states, their role conceptions and self-presentation in the context of regional integration initiatives. Therefore, we will only reasonably be able to draw conclusion related to foreign policy behavior *for these states*. However, this thesis does go a considerable way and the typology of role conceptions that are identified build upon Holsti’s original framework and could reasonably be transferred beyond the Eurasian scope of this research.

Ultimately, this thesis is interested in the nature of the relationship between statements and action. It attempts to develop our understanding of how smaller states seek to define their roles in the Eurasian region and further the image they project to an audience. By analyzing how these states present themselves through language in the context of Eurasian integration, it is hoped that deeper insights into the connection between rhetoric and action can, in due course, be gleaned. Furthermore, by focusing on some of the smaller states in Eurasia, it is hoped that this thesis will make a worthwhile contribution to western literature by enhancing the understanding of some key behavioral dynamics in the Eurasian region.

Chapter 3

Belarusian Case

3.1. Introduction

Russia, language, and the rise and fall of Belarusian identity

In the previous chapters, the potential sources of national role conceptions and self-presentation were discussed. It was posited that, alongside the more physical factors that affect how role conceptions are formed, there are also a number of more emotional factors such as national identity and history that influence how states behave. As was mentioned previously, this thesis does not intend to go in-depth into the history of Belarus, nor to dwell on the concept of national identity. However, these concepts cannot be ignored either given the constructivist approach that this research takes. If integration truly is ‘what actors make of it’¹²⁰ then the language used by policy-makers in public speeches and statements is the expression of this sentiment and should reflect the norms and values of the state and the image that they want to present to an international audience.

Belarus’ outlook towards most aspects of its domestic and foreign policy is largely determined by its relationship with Russia. Over the centuries, Belarus and Russia have formed an almost fraternal bond and Russian influence is generally perceived to be benign or even positive.¹²¹ Russian politicians enjoy great public support in Belarus; for example, a 2004 poll conducted by the National Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Research asked respondents to select who they would choose as president in a general election: Russian President Vladimir Putin, or their own President, Alexander Lukashenko. They found that 45.8% answered Putin compared with just 28% who chose Lukashenko.¹²²

This general acceptance of Russia’s role is a function of their intertwined history. Under Catherine the Great’s rule as Empress, the Russian Empire underwent significant and rapid

¹²⁰ Wendt, A. ‘Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics’. *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, pp. 39-42

¹²¹ Marples, David R. ‘Color revolutions: The Belarus case’, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 39, 2006, p. 358

¹²² Manayev, Oleg. *Stanovlenie Grazhdanskogo Obshchestva v Nezavisimoy Belarusi: Sotsiologicheskie Opyty*, Riga: Layma, 2005, pp. 678-679

territorial expansion and established its status as a great power. Belarus was one of the territories that was subsumed into the Russian Empire under her rule. In 1795, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth underwent its third partition following its steady political decline from the mid eighteenth century. The first two partitions granted Russia substantial portions of Belarus, including the Minsk Voivodeship, and, by the third partition, almost all of what we recognize as modern-day Belarus had been integrated.

In spite of this integration, under Alexander I rule, Russia's policy towards its newly-acquired territories was relatively liberal. They allowed Poland's ruling elite to maintain their positions in office and retain their preferred system of government in Belarus. The ethnic Litvin and Szlachta, who comprised the nobility, were thus able to impose a policy of Polonization. This entailed the imposition of Polish culture and language and the control and subjugation of the Ruthenian (modern-day Belarusian) peasantry. However, in 1831, an armed rebellion known as the November Uprising occurred. A revolt by the officers of the Army of the Congress Poland quickly gathered pace and was joined by civilians from surrounding territories of Lithuania, Belarus and Right Bank Ukraine in opposition to the rule of the Russian Empire. Just under twelve months later, under the generalship of Ivan Paskevich, the numerically superior Russian forces prevailed.¹²³

Russia immediately sought to consolidate their rule; the 1815 constitution of Congress Poland was abolished, Polish schools were shut down as was the University of Warsaw, cultural artefacts such as art holdings and museum collections were moved to Russia. The Russian criminal code was imposed in 1847 (written in the Russian language) and, although the Polish language was still used in day-to-day administration, the use of Russian was imposed in all other cases. As Piotr S. Wandycz argues, these steps 'opened the gates to russification' across the region which includes modern-day Belarus.¹²⁴

The implications for the Belarusian people were that they too had restrictions imposed on their use of their native tongue, notably in public spaces and in schools. The Russian Empire also clamped down on the production of any publications in the Belarusian language. However, some authors have argued that this period was also when a true Belarusian identity began to emerge, particularly through Catholic intellectuals such as Jan Barszczewski (1790-1851) and

¹²³ Wandycz, Piotr S. *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918*, Seattle: Washington University Press, 1974, p. 121

¹²⁴ Wandycz, Piotr S. *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918*, Seattle: Washington University Press, 1974, pp. 121-123

Jan Czeczot (1796-1847) whose research on folklore at Vilna University helped carve out a sense of ‘Belarusian self-awareness.’¹²⁵

It was also around this time that a number of poets and authors published works in the Belarusian language for the first time. For example, Konstanty Kalinowski. Kalinowski was a journalist, lawyer, and revolutionary during the November and January Uprisings who published a periodical in the early 1860s in the Belarusian language called *Mużyckaja prauda* (The Commoner’s Truth).¹²⁶ This publication advocated for the preservation and promotion of Belarusian cultural values including its language.¹²⁷ In fact, it was during the 1860s that the national motto *Жыве Беларусь!* (Long live Belarus!) was coined and used during another revolt led by Kalinowski. Its meaning was attached to the concepts of patriotism, independence, and national cultural awareness and is still the motto of the country to this day.¹²⁸

However, in spite of attempts to preserve a sense of Belarusian identity, russification in Belarus through the imposition of the Orthodox faith and the attempted erasure of the native language was achieved. Attempts at revolution failed and Kalinowski was executed in 1864. In the same year, the Russian Empire imposed a ban on the use of the Latin alphabet, making the use of its own Cyrillic alphabet compulsory. The imposition of the Russian language has been a policy frequently employed by Russia over the years as a tool for cultural assimilation. As Helen Fedor writes, ‘language is the medium of the culture on which [...] daily lives and identities are based. To define what language can be spoken is to define the identity of not only the individual but also the country.’¹²⁹ Russification has been particularly successful in Belarus and many see the language issue as being tied to the fragile sense of national identity that exists in the country today.¹³⁰ This notion was encapsulated by a letter from 1986 that was sent by 28 Belarusian intellectuals to the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev. The letter was a plea to allow the use of the Belarusian language. It read:

‘Language is the soul of a nation, the supreme manifestation of its cultural identity, the foundation of its true spiritual life. A nation lives and flourishes in history while its language

¹²⁵ Ioffe, Grigory ‘Understanding Belarus: Belarussian identity’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.55, No.8, 2003, p. 1246

¹²⁶ Канун восстания, ‘Муżыцкаја прauda’. No. 5, November 1862. See: <https://archives.gov.by/index.php?id=138177>

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ Каўка, Alex. *Будам жыць! : пра тое самае*. Minsk: BGA KTS, 1998, p.10

¹²⁹ Fedor, Helen ed., ‘Belarus and Moldova country studies’. Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1995, p. xxii.

¹³⁰ Brown, Anthony N. ‘Language and Identity in Belarus’. *Language Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 311–332

lives. With the decline of the language, culture withers and atrophies, the nation ceases to exist as a historical organism'¹³¹

Even today, post-collapse of the Soviet Union, the issue of the Belarusian language is contentious. Grigory Ioffe writes that 'the language is not certifiably dead, but it is not a living language in the full sense of the word.'¹³² A popular referendum held in 1995 on the issue of the Russian language resulted in the promotion of Russian to the status of an official state language,¹³³ most political communications, television or radio broadcasts are conducted in Russian. Even the most widely-read newspaper, *Sovetskaya Belorussiya* are published in Russian. The prevalence of Russian has also filtered down into the lives of the Belarusian people: a national survey found that just 23% of the nearly 10 million people in the country can even speak Belarusian. This is compared with 70% who speak Russian. Further, just 10% of the population say they use Belarusian in their daily lives.¹³⁴

Such is the rarity with which the language is spoken that Belarus' president Alexander Lukashenko used Belarusian in a speech for the first time in 2014. A tongue-in-cheek article on Radio Free Europe labeled the decision to speak Belarusian 'shocking'.¹³⁵ However, for Belarus this marked something of a revival of Belarusian identity. It came just one day before Russian President Vladimir Putin was due to visit Minsk in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Belarus from Nazi occupation during the Second World War. Alyaksandra Dynko and Claire Bigg wrote in an article published in the British newspaper *The Guardian* that the crisis in the Ukraine had revealed to Lukashenko that Putin's declaration that he would protect Russian speakers across the world could imply that similar measures could be taken in Belarus.¹³⁶ According to Valery Bulhakau, editor-in-chief of Arche, an anti-

¹³¹ *Letters to Gorbachev*. 2nd ed., London: The Association of Byelorussians in Great Britain, 1987, p. 19

¹³² Ioffe, Grigory 'Understanding Belarus: Belarussian identity', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.55, No.8, 2003, p. 1241

¹³³ Woolhiser, Curt. 'The Russian Language in Belarus: Language Use, Speaker Identities and Metalinguistic Discourse' in Lara Ryazanova-Clarke ed. *The Russian Language Outside the Nation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014, p.81

¹³⁴ Barushka, Katerina. 'After decades of Russian dominance, Belarus begins to reclaim its language'. *The Guardian*. 28/01/2015. See: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/28/-sp-russian-belarus-reclaims-language-belarusian> (Accessed 04/05/2018)

¹³⁵ Dynko, Alyaksandra and Bigg, Claire. 'Shocking! Belarusian President Speaks Belarusian'. *Radio Free Europe*. 02/07/2014. See: <https://www.rferl.org/a/shocking-belarusian-president-speaks-belarusian-lukashenka/25443432.html> (Accessed 05/05/2018)

¹³⁶ Barushka, Katerina. 'After decades of Russian dominance, Belarus begins to reclaim its language'. *The Guardian*. 28/01/2015. See: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/28/-sp-russian-belarus-reclaims-language-belarusian> (Accessed 04/05/2018)

establishment magazine, stated that events such as Crimea have fomented ‘a distinct growing interest in the Belarusian culture.’

Substantively, this has entailed the promotion of Belarusian language courses and even cultural events through a campaign known as ‘Budzma’ which states that ‘deepening the national identity of Belarusians’ is its primary objective.¹³⁷ The purpose of promoting these initiatives, according to Alesya Litvinouskaya, who founded *Mova Nanova*, one of the most popular language courses in the country, is because ‘People want to be proud of who they are, to be distinct and original.’¹³⁸ Language is clearly one of the most important aspects of this. In the context of this thesis, which looks at role conceptions and self-presentation in the Russian language, it will be interesting to see whether the attempt to revive some form of national identity since 2014 comes across in the speeches and statements of Belarusian policy-makers. In accordance with the cultural-constructivist perspective on Eurasian integration, a shift in attitude from Belarusian policy-makers away from Russia could undermine prospects for wider regional identity.

3.2. The First Era: (2010-2014) ‘Integration with a difference?’¹³⁹

On 1 January 2010, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus formally established the Customs Union (CU). The CU had been discussed since the Customs Union Treaty was signed by the leaders of these states in Moscow on 20 January 1995. Its purpose was to introduce a new form of economic and humanitarian-oriented integration that offered an alternative to the more ‘full-spectrum’ CIS model.¹⁴⁰ Initially, the signatories made little progress towards actually establishing the CU and it took Vladimir Putin’s appointment as Russian President in 2000 to provide the project with new momentum. The international organization known as the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was formed from the initial framework developed in the Treaty of 1995 and, on 26 February 1999, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and

¹³⁷ See: Budzma. ‘about us’ <https://budzma.by/about/> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

¹³⁸ Barushka, Katerina. ‘After decades of Russian dominance, Belarus begins to reclaim its language’. *The Guardian*. 28/01/2015. See: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/28/-sp-russian-belarus-reclaims-language-belarusian> (Accessed 04/05/2018)

¹³⁹ Dragneva, Rilka and Wolczuk, Kataryna. ‘Russia, the Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation, Stagnation or Rivalry?’ *Chatham House Briefing Paper*, August 2012 | REP BP 2012/01, p. 5

¹⁴⁰ See: Treaty on Deepening Integration in the Economic and Humanitarian Sphere (1996) and its successor, Treaty on the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space (26 February 1999)

Tajikistan signed the Treaty on Customs Union and Common Economic Space. According to Article 7 of this treaty, EurAsEC has two main purposes:

- 1) ‘completion of the formation of a customs union with a single customs’
- 2) ‘establishment, on the basis of the customs union, of a single economic space’¹⁴¹

EurAsEC (also referred to as the EEC) attempted to improve upon many of the issues that had affected the efficiency of CIS. For example, the CIS’ lack of an executive body was rectified by the introduction of an Integration Council to manage the day-to-day running of the initiative. However, EurAsEC also faced a number of serious issues. In spite of the belief of some commentators that EurAsEC represented ‘the most viable framework to emerge in the post-Soviet space,’ a fragmented legal framework and little progress on actually establishing a Customs Union between member states meant there was a period of relative stagnation in Eurasian integration between the years 2001 to 2009.

The establishment of the Customs Union occurred on 1 January 2010 marked a new era of optimism for Eurasian integration. Issues with the legal frameworks of the CU’s predecessors such as the CIS and EurAsEC were solved through the creation of the Intergovernmental Council. This body began the process of codifying the laws, regulations and practices established under the terms of the treaty. Equally as significant is the legal status afforded to the decisions undertaken by CU; previous initiatives suffered as there was no domestic requirement for states to adopt a given policy. However, under the CU, decisions were made legally binding domestically.¹⁴² In terms of the practical effect of the CU, a list of common import tariffs was agreed upon and implemented by the member states, a common Customs Code was established and the free movement of people, goods and services between members was realized. It was, according to a Chatham House briefing paper released in 2010, an ‘integration with a difference’.¹⁴³ However, what role did Belarus see for itself within this integration? And how did Belarus present itself to the other member states?

¹⁴¹ Shadikhodjaev, Sherzod. ‘Trade Integration in the CIS Region: A Thorny Path Towards a Customs Union’. *Journal of International Economic Law*, Vol. 12, No. 3, May 2009, p. 559

¹⁴² See: Article 7 of the Agreement on the Customs Union Commission of 6 October 2007, https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/kaz_e/WTACCKAZ69A1_LEG_4.pdf and Decision No. 15/2009 of the Intergovernmental Council.

¹⁴³ Dragneva, Rilka and Wolczuk, Kataryna. ‘Russia, the Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation, Stagnation or Rivalry?’ *Chatham House Briefing Paper*, August 2012 | REP BP 2012/01, p. 5

3.2.1. A difficult start, tensions between Belarus and Russia.

In the same month that the CU was established, another diplomatic crisis broke out between Belarus and Russia. Tensions between the two, usually close, neighbors had escalated following the war in Georgia in 2008. South Ossetia and Abkhazia had broken away from Georgia and Russia had expected its close ally Belarus to recognize their independence. Lukashenko had originally intimated that he would recognize the status of the regions after the war, but had then, according to Russia, reneged on this promise. Since then tensions had soared, Russia engaged in what became known popularly as the milk war, imposing severe restrictions on the import and sale of over 1,000 Belarusian dairy products on 9 June 2009. Lukashenko and his delegation accused Russia of politicizing the issue and undermining its sovereignty, a claim strongly denied by the Russian administration, and refused to travel to Moscow for the Collective Security Treaty Organisation summit.¹⁴⁴

What followed was a series of tit-for-tat moves between Belarus and Russia. Russia announced towards the end of 2009 that it would be increasing the price of gas from \$150 per 1,000 cubic meters, to \$169.20 in the first quarter of 2010 and \$184.80 in the second quarter.¹⁴⁵ In response, in January 2010 Belarus threatened Russia with cutting off the supply of electricity to Kaliningrad. By June, Gazprom had cut gas supplies to Belarus by 30% citing unpaid bills amounting to around \$200 million. This prompted Lukashenko to declare that they were on the brink of a 'gas war' and ordered that the gas pipeline that supplies the EU with Russian gas through Belarus be turned off. He stated that the gas supply would only be resumed once Gazprom paid \$260 million in transit fees.¹⁴⁶ The CU was supposed to begin its work on 1 July 2010, however with Belarus and Russia locked in a bitter dispute, the immediate future of the CU was in a precarious position.

At the time of this tension, Lukashenko was contesting the Presidential election and, despite conducting a campaign that was widely criticized as a sham, was far ahead in the polls.¹⁴⁷ However, the spat between him and his Russian counterparts led Russia to broadcast a

¹⁴⁴ 'Belarus leader refuses to attend Moscow security bloc summit'. *Sputnik News* 14/06/2009. See: <https://sputniknews.com/world/20090614155244911/> (Accessed 15/05/2018)

¹⁴⁵ 'Belarus 'to suspend Russian gas transit to Europe'. *BBC*. 22/06/2010. See: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10375853> (Accessed 15/05/2018)

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁷ AL JAZEERA AND AGENCIES. 'Dirty tricks' taint Belarus vote' *Al Jazeera*. 18/12/2010. See: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2010/12/20101218142317982604.html> (Accessed 15/05/2018)

documentary on him entitled 'Godbatska'. Batska, a slang term for father, is the Belarusian people's nickname for Lukashenko. Russia's documentary, however, is a reference to the Francis Ford Coppola film *The Godfather*. The documentary, which was broadcast on the Russian television channel NTV, a channel that most Belarusian households had access to, focused on the human rights abuses, corruption, repression and even assassination of opposition politicians such as Gennady Karpenko, Yury Zakharenko, Viktor Gonchar, Dmitry Zavadsky and Anatol Krasowski in the late 1990s and early 2000s.¹⁴⁸ When Lukashenko responded by accusing Russia of attempting to influence the outcome of the election, Dmitry Medvedev called him 'hysterical'¹⁴⁹

In spite of these ongoing disagreements, Belarus did sign up to the CU in July. On 3 July, Belarus' day of independence, Lukashenko delivered a speech in Victory Square in Minsk to state that all treaties and agreements relating to the Customs Union, such as the Unified Customs Code, had been signed and that the authorities of Belarus 'have not lagged an iota, not a half meter, not a millimeter in the Customs Union behind either Russia or Kazakhstan.'¹⁵⁰ Here, on a day of great significance to Belarus, Lukashenko presents the idea that the country is committed to the CU project and that they have been able to keep pace with the comparatively larger states of Russia and Kazakhstan. In fact, the Unified Customs Code had entered into force on 1 July and Russia and Kazakhstan had ratified the document in the spring. In other words, the CU was able to function properly even without Belarus' participation; Lukashenko will have known this and, thus, this speech is more about the image that is presented rather than the facts relating to the CU. Lukashenko is attempting to present the image that Belarus is a committed and effective member of the CU that should be treated as equal to both Russia and Kazakhstan.

There were still some tensions between Russia and Belarus in July, however. On 16 July 2010, during a working visit to the Gomel city in South-eastern Belarus, Lukashenko stated to the

¹⁴⁸ 'Godbatska' Parts 1 – 6 are available here (in Russian):

Part 1) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KkMiljlr1oo> (07/07/2010);

Part 2) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sULEgFjB_cM (08/07/2010);

Part 3) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0zzemG5X6DQ> (09/07/2010);

Part 4) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKJwrYJkjRM> (18/07/2010);

Part 5) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pgs4BfS6oVQ> (23/10/2010);

Part 6) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9psLwWe2jjQ> (25/10/2010)

(Accessed 12/05/2018)

¹⁴⁹ 'Russia's Medvedev attacks Belarus President Lukashenko' *BBC*. 04/10/2010. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11469027> (Accessed 12/05/2018)

¹⁵⁰ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко: Белоруссия присоединилась к Таможенному союзу'. *Грани.Ру*, 03/07/2010. See:

<https://graniru.org/Politics/World/Europe/Belarus/m.179507.html> (Accessed 15/03/2018)

media that Russia has no need of the CU as Russian policy-makers prioritize working with the US, Europe, Asia-Pacific ‘and only then co-operate with the CIS countries.’¹⁵¹ However, Lukashenko stressed that Belarus will not attempt to sabotage the CU project stating that they have ‘no plans for the collapse of the Customs Union’ and that they (Belarus) ‘are not going to ruin anything’. To these points, Lukashenko also added that if the ‘political project’ were to fail, Belarus ‘will not be involved [in its failure]’ and, furthermore, that attempts to undermine Lukashenko’s authority will not be met in kind: ‘we will not respond tit-for-tat’.¹⁵² The first point to note here is the reference to a ‘political project’; it reflects the prevailing view in Belarus that integration between states should have more than an economic purpose, but also political, military, even cultural levels. Even at the early stages of Belarus’ involvement in the CU, it represents a subtle attempt at promoting the idea of full-spectrum integration between members. Further, Lukashenko’s statement also implies that if anyone will be responsible for the failure of the CU, it will be Russia. This subtle dig at Russia is not a role conception as such, but certainly demonstrates the will to present Belarus as assertive. Principally, that Belarus will not roll over in the face of attempted threats or coercive measures from Russia and will always try and adopt the moral high ground. Lukashenko also intimated that, at that moment in time, the CU did not provide adequate benefits to the Belarusian economy. He stated that although ‘we do not lose anything’ by being members of the CU, ‘we do not gain anything either’.¹⁵³ This presents the country as being in a powerful position to either “take” Eurasian integration or to “leave it”.

3.2.2. Warmer relations

By April, Belarus and Russia looked to have put the dispute behind them. During a meeting in Minsk with the Regional Governor of Moscow, Boris Gromov, Lukashenko struck a more conciliatory tone: ‘we absolutely do not need confrontation, we absolutely do not need problems and difficulties.’¹⁵⁴ Lukashenko’s comments came across both as an apology and as

¹⁵¹ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко: Таможенный союз не нужен России', *Грани.Ру*, 16/07/2010. See: <https://grani-ru-org.appspot.com/Politics/World/Europe/Belarus/m.179909.html> (Accessed on 15/03/2018)

¹⁵² Ibid.

'Tit-for-tat' is my interpretation of the original Russian ‘Мы не будем отвечать грязью на грязь’ which literally translates as ‘we will not respond with dirt to dirt’

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Минск и Москва настроены преодолеть сложности, заявил Лукашенко', *RIA Novosti*, 08/04/2010. See: <https://ria.ru/20100408/219571819.html> (Accessed on 18/03/2018)

a genuine desire to move on. He also stated that ‘We have enough people who will create these difficulties for us, but we need to be tuned to overcome them.’ In other words, petty disagreements were getting Belarus nowhere and it was best for everyone if they just moved on. During the interview, Lukashenko presented the image of Belarus as a country that was committed to the CU and did not intend to cause any more upset. This interview marked a period of improvement in relations between Belarus and Russia and led to a shift in the character of the CU. Fundamentally, this entailed all states working together for the creation of ‘creating equal conditions for people and business entities.’¹⁵⁵

Lukashenko even began talking about creating joint ventures between Belarus and Russia. He spoke about how trade between Minsk and Moscow had grown by six times between 2001 and 2010, stressing that ‘we are also ready to consider the possibilities of delivering our products and expanding joint production.’¹⁵⁶ Here Lukashenko emphasized that Belarus would be willing to work with Russia on any kind of project from food production to engineering. Following the tensions that had characterized relations between Russia and Belarus in the preceding months, this seems to be an attempt by Lukashenko to reestablish his country as an enthusiastic and reliable partner to Russia.

By the end of 2010, Belarus’ vision for the CU had shifted into something far more positive than at the start of the year; in December, the EurAsEC Interstate Council was held in Moscow. Here Lukashenko spoke of the CU as a positive step towards the ultimate goal of creating the Eurasian Economic Union. He stated that by

developing the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space, we are moving towards the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union in order to ensure harmonious, mutually complementary and mutually beneficial cooperation with other countries, international economic associations and the European Union with access to creating a common economic space.¹⁵⁷

We should note that many of the Belarusian ministers were quiet on the subject of the CU during this year and Lukashenko took the lead with the speeches and statements. Thus, drawing any conclusions on role conceptions or self-presentation is more challenging given that only

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Евразийский экономический союз может быть сформирован за полгода - А.Лукашенко', *Новости республики*, 10/12/2010. See: <http://shklov.gov.by/ru/republic-ru/view/evrazijskij-ekonomicheskij-sojuz-mozhet-byt-sformirovan-za-polgod-a-lukashenko-3796/> (Accessed on 18/03/2018)

one person's rhetoric was analyzed. However, given that Belarus is an authoritarian state, Lukashenko has the final say on the policy orientation of the state and, as such, is at liberty to present the country in any manner he chooses. Therefore, although only one policy-maker was analyzed in 2010, in this case the impact it has on the findings is marginal.

The rhetoric used by Lukashenko in 2010 is interesting in that instead of multiple clearly-defined role conceptions in 2010, we find stronger evidence of self-presentation, principally the presentation of Belarus as an assertive country that will not be bullied into submission by the hegemon and, through statements referencing not wanting to respond to criticism, an element of presenting Belarus as being able to take the moral high ground. The statements also show the transition in Belarus' thinking towards the CU over the course of the year. In the first half, Lukashenko does not offer any suggestion as to how Belarus could most constructively fit into the CU, but instead speaks about how there is a lack of obvious benefits to Belarus at present. It is likely that Belarus' lack of constructive engagement is a function of their frustrations with Russia and a desire to be seen as a sovereign country that is unbending in the face of attempts at coercion since, in the second half of the year, once their relationship had been patched up, Belarus commits to the CU by signing the relevant treaties, including the Unified Customs Code.

Indeed, the optimism that characterized the second half of 2010 carried through into 2011. Despite the CU still being in its nascent stages, there was a great deal of enthusiasm in Belarus over the potential of the union with Lukashenko even stating the rather ambitious belief that the goal of a Eurasian Union could be fully realized by the end of 2013 with the effect of moving states 'towards greater unification, greater unity.'¹⁵⁸ This substantial shift in perspective compared with the negative attitude of Lukashenko just six months previously demonstrates how the spat between Belarus and Russia was an attempt at presenting the image of assertiveness and nothing deeper. Russia and Belarus' relations are often characterized as 'fraternal', this is a useful analogy as brothers will often disagree on issues and even fight. The younger brother may often try to stand up to the older by presenting an image of toughness. However, there always exists an unconditional love between them that ensures the relationship can be reset. We therefore also see evidence in the rhetoric of Belarus conveying the idea that they are still trustworthy and a key ally to Russia.

¹⁵⁸ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко: можно создать Евразийский союз к 2014 году', *Актуальные Комментарии*, 20/11/2011. See: http://actualcomment.ru/lukashenko_mozhno_sozdai_evraziyskiy_soyuz_k_2014_godu.html (Accessed on 04/03/2018)

	2010		2010
Assertive	4	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	1
Trustworthy	1	Equal integration promoter	2
EAEU / CU Positive	2	Committed Member	3
EAEU / CU Negative	2		
Russia Negative	4		
Morally superior	1		
Powerful	1		
Reliable	1		

Figure 7: Self-presentation themes (L), role conceptions (R), 2010

3.2.3. 2011, notions of deeper integration

In 2011, Belarusian policy-makers began to discuss at length the nature of the integration between Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan; Vladimir Makei felt compelled to emphasize that the integration project is ‘not against anyone’ and neither should the creation of the Eurasian Union be seen as an attempt to divide Europe.¹⁵⁹ Instead, as Makei stated, through greater cooperation between regional partners the Eurasian Union can become successful by ‘laying the right principles in its foundation’ and that joining countries should not feel disadvantaged.¹⁶⁰ Here it is important to note that Makei is talking about the Eurasian Union (EAEU) rather than the more economically-oriented Customs Union. Indeed, as was mentioned earlier, Lukashenko spoke at the end of 2010 about the formation of the EAEU when the CU had only been functioning for five months. It is important to understand that, for Belarus, economic integration is not seen to be sufficient. Much of the rhetoric is focused on the idea of full-spectrum integration – a vision that is shared by Russia, but not all of the other states in the Eurasian region. Therefore, when Belarus takes the lead by talking about the EAEU as a benign entity (years before it is even formed), they are attempting to ingratiate themselves to the hegemon by establishing a role as Russia’s right-hand man. Additionally, they are attempting to establish

¹⁵⁹ Makei, Vladimir. 'Макей о Евразийском союзе: «Если мы будем действовать по праву сильного и ломать, грубо говоря, через колено слабых, то ничего из этого проекта не получится», *Комсомольская правда*, 23/10/2011. See: <http://www.kp.md/online/news/1003616/> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

themselves as a leader on Eurasian integration issues since, from their perspective, other states' vision for a purely economic union is inadequate.

This idea of ingratiation to the hegemon is evidenced by some of the statements praising the role played by Russia. For example, President Lukashenko delivered a speech in 2011 whereby he reaffirmed Belarus's support for Russia's declaration on the priority of promoting stronger relations with states in the Eurasian area. He declared that 'for the first time in many years, Russia has clearly and unambiguously declared the priority of relations with states with which, paraphrasing the classics, have emerged from the common Soviet overcoat.'¹⁶¹ Furthermore, he referred to the speech which Putin delivered at the signing ceremony as 'a real event'.¹⁶² Lukashenko stated that he was impressed that Putin went to the heart of explaining regional integration and the bond between Belarus and Russia. According to Lukashenko, Putin's speech covered 'the entire depth of life of our countries and peoples'.¹⁶³ This fraternal language, which implies a natural association that has been forged via a shared past and common values, used by Lukashenko in relation to Russia has been a theme of Belarusian politics since independence and has often been quick to declare its alignment with Russia's political will. For example, Lukashenko also agreed with Putin's opinion on the collapse of the Soviet Union:

I consider the collapse of the Soviet Union to be the deepest, most tragic mistake of the 20th century. It could and should have been improved, changed, but not destroyed. When all civilized countries for decades went through difficult paths to unification processes, we in one fell swoop destroyed our greatest wealth — unity, community, cooperation. For the sake of someone's ambitions and interests.¹⁶⁴

This speech is redolent of Putin's famous reference to collapse of the Soviet Union as the 'greatest geopolitical catastrophe' of the Century and provides further evidence of how aligned the two states are or, at the very least, how aligned Lukashenko wants Russia to think they are.¹⁶⁵

Lukashenko also defended the role of Russia against criticism from the international community, most notably the US who have referred to the CU as an attempt to revive the USSR

¹⁶¹ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'О судьбах нашей интеграции', *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ 'Putin deplores collapse of USSR'. *BBC*. 25/04/2005. See: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/4480745.stm> (Accessed 06/05/2018)

by implanting fifth columnists in the governments of their former satellite states. Lukashenko addressed these criticisms by stating that he is confident that this integration has nothing to do with the ‘Russophobic idea of a “fifth column”’. He asserted that he understood the concerns of the part of society that it is all about political games, but he thinks that Belarusian politicians need to explain and show to people the benefits of this Union.¹⁶⁶ Again, we see here both an attempt to self-present as a key ally of Russia by ingratiating themselves with the hegemon and, equally, to defend the Eurasian integration project. The fact that Lukashenko specifically refers to Belarusian politicians as being best placed to educate the world on the nature of the integration is a clear demonstration of their attempt to construct a role as a defender of the integration.

Lukashenko also expressed the opinion that the Russian ruble could become the single settlement currency in the Eurasian Union in the future: ‘I’ve been insisting on this for a long time: let’s switch to the national currency in our calculations, let’s go to the Russian ruble’, he said. The President stressed that this issue must be properly considered before implementation, however, since ‘haste, lack of thought, lack of consideration of options may lead to what is happening in Europe today’, i.e. disagreements over the single currency issues.¹⁶⁷ He was referring in particular to the former British Prime Minister, David Cameron’s decision to veto an EU-wide treaty on the euro which was intended to enforce budgetary policies on states that contravene the EU’s debt and deficit rules. Lukashenko’s point is that greater unity between member states can be achieved if a single currency is accepted; the creation of a supranational market would promote easier goods exchange and, therefore, improve relations between partners. Adopting the Russian ruble in the integration would imply ceding a degree of sovereignty to Russia and, by abandoning their national currencies, losing part of their identity. Given Belarus’s fraternal relationship with Russia and its nostalgia for the past, this is less of an issue. However, for other states such as Kazakhstan, the political and public will to abandon their currency is non-existent.

In 2011, Lukashenko stated that Eurasian Union is moving in the right direction and expressed Belarus’s readiness to sign the declaration for creating the union.¹⁶⁸ However, he mentioned that the Kazakh side asked to name the declaration “the Eurasian Economic Union” instead of

¹⁶⁶ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘О судьбах нашей интеграции’, *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁶⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Александр Лукашенко: Евразийский Союз движется в правильном направлении’, *Vesti.ru*, 19 November 2011. See: <https://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=635932&cid=5> (Accessed 15/03/2018)

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

the Eurasian Union (which implies political commitments). Lukashenko stated that he did not see the importance of changing the name.¹⁶⁹ He was emphasizing that the essence of the integration would stay the same regardless of what it was called, in short there would still be clear cooperation within the integration structure and a clear interpenetration between different integration structures. It is no secret that for Belarus a level of unity between member states that transcends the economic sphere is their ultimate objective. Lukashenko stated as much in an article named “on the fate of our integration” in the popular Russian socio-political and business broadsheet newspaper *Izvestia* on 17 October 2011, when he asserted that ‘for Belarus, deep, productive integration with the closest neighbors was, is, and will be a natural way of development.’¹⁷⁰ This idea of “natural development” builds on the notion of fraternal bonds with regional partners (notably Russia). These are bonds that are not manufactured, but are forged from birth; this implies that Belarus sees the states of Eurasia as having been born during the USSR.

He elaborated by stating that ‘[c]reating the Union State of Belarus and Russia in the 90s, we were pioneers in the closest integration of the widest range of spheres of life by two independent states.’¹⁷¹ Lukashenko’s statements almost come across as an attempt to convince potentially reluctant regional partners of the benefits of integration. He talks up Belarus’s commitment to the integration project (‘was, is, and will be’) before speaking about the “pioneering” efforts of Belarus and Russia in forming the Union State; a form of integration that has, in Lukashenko’s opinion, proved how effective full-spectrum integration can be. These statements are similar to those Lukashenko made in defence of the integration project. However, instead of defending the project from external criticism, this is the creation of a role based on the promotion of the integration project (and a specific form based on more than just economic integration) to regional partners. In short, this role could be referred to as integration promoter, or, more specifically, full-spectrum integration promoter.

This speech also demonstrates how Belarus endeavors to display their importance within the Eurasian region. Lukashenko’s statement ‘we were pioneers’ is an attempt to elevate the status of the country to a place alongside Russia, presenting them not only as key allies to the hegemon, but also as powerful leaders and innovators of this form of integration. Lukashenko further discussed the concept of an ‘integration of integrations’ which would stretch from ‘Lisbon to Vladivostok’. In other words, uniting both the EU and the Eurasian region ultimately

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘О судьбах нашей интеграции’, *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

through the formation of the Eurasian Union. In this speech, he discusses the evolution of different integration initiatives from EurAsEC, which began in 2000, to discussions on the formation of the Common Economic Space (CES) in 2012.

He stated that ‘[a]t the initiative of Belarus, in December last year, the heads of state of the EurAsEC confirmed in their declaration their intention to work in this [integration of integrations] direction.’¹⁷² Here Lukashenko is again presenting the country as a leader and innovator in the region. He then elaborates by declaring the type of role that he says Belarus should inhabit within this integration: ‘Belarus, at the junction of two integration unions, is particularly interested in their [the EU’s and Eurasian Union’s] mutual rapprochement.’ Belarus’s geographical position at the intersection of Europe and Asia means that the state’s political and economic interests are necessarily bound between the two regions. In Lukashenko’s opinion, the new Eurasian Union that was under discussion will help build relations with leading global economies and Minsk can play a key role in this. Thus, the “particular interest” to which Lukashenko refers entails acting as a bridging state between them.

However, there was also the perception in Belarus that the EU felt threatened by the emergence of a new Eurasian union given the progress that was being made with the CU and the discussions for the formation of the CES which entered into force in 2012. In one particular speech, Vladimir Makei, then head of the presidential administration, made reference to an article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which stated that the prerequisite for successful integration in Europe is striking a balance of equality between powerful and small states, but that, at present, this cannot be observed in the Eurasian integration.¹⁷³ Lukashenko had referred to a similar concept when he stated that ‘[o]n an unequal basis, a union of like-minded people and partners cannot be built,’ and, furthermore, that ‘the creation of the CES has become a difficult compromise for us [Belarus]. And to be even more direct: Belarus paid dearly for the Common Economic Space,’ and ‘we expect more significant returns for our citizens from the activities of the Customs Union and the CES.’ According to both Makei and Lukashenko, this imbalance between the larger and smaller states in the region needs addressing since equality will reap the largest mutual benefits.¹⁷⁴ This is a relatively assertive stance to adopt as it is an

¹⁷² Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘О судьбах нашей интеграции’, *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081>, <https://news.tut.by/politics/254721.html> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁷³ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Макей о Евразийском союзе: «Если мы будем действовать по праву сильного и ломать, грубо говоря, через колено слабых, то ничего из этого проекта не получится», *Комсомольская правда*, 23/10/2011. See: <http://www.kp.md/online/news/1003616/> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁷⁴ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘О судьбах нашей интеграции’, *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081>, <https://news.tut.by/politics/254721.html> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

indirect challenge to the economic inequalities derived from the policies of Russia and, to a lesser extent, Kazakhstan. It also indicates a willingness from Belarus' elite policy-makers to expose these inequalities and preserve their national autonomy. Thus, they exhibit a desire to play a role of equal integration promoter.

Makei also speaks of the negative perception held by policy-makers in the West towards Eurasian integration. Specifically that 'the Westerners are now very wary of this real idea of creating the Eurasian Union, they are afraid to see a real competitor in foreign markets, and hence it is clear that they will try to discredit the idea of such integration'.¹⁷⁵ Lukashenko stressed a similar point by declaring that the success of the Common Economic Space is 'important not only for our peoples and economies. This project may become an attractive pole for other countries, including our closest neighbor, Ukraine. After all, she [Ukraine] worked with us on the first prototype of the CES'.¹⁷⁶ However, Lukashenko also stresses that the region's focus cannot just be western Europe: 'At the same time, our integration structure cannot be limited to the western vector only. The most important task should be close integration with states and economic associations in the East, above all with our strategic partner China.'¹⁷⁷ This presents Belarus as a globalized and ambitious state that is willing to take the lead on developing relations with partners outside of the Eurasian integration framework.

In spite of the suggestion that was voiced by Belarusian policymakers about multi-vector policies, the relationship with Russia will always be the priority for Belarus. Indeed, the fact that Lukashenko's speech was published for a Russian, rather than Belarusian, newspaper can be interpreted as further evidence of their attempt to ingratiate themselves with the hegemon. This close bilateral relationship has led to some criticisms among Belarusian opposition parties that their country is surrendering its sovereignty to Russia, that it 'raised its paws up' and 'the cartridges are spent'.¹⁷⁸ However, the foreign secretary Vladimir Makei addressed these opposition accusations by stating that 'the people gave Alexander Lukashenko a mandate for

¹⁷⁵ Makei, Vladimir. 'Макей о Евразийском союзе: «Если мы будем действовать по праву сильного и ломать, грубо говоря, через колено слабых, то ничего из этого проекта не получится', *Комсомольская правда*, 23/10/2011. See: <http://www.kp.md/online/news/1003616/> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁷⁶ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'О судьбах нашей интеграции', *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Makei, Vladimir. 'Макей о Евразийском союзе: «Если мы будем действовать по праву сильного и ломать, грубо говоря, через колено слабых, то ничего из этого проекта не получится', *Комсомольская правда*, 23/10/2011. See: <http://www.kp.md/online/news/1003616/> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

the presidency and at the same time for the preservation of the sovereignty of the country - this is a truism.¹⁷⁹ He then attempted to assuage fears by pointing to the statements made by Lukashenko in the past and the fact that none ever intimates that Belarus is willing to cede sovereignty to Russia, but that instead the idea of Eurasian Union will establish the basis for a prosperous future for all member states. In spite of the very close relations with Russia and the desire to be seen as important allies, it is still clearly important for the Belarusian policy-makers to present themselves as sovereign and independent from Russia. Thus, we also see, through Belarusian policy-makers' references to the Union State, the desire to self-present as an equal and sovereign member of the integration due to the strong relationship they have with Russia.

	2011		2011
Assertive	2	Defender of the integration	2
Sovereign	1	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	4
Ambitious	2	Leader	2
Modernizing	1	Equal integration promoter	1
Globalized	2	Bridging State	2
EAEU / CU Positive	5	Committed Member	3
Russia Positive	3	Pioneer / Innovator	2
Russia Negative	1	Russia's right-hand man	3
Partners Negative	1		
Powerful	1		
Fraternal	1		
Shared history	1		

Figure 8: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2011

3.2.4. 2012: the formation of the CES

On 1 January 2012, the CES was formed in order to establish a common market in the region. The CU, which was still active and remains so to this day, had already guaranteed the removal of customs barriers; therefore, the purpose of the CES was to develop the level of integration even further by promoting the free movement of goods, people, services, and capital and

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

harmonizing ‘a wide range of domestic and trade policies.’¹⁸⁰ Fundamentally, the CES was viewed by the leaders of the Eurasian states as a stepping stone towards the eventual formation of a supranational body, the Eurasian Union, and on 18 November 2011, the Presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia signed off on a memorandum to establish the CES and agreed to form the Eurasian Union by 2015.¹⁸¹

In May 2012 Vladimir Makei said that ‘integration processes are an integral feature of the new era’ and that ‘[t]he strategy of the future is to ensure that integration structures do not divide the Eurasian continent, but unite it’.¹⁸² The head of the presidential administration recalled the articles by Vladimir Putin and Alexander Lukashenko, which were published last year in the *Izvestia* newspaper and were devoted to the Eurasian Economic Union. He stated how Lukashenko had put forward the idea of an ‘integration of integrations’, which was referred to earlier, with the objective of creating a common economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok. Here Makei is attempting to reaffirm the image of Belarus as an innovator and pioneer of new forms of integration as well as stating how important integration is in the modern era.

This point was also developed by Mikhail Myasnikovich, the then Prime Minister of Belarus. He spoke of how ‘the CES is a geopolitical reality’ and how there is vast potential for partnerships between the European Union and the Common Economic Space based upon the principles of free trade, nondiscrimination, and mutual respect. He also referred to the key role that Belarus had played in its formation stating that ‘the practical aspects of the implementation of this idea, initiated by the President of Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko, is the work to create a free trade zone between the CES and the European Free Trade Association.’¹⁸³ Here we see an example of presenting the country as an innovator; as a country that is driving these initiatives forward through creativity and the desire to promote growth. Within these statements there is the clear demonstration of the will to inhabit the role of a leader in the Eurasian region and also as a bridge between East and West.

¹⁸⁰ Mostafa, Golam and Mahmood, Monowar. ‘Eurasian Economic Union: Evolution, challenges and possible future directions’. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 9, 2018, p. 164

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Makei, Vladimir. ‘Глава президентской администрации Владимир Макей об интеграции: «Это позволяет менее болезненно преодолеть последствия кризиса»’, *Комсомольская правда*, 29/05/2012. See: <http://www.kp.ru/daily/25890/2851263/> (Accessed 18/04/2018)

¹⁸³ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Михаил Мясникович выступил на Международном форуме делового сообщества к 60-летию БелТПП’, Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus (government.by), 14/12/2012. See: <http://www.government.by/ru/content/4747> (Accessed 17/03/2018)

The status of Belarus was emphasized in December 2012 by Myasnikovich who stated that Belarus trades with 180 countries of the world, actively promoting its products to foreign markets: ‘Business cooperation councils have been created and are working both with our traditional partners in Europe and the CIS, and with the South-East Asia - India, Vietnam, Myanmar, Bangladesh - South America, Gulf countries’ stated Myasnikovich. He elaborated by stating that ‘[i]n addition to our presence in the countries Belarus has traditionally been active in such as Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, other CIS countries and the EU, we open new markets, develop trade, investment and scientific and technical partnerships.’¹⁸⁴ We see through Myasnikovich’s statements that policy-makers in Belarus are trying to present the image of globalized and modernizing state with business connections with other countries beyond the Eurasian region. However, the implication here is that Belarus is still trying to send a message to their Eurasian partners that they can make a worthwhile contribution to the integration project and should be treated with respect.

This notion was reflected in another of Myasnikovich’s speeches from earlier in the year. In February 2012, Myasnikovich had declared that Belarus wants to receive the ‘maximum benefit from joining the CES.’¹⁸⁵ Speaking on behalf of the entire Belarusian government, he spoke of how there are ‘practically no worthwhile proposals’ that directly benefited Belarus’ interests. This is an assertive stance to take, particularly given the early stage that the CES was in at the time. In fact, this attempt at presenting an image of assertiveness may have backfired in this case as a collection of integration experts argued that Belarus had already benefited extensively from the CES, but had failed to carry out any impact studies. Some of the harshest criticism came from Leonid Zaiko, the head of the *Аналитического центра "Стратегия"* (Analytical Center [for] ‘Strategy’) who stated that ‘[t]his stupidity takes on the scale of a disaster.’¹⁸⁶

Some further criticisms faced by the Belarusian regime were that the country was ceding sovereignty to Russia and damaging the integrity of the state’s political institutions as a result. Responding to these claims, Lukashenko stated that they were not destroying the Belarusian governmental authorities because, at that stage, they had not ceded anything to the president of Russia.¹⁸⁷ As was mentioned previously, it is crucial for Lukashenko to ensure he projects the

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Беларусь вошла в 2012 год без макроэкономических дисбалансов - М.Мясникович’, Council of Ministers meeting, 07/02/2012. See: <http://www.government.by/ru/content/4250/print> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

¹⁸⁶ Zaiko, Leonid. ‘Беларусь получит выгоду от ЕЭП, но не скоро’, *TUT.by*, 08/02/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/2prdlYJ> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

¹⁸⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘О судьбах нашей интеграции’, *Izvestia*, 17/10/2011. See: <https://iz.ru/news/504081> (Accessed on 15/04/2018)

image of sovereignty and independence from Russia. To do otherwise would undermine his legitimacy as the head of the state.

Generally speaking, 2012 saw a continuation of the themes exhibited by Belarus in the previous year although there was a slightly less optimistic tone in the speeches and statements. For example, there was one instance of a statement which mentioned that integration was a long-term project and that more time was needed in order to smooth out the differences between member states. There are fewer clear-cut role conceptions in the rhetoric. However, the rhetoric still reflected the notion that Belarus wanted to create a role as both a leader within Eurasia as well as a bridge not only to the EU, but also to South-East Asia. Interestingly, while there is continuity in terms of their self-presentation with themes such as “assertive”, “pioneer”, “sovereign” and “key ally” appearing again, 2012 saw more references to Belarus as a maturing, globalizing state with a diverse trade profile that can make a valuable economic contribution.

	2012		2012
Assertive	3	Leader	1
Sovereign	2	Integration Coordinator / Driver	1
Modernizing	1	Bridging State	1
Globalized	1	Committed Member	2
EAEU / CU Positive	3	Pioneer / Innovator	2
EAEU / CU Negative	3	Russia's right-hand man	2
Russia Positive	3		
Powerful	1		
Reliable	1		

Figure 9: Self-presentation themes (L), Role Conceptions (R), 2012

3.2.5. 2013: Growing concerns with the Union

In June 2013, the Prime Minister of Belarus, Mikhail Myasnikovich, spoke of the ‘difficult question’ of the Eurasian Economic Union. He declared that ‘The Belarusian government believes that the agreement on its creation (the Eurasian Union - IF) should consist of two parts - institutional and codified.’ However, ‘an attempt to create a single document could doom the creation of a union to failure’, the prime minister said.¹⁸⁸ His concerns were a result of the

¹⁸⁸ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Создание Евразийского экономического союза является непростым вопросом - премьер Белоруссии', *Interfax*, 12/06/2013. See: <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/312060> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

disparate opinions held between members states as to what the objective of the Union is. He expressed his doubts that by the deadline of January 1, 2015, the parties would agree on all the principal issues, as there are different approaches to the issues of the depth of integration and the timing of the implementation of certain measures. This difference of opinion was illustrated by Myasnikovich who stressed that ‘Belarus views the Union State as a matrix, a sample of integration blocks in the Eurasian space’.¹⁸⁹ For Myasnikovich, the Union State – a fundamentally political, rather than economic integration, is a model for future integration initiatives in the region. His statement hints at the idea that this is not a view shared by all given diverging opinions on the depth and nature of the integration, as well as disagreements on the timeframe for the implementation of various measures.

Several months later, at a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Council in September 2013, Myasnikovich discussed similar issues in terms of the difficulties in advancing the draft treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union. He stated: ‘Although twelve working groups of the EEC [Eurasian Economic Commission] board have been created, there is still no clarity on many issues.’¹⁹⁰ Again, he argued that many of the disagreements stem from incompatible goals from partner nations. For example, discussing the agenda of a meeting Myasnikovich stated ‘Today it is proposed to consider the proposal of the Kazakh side - especially concerning the institutional aspect. A new structure of the Union is proposed. Frankly, for us, perhaps because of a lack of information, it’s not quite clear why this is necessary.’¹⁹¹ He went on to explain that ‘I am forced to state, and I think that in this regard we will lead a discussion on the agenda, that the process as a whole is moving forward with difficulty.’¹⁹²

Myasnikovich is clearly voicing his own, and the Belarusian administration’s, frustrations with the lack of progress made for the formation of the Eurasian Union. For Belarusian policy-makers, the proposed structure of the Union is adequate as it stands – principally because it relates to deeper integration across multiple spheres, not just economic. The assertive tone of this rhetoric stands in contrast to the early optimism seen in speeches and statements in 2010 and 2011 as the reality of how complex a task it is sets in. It conveys the idea that Belarus is willing to adopt the role of leader and coordinator in negotiations in order to drive the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ The EEC is the executive body of the Eurasian Economic Union. Its purpose is to manage the day-to-day running of the Union and ensure decisions taken are actually implemented. See: Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Белоруссия просит разъяснений по вопросам формирования ЕАС’, *RIA Novosti*, 25/09/2013. See: <https://ria.ru/20130925/965726354.html> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

¹⁹¹ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Белоруссия просит разъяснений по вопросам формирования ЕАС’, *RIA Novosti*, 25/09/2013. See: <https://ria.ru/20130925/965726354.html> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

¹⁹² Ibid.

integration project forward, but also implies an element of frustration; particularly that any failures will not be their responsibility.

These frustrations are expressed through criticisms of their Eurasian partners. Kazakhstan bears the brunt of Myasnikovich's criticism, but Russia too is targeted. According to Myasnikovich, Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization has undermined the position of Belarusian manufacturers in the Russian market and also weakened the position of Russian producers in their own market. In October, Myasnikovich emphasized that many issues of creating the Eurasian Economic Union had not been settled and, thus, there was a need to develop a clear position on the further development of Eurasian integration in order to overcome the myriad unresolved issues. He also drew attention to the importance of the issue of Eurasian integration for Belarus: 'In many respects this will determine our economic policy and all issues related to the economy regulating many activities of our life'.¹⁹³

The following month, in November 2013, Makei suggested that countries of the CU and CSTO could learn from the European Union and devise a unified position in the international arena: 'The European Union countries in the international arena always come out with a common position, although there may be different views within the EU,' he stated. 'We have something to learn from the European Union, more coordination is needed in the international arena not only within the Customs Union, but within the CSTO.'¹⁹⁴

There is an element of anxiety in both Myasnikovich's and Makei's statements – the formation of the Eurasian Union is clearly of vital importance to Belarus since, in spite of the presentation of an image of a globalized economy that was evident in the rhetoric of 2011, the reality is that Belarus is heavily reliant on trade with its Eurasian partners (Russia in particular) and its economy is intertwined with the fortunes of the region. These statements can almost be seen as a rallying cry to the other members to come together and work towards a mutually-beneficial solution.

In December 2013, Alexander Lukashenko stated his belief that the Eurasian Economic Union should be launched according to the timeframe that had previously been agreed on. 'If we do

¹⁹³ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Мясникович: Существует еще много неурегулированных вопросов в плане создания Евразийского экономического союза', *Belapan.by*, 04/10/2013.

See: <https://belapan.by/archive/2013/10/04/653800/> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

¹⁹⁴ Makei, Valdimir. 'Макей предлагает странам ТС и ОДКБ учиться у Евросоюза выступать с единой позицией на международной арене', *Belta.by*. 19/11/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/369gXhJ> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

not ensure that the Eurasian Economic Union will work within the timeframe we have defined - from January 1, 2015, it will be a shame for all of us.’¹⁹⁵ He continued by stating that ‘[f]ull freedom of movement of goods should be an example for the realization of other freedoms in the areas of services, capital and labor, enshrined in the basic agreements of the CES.’¹⁹⁶ From the Belarusian perspective, this approach will allow all partners to achieve the ambitious task of creating the Eurasian Economic Union in the shortest possible time. Lukashenko said that the joint discussion once again confirmed the leaders’ readiness to continue with the integration: ‘We can reach a consensus on all, even the most sensitive issues. Trustworthy partnerships between countries are key to further developing mutually beneficial cooperation.’¹⁹⁷ The language here is interesting, Lukashenko talks of consensus, trust, partnerships, and mutual benefits. The rhetoric is positive and hopeful, but it also implies that Belarus stands ready to achieve this as a coordinator of negotiations, a key ally and committed partner within the integration process.

However, Belarus’ conception of the form that Eurasian integration should take differs significantly from the views held by the other member states. Belarus holds the firm view that integration should move beyond the economic sphere and should involve political, military, and even cultural integration too. For example, in March 2013, Lukashenko was asked whether he agrees with the opinion that Eurasian integration represents an attempt to revive the Soviet Union. His response was as follows: ‘This is a matter of taste for everyone. Someone compares it with a mini Soviet Union, someone else with the European Union. Let them say what they want, and we have to go forward.’¹⁹⁸ Here Lukashenko feels compelled to defend the integration from external criticisms in a similar manner to that seen in 2011. However, the lack of a categorical denial that this is a “mini Soviet Union” is at odds with the views of other member states, principally Kazakhstan, which, as a result of experiences under Soviet occupation, is uneasy with the idea of committing to anything other than an economic union. By contrast, Lukashenko referred to the development of integration in the world as ‘inevitable.’ He spoke of how it contributes to increasing the competitiveness of national economies, but also in terms of promoting closer cultural ties. On the work that Belarus has done with its Eurasian partners he stated ‘We have done a lot in the field of human rights, in the economy, education, health, sports, culture. We have strengthened cooperation, we have unified balances

¹⁹⁵ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия полны решимости подписать договор о ЕЭС в определенные ранее сроки – Лукашенко’, *Belta.by*. 24/12/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/37af5GK> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Lukashenko, Alexander, ‘Лукашенко: Я поклялся, что не буду передавать власть своим детям’, *Russia Today (RT)*, 18/03/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2R9D6rH> (Accessed 18/03/2018)

in trade between countries, from oil to milk and sugar. We have created a single defense space. We have a common foreign policy.’¹⁹⁹ Here the depth of integration across multiple spheres is a source of pride.

Similarly, speaking about the prospects of closer Eurasian economic integration, the head of the Belarusian government, Myasnikovich, noted that ‘our [Eurasian] countries should unite efforts in the struggle for sales markets ... After all, because of the inconsistency of our actions, we sometimes lag behind in sales markets to other countries,’²⁰⁰ The solution, according to him, is to integrate on more issues than simply economic. He stated Belarus’s view that the agreement on the creation of the Eurasian Union cannot be limited to economic issues only - equal rights of citizens and business conditions, issues of defense, defense order, authority of supranational bodies, priority union and national decisions should all be specified and included in negotiations.²⁰¹

Cultural integration has also been a measure that has often been promoted by Belarus in the speeches and statements of policy-makers. From 2013, the idea of unifying the youths of Eurasia on different platforms became an important aspect of the respective agendas of Russia and Belarus, particularly among policy-makers hoping to promote common values in the area. In May 2013, Makei stated that the first Eurasian youth forum, known as “One Step Closer”, has become ‘a very significant event in the post-Soviet space’, saying that ‘the future of the Eurasian Union is in the hands of youth’.²⁰² One Step Closer is a forum held each year for politically-engaged youths from across the Eurasian region. Its purpose is to discuss the future of cooperation among youth associations and, crucially, according to its mission statement to promote ‘the integration of youth into a single Eurasian political, economic, social and cultural space.’²⁰³ Thus, in his message to the participants in the forum, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the CIS, and head of the Belarusian Foreign Ministry, Vladimir Makei noted the important role of youth public organizations in supporting integration forms of cooperation in the CIS space and spoke with pride about the speed that integration has developed in the region:

¹⁹⁹ Lukashenko, Alexander, ‘Лукашенко: Я поклялся, что не буду передавать власть своим детям’, *Russia Today (RT)*, 18/03/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2R9D6rH> (Accessed 18/03/2018)

²⁰⁰ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Создание Евразийского экономического союза является непростым вопросом - премьер Белоруссии’, *Interfax*, 12/06/2013. See: <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/312060> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Makei, Vladimir. ‘«На шаг ближе»: будущее Евразийского союза – в руках молодежи’. *ОКО ПЛАНЕТЫ*, 12/05/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2R6ЮnY> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

²⁰³ Евразийский молодежный форум "На шаг ближе" пройдет 26-28 апреля в Ереване' *Belta.by*. 22/03/2013, See: <https://bit.ly/35NdBlg>

In the post-Soviet space, tremendous integration processes are rapidly taking place, affecting the interests of about 170 million people in a vast territory. We are talking about the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space created by Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, as well as the prospects for its transformation into the Eurasian Union in 2015.²⁰⁴

Here we see evidence that Belarus is proud of the integration that is being formed and the Belarusian view that economic integration (CU and Single Economic Space) is not the ultimate aim. Makei is also illustrating the key role that Belarus has played in forming integration initiatives along with Russia and Kazakhstan. However, Makei then uses his platform at the forum to lament the collapse of the Soviet Union and establish the Eurasian Union as a competitor to the West which he declares a ‘hotbed of sinfulness’:

...all of us are faced with the task of creating a new system of values based on the ideals of humanism, kindness, freedom, equality and fraternity, which would bring up a completely different type of people, fundamentally different from those we see today in the West, which is increasingly becoming a hotbed of sinfulness, a source of decomposition of social and family moral values.²⁰⁵

It is rhetoric of this nature, highly reminiscent of the political narratives seen during the Cold War, that demonstrates the difference in approach taken by Belarus compared with partners such as Kazakhstan. It can be interpreted as an attempt to ingratiate themselves to Russia, particularly the reference to fraternity, but also presents Belarus as an assertive and outspoken member of the region.

Throughout 2013 there were more frequent references to the importance of the union and the scope for close cooperation between partners and greater regional economic growth. Most of the rhetoric in 2013 focuses on the idea of integrating across more levels than the economy. However, there is also strong evidence of growing dissatisfaction with the state of the project. While there were no statements in 2011 or 2012 that referred to the need for reform, by 2013 there were examples in four of the speeches and statements. Interestingly, however, Belarus made statements on two occasions that highlighted the collective deficiencies of the member states (Belarus included). In spite of the frustrations, Belarusian policy-makers still felt compelled to defend the integration from (predominantly Western) criticisms, culminating in

²⁰⁴ Makei, Vladimir. ‘«На шаг ближе»: будущее Евразийского союза – в руках молодежи’, *ОКО ПЛАНЕТЫ*, 12/05/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2R6IonY> (Accessed 16/03/2018)

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

Vladimir Makei’s statement on the moral decay of the West. Further, there is the clear desire among Belarusian policy-makers to be seen as leaders and coordinators of their preferred form of integration.

	2013		2013
Assertive	3	Defender of the integration	1
Ambitious	2	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	4
Modernizing	2	Leader	3
EAEU / CU Positive	4	Integration Coordinator / Driver	2
EAEU / CU Negative	3	Equal integration promoter	1
Russia Positive	2	Competitor to West	1
Partners Negative	2	Committed Member	3
Morally superior	2	Pioneer / Innovator	2
Fraternal	1	Russia's right-hand man	2
Shared history	1		
Frustrated	4		

Figure 10: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2013

3.2.6. 2014: Arrangements for the formation of the Eurasian Economic Union

In 2014, plans for the formation of the Eurasian Union accelerated. At the beginning of the year, Lukashenko spoke of how negotiations for its formation were developing. He declared that, in his opinion, the preparation of the Treaty on the Eurasian Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan should be completed on time.²⁰⁶ As in previous years, he referred to how deadlines should not be violated and the project should be kept as streamlined as possible. Lukashenko cited the mistakes that had been made with past integration initiatives and noted that the project’s readiness is still assessed by experts at 70-80%.²⁰⁷ Therefore, there was the desire in Belarus to present themselves as trustworthy allies and a determination not to be the reason that the project became delayed.

²⁰⁶ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘А.Лукашенко: Подготовка договора о Евразийском союзе должна быть завершена в срок’, *Ritmeurasia*, 20/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3eMM1b2> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

²⁰⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий’, *Belta.by*, 05/03/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2sBaY7o> (Accessed 17/03/2018)

Thus, Lukashenko asked the representatives of Kazakhstan and Russia if they had any complaints against Minsk regarding the formation of the EAEU. He noted that all problematic issues would be studied and stressed, that following economic integration, other areas of cooperation would be pulled in such as the military-political sphere.²⁰⁸ Here he presents Belarus as being the leader and coordinator of the integration by requesting that Kazakhstan and Russia report to Belarus if they are having any issues. He also continues the theme of promoting full-spectrum integration in spite of vehement opposition from Kazakhstan to the idea.

The following month Lukashenko again stressed the importance of the signing the contract on EAEU in time. According to him, it is necessary to complete work on the creation of the CU without restrictions and exemptions.²⁰⁹ In April 2014, Mikhail Myasnikovich reaffirmed this position by stating that expectations from the EAEU are very high. Along with this, according to the head of the Belarusian government, there are things that require a certain process in order to form truly full-fledged relations within the framework of the CES on the principles of a common market. He mentioned that all questions posed by Belarus' partners were being considered, with a particular focus on options that would suit the member states in oil, gas, transport services, and access to pipeline systems.²¹⁰ The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Belarus, Vladimir Makei, added that the 'Extension of the Customs Union responds to the interests of all states parties.'²¹¹ By pressing their regional partners on the deadline they are presenting themselves as the coordinators and drivers of the integration while also conveying the idea that delays are the fault of their partners.

However, some policy-makers also raised their concerns about potential sources of delay. Lukashenko argued that some member states are 'constantly putting forward new proposals that can dilute existing agreements' and warned that this can create unrealistic expectations over

²⁰⁸ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'А.Лукашенко: Подготовка договора о Евразийском союзе должна быть завершена в срок', *Ritmeurasia*, 20/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3eMM1b2> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

²⁰⁹ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко: создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий', *Belta.by*, 05/03/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2sBaY7o> (Accessed 17/03/2018)

²¹⁰ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Встреча глав правительств России, Белоруссии и Казахстана', Joint press conference of the heads of government of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, Government Reception House, Moscow, 15/04/2014. See: <http://government.ru/news/11720/> (Accessed 20/03/2018)

²¹¹ Makei, Vladimir. 'Интервью Министра иностранных дел Республики Беларусь В.Макея для «Союз-Евразия», *MFA.gov.by*, 01/04/2014. See: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html> (Accessed 19/03/2018)

what the initiative can actually achieve.²¹² For example, the CIS which he said had carried exaggerated expectations, but had failed to meet ‘even normal expectations.’²¹³ According to him, the people of Belarus are skeptical as to the merits of a new project given that previous experiences such as the CIS ‘didn’t work.’²¹⁴

Indeed, there is some evidence of this reflected in opinion polls from 2012 and 2013. Two opinion polls were conducted to gauge views on the Eurasian Union in twelve former Soviet States (including Russia). In 2012, 60% of respondents said they felt a Eurasian Union would be either ‘profitable’ or ‘very profitable’ for Belarus and by the following year this had improved to 65%.²¹⁵ Although these figures are relatively high, they are the ninth lowest in 2012 (above Georgia: 30% Azerbaijan: 38%, Ukraine: 57% and Turkmenistan: n/a) and seventh lowest in 2013 (above Azerbaijan: 37%, Turkmenistan and Ukraine: 50%, Moldova: 54% and Georgia: 59%).²¹⁶ Thus, the leadership of Belarus is very keen to ensure that the Eurasian Union functions to its full potential for the benefit of the people by attempting to drive the project forward and, crucially, ensuring deadlines are not missed.

This is largely due to the fact that the country has a highly export-led economy and the leadership recognizes this fact. In October, Lukashenko stated that the Belarusian economy is export-oriented and ‘therefore the absence of any barriers is very important for it.’ He continued by stating that ‘[b]y 2015, if we really achieve the implementation of our agreements on the creation of a Eurasian Union, it will be economically one state ... and there should be no difference between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan.’²¹⁷ This is an interesting statement based upon the idea of integration across the full-spectrum. Lukashenko’s belief that there should be ‘no difference’ between member states is evocative of the Soviet era when all states were required to adhere to the same ideology, adhere to the same norms and speak the same language. According to Lukashenko, without integration across the different spheres, the economic aspect

²¹² Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий’, *Belta.by*. 05/03/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2sBaY7o> (Accessed 17/03/2018)

²¹³ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘А.Лукашенко: Подготовка договора о Евразийском союзе должна быть завершена в срок’, *Ritmeurasia*, 20/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3eMM1b2> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС)*, ‘Опрос общественного мнения в СНГ относительно интеграции’. *Ereport.ru*. September 2019. See: <http://www.ereport.ru/articles/ecunions/eaeu.htm> (Accessed on 19/03/2018)

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко – за Евразийский союз. Но Белоруссию никому не отдаст’, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 09/10/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/30AaX0x> (accessed on 17/03/2018)

of it will fail: He stated that, the EAEU should be formed on the principles of a full-scale union otherwise, ‘the future economic union will lose a solid foundation.’²¹⁸

3.2.7. Full-Spectrum Integration

In order to promote the idea of full-scale integration, Belarusian policy-makers referred to what they perceived to be the success of the Union State between Belarus and Russia and argued that it could be used as model for deeper integration between regional partners. According to Makei, ‘the Union State is a form of integration, which, apart from economic cooperation, covers interaction in the political, military and social spheres.’²¹⁹ It has included the creation of a single air defense system, a single military coalition, a Supreme State Council, a collective president, a union Council of Ministers, and a parliament. Makei stated that ‘We consider the Union State to be a locomotive of integration processes in the post-Soviet space. Indeed, in a number of areas that are not included in the format of the CES, there are significant developments in the framework of the Union State’.²²⁰ Andrei Kobyakov, then Prime Minister of Belarus, stated something very similar in October when he called this union with Russia a kind of ‘locomotive and a successful example of the development of integration processes in the post-Soviet space.’²²¹ The references to the Union State as a ‘locomotive’ implies that he sees the Belarusian-Russian model as driving regional cooperation forward with Belarus acting as the hegemon’s right-hand man. Furthermore, the fact that the two statements are practically identical illustrates that there is a particular party line that is followed in Belarus. In this context, Belarus is presenting itself as a pioneer and innovator regarding integration and sees itself playing the role of leader in the region with the capability of coordinating and driving any initiatives forward.

²¹⁸ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий’, *Belta.by*, 05/03/2014.

See: <https://bit.ly/2sBaY7o> (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

²¹⁹ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Интервью Министра иностранных дел Республики Беларусь В.Макея для «Союз-Евразия», *MFA.gov.by*, 01/04/2014. See: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html> (Accessed 19/03/2018)

²²⁰ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Интервью Министра иностранных дел Республики Беларусь В.Макея для «Союз-Евразия», *MFA.gov.by*, 01/04/2014. See: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html> (Accessed 19/03/2018)

²²¹ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘20 лет, ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ’, *Eurasian Commission*, October 2014, pp. 38-39.

See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/eek%2020%20years.pdf

For example, in early 2014, Belarusian policy-makers tried to promote the expansion of the CU and how it would be in the interests of all member states. There is more than an element of attempting to showcase the globalized and modernizing nature of Belarus' economy in the statement. For example, Makei was particularly vocal in advocating for the CU's expansion:

The Republic of Belarus has repeatedly emphasized that the doors of the integration association are open for our partners who share its goals and are ready to join the legal framework of the CU / CES. New countries are new opportunities. Their coming will mean expanding the market, a new level for mutually beneficial cooperation.²²²

Furthermore, in November 2014, Myasnikovich spoke of Belarus's entry into the EAEU in terms of its effect on Lithuanian businesses.²²³ He argued that it will not be detrimental to bilateral economic relations and revealed that he had held a conversation with Lithuanian Prime Minister Algirdas Butkevicius, where he stressed that the investment environment is very important for further business development, and that after Belarus enters the EAEU, the conditions for Lithuanian business representatives will not worsen, nor will restrictions be imposed on the quantity and price of goods trade.²²⁴ Meanwhile, Lukashenko spoke of how Kyrgyzstan is closest to membership in the CES and Tajikistan is another potential member despite the fact that the country does not have a common border with the CES.

For Belarus, there is an underlying sense of fear that a failure to integrate fully and with as many countries as possible may mean the region is more likely to experience economic shocks like those seen after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Lukashenko said as much in a speech in October when he stated that '[a]fter the rupture of the single national economic complex of the Soviet Union in the post-Soviet republics, there were a lot of problems in the economy. Even in Belarus and Russia, where there was closest integration',²²⁵ where especially Russia was creating barriers for product supplies. Belarus was emphasizing its role in the integration as a bridging state because its market for 2014 lies outside Belarus, and since the collapse of the Soviet Union and despite barriers created by Russia, Belarus has found new markets and exported more to the EU than to Russia.

²²² Makei, Vladimir. 'Интервью Министра иностранных дел Республики Беларусь В.Макея для «Союз-Евразия», *MFA.gov.by*, 01/04/2014. See: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html> (Accessed 19/03/2018)

²²³ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Мясникович: вступление Белоруссии в Евразийский союз не ухудшит условия для литовского бизнеса', *Regnum News Agency*, 04/11/2014. See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1862763.html> (Accessed 22/04/2018)

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко – за Евразийский союз. Но Белоруссию никому не отдаст', *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 09/10/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/30AaX0x> (accessed 15/03/2018)

Therefore, there is a strong desire not to repeat the mistakes of the early 1990s when all states suffered as a result of the collective failure to rally around one another in the aftermath of the collapse. For example, in October 2014 Andrey Kobyakov gave a speech on the history of the EAEU. He admitted that after the collapse of the USSR, the unification processes were very difficult with myriad complications. He referred to the missed opportunities of integration singling out the failure to secure the participation of the Ukraine in CES. Specifically, he mentioned two meetings in 2003 and 2004 when the Ukraine had the chance to join the CES. In his opinion at that time there were supporters of this integration by Ukrainians, but in September 2014, a few months before the Orange Revolution, while Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia ‘reaffirmed their determination’,²²⁶ the Ukrainian president said that ‘his country was not ready for this.’²²⁷ For Belarus, the Union is not exclusive but could and should be ready to integrate as many willing countries as possible. The rhetoric demonstrates that Belarus would like to play the role of coordinator of those efforts.

This was evidenced by the statement of Makei who also spoke on the subject of expanding the CU in April. He stated that ‘participation in the CES does not limit the right of its members to implement a multi-vector policy and deepen interaction with other states’.²²⁸ Indeed, for Belarus, diversifying their trade profile and keeping their economy as globalized as possible is how the country will receive the greatest benefits. For example, it is for this reasons that Belarus made it clear that they will ‘continue to develop mutually beneficial cooperation with Ukraine in all areas of mutual interest.’ He stated that Belarus welcomes the interest of foreign countries in the CU and stressed the importance of regional integration calling it ‘one of the largest regional integration associations in the world with a population of 170 million people’ The status and image of integration seems quite important for Belarus who often defend its potential with public statements.²²⁹

²²⁶ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘20 лет, ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ’, *Eurasian Commission*, October 2014, pp. 38-39

See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/eek%2020%20years.pdf

²²⁷ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘20 лет, ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ’, *Eurasian Commission*, October 2014, pp. 38-39 See:

http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/eek%2020%20years.pdf (accessed 16/03/2018)

²²⁸ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Интервью Министра иностранных дел Республики Беларусь В.Макея для «Союз-Евразия», *MFA.gov.by*, 01/04/2014. See: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html> (Accessed 19/03/2018)

²²⁹ Ibid.

However, of equal significance are the references to the Ukraine. In March 2014, Russia “annexed” the Crimean region of the Ukraine.²³⁰ Instead of openly condemning the events, certain policy-makers reference the chances that the Ukraine had in the past at similar times of unrest (2003 and 2004) of joining the Eurasian integration movement. There is a certain matter-of-fact coldness to the rhetoric that demonstrates Belarus’ full commitment to Eurasian integration and, while the issue of sovereignty is still of great concern to the Belarusian state, there is broad acceptance of integration across political, military, cultural, and economic spheres in manner that is highly reminiscent of ties that existed in the USSR.

Indeed Belarus sees the integration as undoubtedly following a trajectory towards full-spectrum integration in the future. In Lukashenko’s opinion, political and military integration is an inevitable step that will be taken. He recognizes that his position on this matter has made the West very wary of any attempts to forge closer ties in the region, but, fundamentally, Belarus does not believe it is possible that the economic aspect of the Eurasian Union can survive without integration across multiple spheres. This position seems very reasonable for Belarus because the economy is the basis of everything.²³¹

Indeed, many of the speeches and statements refer to the Union State between Russia and Belarus as a model that could be adopted for the EAEU. In the process of forming the Eurasian Union, the Union State of Belarus and Russia, Lukashenko is convinced, will not lose its relevance, stating: ‘In the Union State, we have moved much further along a larger spectrum of relations between our states than in the Common Economic Space. Here we have solved not only economic issues, but also political and military-political ones.’²³² This was also emphasised by the Belarusian Prime Minister, Andrei Kobyakov who declared that ‘thanks to the political will of Minsk and Moscow’ this kind of unique bilateral experience means good relations in the Union State were subsequently transferred to the “troika” to the benefit of other member states such as Kazakhstan.²³³ The reference to ‘thanks to the political will’ is a clear demonstration of Belarus’ desire to be seen as pioneers and leaders in the integration project

²³⁰ It should be noted here that annexation is a loaded term, and, from the Russian perspective, it was simply adhering to the wishes of the people following a referendum. The Ukraine is not the focus of this thesis and therefore wishes to remain objective on the issue – hence the quotation marks.

²³¹ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: Евразийский союз в будущем ожидает политическая и военная интеграция’, *Tut.by*, 05/06/2014. See: <https://news.tut.by/politics/402068.html> (Accessed 15/03/2018)

²³² Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко – за Евразийский союз. Но Белоруссию никому не отдаст’, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 09/10/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/30AaX0x> (accessed on 15/03/2018)

²³³ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘20 лет, ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ’, *Eurasian Commission*, October 2014, pp. 38-39

See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/еек%2020%20years.pdf

along with Russia. There is also an element of showing off how close their relationship is with Russia.

This attempt to utilize the relationship with Russia to their advantage has been discussed quite openly by some Belarusian policy-makers. For example, the former chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belarus, Mikhail Chigir, says that Minsk, which has previously been able to receive certain benefits from Russia, also hopes for others.²³⁴ For example, as of September 2014 Belarus was successful in adding a separate condition to the EAEU agreement which, according to Chigir, could be worth an additional US\$ 3 - 4 billion per annum which will be added to the Belarusian budget.²³⁵ It is financial incentives such as these that are crucial to bear in mind in the context of role conceptions and self-presentation as it reminds us that many of the images projected by the state are a façade and the true motivation for appearing trustworthy or committed, or for playing the role of leader or bridging state, could be as simple as financial gain.

The most striking aspect of the speeches and statements from 2014 is the sheer number of role conceptions and self-presentation themes that are identifiable in the rhetoric. 2014 saw the dissolution of EurAsEC, the expansion of the CU and the signing of the Agreement on the Eurasian Economic Union on 29 May following a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council in Astana. Given how many developments took place over the course of the year, it is therefore unsurprising that more roles and themes were identified. However, it could also be construed as Belarus finding its desired position within the integration initiative. Most of the rhetoric from the year is assertive in tone and this relates to the role conceptions of leader, coordinator, and driver. Belarus retains its belief that the union is of vital importance and continues to pursue the idea of a full-spectrum integration. In particular, 2014 saw an increase in the number of statements relating to expanding the number of countries involved in the integration. This was perhaps an attempt to remedy what Belarus saw as the weaknesses of the integration in its current format.

²³⁴ Chigir, Mikhail. 'Беларусь добавила отдельное условие в договор о ЕАЭС', *Radio Liberty*, 09/10/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3asBAIL> (Accessed on 15/03/2018)

²³⁵ Ibid.

	2014		2014
Assertive	3	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	6
Ambitious	4	Leader	5
Trustworthy	2	Integration Coordinator / Driver	7
Modernizing	3	Equal integration promoter	1
Globalized	4	Bridging State	1
EAEU / CU Positive	4	Committed Member	5
EAEU / CU Negative	2	Pioneer / Innovator	4
Russia Positive	3	Russia's right-hand man	3
Partners Negative	2		
Frustrated	2		

Figure 11: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2014

3.2.8. Summary of First Era

Figure 12: Belarus: role conceptions, 2010 - 2014

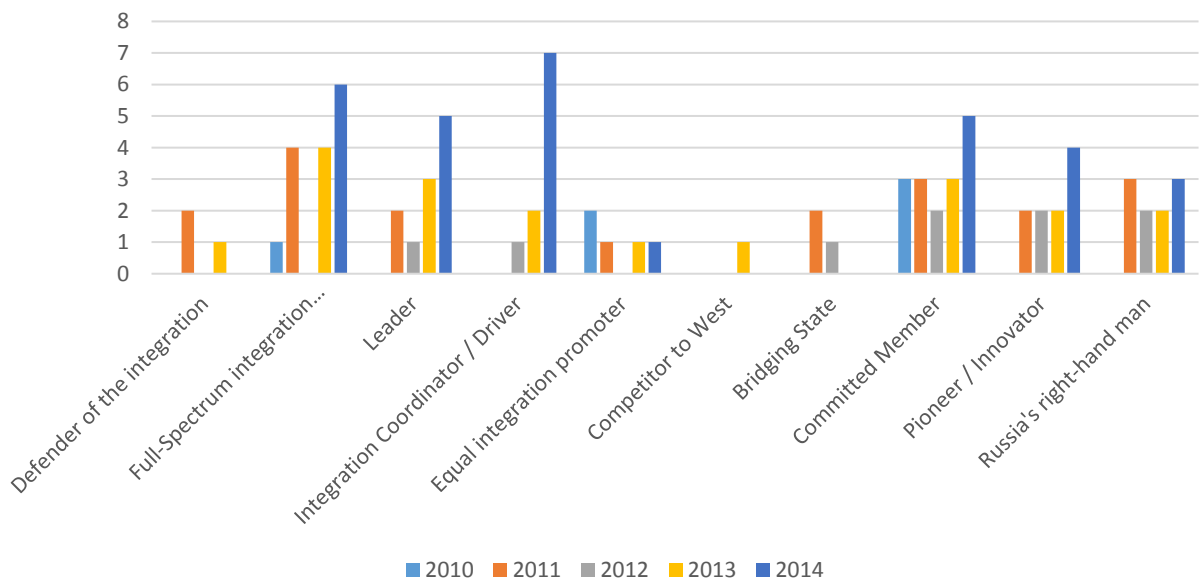


Figure 12 summarizes the role conceptions that were evident in the rhetoric across the first era in Belarus. Although just three role conceptions were identifiable in 2010, largely as a result of the frustrations with the integration initiatives that were exhibited by policy-makers, each of the subsequent years demonstrated multiple roles. 2013 demonstrated the greatest number of roles with nine in total. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the chart is the remarkable

consistency in the roles over time, this is demonstrative of the level of political stability that Belarus has exhibited over the years. Lukashenko, often referred to as ‘Europe’s last dictator’,²³⁶ has been in power since 1994, a tenure of 25 years and frequently states his political mantra ‘there will be no reforms.’²³⁷ In 2015, in a public address to the people, he even questioned ‘[w]hat is bad in the system that we created? What have we done wrong?’²³⁸ Thus the role conceptions and self-presentation themes, at least in this era, appear to be very consistent over time.

The consequence of this consistency is that a clear picture of the type of state Belarus wants to be within the integration starts to emerge. Fundamentally, the rhetoric shows that Belarus wants to inhabit the role of leader in the region. This is not to say that they want to replace or overtake Russia as the hegemon, but rather supplement their efforts by acting as a *de facto* right-hand man. This is also related to emergence of the *integration coordinator / driver* role towards the end of the era. As plans for the EAEU began to take shape, Belarus saw its purpose as leading efforts to ensure all of the relevant documentation was being signed by other member states and the agreed timetable was being stuck to.

One of the other most abiding roles in this era is the *equal partnership promoter*. Belarusian policy-makers often referenced the fact that any integration project should be built on a foundation of trust with all parties working towards mutual benefits. The extent to which this is just paying lip service to the idea is debatable since, in reality, Belarus is far more likely to look out for its own interests rather than those of the collective; many of the speeches and statements reference the high level of exposure of the Belarusian economy and its military and security weaknesses. Hence why Belarus also strongly advocates for *full-spectrum*, rather than just economic, integration. The state sees political integration as the foundation to the success of any economic integration and, as mentioned previously, there is also a strong element of nostalgia for the close ties that existed under the Soviet Union. Particularly the safety that was

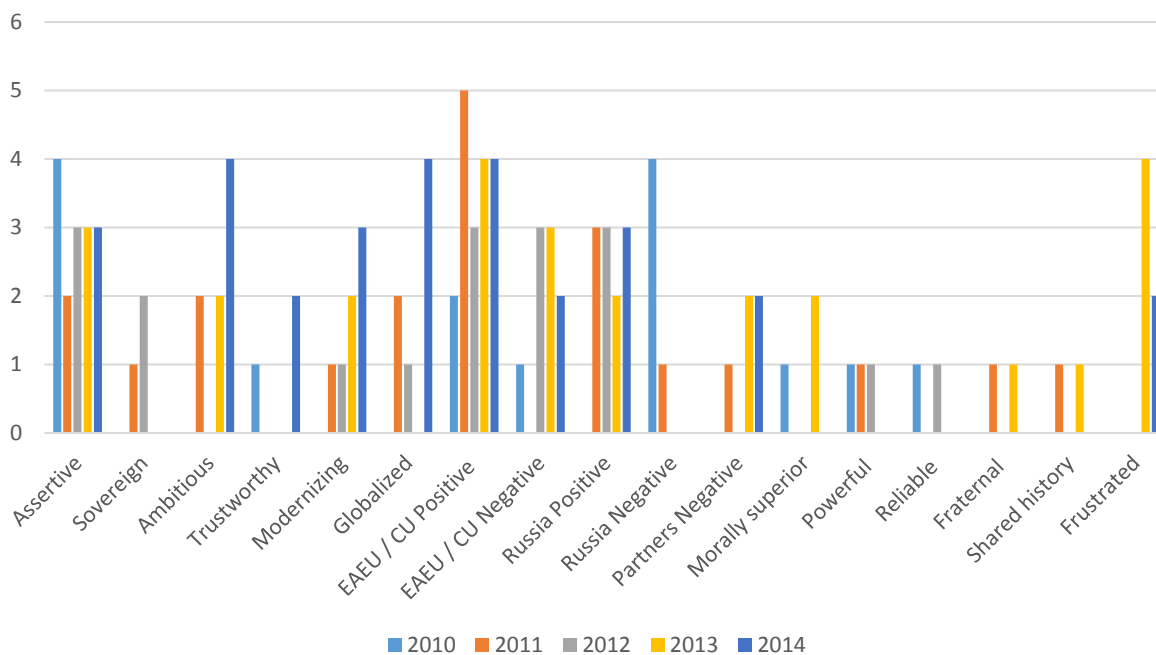
²³⁶ See: ‘Belarus mythbuster: what is it like to live in ‘Europe’s last dictatorship’? *The Guardian*, 03/07/2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/03/belarus-mythbuster-what-like-live-europe-last-dictatorship> (Accessed 03/06/2019); Pomerantsev, Peter. ‘Why Europe’s last dictatorship keeps surprising everyone’. *The Washington Post*. 25/03/2017. See: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2017/03/25/why-europes-last-dictatorship-keeps-surprising-everyone/> (Accessed 03/06/2019); Gramer, Robbie and Mackinnon, Amy. ‘A Diplomatic Breakthrough for Washington in Europe’s Last Dictatorship’, *Foreign Policy*, 10/01/2019, <https://bit.ly/2TFG5Km> (Accessed 03/06/2019); Indeed, Googling the term ‘Europe’s last dictator returns Lukashenko’s Wikipedia page as the top result.

²³⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: Еще пять лет не будет никаких реформ’ *EJ News*. 06/11/2015. See: <https://ej.by/news/economy/2015/11/06/lukashenko-esche-pyat-let-ne-budet-nikakih-reform.html> (Accessed on 15/03/2018)

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

guaranteed through fraternal ties with Russia, and the political and economic centralization and an infrastructural setup characterized by state-run enterprises.

Figure 13: Belarus: self presentation themes, 2010-2014



In a similar manner to the role conceptions, the self-presentation themes also demonstrate continuity. For Belarus, this era shows interesting shifts in the attitude of Belarus towards integration and relative consistency in terms of the type of role conceptions projected. Most of the speeches and statements reference the importance of the new CU and the development of the EAEU, the importance of cooperating with regional partners and, with the exception of 2010, praising the actions of their partners. The nature of the roles are also reflected in the self-presentation themes from this era. The idea that Belarus wants to play the role of leader, coordinator and driver of the integration reflects the relatively assertive tone of the rhetoric, which is evident across the period. Furthermore, there is the desire to present the image of being a key ally – this differs from the idea of being trustworthy in that this category relates more to the practical contribution that Belarus can make to the integration. It is related to themes such as the portrayal of the country as committed and ambitious.

The role of Russia is also clearly very important to Belarus and, as such, two of the years (2011 and 2014) show that Belarusian policy-makers are attempting to highlight the special nature of their relationship with Russia. On several occasions they also reference their ability to conceive of bold new ideas for integration particularly in conjunction with Russia. This reflects the desire to be seen as pioneers and, additionally, as the right-hand man to Russia. Interestingly, at the

start of the era, there were multiple references to the sovereignty of Belarus. Specifically, how the country may be ceding autonomy to Russia. It is unsurprising, therefore, that Belarus attempted to contradict these claims as we see in 2010, 2011 and 2012. However, in 2013 and 2014 there are no further attempts to defend Russia's role in their affairs as benign or even to espouse the virtues of independence and autonomy; it could be concluded that as the formation of the Eurasian Union became closer, Belarus consequently became less anxious about presenting themselves as sovereign. This is testament to the Soviet mentality held by many policy-makers in Belarus where membership of the bloc becomes one's identity. This is also reflected in a recent poll carried out by the Pew Research Center which found that 60% of respondents in Belarus over the age of 35 believe the break-up of the Soviet Union was 'a bad thing'.²³⁹

3.3. The Second Era: Fractures appear (2015-2017)

3.3.1. Introduction

On 29 May 2014, the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia signed the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) with the presidents of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan also in attendance at the signing ceremony. The treaty entered into force on 1 January 2015 with the aim, as the name suggests, of promoting deeper regional economic ties. The Republic of Belarus assumed the chairmanship of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council, the Eurasian Intergovernmental Council and the Council of the Eurasian Economic Commission. The Belarusian Chairman of the EAEU emphasized the importance of developing economic cooperation, strengthening good neighborliness, promoting the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor in the Union. From the Belarusian perspective, the economic objectives are clearly evident in the statements in the start of the Union's formation. However, Belarus also promoted other aspects of integration and, from the outset, it became clear that the EAEU meant slightly different things for each of the signatory states.

At the ceremony in January, Russian president Vladimir Putin stated 'today we have created a powerful, attractive center of economic development, a big regional market that unites more

²³⁹ Masci, David. 'In Russia, nostalgia for Soviet Union and positive feelings about Stalin', *Pew Research Center*, 29/06/2017. See: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/06/29/in-russia-nostalgia-for-soviet-union-and-positive-feelings-about-stalin/> (Accessed on 03/05/2018)

than 170 million people'.²⁴⁰ This was compared with Kazakhstan's first deputy prime minister, Bakytzhan Sagintayev, who took steps to clarify exactly what the EAEU meant for their country. He stated that 'we are not creating a political organization; we are forming a purely economic union.'²⁴¹ Meanwhile, in his speech to heads of state of the EAEU in January 2015, Belarusian President, Alexander Lukashenko asserted that '[o]ur country regards the Eurasian Economic Union as the most important integration association contributing to ensuring economic and *social* stability in the region.'²⁴² This placed Belarus in line with Russia as a promoter of full-spectrum integration, but slightly at odds with the objectives outlined by Kazakhstan which had no desire to promote deeper social ties. This was just the first traded barb of what became increasingly frustrated and hostile rhetoric by Belarus between the years 2015 and 2017.

3.3.2. 2015: The Formation of the EAEU

In the beginning of 2015, after the EAEU had been formally established, the integration was seen as positive by Belarus and Lukashenko offered the earliest possible transition to single policies, common market within the EAEU. Sergey Sidorsky, former Prime Minister, in his speech on the EAEU noted that the current stage of development of the world economy is characterized by both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, Sidorsky notes a deepening of international integration and a tendency for countries to specialization in certain industries leading to an element of competitive advantage. On the negative side, he sees interstate relations as becoming increasingly complex while there has also been an increase in uneven development of states and territories.²⁴³ His fundamental point is that the members of the EAEU, being integrated into the global economy, cannot avoid the negative impact that will inevitably result from the economic and political processes taking place outside the single customs territory of the EAEU, but that being members of it will shield them from some of the shocks. In Sidorsky's opinion, 'under these difficult conditions, thanks to such an integration

²⁴⁰ Putin, Vladimir. 'Россия, Казахстан, Беларусь объединились в Евразийский союз', *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 01/01/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2Za8tEW> (Accessed on 22/03/2019)

²⁴¹ Sagintayev, Bakytzhan. '20 лет, ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ', *Eurasian Commission*, March 2015. pp.46-47. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕК%2020%20years.pdf

²⁴² Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Обращение Президента Беларуси Александра Лукашенко к главам государств – членов Евразийского экономического союза', *Eurasian Economic Commission*, 21/01/2015. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/21-01-2015.aspx> (Accessed on 20/03/2018)

²⁴³ Sidorsky, Sergei. 'Реальный сектор ЕАЭС – пути к росту', *Beldumka*, May 2017. See: http://beldumka.belta.by/isfiles/000167_116883.pdf (Accessed 20/03/2018)

association as the EAEU, the participating countries, their economies and businesses receive significant advantages.²⁴⁴ Sidorsky offered the examples of the Customs Union (2010), the Common Economic Space (2012) and the EAEU (2015) as evidence arguing that each of these initiatives has significantly reduced the barriers in the mutual trade of the member states.

As was illustrated in the previous section, Belarus's commitment to Eurasian integration remained steadfast during the first era and the era of the EAEU began in a similar fashion with Sidorsky's comments. Furthermore, Lukashenko stated 'I am convinced that our close cooperation will be the key to the most effective implementation of the plans outlined and the successful establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union as an independent center for sustainable economic development'.²⁴⁵ From an early stage, Belarus was ensuring it projected the image that it was committed to taking concrete steps in order to develop the integration processes and was expecting member states' openness and support in the practical implementation of Belarusian initiatives. For example, Lukashenko notes that 'the Belarusian side, at all stages of the preparation of the Treaty on the [EAEU] has consistently stated the need for maximum liberalization of the conditions of economic activity...'.²⁴⁶ Lukashenko goes on to name potential initiatives such as a unified industrial and agricultural policy. This implies that Belarus has been making what it perceives to be worthwhile suggestions to fellow member states, thereby taking the role of leader and innovator on the project while the other states are taking a more passive role.

Further examples of Belarusian policy-makers attempting to inhabit a leadership role can be found in the early stages of this new integration; for example, the former prime minister, Mikhail Myasnikovich, announced what he (and by extension the Belarussian state) perceived to be political, legal, and economic problems. Thus, in March 2015, Myasnikovich pointed out that with the current hardships caused by the international sanctions imposed on Russia, anti-crisis measures should be developed by the EAEU.²⁴⁷ The government and the National Bank of Belarus therefore set out to present a set of constructive proposals to their Russian colleagues in order to mitigate the impact that sanctions would have. Here we see further evidence of Belarus adopting a leadership role by task setting for the hegemon. It is also arguably a new

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Обращение Президента Беларуси Александра Лукашенко к главам государств – членов Евразийского экономического союза', *Eurasian Economic Commission*, 21/01/2015. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/21-01-2015.aspx> (Accessed on 20/03/2018)

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Myasnikovich, Mikhail 'Мясникович М.В. Проблемы интеграции: политические, правовые, экономические аспекты', *Soviet Belarus*, March 2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2R7Ww04>

role of *problem solver* as Belarus attempts to find a practical solution to the issue of sanctions, something that also greatly affects the Belarusian economy.

Indeed, the preparation of a joint project between Russian and Belarusian financial institutions also has practical importance for bilateral relations and, furthermore, for the EAEU. Myasnikovich also expressed his opinion that promoting research presented by experts could also facilitate governments to implement joint measures with partners in the EAEU to overcome crises and threats to national security. He noted that ‘expectations from the EAEU are great’ and the solution for external threats is in deepening the integration by unification of legislation, including their parliaments.²⁴⁸ The Russian side expressed interest in the proposal and the suggestion of integration financial institutions was also extended to Kazakhstan. It was at this stage that Myasnikovich directly criticized their Kazakh counterparts; he stated that Kazakh colleagues ignored the proposals and failed to indicate their position at all. This frustration implies that Belarus considers the Kazakhs as being far less committed to the EAEU.²⁴⁹ The reality is, as will be discussed in later chapters, that the Kazakh side is equally as committed to the idea of integration as long as it remains purely economic. Political integration conjures memories of the Soviet Union which, in contrast to the Belarusian perspective, is remembered far less fondly.

In the beginning of 2015, the EAEU was conceived as a union with laws that do not discriminate against their partners. For Belarus, a single industrial policy and large-scale industrial cooperation in the EAEU was a priority. This is mainly due to the geographical nature of the state’s strategic interests; traditionally, Belarus’ interests have been overwhelmingly concentrated in the common economic space of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. While in the past Belarus has encouraged working more actively with the countries of the West and Southeast Asia, the emphasis has typically been on their main markets within the EAEU and the ‘decisive role’ that is played by the Russian Federation, as the country with the largest economy. However, some of the rhetoric that emerged during 2015 illustrated a potential shift in perspective. In March, Myasnikovich noted the following: [t]he Belarusian leadership perceives Russia as an important economic partner. However, it should be noted that due to the crisis [international sanctions] in this area there are difficulties.’²⁵⁰ He referred to how Belarus saw the EAEU as an opportunity to implement new projects, which will ensure the formation of a renewed structure of the united economy (international companies, third countries), but

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

also spoke of how Belarus' exports to Russia fell by US\$ 1.5 billion in 2014 (from US\$ 16.8 billion to US\$ 15.3 billion). Thus, the assertion that Russia is in a weak position as a result of sanctions implies that Belarus is keen to diversify its trade profile and look for opportunities elsewhere. Myasnikovich even referenced the need for Belarus to unite the interests of the EAEU and third countries as a bridge between East and West and even as the coordinator of the EAEU's dealings with the Far East.²⁵¹

This reference to bridging the interests of East and West is unsurprising given Belarus' geographical location and particularly its fraternal ties with Russia. Belarus perhaps sees itself as being in the unique position of moderating the tensions between Russia and the West by virtue of its special relationship. As Myasnikovich notes, Belarus' economic interests are heavily tied into the fortunes of the EAEU; thus, reducing tensions between the competing blocs of the EU and the EAEU would be highly beneficial to their economy. Slightly stranger is the idea of coordinating efforts with the Far East since Belarus is not geographically proximate, nor does it possess any particular cultural ties to countries such as China, India or Japan. Nevertheless, it once again demonstrates the political will of Minsk to be seen as ambitious, as a driver of integration and a committed member of the EAEU.

3.3.3. Concerns over barriers and criticisms of partners

By May 2015, Belarus began to raise further concerns over the issue of barriers to effective trade. The Prime Minister of Belarus, Andrei Kobyakov, stated that the dynamics of trade within the Eurasian Union are causing concern.²⁵² The Commission on the Instructions of the Council prepared a detailed report on this issue, proposing comprehensive measures to translate the integration potential into concrete growth rates of mutual trade. Kobyakov urged interested colleagues to discuss the issue. At the same time, he stressed that the freedom of movement of goods is the area in which Eurasian integration has seen the most significant improvements: 'I see the task that the report be used by national governments to achieve real practical results.'²⁵³ The Prime Minister also noted that the issue of industrial cooperation is still relevant. According to Kobyakov, the EAEU has been able to find ways of possible interaction for example, a new

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Kobyakov, Andrei. 'Премьер-министр Белоруссии: динамика товарооборота внутри Евразийского союза вызывает озабоченность', *Evrases News*, 30/05/2015.

See: <http://evrasesnews.ru/index.php/news/article/view/13/19642/> (Accessed on 21/03/2018)

²⁵³ Ibid.

trend appeared of import substitution. Kobyakov noted that '[t]his trend should in no case lead to a departure from the goal of forming a coherent industrial policy in the union.'²⁵⁴

However, according to Kobyakov, a serious concern is the decline in trade turnover in the EAEU. Specifically, he stated that 'the dynamics of trade turnover in the union are of primary concern'.²⁵⁵ It is unclear whether Kobyakov is referring to internal factors in Belarus or the wider EAEU, but given the tone of criticisms of partner states in later speeches and the propensity of Belarus to present itself as a diligent, committed, and indispensable member of the integration project, it is likely that this is a thinly-veiled criticism of the efforts of its partners. For example, six months after the official entry of Belarus into the EAEU, the Belarusian side stated that the degree of integration within the framework of the EAEU does not yet meet the expectations of Belarus.²⁵⁶ Makei pointed out that within the framework of the EAEU the partners are rather wary of the idea of further political or military integration and this is hindering further progress.

Russia was largely exempt from these criticisms and, on the subject of their relations with Russia, Makei noted that 'the level of integration between us is very high'. At the same time, he drew attention to the dependence of Belarus on Russian energy resources: '[m]aybe Belarus's economic dependence on Russia is sometimes excessively high, due to the fact that we depend on energy supplies from Russia.'²⁵⁷ According to him, Belarus is developing cooperation in all areas with Russia, while 'at the same time we [Belarus] are trying to diversify our markets and our relations with other countries. There is an urgent need to diversify our foreign economic activity'. Although this could still be read as an attempt to pander to Russia, it is an interesting rhetorical shift compared with the language used by Belarusian policy-makers in previous eras. Just five years ago, it would have been unprecedented to hear Belarus talking of 'excessively high' dependence on Russia.²⁵⁸ This marked an attempt to present itself as more assertive and autonomous entity.

The objectives of this were twofold: first to project the image of a sovereign state rather than a Russian satellite and secondly, to send the message to third countries (for example in the EU or China) that Belarus is willing and able to be the bridge that unites international economic

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Makei, Vladimir. 'Беларусь пока недовольна степенью интеграции в рамках ЕАЭС – МИД', *Interfax*, 27/05/2015. See: https://interfax.by/news/policy/ekonomicheskaya_politika/1184687/ (Accessed on 17/03/2018)

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

interests with the EAEU. To this end, after expressing the dissatisfaction with the EAEU progress, in the same period, Belarus called itself the ‘western corridor’ contributing to the notion that of the role conception of bridging state. The statement was about raising the status of Belarus in the SCO to an observer and complete the necessary legal formalities.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, Sidorsky referred to as ‘a special partner’ for the EAEU due to the fact that the trade turnover of the EAEU countries with China was expected to reach \$ 100 billion.²⁶⁰ Given Belarus’ economic concerns over existing barriers to trade and the perceived lack of will for full-spectrum integration, Minsk sees no alternative for the EAEU other than trading with countries outside of the Union. Neither the national protectionism model nor the global integration model have worked and therefore, as Slepnev, member of the board (Minister) for Trade of the Eurasian Economic Commission, states ‘[t]he answer is obvious: regional multilateral associations ... will serve cooperative chains.’²⁶¹

Related to the concept of expanding cooperation with unions and powerful states outside of the EAEU was the idea of expanding the EAEU itself. Several Belarusian policy-makers emphasized the need to increase membership. For example, Sidorsky noted that while Tajikistan has not yet expressed a desire to join the EEU, if the leadership of Tajikistan expresses a desire to join the EAEU, ‘we are ready to consider their proposal.’²⁶² Here the specific language used by Sidorsky when he says ‘we’ implies that he is referring to *Belarus*, not the EAEU as coordinator and leader (‘то мы готовы рассмотреть их предложение’). This statement, quoted in the media, of the possible membership of neighboring countries serves as a certain message for the CIS countries that have not yet entered or are considering joining the EAEU; that Belarus plays a defining role in encouraging neighboring countries to join the EAEU.

Towards the end of 2015, Ivan Antonovich said that it is the time for regional unions (December 2015). In his opinion, according to global practice sovereign states are entering the world arena by regions with a common interest, with a common economy. He talked about the EAEU as a

²⁵⁹ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Владимир Макей: Беларусь намерена получить статус наблюдателя в ШОС’, *CTV.by*, 08/06/2015. See: <http://www.ctv.by/novosti-rossii/vladimir-makey-belarus-namerena-poluchit-status-nablyudatelya-v-shos> (Accessed on 11/05/2018)

²⁶⁰ Sidorsky, Sergei. ‘Сидорский о перспективах ЕАЭС: Нас президенты подталкивают и ускоряют’, *TUT.by*, 29/10/2015. See: <https://news.tut.by/economics/470545.html> (Accessed on 11/05/2018)

²⁶¹ Slepnev, Andrei. ‘Сидорский о перспективах ЕАЭС: Нас президенты подталкивают и ускоряют’, *TUT.by*, 29/10/2015. See: <https://news.tut.by/economics/470545.html> (Accessed on 11/05/2018)

²⁶² Sidorsky, Sergei. ‘ЕЭК: если Таджикистан захочет вступить в ЕАЭС, вопрос рассмотрят’. *Ritmeurasia*, 29/10/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/3eNV6Aq> (Accessed on 11/05/2018)

much broader geopolitical entity that the EU – the comparison is a thinly veiled attempt to show the EAEU as a competitor to the West. Of greater interest perhaps, is that his speech presents the establishment of the EAEU as a success story of *Belarusian* diplomacy first and the diplomacy of those countries that joined afterwards second.²⁶³ Throughout all the rhetoric, Belarus presents itself as the leader (or co-leader along with Russia) of the integration initiative. It is perhaps this notion of its own level of authority that has led to more open and direct criticisms of its partners.

3.3.4. Criticisms of Partners

In September 2015, Sidorsky stated in an interview for the *Respublika* newspaper that industrial cooperation between EAEU members is essential for economic development.²⁶⁴ He spoke of how the creation of the CU made it possible to significantly reduce barriers in mutual trade of the member states. This had a positive effect on the volume of mutual trade - for 2010-2013 this figure increased by 37% (from US\$ 47.1 to US\$ 64.5 billion over the four years). However, he also cited his concern that there will be a reduction in the growth of mutual trade between members. For example, the volume of mutual trade in 2014 amounted to US\$ 58.5 billion dollars, which was 9% less than a year earlier.²⁶⁵ This is a familiar argument among Belarusian policy-makers; Sidorsky is pointing to the slow decline in economic performance and sees the failure (or lack of will) to integrate *politically* as the cause. For Sidorsky, and Belarus generally, partner countries need to deepen integration and develop ‘new cooperation mechanisms’ (i.e. across multiple spheres) to ensure further economic growth.

Indeed, the rhetoric used by policy-makers in Belarus in the latter stages of 2015 conveyed the idea that they were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the contributions and level of commitment of their partners. Kazakhstan was singled out for the most direct criticism. In October 2015, the Foreign Ministry of Belarus announced that Eurasian integration could suffer due to Kazakhstan’s membership in the WTO. The accession of Kazakhstan to the Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the WTO was signed in Geneva on July 27, 2015. In response to the

²⁶³ Antonovich, Ivan. ‘Иван Антонович: На своем дипломатическом пути современная Беларусь не сделала ни одной политической ошибки’, *SD.by*, 22/12/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2tBwYiW> (Accessed on 18/05/2018)

²⁶⁴ Sidorsky, Sergei. ‘Сергей Сидорский: промышленное сотрудничество в ЕАЭС – мощный фактор экономического развития’, *Zviazda.by*, 16/09/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/30C8nql> (Accessed on 21/05/2018)

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Kazakh parliament's ratification of the document, Belarusian Foreign Minister Vladimir Makei stated his belief that Kazakhstan's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) may slow down Eurasian integration as a whole.²⁶⁶ Makei mentioned that Kazakhstan's accession to the WTO and its commitments reduces the level of customs protection within the EAEU and that the aim was to speed the integration up, not slow the processes down.²⁶⁷ In typically assertive tone, Makei stated that Belarus will 'take adequate response measures, building appropriate levels of customs protection from our side against those goods that can enter the EAEU market through Kazakhstan.'²⁶⁸ In defense of the EAEU, which he sees Belarus as a key founding member of, he also expressed support for other EAEU member states that he believed would suffer as a result of Kazakhstan saying that 'here we act together with our partners from Russia, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan.'²⁶⁹

In October 2015, Sergei Sidorsky announced that the total budget deficit of the EAEU countries is expected to be \$ 200 billion. According to him, 'everyone' (i.e. the member states) wants the active development of the EAEU, but before talking about prospects for 'accelerated development', he suggested examining the general economic situation of the participating countries, which in most cases was poor. Earlier in the year Belarus had offered help to find anti-crisis measures on sanctions imposed on Russia as a partner and as part of the Eurasian integration project. However, later in 2015 Belarus announced its own economic crisis due in part to the sanctions imposed against Russia, but also, according to Sidorsky, due to the different opinions on the development of the EAEU, which cause a sharp drop in energy prices. This, according to him, reflected the divergent priorities of the EAEU member states and was evidenced by the EAEU's overall budget deficit.²⁷⁰ Here Sidorsky is painting Belarus as a blameless victim of the economic mismanagement of other states and of the sanctions imposed on Russia by the West. There is a certain intransigence in the position taken by Sidorsky; his rhetoric suggests that if only the other members would agree to deeper (i.e. political) integration, then these problems could be solved. However, there is also a lack of will from the Belarusian side to accept the reasoning of states such as Kazakhstan for not wanting to follow that path.

²⁶⁶ Makei, Vladimir. 'Евразийская интеграция может пострадать из-за членства Казахстана в ВТО – МИД Беларуси', *Caravan.kz*, 28/10/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8XPfr> (Accessed on 21/05/2018)

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Sidorsky, Sergei. 'Сергей Сидорский: Общий дефицит бюджетов стран ЕАЭС ожидается на уровне \$200 миллиардов', 29/10/2015, 24.kg. See: <https://bit.ly/2CEPD1T> (accessed on 21/05/2018)

The optimism in the rhetoric that characterized the early stages of 2015 turned into frequent references to “concerns” by May and more direct criticisms of partners towards the end of the year. Many of the statements still attempted to impress upon the audiences that deepening integration was crucial to the national and regional economic interests. Generally, there was strong evidence in the rhetoric that Belarus was attempting to present itself as the regional leader and driver of actions that were required to achieve a successful integration initiative. Belarus also demonstrated its desire to be seen as a bridging state between the EU, China and the EAEU as well as the facilitator for current non-members who wished to join.

	2015		2015
Assertive	5	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	4
Sovereign	1	Leader	4
Ambitious	3	Integration Coordinator / Driver	3
Trustworthy	3	Bridging State	3
EAEU / CU Positive	2	Problem Solver	1
EAEU / CU Negative	2	Committed Member	5
Russia Negative	2	Pioneer / Innovator	3
Partners Negative	4	Russia's right-hand man	2
Powerful	2		
Reliable	3		
Frustrated	5		
Blameless	1		

Figure 14: Self-presentation themes (L), role conceptions (R), 2015

3.2.5. 2016: Regional Leader and Bridging State

In October 2016, the Belarusian Prime Minister Andrei Kobayakov stated that ‘Minsk always was and has been at the center of integration processes for 25 years.’²⁷¹ This was a clear statement on how Belarus conceives of its role in the various Eurasian integration projects over the years; obviously from a geographical perspective Belarus is far from the center. Thus, this metaphorical reference is to the country as the leader by innovating, coordinating and motivating partners to contribute and driving the Eurasia project onwards. It implies that without the continued commitment of Belarus, the project may be doomed to failure and that

²⁷¹ Kobayakov, Andrei. ‘Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам’, *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

Belarus is the right state to help advance it. Particular references are made to the ‘well-received’ or ‘innovative’ initiatives that have been suggested by Belarus in the past. This self-aggrandizement also stretches to how Belarus has selected its own role as a bridge between the far-east (particularly China) and the EAEU. For example, in November 2016, Kobyakov said that Belarus supports the idea of integrating the EAEU and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. He stated that ‘[i]n terms of economic cooperation, we fully share the idea of the Russian partners for close integration of the EAEU and the SCO.’ According to him, this approach is supported by the leadership of Belarus and is consistent with Lukashenko’s often-quoted notion of an ‘integration of integrations’ (i.e. connecting Lisbon to Vladivostok via Belarus/Minsk).²⁷² Makei echoed this sentiment by speaking of the EAEU as the basis for the peaceful development of Belarus. He also spoke of how Minsk ‘does not exclude the possibility of unification of the European Union and the Eurasian Union through the Belarusian idea of the so called “integration of integrations”’.²⁷³

Kobyakov added that ‘[f]or our part, we support the intentions and concrete plans of the Chinese partners on the participation of our countries in the Silk Road Economic Belt initiative, on creating cooperation platforms in the field of industry, transport and communications, innovation and financial cooperation, and information technologies,’ and that Belarus has a developed scientific and technical potential to make a worthwhile contribution to the implementation of joint projects across multiple fields (industry, information and communication technologies, energy, agriculture and other industries).²⁷⁴ This is a continuation of the themes referred to by policy-makers in Belarus in 2015 and thus, a pattern begins to emerge in relation to the image that Belarus is attempting to present; as a major power that is a hub of industry and innovation with the capability to drive the Eurasian integration project forward and connect the economic interests of east and west. In short, a bridge and a regional leader.

²⁷² Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘Кобяков: Беларусь поддерживает идею интеграции ЕАЭС и ШОС’, 03/11/2016. *Belarus.by, Press Center*, See: <https://bit.ly/2TEIYLb> (Accessed 22/05/2018)

²⁷³ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Беларусь выступает за интеграцию интеграций – глава МИД В.В. Макей’, *Новосту ООН, United Nations*, 23/09/2016. See: <https://news.un.org/ru/audio/2016/09/1035931> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁷⁴ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘Кобяков: Беларусь поддерживает идею интеграции ЕАЭС и ШОС’, *Belarus.by, Press Center*, 03/11/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2TEIYLb> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

3.3.6. Promoting Cooperation, Competition and Political Union

Throughout the year, the rhetoric continues to reflect the commitment to promoting cooperation between EAEU member states in order to be competitive with the West, in particular the European Union. Many of the statements reference the need for regular meetings in order to deepen the level of cooperation, build relations without exceptions and remove restrictions that impede mutual trade between countries. Belarus's commitment to this position was voiced by Prime Minister Andrei Kobyakov who stated that each meeting between CIS members validates its purpose of promoting equality between members; he stated '[t]his is a platform for conducting multilateral negotiations and making mutually beneficial decisions on all issues.'²⁷⁵ Meanwhile, Lukashenko said in his speech that 'the union [EAEU] was created as a more profound form of integration in order to overcome crises and stagnation in the economy, respect each other's interests and form common markets.' Lukashenko elaborated on this point by stating that '[i]n general, crises and various kinds of troubles, clashes should bring together true friends and brothers.'²⁷⁶ Here there is an element of advocating for more than just simple economic integration. Lukashenko is addressing how adversity forges stronger bonds. It is perhaps hinting at the closeness of the relationship the members shared (or were compelled to share) in the USSR. However, for Belarus it is difficult to understand why fraternal relations may be problematic for certain states.

For example, a statement by Lukashenko again highlighted their belief that full-spectrum integration is necessary. He stated that he was convinced that the integration should not be purely about economic disputes or competition of powerful economies within member states. He said that this sort of attitude can put an end to such integration and greater cooperation on political and military matters would galvanize the multilateral relationship. Specifically, he stated: 'If someone is ready to move from an economic union to a close economic military-political union within the framework of the Union of Belarus and Russia, the agreement is open.'²⁷⁷ This was clearly an attempt to present the idea that Russia and Belarus are "doing it right" while the rest of the union members' reluctance to integrate along the full spectrum of spheres (political, military, cultural, and economic) is hindering the speed of the integration. Furthermore, by referring to close Russian-Belarusian cooperation it also reflects an attempt to pander to Russia, assuring it rhetorically that it is trustworthy and toeing the line.

²⁷⁵ Kobyakov, Andrei. 'Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам', *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁷⁶ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам', *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

This was also echoed by Makei who stated that, in his opinion, the Union State became the prototype for the EAEU and that the latter is still ‘very far from the level of integration that exists in Russian-Belarusian relations.’²⁷⁸ In particular, despite the desire for the greatest possible economic cooperation, there are still many problems and restrictive measures in the EAEU. At the same time, the Foreign Minister welcomed the desire of several dozen states to create free trade zones with the EAEU. According to Makei, the EAEU could be a real competitor to the EU if disagreements could be addressed. He affirmed Belarus’ commitment to solving any problems that arise by developing relations with partners in the framework of any integration associations in which it participates. This was announced at a press conference in Moscow. He stressed that ‘We would not like to say which initiative is for us of higher priority - the Union State, the Eurasian Economic Union, the CIS or the CSTO ... All of these organizations are important for us, and we will work actively in them’.²⁷⁹

3.3.7. Criticizing Partners and Growing Frustrations

In spite of several statements referring to the level of commitment Belarus has for the Eurasian integration project, there were continued criticisms in 2016 over the commitment of their partners. Belarus continued to state its opinion that the EAEU faced a series of significant challenges. For example, Lukashenko spoke about the positive role of Belarus in the union as a result of its active integration policy and pointed instead to other the EAEU countries as the culprits for the slow pace and lack of practical results in the EAEU. He paid special attention to business dissatisfaction in this region: ‘I will be extremely frank: a critical mass of accumulated questions provokes alarm in Belarus, not only in the CIS, but also in the EAEU’.²⁸⁰

Further frustrations were voiced over slow decision-making in relation to industrial policy as a result of the Belarusian perception that this sector has the weakest level of integration. Myasnikovich expressed his opinion that the decision on the common industrial policy of the EAEU should not be delayed as it could be profitable.²⁸¹ Myasnikovich also referred to the

²⁷⁸ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Владимир Макей: Союзное государство, Евразийский экономический союз, СНГ, ОДКБ – для нас важны все эти организации’, *Souzveche*, 08/04/2016.

See: <http://souzveche.ru/news/30531/> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам’, *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁸¹ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. ‘Мясникович: Промышленная политика в ЕАЭС имеет самую слабую степень интеграции’, *Rosbalt.ru*, 19/02/2016.

See: <http://www.rosbalt.ru/world/2016/02/19/1491598.html> (Accessed on 24/05/2018)

EAEU court and its inability to function and called on member states to fix its poor performance as soon as possible. In October 2016, the Prime Minister of Belarus Andrei Kobyakov struck a similar tone when he announced his belief that CIS countries still have much to do to strengthen the Commonwealth. He noted that the CIS countries need to clarify the areas of responsibility for member states in order to optimize and improve the performance of industry structures and ensure the effective use of financial resources.²⁸² Lukashenko also voiced his concerns declaring that ‘not all the positions of the agreement correspond to the current situation in the economy and our expectations, but that Belarus has always been ‘transparent’ on these matters and urged ‘the heads of governments of the EAEU states to focus their experts on serious work’ rather than creating more barriers to integration through disagreements or slow decision making.²⁸³ Here we clearly see that Belarus is presenting itself as blameless; that they are ready to forge ahead with the initiative, but are being hindered by the lack of commitment from partners and this is leading to an imbalance in the internal integration processes. The rhetoric here is very assertive, bordering on angry. It is important to note that this is just how Belarus wishes to be seen. The anger may be an attempt to shock partners into action or, perhaps, it could be a case of “protesting too much” and, in reality, Minsk recognizes that they are not contributing as much as they profess to be.

3.3.8. Threats of Withdrawal

In May 2016, Lukashenko delivered a speech during the meeting of the Heads of State and emphasized the need for equal economic conditions for the EAEU member states. Although Belarus was expressing the role of promoting regional economic growth, at the same time the negative comments were made by more precisely pointing out the facts that a barrier-free environment between the countries has not yet been created and expressed his concern about the fall in the Union’s internal trade turnover after the signing of the agreement on the EAEU. Lukashenko said that ‘in 2012 and 2013 it was at \$ 65 billion, in 2015 only \$ 45 billion.’²⁸⁴

²⁸² Кobyakov, Andrei. ‘Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам’, *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁸³ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам’, *Maiak.by*, 29/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁸⁴ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘ПРЕЗИДЕНТ БЕЛАРУСИ А.ЛУКАШЕНКО ПРИНЯЛ УЧАСТИЕ В ЗАСЕДАНИИ БЕАЭС НА УРОВНЕ ГЛАВ ГОСУДАРСТВ’, *Belarusian Embassy Official Press Release*, 31/05/2016. See: <http://www.embassybel.ru/news/aeunion/0b9becaef349.html> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

Lukashenko's statements show clear dissatisfaction with the process in the EAEU, as there are restrictions on mutual trade 'no matter how our union evolved (first the Customs Union, then the Common Economic Space and, finally, the Eurasian Economic Union), the number of these exemptions and restrictions has not changed.'²⁸⁵ Lukashenko called for the active implementation of the tasks set by the countries of the Eurasian Economic Commission and accused the participants of being the reason for slowing down the implementation of the projects. Lukashenko highlighted that the union needs to be strong as this will facilitate dialogue with the European Union, with China, and with others. Lukashenko urged members to speak with one voice, since without it, the EAEU will not be able to implement both domestic and foreign policies effectively.²⁸⁶

Lukashenko is clearly ensuring Belarus plays the role of leader in region. Specifically, the role which exists as a subset of the leader category: integration coordinator / driver. However, the speech was not merely a rallying cry; Lukashenko is projecting Belarus's overall dissatisfaction with the progress of the EAEU and repeatedly mentions the need to move from theoretical developments to a practical plan if the project is to succeed. By September 2016, with little progress made, Lukashenko shocked the region by threatening to reconsider the participation of Belarus in the Eurasian Union. He stated that Minsk intends to 'optimize' its participation in integration-related projects with Russia in order to protect its national interests. He clarified this by stating that '[w]e are now very carefully analyzing our participation, primarily in the Eurasian Economic Union,' because '[e]verything that was agreed upon is violated'.²⁸⁷ Lukashenko was clear in his statement, he needed the answers to his questions such as: will the member states deepen the integration and most importantly will the states execute contracts and obligations in the end? Additionally, in his statement he referred to difficulties in agreeing on the gas prices and writing off the debt for gas supplied by Russia to Belarus and Russia's subsequent reduction of oil supplies to Belarus. Lukashenko stated that 'we perceive this as pressure on Belarus, but I will not tolerate pressure, and Belarusians, too' and, in a direct slight to Russia over the gas dispute, Lukashenko refused to appear at the EAEU summit in December 2016 and delayed signing the Customs Code by four months.²⁸⁸

By presenting their partners with an ultimatum and challenging the hegemon by voicing their anger with perceived political pressure, Belarus is attempting to demonstrate its importance to

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Lukashenko, Alexander. '«Давления я не потерплю, и белорусы тоже»', *Gazeta.ru*, 21/09/2106. See: <https://www.gazeta.ru/business/2016/09/21/10207691.shtml> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

the region and project the image of a major regional power that should be taken very seriously. Again, it should be noted that this is the projection of an image rather than the reality. It is conceivable that Lukashenko is bluffing since, in reality, Belarus needs the EAEU to work for its economic security. While in the past, rocky relations with Russia have been patched up as a result of the fraternal bond referenced previously and the extreme reliance of Belarus on Russia for its economic fortunes and, to a large extent, the longevity of Lukashenko's regime.

2016 saw an escalation in the rhetoric that was beginning to emerge at the end of 2015 and Belarus exhibited a great deal less optimism over the future of the EAEU compared with the previous year. The most shocking development was the threat to reconsider membership of the Eurasian Union if things do not change. Nevertheless, both the role conceptions and the self-presentation themes are broadly consistent with previous years as Minsk reiterated their belief that full-spectrum integration was the solution to the EAEU's problems and that they (Belarus) could lead the union towards success, specifically as a coordinator and driver of collective efforts. There were also more frequent references to the EAEU becoming a competitor to the West provided that the problems that Belarus raised over the year could be overcome. Belarus also sees its role within the integration as being a pioneer and innovator and increasingly as a problem solver. These roles relate to how Belarus presents itself overall, namely as an assertive, committed and ambitious country that can be trusted to carry out what is asked of it.

However, as with the previous year, there is also the presentation of the country as frustrated or concerned with the progress of the EAEU. This theme is related to the assertive category in that it is an attempt to appear strong on the international stage as are references to being blameless. In other words, Belarus is unapologetic because as far as they are concerned, they are the only country that is fully committed to the project.

	2016		2016
Assertive	6	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	4
Sovereign	1	Leader	4
Ambitious	3	Integration Coordinator / Driver	3
Trustworthy	1	Bridging State	3
Modernizing	2	Committed Member	5
Globalized	3	Pioneer / Innovator	2
EAEU / CU Positive	3	Russia's right-hand man	1
EAEU / CU Negative	5	Industrial hub	1
Russia Negative	3		
Partners Negative	4		
Powerful	2		
Reliable	3		
Fraternal	1		
Frustrated	6		
Blameless	5		

Figure 15: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2016

3.3.9. 2017: Regional Leader and Defender of the EAEU

In February 2017 Makei delivered a speech which highlighted the fact that Belarus has positioned itself as a country that has always occupied ‘leading positions’ in integration processes in the post-Soviet space, playing a defining role at the respective origins of the CIS, the Union State, and the EAEU.²⁸⁹ Elevating the status of the country has been a common theme in the speeches and statements across the two eras and 2017 is no exception to this. Using rhetoric of this nature attempts to place the country alongside Russia and convey the idea that the country is larger in international status than may be assumed by others.

Makei’s speech also reaffirmed Belarusian commitment to the EAEU project ‘in the name of our common good.’²⁹⁰ Specifically, Makei is referencing the work on the formation of common markets, the removal of barriers and the harmonization of legal frameworks, which Minsk perceives to be based on the bilateral experience of interaction between themselves and Russia in these areas. Indeed, Belarus sees itself as vital to integration efforts and in April 2017,

²⁸⁹ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Беларусь остается активным сторонником более тесной интеграции в Евразийском регионе – Макей’, *Belta.by*, 14/02/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2G87DQ1> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

Mikhail Myasnikovich was indirectly dismissive of Belarus's EAEU partners. He stated that the Belarusian parliamentarians would take it upon *themselves* to seek to remove barriers necessary for the formation of more effective EAEU markets.²⁹¹ The apparent frustrations of Belarus perhaps led the country to taking more responsibility on itself rather than waiting for regional partners and, indeed, Kobyakov stated he expects the Union to progress further and reduce existing restrictions. He highlighted that Belarus is ready to take the lead in order to promote deeper integration.²⁹² Kobyakov discussed the progress of work which was done to eliminate exemptions and restrictions in the domestic market of the EAEU. He announced that Belarus expects consistent moves forward in the functioning of the Union by reducing the restrictions and taking 'the most constructive position on this issue.'²⁹³ In all of these speeches the abiding theme is Belarus adopting the role of leader and driver of the integration and, through taking action such as directing the parliament to resolve issues within the union, as a problem solver.

There is also strong evidence of the Belarusian desire to connect the interests of the East and West. Makei cited Belarus's advantageous geographical position as the reason that they are, quite literally, best placed to carry out this task. He stated that after the collapse of the USSR, there was no real rapprochement between the East and the West, and the number of international problems not only did not decrease, but on the contrary, increased. However, 'being on the borders of the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union, Belarus has consistently advocated the formation of sustainable dialogue and cooperation mechanisms between these two largest associations.' Furthermore, he stated that 'Eurasian integration should not be limited only to the Western direction - the most important task should be close cooperation with states and economic associations in the East, including with China, states of the Asia-Pacific region, other partners'.²⁹⁴ He also spoke of the significant benefit in the implementation of trade, economic and investment interests that could be brought by the pairing of unification processes in the EAEU with the development of integration within the framework of the SCO, ASEAN and other regional unions. Clearly these statements show Belarus as striving to inhabit the role of a bridging state in between not only non-Eurasian economic union states but also other organizations.

²⁹¹ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Михаил Мясникович: Совершенствование законодательства – важнейшее условие социально-экономического развития страны', *SB.by*, 03/04/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/3eJrSml> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁹² Kobyakov, Andrei. 'Кобяков предложил развивать в ЕАЭС цифровую экономику', *Teleskop*, 29/05/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2sBDmGu> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Makei, Vladimir. 'Макей: Основные цели ЕАЭС к настоящему времени не достигнуты', *Belapan*, 27/04/2017. See: <http://belapan.com/archive/2017/04/27/900605/> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

In spite of Belarus's clear desire to play the role of a bridge, Belarus has often cited perceived prejudices of the EU towards the EAEU. For example, Makei frequently mentions the EU as a rival, competitor or partner in many of his statements and sometimes all at once. In 2017 Makei gave a statement that Belarus was concerned about collective attacks at the EAEU, which has forced it to 'overcome the prejudiced attitude of the European Union towards the idea of the integration of integrations.'²⁹⁵ In this regard, Belarus expressed that the EAEU needs 'a serious approach to the information support of the international authority of the EAEU' and that as a result of the efforts undertaken by Belarus, the EAEU has been recognized by a number of integration associations with more than 40 states showing interest in cooperating with it.²⁹⁶ However, Eurasian integration is not perceived positively everywhere and this speech can therefore be construed as an interesting attempt by Belarus to defend the concept of Eurasian integration against international criticism. We can ascribe this to the role conception of "Defender of the integration", although it perhaps also falls under the broader umbrella of regional leader insofar as Belarus feels it is incumbent upon them to set an example to other states by reaffirming their commitment to the project.

3.3.10. Need for Cooperation and Further Criticisms of Partners

In 2017, Sidorsky stated that it was the time for 'real cooperation' between member states in order to discuss the practical implementation of plans that had been devised in previous years.²⁹⁷ Sidorsky also mentioned the growth in industrial production for Belarus, and mentioned the potential for embedding the companies of member states that produce key materials such as steel, chemicals and woodworking into international production chains of the EAEU.²⁹⁸ The suggestion was that within the Union the member states must actively cooperate in mechanical engineering, including the production of electrical equipment, electronic and optical equipment, as well as in the light industry and, according to Sidorsky and Lukashenko, the development of industrial cooperation, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, agricultural engineering, building

²⁹⁵ Makei, Vladimir. 'ЕАЭС нуждается в серьезной информационной поддержке на международной арене – Макей', *Ritmeurasia*, 05/06/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/3eUglRv> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Sidorsky, Sergei. 'Сергей Сидорский: «Евразийские технологические платформы могут разрабатывать продукцию будущего»', *Eurasia Expert*, 16/01/2017. See: <http://eurasia.expert/sergey-sidorskiy-evraziyskie-tekhnologicheskie-platfomy/> (Accessed on 24/05/2018)

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

materials industry, and pharmaceuticals are of the highest priorities at the intergovernmental level.²⁹⁹

Furthermore, Lukashenko highlighted the possibility of expanding the number countries involved in the initiative. He noted that the geography of the EAEU is already expanding, and that the construction of a single economic space leads to more positive interest from other states in the region. Lukashenko referred to the statement of the President of Moldova on the provision of observer status in the EAEU and the desire of the states to create a free economic zone with the EAEU. The President of Belarus was skeptical, saying ‘but one is to enter into an appropriate agreement and quite another to put into practice’.³⁰⁰ However, he noted that the conclusion of free trade agreements with third countries is in the interests of Belarus.

However, on several occasions in 2017, Lukashenko expressed major concerns over the future of the EAEU calling for more work on economic ties with Kazakhstan in particular. He stated that Belarus is interested in the experience of state reforms in Kazakhstan, emphasizing the importance of the connection in between countries as partners in the region.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, there was still the sense in Belarus that many issues related to the creation of the EAEU had not been resolved. Lukashenko declared that the EAEU should first focus on solving the internal problems of the Union.³⁰² According to him, there are many problems inside the Union which are causing a decline in turnover and that priority measures should be taken to introduce a moratorium on the adoption of new legal acts that discriminate against EAEU participants; something he feels Belarus has been a victim of. As Sidorsky states, at present ‘the ordinary citizen does not particularly see the achievements of Eurasian integration’, whereas ‘the situation with the liberalization of the commodity market is constantly improving.’ He also mentions the advantages of the Union such as the implementations of four freedoms, but ‘without national exemptions, integration would go faster and more efficiently.’³⁰³ Problems such as non-compliance of the member states with the law of the EAEU. For example, he asserts that ‘there were situations when one country considered a certain issue as a barrier, and another

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Александр Лукашенко: ЕАЭС надо сделать упор на решении внутренних проблем Союза’, *KNews*, 14/04/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2NJ79Eu> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

³⁰¹ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: мы очень переживаем за Евразийский экономический союз’, *Naviny.by*, 17/03/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/3aAcuYu> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

³⁰² Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Александр Лукашенко: ЕАЭС надо сделать упор на решении внутренних проблем Союза’, *KNews*, 14/04/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2NJ79Eu> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

³⁰³ Sidorsky, Sergei. ‘Сидорский о проблематике ЕАЭС, импортозамещении в РФ и ВТО’, *TKS.ru*, 28/06/2017. See: <http://www.tks.ru/news/nearby/2017/06/28/0006> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

did not see any problems in this'.³⁰⁴ The Belarusian state sees these inconsistencies as incredibly damaging to the EAEU project, particularly the disconnect between the initiatives taken at the intergovernmental level and the tangible positive effect this is having on the general public.

According to Myasnikovich, Belarus saw itself as having overcome the 'very serious difficulties' listed above, but that most of these difficulties were not formed by Belarus but other member states.³⁰⁵ As was mentioned previously, this is another instance of Belarus presenting itself as blameless and asserting that a lack of commitment from partners is the cause of the issues being experienced. This is not a role conception *per se* as it is unlikely that a state would want to be perceived as such, however it is a reflection of how the state wishes to present itself to an international audience. For example, to any third-party states interested in trading with or investing in Belarus it might demonstrate that they are following the right path and attempting to lead and inspire its fellow members; in other words, a passionate commander that is being let down by his troops. Interestingly for Belarus, one of the partners that was targeted with the fiercest criticisms in 2017 was Russia.

3.3.11. The Relationship with Russia

In the context of the continued success of the EAEU project, 2017 marked perhaps the worst year of bilateral relations between Belarus and Russia. In early 2017, Lukashenko raised concerns about the nature of their relationship, saying that Belarus and Russia are constantly sorting out our relationship. By April 2017, Belarus indirectly criticized Moscow by accusing them of seeking to dominate the EAEU and that establishing any form of 'equal, mutually respectful relations' between the members of the EAEU is difficult. Lukashenko also subtly commented on the fallout experienced by EAEU members as a result of sanctions caused by Russia's actions. He stated that he views the integration as 'a common, self-sufficient market, by developing which member states will be able to cope with any sanctions and get out of this economic confrontation with the winners.' In other words, the EAEU can endure the impact of the sanctions, but only Russia is to blame for the collateral damage felt by states such as Belarus, Kazakhstan and Armenia.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Sidorsky, Sergei. 'Сидорский о проблематике ЕАЭС, импортозамещении в РФ и ВТО', *TKS.ru*, 28/06/2017. See: <http://www.tks.ru/news/nearby/2017/06/28/0006> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

³⁰⁵ Myasnikovich, Mikhail. 'Михаил Мясникович: Совершенствование законодательства – важнейшее условие социально-экономического развития страны', *SB.by*, 03/04/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/3eJrSml> (Accessed on 22/05/2018)

³⁰⁶ Lukashenko, Alexander. 'Лукашенко о ЕАЭС: мы постоянно выясняем отношения', *Radio Liberty*, 21/04/2017. See: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/28444197.html> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

The negative sentiments expressed by Lukashenko were echoed by Kobyakov; in 2017, there were many discussions on economic sectors with integration potential, as well as the possibility of removing obstacles to the development of the EAEU internal market. Kobyakov stated that ‘problems in bilateral relations [between Belarus and Russia] are distorting the Eurasian integration.’³⁰⁷ Of particular concern to Belarus were the continuing unresolved problems in the oil, gas and energy sectors, non-compliance with bilateral and multilateral agreements on the terms of energy supply, and inaction against this from Eurasian Economic Commission. He recalled that Belarus had demanded the removal of ‘barriers, restrictions and exemptions in the trade of certain types of goods and the provision of certain types of services, primarily in relation to energy carriers, products of assembly plants and other sensitive positions’ as far back as 2014, but that these restrictions had not been removed.³⁰⁸ He stressed, in fact, new obstacles and barriers are being created in what he referred to as an ‘escalation of restrictions.’³⁰⁹ The actions taken against Belarus by Russia could be a function of the level of assertiveness that is evident in the speeches and statements from Belarusian policy-makers across the whole era. Russia likely feels somewhat unsettled by this growing level of confidence from a state that has historically been their “little brother” and, given the fears that were raised across the Eurasian region as a result of the Ukraine and Crimea crisis, may have sought to illustrate to Belarus that they are not as autonomous as their rhetoric may suggest. Instead, the gas dispute indicated how dependent Belarus still is on Russia not only for its economy, but also for the survival of Lukashenko’s regime. It was a message to Minsk that the country is only as sovereign or powerful as Moscow allows it to be.

Belarus certainly recognizes that a total severance of ties would not be in their best interests. Lukashenko said that Belarus has ‘strategic’ and ‘trusting’ relations with Russia and Putin.³¹⁰ The joint Zapad (West) military exercises which were held between Russia and Belarus in Kaliningrad and parts of Belarus in September are evidence of this; in June 2017 Makei declared ‘collective attacks’ on the EAEU and ‘absurd fears’ had been caused by the scheduled Zapad-2017 exercises.³¹¹ The minister called the deployment of missile defense elements in Europe and the strengthening of NATO’s Eastern flank as ‘factors that provoke a violation of

³⁰⁷ Kobyakov, Andrei. ‘Лукашенко о ЕАЭС: мы постоянно выясняем отношения’, *Radio Liberty*, 08/03/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2G2hp6N> (Accessed on 22/03/2018)

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко о ЕАЭС: мы постоянно выясняем отношения’, *Radio Liberty*, 21/04/2017. See: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/28444197.html> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

³¹¹ Makei, Vladimir. ‘Макей заявил о "коллективных нападках на ЕАЭС" и "абсурдных опасениях" из-за учений "Запад-2017"’, *TUT.by*, 05/06/2017. See: <https://news.tut.by/economics/546043.html> (Accessed on 24/03/2018)

the strategic balance of forces and, by and large, a new arms race.’³¹² Belarus’ strategic priorities are therefore quite clearly intertwined with those of Russia and the military exercises are evidence of Belarus’ continued commitment to Russia as both a supporter and ally. Makei’s conflation of Zapad 2017 with the EAEU is interesting since the exercises were bilateral and carried out under the authority of the Union State (Russia and Belarus). Therefore, the reference to the EAEU is an anomaly. Instead, it may be construed as an attempt to implant the idea that the EAEU is more than simply economic integration, but is moving towards military and political cooperation as well.

The rhetoric used by high-ranking Belarusian policy-makers is an attempt to project to the international community the desire to be seen as an assertive and independent member of the international community rather than playing second fiddle to Russia. In reality, extreme economic dependence, a shared history and a fundamental desire to be connected to Russia in some form mean that relations will remain strong. Further, Russia also has no desire to cut off ties with a country that has been akin to a little brother for so long.

	2017		2017
Assertive	6	Defender of the integration	1
Sovereign	2	Full-Spectrum integration promoter	1
Ambitious	4	Leader	5
Trustworthy	1	Integration Coordinator / Driver	3
Modernizing	2	Bridging State	2
Globalized	2	Problem Solver	2
EAEU / CU Positive	2	Committed Member	6
EAEU / CU Negative	5	Pioneer / Innovator	2
Russia Negative	5	Industrial hub	1
Partners Negative	2		
Powerful	1		
Reliable	1		
Frustrated	5		
Blameless	5		

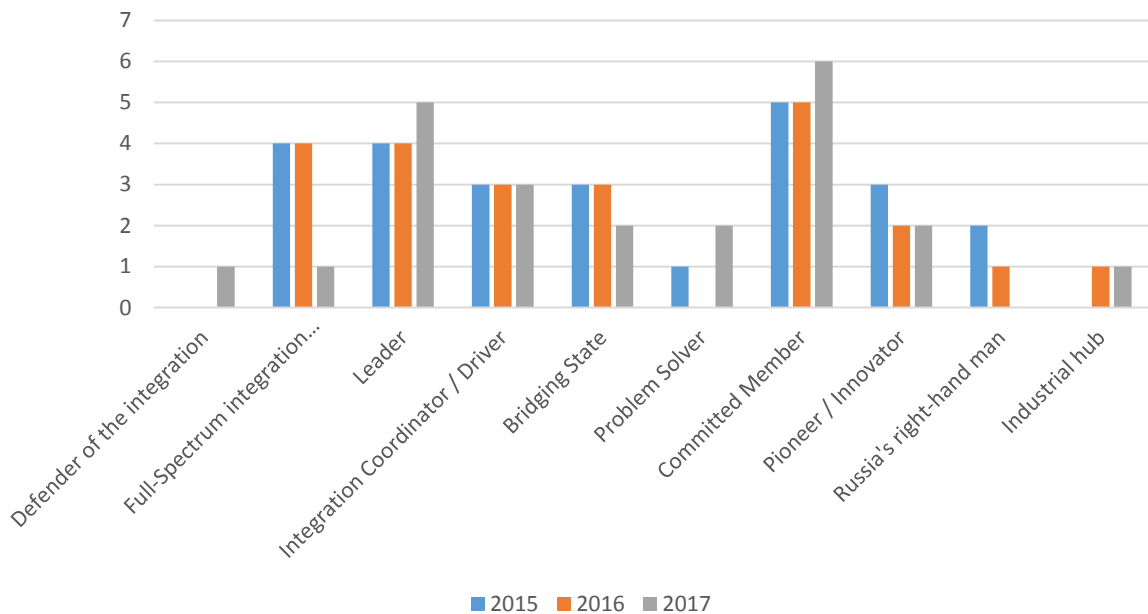
Figure 16: Self-presentation themes (L), National Role Conceptions (R)

³¹² Ibid.

3.3.12. Summary of the Second Era

What follows is a discussion of the specifics of the rhetoric used by Belarusian policy-makers in the second era of Eurasian integration and how it relates to their role conceptions and self-presentation. It is argued that there has been a shift in the attitudes of Belarus towards the integration initiative with increasing frustrations at the perceived inaction of their partners leading to slower than expected progress and, interestingly, evidence of cracks beginning to show in the relationship between Russia and Belarus. As time has progressed, these divisions have deepened and galvanized Belarus's conviction in the importance of its role in the integration project. This has been characterized by an increased willingness to stand up to Russian influence. The role of 'Equal partnership promoter' observed in previous years has disappeared while Belarus appears to promote its role as a leader in the region and as a bridge between the European Union and the EAEU.

Figure 17: Belarus: Role conceptions, 2015-2017



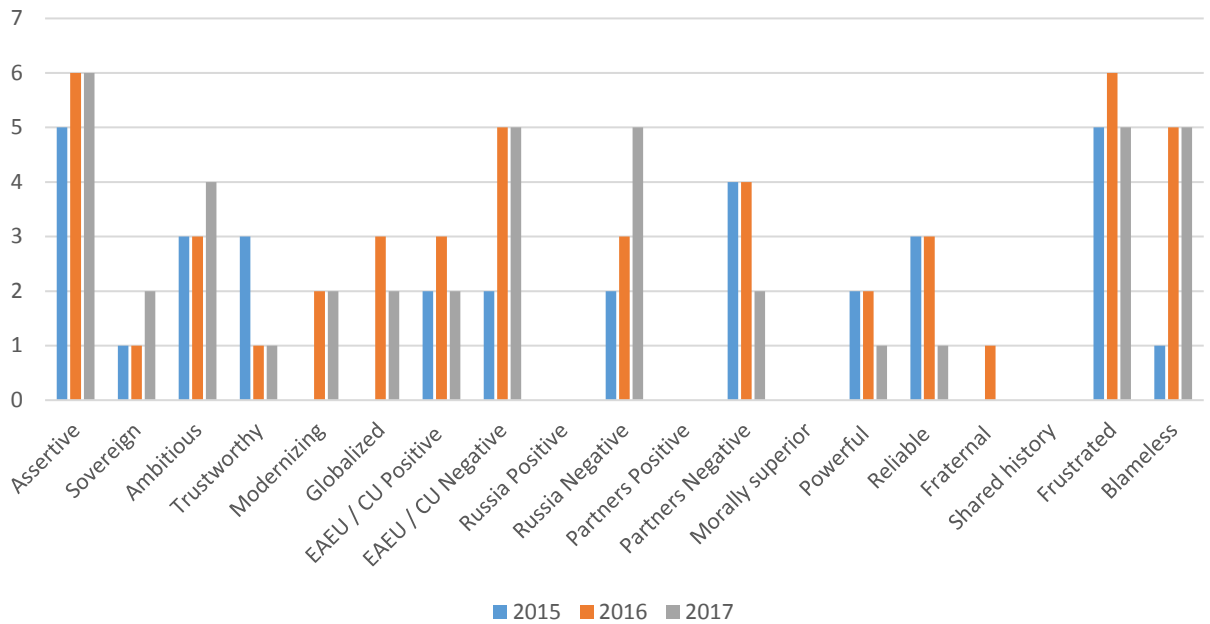
The beginning of 2015 was characterized in the political rhetoric of Belarus by a great deal of positivity and ambition for the future of the EAEU. Indeed, throughout the year Lukashenko, Sidorsky, and Makei were keen to stress their belief in the importance of the union and deepening regional cooperation in order to promote greater economic growth. While the Belarusian commitment to the merits of promoting greater economic integration have remained steadfast throughout the two eras and Belarus has repeatedly stated the need for the maximum liberalization of the conditions of economic activity within the EAEU; for example, following the complete abolition of exemptions and restrictions on the movement of goods, towards the

middle of the 2015, Belarus began to raise its concerns over the actions (or inactions) of its partners. There were frequent (albeit mild) criticisms of Kazakhstan in particular. Generally, Belarus still referred to Russia in a positive light, but by 2016, fractures began to appear between Belarus and the other states.

2017 reflected the harshest tone towards regional partners. In fact, there were five instances of speeches and statements which criticized the behavior or the commitment of partners along with six examples of criticizing the current format of Eurasian integration more generally. It is interesting that there were fewer instances of Belarus referring to Russia amicably and in fact, there were five occasions when Belarusian policy-makers openly criticized Russia. This was an increase from examples the previous year (the highest year-on-year increase in the study). Like 2016, there was also one occasion that Belarus threatened to withdraw from the project entirely if reforms did not take place. It is likely that these are empty threats, however, since, in total, there were fifteen examples of Belarus referring to the importance of the Union, the importance of regional cooperation, and the need to promote regional economic growth.

There was a great deal of consistency in the self-presentation of Belarus as well indicating a clear desire to be seen in general terms as an assertive, sovereign state that was wholeheartedly committed to the Eurasian integration project and with ambitious plans for its future development. However, two new themes have arisen in the rhetoric in this era: namely frustration at partners and the idea that Belarus is blameless in terms of the EAEU's deficiencies. When all of these themes are taken in conjunction, it reveals the picture of a state that wants to be seen as modern, with great potential and capable of contributing greatly to the global community. Any failings that are observed are brushed aside in the rhetoric as a simple function of the unfortunate circumstances Belarus finds themselves in.

Figure 18: Belarus: self-presentation themes, 2015-2017



3.4. Conclusion

As was outlined in the methodology section of the thesis, only speeches delivered in the Russian language were analyzed in order to determine the role conceptions and manner of self-presentation on the international stage. However, the challenge for Belarus is that although the Belarusian language exists, few Belarusians actually speak it with an astonishingly low 10% of people who say they communicate in Belarusian on a daily basis.³¹³ Instead Russian is the language of daily communication and, as a result, it is difficult to ascertain whether policy-makers are addressing an international audience in their speeches, or their domestic support base. For example, are rhetorical challenges to Russia simply empty threats in order to convey the idea to their population that they are willing to fight for their sovereignty rather than simply roll over in the face of pressure? Or do they represent a genuine will to present the image of an assertive and sovereign nation both to Russia and the wider international community?

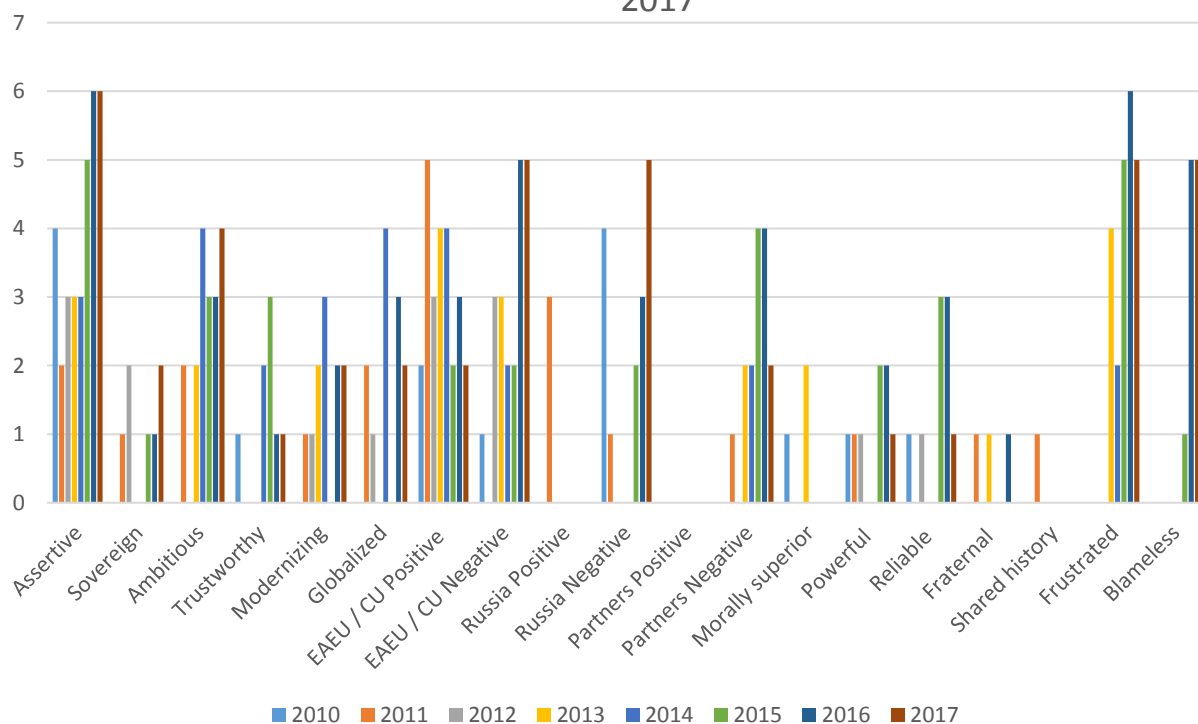
It is possible that we cannot answer these questions given that we cannot know what is going on in the minds of the Belarusian policy-makers. However, in a sense it does not matter as role conceptions and self-presentation are not dealing with reality, but with the ideal image that a state wishes to project. Machiavelli argued in *The Prince* argued that presenting the appearance

³¹³ Barushka, Katerina. 'After decades of Russian dominance, Belarus begins to reclaim its language'. *The Guardian*. 28/01/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/38xWBQT> (Accessed on 04/05/2018)

of possessing certain characteristics (such as generosity and mercy) is more important than *actually* possessing them and the same can be said in this context.³¹⁴ Belarusian policy-makers may not actually be committed, ambitious, or blameless. Nor may they actually want to lead the integration project, promote equality between members, or act as a bridge between East and West. However, to advance their standing internationally (and perhaps also domestically) they certainly wish to *appear* in this manner. It is worth bearing in mind that projecting this national role conception obliges the policy-makers to commit to this notion and, therefore, constrains their foreign policy activity to a certain extent. With this in mind, we now turn to summarizing the content of the speeches and statements that have been addressed.

It is worth beginning with a summary table of the content of all of the speeches taken together. Unlike the previous tables which simply showed the presence or absence of certain roles and self-presentation themes, this table provides a frequency analysis for the specific content. The purpose of this analysis is to provide a greater level of detail on the number of speeches that were analyzed and, additionally, to tabulate both consistencies and changes in the thinking of Belarusian policy-makers.

Figure 19: Belarus: summary of self-presentation rhetoric, 2010 - 2017



³¹⁴ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Detmold, C.E. Trans, Ware: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 1513/1997, Chapter 15, pp. 59-60

The above chart clearly demonstrates that Belarus considers Eurasian integration to be a worthwhile venture. For the seven years that speeches and statements were analyzed, Lukashenko and his administration have consistently expounded the importance of continuing along the path of integration and deepening regional cooperation with frequent references to their support for the union and regional cooperation.

One of the more controversial issues of the integration project for other members has been closer political and military cooperation. States such as Kazakhstan, which experienced a brutal 70 years of Soviet occupation, have no desire to create another political and ideological bloc that may resemble the USSR. However, by contrast, there is evidence in the rhetoric that Belarus does not feel the same way. Policy-makers in Belarus have often discussed the need for closer political and military integration; each year since 2010 has seen a call to this end. Lukashenko even expressed his grief at the collapse of the Soviet Union echoing Putin's famous assertion that it was 'the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the twentieth century'. Given the level of nostalgia for the days of the USSR, it is unsurprising therefore that we see frequent positive references to Russia. Many of these speeches and statements discuss how Belarus and Russia are in the strongest position to make the integration project succeed.

Even the language used by Belarus to refer to the various unions sheds a great deal of light on the contrasting perspectives of the member states. For example, the analysis of speeches and statements shows that in the speech of the Belarusian policy-makers, the use of phrase "the Eurasian Economic Union" (its official term) is consistently referred to simply as simply a "Union" or as the "Eurasian Union" with the word "Economic" omitted. Whereas if we consider politicians representing Kazakhstan, in the use of the Eurasian Economic Union, the word "Economic" is rarely omitted. This is a clear indication of the priority of Belarus in terms of promoting a bloc with common, even unilateral norms and values rather than simply the convenience of greater economic prospects.

However, there are also a number of remarkable inconsistencies in Belarus's rhetorical responses to Eurasian integration. In 2010, the Customs Union was established. This marked a significant step towards the goal of creating an economic bloc that may, in time, rival that of the European Union. Lukashenko had even ambitiously stated his desire for 'a common economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok'. The data show that in 2011, Belarus was quite complimentary to its regional partners with seven references to the good job they were doing or the potential benefits they could bring. Equally, in 2011 and 2012 there were no negative references to regional partners or statements concerning the need for reforms.

By 2013, it was becoming apparent that the initial objectives for a smooth, barrier free, borderless regional bloc set out in previous years were idealistic as disagreements over the format of the project began to emerge. 2013 and 2014 saw seven instances of Belarus raising their concerns over the need to reform the project. In spite of these disagreements, the data also show that Belarus was still willing to accept its share of the blame. In 2013 and 2014 there were three instances of Belarus referring to the collective responsibility of the member states for the slow progress (also Russia remained unscathed by Belarussian criticisms).

The second era is when the shift in the nature of the rhetoric is most marked; the frequency of statements relating to the need to reform the approach being taken increases from 2015 and, most significantly, Belarus is no longer willing to accept responsibility for the perceived deficiencies of the project. Instead, policy-makers lay the blame vocally (and often very bluntly) at the feet of their regional partners – most notably Kazakhstan. During the three years of this era, there are no statements praising the efforts of the smaller regional partners, but twelve statements criticizing them. There are also more frequent references to the need for *national* security, stability, and economic growth rather than collective regional security.

The most interesting aspect of this final era is perhaps the shift in how Belarus refers to Russia. Between 2010 and 2015 there were four negative statements all occurring in 2010. However, between 2015 and 2017 there were seven with five of these occurring in 2017. In one instance, Lukashenko refers to how he ‘will not be held hostage’ by Russia. This is a shocking departure from the conciliatory and amicable language used in previous years.

3.4.1. Belarus’ self-presentation over time

Many of the self-presentation themes identified in the rhetoric are related to the role conceptions. For example, the most consistent theme, “assertive”, is compatible with the leader role and all of its subsets. The purpose of including both Role Conceptions *and* self-presentation in the analysis is to provide the thesis with a broader degree of coverage since role conceptions can be an inflexible and overly-specific concept. For example, while it may be interesting that Belarus attempts to inhabit the role of “leader”, this is only useful insofar as it relates to Belarus’ role within Eurasian integration. By contrast, self-presentation deals with vaguer concepts that are more generalizable. For example, it is unlikely that Belarus will want to play the role of

bridging state in all contexts related to its foreign policy behavior, but far more likely that it may want to be viewed as assertive or trustworthy.

With this in mind, we now turn to the self-presentation of Belarus across the two eras. The overwhelmingly most common theme is that of assertiveness, which is evident in almost every speech that was analyzed for Belarus. There are different degrees of assertiveness, however. For example, sometimes it comes in the form of attempting to rally other member states, at other times it is characterized by direct, and often harsh, criticisms. For example, particularly in the second era Belarus increasingly challenges Russia's hegemony and rejects the notion that all partner states should have equal status in decision making. We might postulate that, after nearly 30 years of independence, Belarus's foreign policy is evolving and maturing as it comes to terms with the notion of its own sovereignty. Of course, given Belarus's overwhelming economic dependence on Russia, it is highly unlikely that they would drift away. Indeed, the recent Zapad military exercise demonstrate that Belarus and Russia are still very much aligned. Instead, this is more of a political tool which Belarus is using to convey the message to its domestic and EAEU audience that it is not simply the yes man of Russia, but, as the frequent references to sovereignty demonstrate, is also politically autonomous.

The analysis also reflects how Belarus wants to present the image of a committed, ambitious and trustworthy state and these themes emerge even more obviously in the second era. This is interesting given that the second era was also when Belarus was least happy with proceedings in the EAEU (see the self-presentation 'frustrated / concerned' and 'blameless' which were both mentioned in 100% of the years in the second era). This is perhaps evidence of what was eluded to earlier, namely that self-presentation reflects the will to be seen as being in possession of a general desirable trait. Motivations for this could be to encourage investment from abroad or promote one's status on the international stage. In Belarus' case it is likely a combination of these factors; Lukashenko is often criticized as a strongman; a heavy-handed dictator who represses public freedoms and limits political competition. Presenting the state in positive light may therefore be part of a charm offensive in order to change, or at least manage, the international community's perception of him and, by extension, Belarus.

As Holsti argues, role conceptions fundamentally relate to the ideal image that a state wishes to project in order to gain greater international recognition and respect. Focusing on the Russian-language rhetoric is the most effective way of analyzing this as it is a reflection of image each state desires to present to Russia and the regional partners and also the western world. Each speech and statement was read thoroughly and if a role was clearly identifiable in

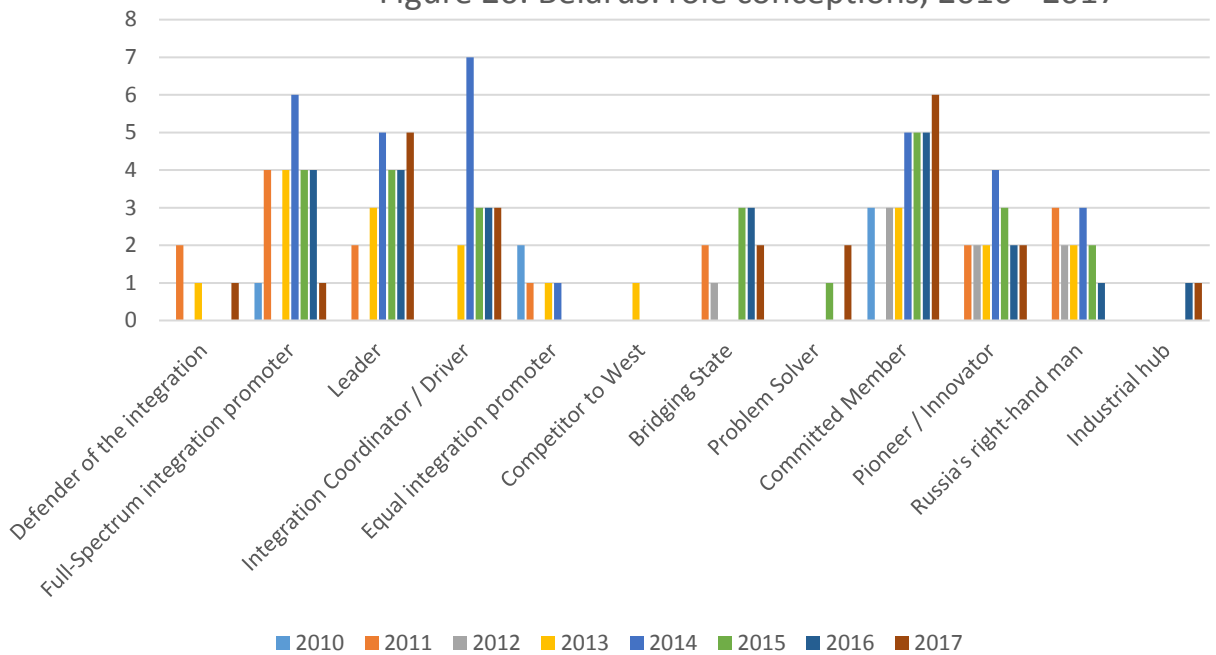
the rhetoric it was coded into the table. It is important to note that a state may not necessarily act on any of these role conceptions; this does not mean that they are any less important, however, since a partner state's interpretation of the rhetoric can lead to tangible policy responses.

The challenge for this section is to determine the extent to which Belarus's role conceptions have remained constant or changed over time by analyzing the evidence in the public rhetoric from policy-makers over the last eight years. Analysis of this nature will not only improve the utility of Holsti's role theory, but also reveal a great deal about the behavior of newly-independent states by demonstrating the divergent nature of role conceptions and the extent to which roles change or remain constant over time. Furthermore, it could go some way to explaining why the Eurasian integration process has been such a challenge (for example, four states that all see themselves as regional leaders will be unlikely to concede on certain issues).

The chart below is the outcome of the role conception analysis for Belarus; as with the table on attitudes towards integration discussed above, it is separated into eras. Unlike Holsti, who defined just seventeen roles for seventy-one states, we observe nine roles for Belarus alone. This is due to the fact that Holsti's categorizations were far too vague (for example "independent" or "regional sub-system collaborator")³¹⁵ meaning that multiple states could be placed under the same bracket and thus lending the theory less analytical utility. Further, his analysis examined foreign policy behavior in general terms rather than analyzing a specific concept such as integration and attempting to see what a given state's desired role within that is. In addition to this, by increasing the number of years analyzed, inevitably the number of identifiable role conceptions also increases.

³¹⁵ Holsti, Kalevi J. 'National Role Conceptions and the Study of Foreign Policy', *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, September 1970, pp.233-309

Figure 20: Belarus: role conceptions, 2010 - 2017



One of the most common role conceptions that were evident in the rhetoric were Belarus’s desire to be seen as a “leader” on matters of Eurasian integration and the promotion of integration across the full-spectrum of spheres; there were references to these roles in 87.5% of the time period and 100% in the second era. This is a strong indication of the Belarusian priorities and is, to a great extent, influenced by Belarus’ history. As was mentioned previously, there is a significant degree of nostalgia for the Soviet Union as it provided not only economic, but also physical security to the people of Belarus and there is the desire, at least from the high-ranking Belarusian policy-makers, to rediscover an element of the political, military, and ideological integration that was lost after the collapse. The desire for a leadership role is perhaps a function of Lukashenko’s personal ambitions or perhaps, as was alluded to earlier, due to a desire to present the image of leadership and importance to the Belarusian population. This tallies with the argument made in the introduction about how ‘public opinion’ and ‘personality’ can be sources of roles conceptions. It is unlikely that Belarus genuinely believes it can play more of a role than Russia in carrying the integration initiative forward. Instead, it is more likely that Belarus sees itself as a specific type of leader, namely as an integration coordinator / driver and ‘defender of the integration. The former is another frequently-referenced role which was less evident in the rhetoric from the first era (just 40% of the years) but was mentioned in 100% of the years in the second era. While the latter is mentioned fairly consistently across the whole time period with references in 62.5% of the years.

Related to these roles are the categories of ‘problem solver’ and ‘pioneer / innovator’ which can also be interpreted as a form of leadership. In the first era, Belarus expresses the desire to be seen as a leader in vague sense, but offers little in terms of practical ideas about how to achieve this. There are references to the idea of innovating and pioneering different forms of integration (evident in 62.5% of the years) for example the statement that their ideas have been ‘well-received’ in the past. However, particularly in the first era, Belarus offers few solutions to the perceived challenges facing the region (0% in the first era). By 2015, this has changed. The sanctions imposed on Russia may have generated a degree of desperation in Belarus who are heavily reliant on the hegemon for their economic fortunes and, as a result, Belarusian policy-makers begin to suggest methods of overcoming these challenges.

Another frequently referenced role is that of a bridging state; previous sections discussed how geography can be one of the sources of role conceptions and this is perhaps the strongest evidence of that fact. Belarus’s geographical location on the border of Europe and Asia makes it a classic “Eurasian” state. It makes sense, therefore, that policy-makers would attempt to carve out a role based on promoting ties between integration unions. This is exemplified by Lukashenko’s idea of creating an ‘integration of integrations’ from Lisbon to Vladivostok via Minsk.

One role that existed in previous eras but which disappeared more recently is that of the ‘Equal partnership promoter’. Many of the speeches and statements between 2011 and 2014 related to the idea that each state would have an equal status under any integration arrangement with no one state wielding supreme authority. However, resistance from other states who had no desire to reinvent the USSR as well as growing Belarusian frustrations with the perceived incompatible objectives of partner states seems to have led to the disappearance of this role and there were zero references to this conception during the second era. Furthermore, as Belarus increasingly perceives itself as a regional leader, the notion of equality becomes inherently incompatible with this conception.

Overall, the most striking aspect of all of the analysis on Belarus’ role conceptions and self-presentation is the level of consistency across time. Lukashenko’s 25-year tenure as President of Belarus is likely the reason for this as it has given Belarus a substantial degree of political stability after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the notion of a strong Belarusian national identity is a subject of debate in the country, Lukashenko’s enduring presence as the head of State has meant that there is at least a uniformity to the behavior of Belarusian policy-

makers; Lukashenko's mantra 'there will be no reforms' is clearly represented by the constancy in role conceptions and self-presentation.

Chapter 4.

Armenian Case

Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the history of the Republic of Armenia. As was explored in previous chapters, historical experience, in that it can shape national identity, is an important source of national role conceptions and how policy-makers present the state internationally. Exploring this historical context can elucidate why divergences in current outlook may exist. For example, the Belarus chapter demonstrated that the state has forged a strong, almost fraternal, bond with Russia and policy-makers will frequently employ language such as ‘brotherhood’ and ‘shared history’ while recalling its Soviet past with a degree of nostalgia – even going so far as to echo Putin’s sentiments on collapse of the Soviet Union as a ‘tragic mistake’. This contrasts starkly with the Armenian outlook; Armenia’s experience of subjugation and repression both under Ottoman rule and Soviet occupation has served to create an attitude that differs greatly with its regional partners. For many Armenians, the idea of a union conjures an image of limitation to civil liberties and even genocide and, thus, the concept of a *Eurasian* identity does not exist as such. Nor is there a political or public will to create one.

4.1. Historical Context

Armenia is a former Soviet Republic located in the South Caucasus region of Eurasia. It is neighboured by Turkey to the west, Georgia to the north, by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (a disputed territory and *de facto* independent state), Azerbaijan to the east, and Iran and Azerbaijan’s exclave of Nakhchivan to the south. Historically, Armenia’s ancient cultural heritage has largely been determined by its geopolitical location as a bridge between these various nations. It was an important member of the Ottoman Empire, but Armenians were still seen as second-class citizens. Their attempts to push for greater autonomy resulted in Sultan Abdul Hamid II sanctioning what became known as the Hamidian Massacres (one in 1894, the other in 1896). Death tolls estimate that between 100,000 and 300,000 Armenians lost their lives during these massacres.³¹⁶ After the gradual collapse of the Ottoman Empire

³¹⁶ Frey, Rebecca Joyce. *Genocide and International Justice*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009, p. 77

following the Young Turks revolution, there was renewed hope that Armenia could emerge as a more autonomous power.³¹⁷ However, once again, Ottoman Muslims carried out a series of anti-Armenian pogroms such as the Adana massacre, which resulted in a further 20,000-30,000 deaths. There was little improvement for Armenia during the First World War and between 1914 and 1917, the Young Turk government carried out a systematic, state-sponsored genocide of the Armenian people resulting in the deaths of around 1.5 million ethnic Armenians (some sources place the figure at around 800,000)³¹⁸ and driving most of the remaining Armenians out of their settlements. As Canadian-Armenian historian Razmik Panossian argues, these massacres are at the ‘very centre’ of Armenian national identity.³¹⁹

However, in addition to its tragic experiences during Ottoman rule, Armenia’s cultural heritage has also been heavily mixed with a Soviet ideology that was shared across the post-Soviet area. Armenia’s history during the Soviet period was difficult; initially, they were a part of the Transcaucasian SFSR (1922 - 1936) along with Georgia and Azerbaijan, after dividing from these countries Armenia suffered under the Great Purge instigated by Josef Stalin’s regime. Political repression and the persecution of the intelligentsia from the Communist party of Armenia was commonplace and, from 1937 to 1953, tens of thousands of executions and deportations to Siberia took place in order to try and reduce Armenia’s population to just under 700,000.³²⁰ All the powers at the disposal of the Soviet state were used to ensure the Stalinist regime maintained its political grip on the Armenian population. This entailed the suppression of any forms of free expression, particularly Armenian nationalism.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Armenia officially declared its independence on 21 September 1991. Policy-makers also sought to revive and promote the notion of pride in Armenian values. In consequence, there was an attempted revival of an ancient festival: *Navasard*. This is essentially a New Year’s day celebration comprising games, folk music and other activities associated with the celebration of Armenian identity. What makes this interesting is that it falls on 11 August, rather than 1 January. This date is significant as it is associated with Hayk Nahapet,³²¹ the founder of Armenia. According to mythology it was on

³¹⁷ Libaridian, Gerard J. in Wallimann, Isidor and Dobkowski, Michael N. eds. *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1987, pp.220-223

³¹⁸ Libaridian, Gerard J. in Wallimann, Isidor and Dobkowski, Michael N. eds. *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1987, p.229

³¹⁹ Panossian, Razmik R., ‘The Past as Nation: Three Dimensions of Armenian Identity’, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2002, p.136

³²⁰ Elisabeth, Bauer-Manndorff, *Armenia: Past and Present*. New York: Armenian Prelacy, 1981, p. 178

³²¹ “Nahapet” meaning founder or progenitor.

this day that he fought Bel, the tyrannical king of Babylon, killing him with an arrow. Hayk's victory is said to have initiated a new era of freedom for his people and led to the foundation of Hayastan: the name for the country in Armenian.³²² In the 18th century, the Gregorian calendar became the standard in Armenia and, under Soviet rule from the 1920s, Armenians were compelled to stop celebrating *Navasard* on 11 August. Thus, the reintroduction of the original date of celebration marks an attempt to instill a form of Armenian identity based on pre-Soviet history.

In spite of these attempts to revive a sense of national identity in Armenia, it remains an enduring challenge for the Armenian population as a result of a widely-scattered population. The challenge of identifying a clear Armenian national identity is typified by the example of Armenian diasporas in the North Caucasus Federal District. Here identity is obfuscated by the complexity of the geopolitical situation in the region. For example, Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, Russian-Azerbaijani relations, Russian-Turkish relations, and the perennial issues of Nagorno-Karabakh, Western Armenia, the recognition of the Armenian Genocide in Turkey, as well as the situation and condition of the Armenian diasporas in the newly independent states – such as the former republics of the USSR. These issues are summarized by the Armenian idiom '*yerkire yerkir chi*' – our country is not a country – which is often heard in the context of discussions on the state of the country post-Soviet collapse.

There exists, then, a paradox at the heart of Armenia's policy outlook – a fierce sense of unity derived from the shared traumas of the past contrasted with a confusion as to the specific values that render one typically 'Armenian'. As Nareg Seferian, an Armenian independent researcher, writes, Armenia's diaspora 'invites and encourages both cynicism and nationalism.'³²³ This is the heart of the issue in Armenia – the diaspora undermines Armenian people's ability to interact in a united cultural and intersubjective context.

Thus, in addition to the issue of how Armenia views its role within the context of Eurasian integration, a sub-aim of this chapter is to explore whether challenges over a clear Armenian identity emerge through inconsistent self-presentation in the rhetoric or whether more tangible sources of self-presentation and national role conceptions have led to more consistent and abiding themes; for example, geography or broader concerns related to security.

³²² Boyajian, Dickran H. *Armenia: The Case for a Forgotten Genocide*, Westwood, New Jersey: Educational Book Grafters, 1972, p.58

³²³ Seferian, Nareg. 'The Armenian Identity and the Armenian State', *EVN Report*. 27/05/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/37cF6Fh> (Accessed 14/09/2018)

For example, Anahit Shirinyan, an Armenia analyst at Chatham House, argued that while historical memory still plays a role in guiding Armenian foreign policy to an extent, since the early 1990s, events such as the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the economic crisis caused by the collapse of the USSR have meant pragmatic interests have been a greater determining factor.³²⁴ Economic and security needs post-collapse of the Soviet Union necessitated the creation of additional political associations to moderate any impending crises. For example, in 1992, during the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia signed the “Collective Security Treaty” (CST), and in 2002 became a member of the military-political bloc, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Today, Armenia is the only ally of Russia in the CSTO in the South Caucasus: the Russians still maintain a military base in the Armenian city of Gyumri and the borders of Armenia with Turkey and Iran are guarded by joint Armenian-Russian border troops. In fact, historical concerns seem to have been pushed to periphery given that military-political cooperation with Russia is considered by Yerevan as crucial to Armenian security and all economic and military-political integration projects in which Armenia has participated post-collapse have been initiated by Russia.

However, outside of the military sphere, until 2010, Armenia’s involvement in previous Eurasian integration initiatives with a more economic angle could be characterized by a combination of reluctance and apathy compared to the relative enthusiasm demonstrated by their Belarusian, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz counterparts. Although they did join the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in 1991 – the least formal and legally binding of the integration projects – since then Armenia has maintained observer status for all subsequent integrations and did not join the Eurasian Economic Community (2001-2014), the Eurasian Customs Union (2010) or the Common Economic Space (2012). The reason for this is twofold: first, unlike Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Armenia was a member of the World Trade Organization and thus had pre-determined rules for international trade. Second, for many Armenian policy-makers, closer ties with Europe were viewed as the economic and political priority and, in July 2010, they confirmed an Association Agreement (AA) with the European Union (EU). However, at roughly the same time as this AA was struck with the EU, there was a marked shift in the nature of the rhetoric from Armenian policy-makers towards Eurasia. For example, in April 2010, Prime Minister Tigran Sargsyan stated for the first time that Armenia may want to

³²⁴ Shirinyan, Anahit. ‘Armenia’s Foreign Policy Balancing in an Age of Uncertainty’. *Chatham House, Russia and Eurasia Programme*. March 2019, p. 7
See: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2019-03-14-Armenia3.pdf>

join the Customs Union and stated that Armenia was in the process of working out ‘mechanisms for participation.’³²⁵

4.2. The First Era: 2010 - 2014

So, what had changed in 2010? The major difference was that in 2010 the Eurasian Customs Union (CU) finally entered into force. The CU’s aim was to promote closer integration between Eurasian states and, as the name suggests, to form a customs union in order to remove charges for any goods traded within the zone. This would guarantee closer economic ties between member states and, crucially, negotiations for international trade deals would be carried out by a single body (Eurasia) rather than single states. The creation of the CU had been guaranteed when the treaty had been signed in 1995, but fifteen years with little progress meant Armenia had exhibited a degree of scepticism as to whether any substantive progress could be made. It took until 1999 for another round of signatures to take place in order to ensure its formation and, astonishingly, until 2007 to agree upon what the customs territory should be. This slow progress stymied Armenia’s enthusiasm for the project and turned their eye away from Eurasia, towards Europe and the EU, which, from a rational, pragmatic perspective, offered more economic opportunity. Policy-makers began to argue that Armenia needed to look out for its own interests instead of being guided by any sense of loyalty deriving from its shared history with the Eurasian region.³²⁶ However, by 1 January 2010 the CU was established and fixed rates for the transport of goods were set. Armenia felt as though they might be losing out if they did not join the Union and by September 2013 they had called off the AA with the EU announcing that they would join the CU instead, formally becoming members in September 2015.

4.2.1. 2010 -2012: New Regional Projects and Armenia’s Pivot from Eurasia to Europe

Since the mid-1990s, Armenia had been developing relations with both European and Eurasian countries. Policy-makers had worked on improving bilateral relations in the form of cooperation with the EU, the Council of Europe and NATO in parallel with maintaining

³²⁵ Sargsyan, Tigran, ‘Ереван просится в Таможенный союз’, *Customs Online*, 29/04/2010. See: <https://bit.ly/2RcXwjT> (Accessed 14/09/2018)

³²⁶ Nalbandyan, Eduard, ‘Nalbandian meets Armenian Ambassadors to European countries in Paris.’ *News.am*. 07/12/2010, See: <https://news.am/rus/news/40724.html> (Accessed 14/09/2018)

relations with the countries of the former Soviet Union through observer status in a number of integration projects. The relations of Armenia with the EU are built on the basis of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) of 1996, which had come into force three years later. Similar agreements at that time had been concluded by the EU with 11 former republics of the USSR, including neighboring Georgia and Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, each agreement was unique and reinforced precise elements of cooperation taking into account the specifics of the bilateral relations of each country with the EU in the political, socio-economic, scientific, and cultural fields.

According to the European Commission in 2003, during meetings with the EU leadership during his visit to Brussels, Armenian President Robert Kocharian confirmed the intention of the Armenian leadership to reform public life in accordance with *European*, rather than Eurasian, principles and standards.³²⁷ By mid-2004, Armenia also joined the EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) program. The policy's goal was to share the benefits of EU enlargement with all interested neighboring countries by increasing stability, security, and welfare, as well as preventing the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged (and rapidly enlarging) EU and its neighbors. Within the framework of this program, in 2006, a five-year "Action Plan for Cooperation" (also referred to as the ENP Action Plan for Armenia) was approved between the EU and Armenia. The implementation of the plan was carried out with financial and technical assistance from the EU, which gave Armenia incentives to continue economic and political reforms in parallel with progress towards cooperation with the EU. The action plan highlighted such issues that needed addressing such as the promotion of socio-economic development and democratization of Armenia, the fight against corruption, environmental protection, reforms in public administration and the greater involvement of civil society in political affairs.

Within the framework of the ENP, a special mechanism was prepared - the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).³²⁸ This allowed the EU to allocate about 3.8 billion euros for the development of cooperation with its neighbors for the period from 2007 to 2013 (although for 2011-2013, just 2.1 billion euros were allocated). For the period 2007-10, this included the allocation of 97 million euros to Armenia, which rose to 141 million euros in 2011-3. In total, between 2007 and 2013, Armenia received funding of 281.5 million euros from the EU for the implementation of reforms.

³²⁷ Commission of the European Communities. Commission Staff Working Paper, Annex to: "European Neighbourhood Policy" Country Report, Armenia. Brussels, SEC(2005) 285/3. p.5

³²⁸ This initiative has been functioning since 2007, and since 2014 it has been renewed as a European Neighborhood Instrument (European Neighborhood Instrument)

A logical continuation of the European Neighborhood Policy was the Eastern Partnership program for EU cooperation with six post-Soviet countries, including Armenia, adopted at the Prague EU summit in May 2009. In 2010, the Eastern Partnership countries began negotiations with EU to conclude an Association Agreement, which included the provision ‘On a deep and comprehensive free trade area’ (DCFTA, Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area). In the same year, Armenia and the EU signed a Memorandum of Understanding on comprehensive institutional development programs, which was supposed to stimulate reforms of Armenian state institutions and harmonize them with the standards expected by the EU. At this stage, the actions of Armenia’s policy-makers display a stronger level of commitment to European, rather than Eurasian integration.

Perhaps the most revealing speech in terms of Armenian role conception at the beginning of this era was delivered by then President Serzh Sargsyan. Addressing representatives of a youth movement known as “Together” in July 2010 he stated ‘We have never considered ourselves Asians. But this does not mean that Europeans are better than Asians. We have always considered ourselves as Europeans with an Asian accent. Today we have chosen the path of European integration.’³²⁹ Sargsyan’s speech reveals a will to present Armenia as *sui generis*; by virtue of its geographical location it is a natural link between Europe and Asia and, much like Schrödinger’s cat could be considered both alive *and* dead, can be considered simultaneously both European and Asian. This is reflective of Armenia’s long-held policy of complementarity.

This statement also reveals the rational pragmatism of Armenia’s approach;³³⁰ the section ‘today we have chosen the path of European integration’, implies that they could quite as easily have chosen to integrate with Eurasia, but weighed against the costs and the benefits they decided that Europe was the more attractive option. Thus, Sargsyan is presenting the country as one that can be relied upon to make autonomous, calculated decisions based on current realities rather than being guided by historical experience. Whether this is the case or not is beside the point; it is certainly possible that Sargsyan felt skeptical about the benefits of deepening ties with Russia as a result of Armenia’s troubled past, but nevertheless, this is the

³²⁹ Sargsyan, Serzh. 'Президент Армении: Мы себя всегда считали европейцами с азиатским акцентом', *News.am*, 21/07/2010, See: <https://news.am/rus/news/25641.html> (Accessed 19/09/2018)

³³⁰ This is pragmatic rationality in the sense that it relates to planning. It is concerned primarily with consequences of actions rather than causes. See Niraj Verma’s work on rational pragmatism as a component of ‘planning theory’: Verma, Niraj ‘Pragmatic Rationality and Planning Theory’. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. Vol. 16, 1996, pp.5 – 14.

image that Sargsyan chooses to present to his audience. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the speech was delivered in the Russian language and thus Sargsyan is also trying to convey the idea that Armenia will always look out for its own interests in a calculated, ahistorical manner.

The statement, by virtue of the fact that it connects the dual cultures of Europe and Asia, also implies that Armenia views itself as a potential bridging state between East and West. Although the speech indicates a greater willingness for European integration, again, Sargsyan wants to get the point across that Armenia will always have links to Asia and are open to building links with Eurasian integration associations in the future. As noted above, the fact that the speech was delivered in Russian means that this point will not have been lost on their Russian neighbors. However, again like Schrödinger's cat, existing in separate states simultaneously is inherently unsustainable and the entity (i.e. Armenia), when subjected to scrutiny, must choose one or the other. This notion was exemplified by former Prime Minister Hrant Bagratyan who, in 2012, stated the following:

‘In this regard, if we enter the Eurasian Union, we specifically sign the document on the customs territory, I believe, it will be unlikely, almost unbelievable, to continue the policy of integration with Europe. Even if it succeeds, then for Europe and Armenia it will be something like a farce, just to check the box ... *the Eurasian Union contradicts the European Union, and the European Union contradicts the Eurasian Union.*³³¹

This speech furthermore betrays Armenia's concern that failure to integrate with EU would be economically disastrous for the country. However, there is no hint of emotion in the speech. Eurasian integration is simply seen as being incompatible with European integration in economic and trade terms. Again, this demonstrates an element of rational pragmatism. We see this again in another speech by Bagratyan in August 2012:

‘If the Eurasian Union is understood as a form of Customs Union, then a dubious contradiction exists if there is a free trade agreement before a Customs Union after it becomes a specific disagreement with Europe. This is for the simple reason that customs duties in force with the Eurasian Union are customs duties of energy-exporting countries, which differ sharply from the customs duties of energy-importing countries,³³²

³³¹ Bagratyan, Hrant. ‘Hrant Bagratyan: how to combine the European Union with the Eurasian Union?’ *In.am*, 15/08/2012, See: <https://ru.1in.am/20653.html> (Accessed 15/09/2018) Italics added for emphasis.

³³² Ibid

Here Bagratyan is again raising his concerns that the Eurasian CU would not necessarily benefit Armenia in economic terms unless certain amendments to the customs duties are made. Thus, he sees it as necessary to refrain from joining the proposed Eurasian Union or the European Union until the issue of customs duties is clarified. Bagratyan also pointed out earlier in his speech that it was for this very reason that Armenia had rejected the idea of joining the CU in the 1990s. Unlike some of the more emotive language that is seen in the public rhetoric of other Eurasian states (for example, Kazakhstan), this is simply a calculated assessment of the facts as Armenia views them. It is not based on national prejudices or history, but again a rational pragmatism.

In 2011, negotiations on the conclusion of the Association Agreement between Armenia and the EU gained momentum. During his visit to Brussels on September 19, 2011, Armenian Prime Minister Tigran Sargsyan presented the EU Commissioner for Enlargement and European Neighborhood Policy Stefan Füle with a new 33-point agenda for Armenian reforms. A few days later, at the Eastern Partnership Summit in Warsaw, Armenia's commitment to reform was also confirmed by President Serzh Sargsyan. In February 2012, based on the recommendation of the European Commission, the EU began negotiations with DCFTA (Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area) with Armenia under the Association Agreement with the EU. By the decree of October 4, 2012 Armenia introduced a visa-free regime for short-term visits by citizens of the Schengen countries and the EU, and on December 17, 2012 in Brussels, an agreement was signed on simplifying the visa regime for the entry of Armenian citizens to the Schengen countries. Up to September 3, 2013 among the countries participating in the Eastern Partnership, Armenia was considered one of the most successful in terms of activity and speed of reforms.

4.2.2. Bridging strategy - between Europe and Eurasia

However, in subsequent years, a number of policy groups within Armenia gradually became more vocal about integrating with Eurasia once again. Pro-Eurasian integration groups in Armenia were following developments with the EAEU with great interest; particularly after the declaration on "Eurasian Economic Integration" of November 18, 2011 proclaimed the intentions of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan to create, by January 1, 2015, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). At a meeting of the heads of the CU member states in Astana on May 29, 2012 a work plan for the preparation of the draft treaty on the EAEU was approved.

Work on establishing the EAEU continued throughout 2013 while the institutional part of the Treaty defined the international legal status, objectives, principles, organizational frameworks and mechanisms for the functioning of the EAEU. Specifically, this entailed the codification of the legal framework of the CU and the Eurasian Economic Space, elimination of exemptions from the general trade and investment regime; ensuring the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor.

Armenia, having observer status in the EurAsEC and good relations with the CU member states, pursued a balanced foreign policy, at the same time cooperating with the EU and even negotiating the signing of an Association Agreement. In November 2012, Sargsyan stated in an interview with Latvian news agency, NRA that:

‘Russian President Vladimir Putin emphasized that the integration processes of the CIS, the Eurasian Economic Community and the European Union cannot be opposed to each other, they should be regarded as complementary. Armenia has a similar position - we value and want to develop mutually beneficial trade and economic contacts with EU countries.’³³³

Here Sargsyan is emphasizing the role that Armenia can play as a bridge that unites the associations of the EU and Eurasia through improving bilateral relations. The tone is conciliatory in that it is attempting to assuage any concerns from either the EU or any Eurasian states regarding Armenian commitment. It is important to note that Sargsyan does not speak about formally committing to join any of the Eurasian integration projects meaning that he sees Armenia playing a role as peripheral partner in the region; informally connected to the multilateral institutions of Eurasia while promoting dialogue between the two blocs and pursuing a strategy of closer ties with the EU on pragmatic economic grounds.

However, at the same time, Moscow openly expressed a desire to see Armenia as part of the Eurasian integration associations to strengthen their own role in the post-Soviet space, as well as proving their readiness to provide Armenia with financial and political support. In fact, this was the general feeling among many of the Armenian people as well; according to the Eurasian barometer in September 2014, 64% of the Armenian population supported the idea of joining the CU.³³⁴ Other opinion polls had similar results, reflecting, above all, the surprisingly benevolent attitude of the Armenian population towards Russia.

³³³ Daukšte, Anita. ‘Преимущество Армении – армянская община в мире’. *Neatkarigas Rita Avize (NRA)*, 23/11/2012. See: <https://inosmi.ru/sngbaltia/20121123/202530447.html> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³³⁴ *Eurasian Development Bank*, ‘Integration Barometer – 2014’. 22/09/2014. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2NEilCf>

Meanwhile, the EAEU, which had been created from the relatively strong foundation of the CU between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, was slowly beginning to look like a potential future competitor to the EU in the post-Soviet space. Nevertheless, policy-makers in Yerevan were still keen to try and develop ties with *both* the EU and Eurasia. In July 2013, Bagratyan gave an interview to Armenian reporters in order to clarify Armenia's position towards both the European and Eurasian unions. Here a shift in tone from his previous speeches is evident and there is now a foreign policy and economic angle. He declared:

This [Eurasian] Union does not exist [yet]. [Therefore] We do not know whether it is good or bad. At the moment, we do not have to declare loudly allegiance to either the European Union or the Eurasian ... we are a free and sovereign state and have the right to sign an agreement with European countries on the creation of an in-depth and comprehensive free trade zone, which now does not interfere with relations with Russia.³³⁵

Here we still see the 'rational pragmatism' displayed by policy-makers in earlier speeches. This is exemplified by his reference to not having to declare allegiance to one union or the other, but instead arguing that they can wait and see which option would be most beneficial. However, although the rhetoric is certainly assertive ('we are a free and sovereign state'), the fact that he felt the need to declare the political autonomy of Armenia means that pressure from external states may have been taking its toll on Armenian foreign policy. Bagratyan even proposed putting such an important question to a referendum rather than decide with which entity to align based on the whims of one person.³³⁶

However, he did offer his personal opinion that he would consider views such as 'we will break relations with Russia or leave the CSTO' as a betrayal of Armenian values.³³⁷ This reflected the rhetoric of Sargsyan from six months earlier, when he stated that '[t]he strategic partner of Armenia is Russia, and we are interested in the further development of relations with our strategic partner.'³³⁸ Here, the dialectic is evident; Armenia is caught between its desire to integrate with Europe for pragmatic economic reasons and the notion that it cannot abandon its

³³⁵ Bagratyan, Hrant: 'Коренные вопросы поставьте на референдум, а не решайте мнением одного человека – Грант Багратян', *Tert.am*, 30/07/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2Gi7tGt> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³³⁶ Ibid

³³⁷ Ibid

³³⁸ Sargsyan, Tigran. 'Официальные новости - Тигран Саркисян: «Результатом многовековой дружбы армянского и русского народов является стратегическое партнерство Армении и России»' *Armenian Government, official news*: 13/06/2012. See: <https://www.gov.am/ru/news/item/6280/> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

historical partner, Russia. Armenian policy-makers are presenting the image that they are still fully committed to Russia as a strategic partner in political and economic terms and thus, they aim to present the idea that Armenia will remain loyal to Russia in at least some capacity.

Having said this, interestingly, Bagratyan also mentioned that it is important to remember what happened in 1918 where Lenin provided Atatürk with the means to occupy almost all of Armenia. In his opinion, treating the military-strategic standard, signed with the CSTO or Russia, with a healthy suspicion would be the most prudent approach. However, violating it unilaterally would create enmity. This statement is one of the first occasions in the rhetoric when Armenia's negative historical experience is invoked. Bagratyan wants to promote the idea of a 'middle path' for Armenia based on maintaining a healthy distance from Russia as a peripheral partner. Interestingly, here the EAEU is again perceived mainly as predominantly being relations with Russia and not with the other founding members like Belarus or Kazakhstan. There is still a great deal of pragmatism in this statement by Bagratyan, but the extent to which it is entirely "rational" is under question. Instead his argument is informed by historical lessons and can thus be classified as "historical pragmatism".

It should be noted, however, that this is something of an anomaly in the speeches of Armenia and is one of the only occasions that historical experience is mentioned. Instead, the rhetoric usually displays Armenia's strategy of 'complementarity'. This refers to the notion of balance between the interests of East of West – a rational approach to adopt given Armenia's geographical location. As was noted earlier, simultaneously existing in two states of being is unsustainable and it became clear that sooner or later, Yerevan would have to make the difficult choice between the two integration models.

4.2.3. 2013: The U-turn – Back to Eurasia

Maintaining a foreign policy that balanced Armenian interests in both Europe and Eurasia while also placating Russia was becoming increasingly difficult and towards the end of 2013 the Accession Agreement that had been arranged with the EU was abandoned. The reversal of Armenia's decision was announced on 3 September 2013 via a statement of intent to join the CU made by President Sargsyan during a meeting with President Putin in Moscow. Carl Bildt, then Swedish foreign minister, tweeted his shock at Armenia's decision during a dinner with foreign ministers of the Nordic and Baltic states. He wrote: 'Seems as if Armenia will break

talks on free trade agreement with EU and integrate with Russia instead. U-turn.’³³⁹ His use of the words ‘seems’ and ‘U-turn’ exemplifies how the sudden decision caught the EU by surprise.

In November, on the eve of the Vilnius EU summit where the initialing of the Association Agreement of Armenia with the EU should have happened, Armenia formalized the decision to withdraw. It was, according to Sargsyan, ‘... a rational decision based on Armenia’s national interests.’ Among the factors cited as reasons for the decision were economic dependence on Russian investments, the market for goods and raw materials, and the labor market for Armenian citizens. Importantly, Sargsyan also hinted at the need for Russian military equipment to maintain the balance of power and prevent the resumption of hostilities in the frozen Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.³⁴⁰

Armenia’s decision led some political commentators to declare their foreign policy approach of complementarity had reached ‘the end of the road.’³⁴¹ Nevertheless, this was not the image projected by Armenian policy-makers. Several members of the administration presented an image of complementarity. For example, Sargsyan was keen to emphasize that ‘this decision does not preclude our dialogue with the European structures...’³⁴². While, the Foreign Minister Edward Nalbandian stated that ‘broad cooperation’ with the EU was still a priority for Armenia.³⁴³

After the suspension of association negotiations with the EU, the ministries and departments of Armenia proceeded to implement the process of integrating back into the EAEU. Having long-term experience of cooperation with the CU countries both at the interstate level and within the EurAsEC framework, where Armenia had observer status, Yerevan quickly switched to negotiations with the CU countries. On December 24, 2013 in Moscow, following a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council at the level of heads of state, a road map was adopted for Armenia’s accession to the CU and the Common Economic Space of Russia, Belarus and

³³⁹ Carl Bildt, Twitter feed. @carlbildt. 03/09/2013

See: <https://twitter.com/carlbildt/status/374921434499653632>

³⁴⁰ Sargsyan, Serzh. 'Президенты Армении и России подвели итоги переговоров.' *ПРЕЗИДЕНТ РЕСПУБЛИКИ АРМЕНИЯ*. Armenian President, Press Release, 03/09/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2RabXFi> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³⁴¹ Socor, Vladimir. ‘The End of ‘Complementarity’ in Armenia’s Foreign Policy’. *Eurasia Daily Monitor*. Vol. 10, No. 165. 18/09/2013. See: <https://jamestown.org/program/the-end-of-complementarity-in-armenias-foreign-policy/>

³⁴² Sargsyan, Serzh. 'Президенты Армении и России подвели итоги переговоров.' *ПРЕЗИДЕНТ РЕСПУБЛИКИ АРМЕНИЯ*. Armenian President, Press Release, 03/09/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2RabXFi> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³⁴³ Sahakyan, Armen. ‘Armenia will Join Russian Customs Union (9/17)’. *European Institute*. 17/09/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2XGH78R>

Kazakhstan. On January 23, 2014, the Armenian government approved the schedule of activities provided by the roadmap. Armenia's then-Minister of Economy, Vahram Avanesyan, spoke to reporters about the next steps that the country must take. He stated: 'By the decision of the [Armenian] government, a schedule of events has been approved which includes 20 sections and 262 events. Of these, 150 must be implemented before Armenia joins the Customs Union.'³⁴⁴

At the beginning of March 2014, at a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council, President Putin summed up the implementation of the action plan to adapt to the standards and requirements of the CU and the CES and said that Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan were ready to start preparing an agreement on Armenia's accession to the EAEU. In turn, the Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister Shavarsh Kocharyan stated that by mid-April, Armenia would complete the process envisaged by the roadmap for joining the CU, noting that it was also crucial to reach a consensus around an agreement between EU member states and Armenia.

On May 29, 2014, at a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council in Astana, the heads of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan signed the Treaty on the Establishment of the EAEU, which entered into force on January 1, 2015 after being ratified by all three founding countries. This completed the formation of the largest single market in the CIS area with a population of 170 million people. The signatory countries confirmed that Armenia will be able to join the agreement on the EAEU, bypassing the intermediate stage in the form of EurAsEC. At the same time, the Armenian authorities denied any element of yearning for the community of the past (i.e. the USSR) in their motivations for joining; the President of Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan, stated during his visit to Georgia on June 19, 2014 that 'the decision was made based on the needs of the economy and the military security of Armenia.'³⁴⁵ Again, we see here that Armenia is projecting the image of adopting a rational pragmatist stance. The decision, according to Sargsyan, was taken based on practical concerns rather than on any more emotive grounds.

In July 2014, at the regular meeting of the prime ministers of Armenia and the Russian Federation in Sochi, it was announced that Armenia was already close to signing an agreement on joining the EAEU. Progress temporarily stalled after Armenian officials realized 750 goods

³⁴⁴ Avanesyan, Vahram. 'Правительство Армении утвердило "дорожную карту" по вступлению в Таможенный союз', *Panarmenian*, 23/01/2014. See: <http://www.panarmenian.net/rus/news/175170/> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

³⁴⁵ Sargsyan, Serzh. '«Решение о вступлении в Таможенный союз принято с целью развития Армении – Саргсян»' *Regnum News*, 19/06/2014, See: <http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1815787.html> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

would retain the previous customs rates in spite of joining the EAEU. As such, Armenian authorities were highly critical of the deal in its current form - if it had indeed been taken in order to benefit the country economically, then the terms of the EAEU deal as it existed contradicted that notion. The Minister of Economy, Vahram Avanesyan, stated at a Press Conference that ‘We have some commodity groups, for which we are going to seek the Customs Union’s vote of exception. As soon as the list of exceptions is complete, we will send it to the Customs Union in order to begin the talks.’³⁴⁶ Eventually the controversial issue of customs rates on these goods was removed from the deal. On October 10, 2014, a few days after these issues had been resolved, at the summit of leaders in Minsk of the EurAsEC member states, President Sargsyan signed the ‘Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Armenia to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014’.

4.2.4. 2014: a turning point

2014 is one of the most active years for speeches and interviews of policy-makers on EAEU membership. This partially due to the fact that this year is known for Crimea’s annexation (an incident which raised concerns in Armenia) and, furthermore, saw the signing of the EAEU treaty by Armenia and the union’s founding members. It is also because between 2010 and late 2013, joining one of the Eurasian integration initiatives was not on the agenda of most Armenian policy-makers. The rapid pivot toward Eurasia at the end of 2013 thus also came as something of a surprise to many in Armenia’s government.

Indeed, even the rhetoric of President Sargsyan seems to demonstrate that they had not fully realized the implication of withdrawing from the AA with the EU. In January 2014, he gave an interview during which he stated that Armenia’s intention is ‘expanding and deepening its economic cooperation with its key partners, particularly the European Union and the United States.’ He conceded that while membership of the CU and the EAEU may create a conflict of interest with free-trade negotiations being held with the EU, it is not Armenia’s intention to ‘alienate its western trade partners and instead aims to maintain a balanced relationship.’³⁴⁷ Here the self-presentation concepts seen in previous years of balance, conciliation and

³⁴⁶ Avanesyan, Vahram. ‘Inflationary pressure will not exceed the mark of 1.5 percent after joining the Customs Union’, *Government of the Republic of Armenia, Press Conference*. 06/02/2014. See: <https://www.gov.am/en/press-conference/item/7127/> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³⁴⁷ Sargsyan, Serzh cited in ‘Armenia: Roadmap to Growth’. *Foreign Affairs*. January – February 2014. p. 2
See: <https://files.foreignaffairs.com/legacy/attachments/Armenia-report-REPPRINT-FINAL-single-pages.pdf>

complementarity are still evident. While it also demonstrates that although Armenia wants to integrate with the EAEU, it is less comfortable with deep integration that would tie it into its institutions. Instead, they want to play a role as a peripheral partner in order to be free to pursue economic ties with the West as well.

However, there were discussions, particularly in the Armenian media, as to why the country also needed to join the EAEU if CU membership would be sufficient to both benefit Armenia's economy and to enhance constructive relations with its Eurasian partners.³⁴⁸ In June 2014, diplomat and economist Ashot Yeghiazaryan attempted to clarify the difference. He explained that the broad Eurasian integration project has different levels:

Russia is also trying to lay the European experience in its [the EAEU's] foundation, which, according to the balance sheet, includes five levels of integration. The Eurasian Economic Union is considered a higher level than the Customs Union.

Another politician and economist, Vahagn Khachatryan, raised a similar point when he stated that the CU is a simple agreement to protect borders with higher or lower customs duties. This format does not exist under the EAEU, but instead free movement of labor, free movement of capital, trade and services is established. This allows the Armenian people to work and live in other countries without problems. He also spoke of joining the EAEU would be more advantageous for Armenia than in countries such as Russia or Belarus as their 'tax field is softer.'³⁴⁹ In other words, Khachatryan's point is that first, Russia is the driving force behind the EAEU and second, by joining the EAEU, Armenia will receive a more beneficial package of rights compared with membership of just the CU. Khachatryan is attempting to rationalize the decision made based on costs and benefits, concluding that Armenia is better "in" than "out".

However, this optimism was not shared by all. In February 2014, Robert Kocharyan, the ex-President of Armenia who retired in 2008, expressed his scepticism over Armenia's accession to the CU. He displayed a degree of rational pragmatism when he stated that Armenia and Russia have only been implementing different approaches to customs policy because of the relative sizes of their economies and raising customs duties to the level maintained by Russia will lead to serious consequences for Armenian businesses and should therefore be avoided.

³⁴⁸ Yeghiazaryan, Ashot. "Таможенный или Евразийский союз?" *Аравот - Новости Армении*, 07/06/2014. See: <https://www.aravot-ru.am/2014/06/07/180230/> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

³⁴⁹ Khachatryan, Vahagn. "Таможенный или Евразийский союз?" *Аравот - Новости Армении*, 07/06/2014. See: <https://www.aravot-ru.am/2014/06/07/180230/> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

Instead he advocated for deeper analysis of the markets of the CU member states and Armenian business areas should be provided with all the information before any decisions are made. According to Kocharyan, this opportunity to carry out cost-benefit analysis ‘will also help banks and credit organizations manage their financial resources more efficiently and with less risk’.

Additionally, Kocharyan’s statement reflects the view referred to earlier regarding Armenia’s policy of balancing their interests against those of the East and West – albeit from a more negative perspective. He stated:

I deliberately do not dwell on the fact that reputational losses for Armenia [came from] joining the CU, perplexing our European partners. This no longer can be fixed. It was not worth signing an association agreement with the EU in the company of the GUAM countries.

Here he is stating that Armenia has irreparably affected their international reputation by their decision to abandon ties with the EU. Furthermore, his statement presents the idea that the long-held policy of attempting to forge a middle-path that balances relations with the East and West was unsustainable; Kocharyan went on to give a rational assessment that the level of public attention that Armenia gave their efforts to integrate (which he refers to as ‘obsessive PR’) meant that Russia’s reaction to closer ties with the EU was ‘predictable’ and gave the whole affair a ‘geopolitical coloring’.³⁵⁰ His statement almost seems to forgive the Russians for their reaction given the perception that Armenia, a former member of the USSR, was abandoning ties with a long-standing ‘strategic’ partner as Sargysyan had referred to them. Furthermore, Kocharyan’s speech implies that this is the fate of Armenia and that Russia’s influence, due to its historical and current power, renders any attempt to make an autonomous foreign policy decisions that are not perceived to be in Russia’s interests, futile. In other words, Armenia is compelled to alter its foreign policy stance as a result of wider geopolitical machinations – in particular the will of Russia. Thus, Kocharyan is presenting the rather pessimistic image of an obligated partner in the region. Armenia is presented as a state that is not a partner in an economic integration, but a geopolitical actor who needs to obey Russia.

In spite of this pessimism, Kocharyan also presents a more pragmatic and rational perspective. He states that:

³⁵⁰ Kocharyan, Robert. ‘Роберт Кочарян не разделяет оптимизма должностных лиц по поводу вступления в ТС’, *Radio Liberty*. 24/02/2014. See: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/25275069.html> (Accessed 19/09/2018)

One way or another, we have what we have. I would like the very entry into the CU to pass smoothly, with a minimum of geopolitics and with maximum consideration for the long-term interests of the country's economy. Any miscalculations will negatively affect all residents of Armenia.

It seems that Kocharyan's suggestion is to work with what Armenia has and try to maximize the benefits for Armenian businesses in the CU. This rational pragmatism is more in keeping with the overarching self-presentation theme that Armenia has tried to maintain across the different eras of integration initiatives and that was also echoed by the ex-minister of foreign affairs, Vahan Papazyan. During a discussion in Yerevan in February 2014 on the topical issues related to Armenian foreign policy, Papazyan stated:

Armenia's entry into the Customs Union cannot be considered as an irreversible process and one should not call the current situation "a return to the past". In the late 1980s there was a completely different geopolitical situation. These are different processes.³⁵¹

Here Papazyan outright rejects the role of historical experience and instead argues that the integration initiatives of the present are very different in nature. He also makes the point that nothing is permanent and while Armenia has aligned with the Eurasian CU today, tomorrow it could backtrack if Europe became the more attractive economic option again. Other policy-makers had presented a more pessimistic picture in terms of Armenia's ability to express autonomous political will; by contrast, Papazyan presents the image of a state that this wields considerable sovereignty. This sentiment was also echoed by Alexander Arzumanyan who spoke in March 2014 about the EurAsEC as a power structure. After a year had passed since the announcement of Armenia's accession to the Customs Union he opined that a completely different political situation had emerged, and that he doubted the wisdom of entering into an alliance against which the EU and the US have applied sanctions. He asserted that the world had completely changed over this period, and that Armenia still has room for manoeuvre. According to him, only the EU can contribute to the development of the Armenian economy and, therefore, it is necessary to refuse to join the EAEU:

The Eurasian Economic Union is a power structure in which the oligarch rules. In these circumstances, Armenia should maneuver; a new policy should be developed in order for the principle of "and ... and" to work. We must be a reliable partner - that's enough for us. Of course,

³⁵¹ Papazyan, Vahan. 'Проблемы внешней политики Армении бывшие министры иностранных дел предлагают решить "демократией"', *REGNUM*, 13/02/2014. See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1766723.html> (Accessed 19/09/2018)

the agreement will be signed, but it will not act as there is no CIS - this structure did not take place.³⁵²

This is again presenting the image of rational pragmatism, in other words, there is no point continuing with an integration process that is going to stymie one's economic progress in the long term. However, there is also the clear desire to present the image of a reliable partner within the EAEU, thus he is also presenting the image of a complementarian state.

Papazyan gave another interview in the same month about the reasons for Armenia's entry to the CU ("Civilitas" Foundation). In his opinion, the initiators of the CU were unsure of how the association was likely to develop in the future. According to Papazyan, if the CU is established, it will not be an economic association, but a political one. Armenia, he argues, was in fact forced to start the process of joining to the CU due to pressure from Moscow. He stated that 'Serzh Sargsyan [the then President] had no alternative, he could not help but make this promise during his visit to Moscow.' Here we see another example of presenting the image of obligation rather than autonomy – although the European vector may have been the option that was preferred by policy-makers, there would have been no way to prevent an adverse reaction from Russia.

Both Russia and the West supported Sargsyan after the elections in 2008 and, according to Papazyan, the result of this support was complete dependence on external powers. Armenia does not have the economic resources to conduct independent policies and make independent decisions. For example, relating not just to joining the CU, but also other foreign policy issues, such as the Armenian-Turkish process or the Karabakh settlement. In fact, Papazyan argued that Armenia will only be able to pursue an independent policy when it becomes a self-sufficient state without external interference. However, he stated his belief that there is little prospect of this happening in the near future:

At one time we made efforts and achieved the participation of Karabakh in the negotiations. Then Karabakh was isolated from this process. I am afraid that one day we will face the fact that Yerevan will be expelled from the negotiating table. They will simply say to us: "This is the decision and you must accept it."³⁵³

³⁵² Arzumanyan, Alexander. 'Александр Арзуманян считает ЕврАзЭС силовой структурой', *Armenian Report*, 03/09/2014, See: <http://armenianreport.com/pubs/90110/> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³⁵³ Papazyan, Vahan. 'Ваан Папазян: Нелегитимность и мышление нынешних властей Армении – причины вступления страны в ТС', *Armenia Today*. 13/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3960iyc> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

His statement displays a pessimistic attitude that is characterized by the assumption that Armenia holds no real power in determining its own foreign policy - particularly regarding the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Thus, he presents an image of a country that is wholly dependent on others and obligated to abide by the will of the hegemon.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Armenia's first President and leader of the Armenian National Congress, followed a similar line of rhetoric when he stated that the integration of Armenia into the CU is simply a symptom of Armenian authorities' attempts to legitimize their government by pandering to Russia. He explained this fact by saying that earlier the Armenian authorities had linked the recognition of their legitimacy with the West, but now they connect it exclusively with Russia: '[b]ut the worst thing is that Armenia is not part of the Customs Union as an equal partner, but as a servant deprived of a vote', evidence for this, in his opinion, was a 'humiliating' gas deal between Armenia and Russia, in which Russian-owned Gazprom bought the remaining 20% of the shares of ArmRosGazprom (Armenia's main gas and electricity supplier) transferring 100% ownership to the Russians.³⁵⁴ Once again, this a clear presentation of the image of Armenia as being obligated to follow Russia playing the role of a subordinate partner within the EAEU and that, by agreeing with the decision made by Russia, this simply gives them more legitimacy.

4.2.5. The Armenian Reaction

Armenia's decision to integrate with Eurasia rather than the EU also led to protests within Armenia. Evaluating the intensification of civil movements in the republic, Ter-Petrosyan noted that civil movements are a necessary element of a modern state and the government would do well to listen to the people stating that '[p]olitical forces will not succeed without the assistance of the civil movement.'³⁵⁵ In June 2014, the former prime minister Vazgen Manukyan criticized the incumbent policy-makers for not clarifying to the EU from the very beginning that they were also considering integrating with Eurasia. He also highlighted that policy-makers should have talked not only with Russia, but also with Belarus and Kazakhstan:

³⁵⁴ Ter-Petrosyan, Levon. 'Интеграция Армении в Таможенный союз обусловлена стремлением властей РА заручиться поддержкой России своей <легитимности>', Arminfo. 05/06/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/38WMV3y>

³⁵⁵ Ter-Petrosyan, Levon. 'Левон Тер-Петросян: «Опозорившись перед Европой, власть ринулась в Таможенный союз»', *Armenian Report*, 12/05/2014. See: <http://armenianreport.com/pubs/83347> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

we ourselves want to join their union, their company, and not by the coercion of Russia. That is, the process could be delayed, but we had to talk also with Belarus and Kazakhstan. I consider the role of Russia to be very important, but I do not overestimate it the way some people do. Moreover, people also have the erroneous idea that the Karabakh conflict can be resolved with the help of Russians. It amazes me that Armenians are so accustomed to the fact that they will not win.

Manukyan's final sentence is revelatory; he mentions that Armenians are very used to the idea of losing. This perspective is also a reflection of an idiom that is often encountered in Armenian speech - that of '*hayi bakht*', which translates as 'Armenian luck' or 'Armenian fortune'. It is normally used in a pessimistic, exclamatory sense to mean that poor luck is what Armenians typically experience. It is perhaps the Armenian national equivalent of 'sod's law'. Manukyan is implying that as a result of this prevalent attitude (which also affects policy-makers), there is a lack of will to even try to act with autonomy and a tendency instead to rely on Russia to resolve issues. This type of rhetoric exposes the level of pessimism that Armenia expresses towards the potential influence that it feels it will ever be able to wield in the international arena and presents a negative image of Armenia as a small, relatively weak state that will always be beholden to will of more powerful states.

Manukyan was also highly critical of the EAEU, stating that he believes it is likely to fail in the very near future. In his opinion, history shows that unions are successful for one of two reasons: force or ideology. What he means by this is that either a union survives: 1) because a hegemon seizes control of another state (or states) by the application of superior force and rather than turning them 'into its territories, turns them into a union', or 2) shared norms and values ensure that all member states remain committed to the success of the union. For example, he states that:

The Soviet Union was extremely ideological, some nations united around the ideology. True, Russia was dominant, but there was an idea. The European Union was formed around trade, but it is also an ideological alliance. In this union, the idea of freedom, the idea of democracy and human rights, and many of the values of Christianity [are dominant].

These two criteria are, according to Manukyan, 'missing here' in the context of the EAEU.' In terms of force, 'Russia has not occupied Kazakhstan', instead Kazakhstan has willingly entered into the Union. In terms of ideology, although he sees problems, even 'double standards' with the EU, the shared ideology keeps the union strong. However, he does not see any equivalent

ideological glue that is binding the states of the EAEU. Instead, the three main states of the Union (Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia) are driven their 'egoism'.³⁵⁶

In spite of his pessimism, at the beginning of the interview, Manukyan had stated that Armenia still wants 'to join the union', but on their own terms as a sovereign state and not because Russia had compelled them to join. Indeed, this notion of coercion and obligation was quite prevalent in many of the speeches and statements from that year. Ter-Petrosyan stated that Armenia's entry into the EU had been blocked by the actions of certain states in Eurasia. In his opinion, the founders of the EAEU imposed on Armenia the condition of installing customs border controls along the entire perimeter of the Armenian-Karabakh border meaning that if Armenia rejects its Eurasian partners in the future, it will find itself politically and economically isolated. In other words, Armenia found itself backed into a corner with no option other than to withdraw from the AA with the EU:

Well, the Armenian authorities are faced with a dilemma - to fulfil or not this requirement, they are forced to weigh the serious consequences of a decision, and in order to predict them, no rich imagination is required. If the demand is not fulfilled, then Armenia, which has already spoiled its relations with the West, will find itself in a vacuum, if this requirement is met, they will feel abandoned in Nagorno-Karabakh, panic rises, and Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh situation is fraught with tension.³⁵⁷

Armenia, thus, had no choice but to integrate into the EAEU. Although Ter-Petrosyan clearly does not see this as a positive reason for joining the union, from a rational-pragmatic perspective he still sees it as a necessary evil given that Armenia is now compelled to join for its economic and political survival. However, for then President Serzh Sargsyan, the notion that Armenia had been somehow been coerced into joining was entirely false. He argued that the decision had been taken autonomously and without any interference from foreign actors (i.e. Russia). He stated in August 2014:

the allegations that Armenia is being forced to enter the Customs Union at a fast pace and headlong do not correspond to reality. I say this with all sincerity, and these paces, about which

³⁵⁶ Manukyan, Vazgen. 'В Таможенном союзе мы нежелательны: Вазген Манукян' *Первый Армянский информационный*, 06/10/2014. See: <http://ru.1in.am/1049249.html> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

³⁵⁷ Ter-Petrosyan, Levon. 'Левон Тер-Петросян: «Основатели Евразийского союза поставили перед Арменией четкое условие - установить ТПП на границе с Карабахом»', *The First News*, 21/07/2014. See: <http://www.1news.az/world/armenia/20140721044359088.html> (Accessed 19/09/2018)

some accuse us of being hasty, are due to our decision, not to the wishes or assertions of others.³⁵⁸

Sargsyan is, of course, attempting to preserve the legitimacy of his government by presenting the image of a strong and sovereign regime. However, the fact that he felt compelled to make a public statement of this nature at all is indicative of the level of criticism that he was facing.

Nevertheless, once it became certain that Armenia would not be able to backtrack on their decision to join the EAEU, even the more pessimistic and dissenting voices began to strike a more rational, pragmatic tone in their speeches and statement. For example, in October Ter-Petrosyan gave a speech at a rally where he reflected on the republic's accession to the EAEU and advised that Armenia should now just try and work with the situation they found themselves in:

Armenia's membership in the EAEU is irreversible, this is a fait accompli or reality. And this means that in the foreseeable future, the life and livelihoods of our country will be within the framework of this system. Consequently, faced with such a reality, any fidgeting is meaningless, belated and harmful. Even the West is sympathetic to the choice of Armenia.³⁵⁹

At the same time, the Prime Minister Hovik Abrahamyan noted that Armenia will continue active cooperation with the EU in order to give new force to the reform process in various fields. Abrahamyan also stressed that joining the EAEU will not affect the strength of existing economic relations with Georgia. Indeed, according to him, Armenia and Georgia can benefit from membership in various integration associations due to their unique favourable geographical position. Here Abrahamyan is presenting a more optimistic view and there is some evidence of the idea that he sees Armenia playing a potential role (along with Georgia, albeit from outside the EAEU) as a bridging state.³⁶⁰

However, in Armenia the optimism of some politicians is often starkly contrasted with the pessimism of others – an embodiment of the tension of duality in identity that was discussed earlier. In September 2014, former minister of foreign affair Alexander Arzumanyan delivered

³⁵⁸ Sargsyan, Serzh. 'Серж Саргсян: Не все страны Таможенного союза рады присоединению Армении' *Regnum*. 24/08/2014. See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1839665.html> (Accessed 19/09/2018)

³⁵⁹ Ter-Petrosyan, Levon. 'Левон Тер-Петросян говорил о Евразийском союзе и Украине', *Первый Армянский информационный*. 24/10/2014. See: <http://ru.1in.am/1066838.html>

³⁶⁰ Abrahamyan, Hovik. 'Овик Абрамян: Вступление Армении в Евразийский союз никак не отразится на экономических отношениях с Грузией', *Novostink*, 22/08/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2QbYJ99> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

a speech that demonstrated his belief that joining the EAEU would mean falling under international sanctions due to the actions of Russia in the Ukraine. He lamented the fact that Armenia finds itself stuck in this arrangement (“obligated partner”) and appeals to Russia to let Armenia look after its own interests with autonomy:

At the moment, we are going with our feet into a union whose driving engine is a country that has been rejected by the international community, under sanctions ... That is, we ourselves are going to fall under sanctions ... In general, Russia today has so many problems that it would be better if it dealt with its problems and left us alone so that we took care of our concerns.³⁶¹

Others were even more pessimistic about the EAEU. In October 2014, the country’s leading economist Ashot Yeghiazaryan stated that the union’s fate will be the same its predecessors in the post-Soviet space. ‘In fact, the Eurasian Economic Union as an integration association failed on May 29 [the day it was conceived]’ the economist said. According to him, the meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council on October 10 2014 in Minsk was testament to this fact:

Armenia deepened the actual isolation in which it found itself on September 3, 2013, when it decided to join the Customs Union. It’s impossible to wait for economic development without an alternative ... Armenia not only registered an economic regress, but, most importantly, lost an alternative. We have lost opportunities for cooperation with other countries.³⁶²

Bagratyan was also highly sceptical about the membership in the EAEU saying that if Armenia will join the Union under the conditions that existed then, it will result in the deterioration of Armenia’s economy.³⁶³ He elaborated on this statement by saying that Armenia and these states have nothing to give each other unless Armenia is granted exceptions and exemptions in the CU agreement before membership stating that ‘The Armenian economy is 0.4% of the GDP of the countries of the Customs Union. In the trade of Armenia with the CU, only energy carriers from Russia and some exports to Russia prevail. Most of our already weak foreign trade is not connected with the CU member countries.’ Here he is conveying the sense that Armenia has been dragged into the union before they, or even their regional partner countries, were ready.

³⁶¹ Arzumanyan, Alexander. 'Арзуманян: В данный момент вступить в ЕАЭС означает подпасть под санкции', *Azatutyun*, 26/09/2014. See: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/26607675.html> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

³⁶² Yeghiazaryan, Ashot. ‘Экономист: Евразийский союз постигнет судьба предшественников’, *NEWS.am*. 11/10/2014, See: <https://news.am/rus/news/233624.html> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

³⁶³ Bagratyan, Hrant. ‘В случае членства на действующих в ЕЭС условиях «состояние экономики Армении ухудшится»’, *Radio Liberty*, 16/07/2014. See: <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/25459653.html> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

As a result, Bagratyan holds the perception that Armenia is viewed as an isolated and unwelcome guest in the eyes of its partners and that the Europeans would have been more welcoming. There is also an interesting connection that he draws between geography as a source of Armenia's foreign policy rather than historical memory. He highlights the fact that although Armenia intends to remain loyal to Russia, integrating with Europe would have made more sense given the obvious geographical connection:

If Armenia becomes the fourth member of the Eurasian Union, naturally, it will vote as Russia says. And today there are three voices, and Belarus and Kazakhstan are jointly able to hold back Russia in many issues. For example, they excluded all political clauses from the treaty on the Eurasian Union. This suggests that Armenia is not a very welcome guest in the Eurasian Union. It can be said that for the European Union, Armenia may have been a more welcome guest ... although I am not a supporter of either one or the other. Why? Because with the European Union we have a road through Turkey. And for the Eurasian Union, Armenia is generally an enclave of some kind.³⁶⁴

Additionally, in 2014 Bagratyan said that signing of the Association Agreement with the European Union and the creation of a free trade zone with the EU presents an additional obstacle in relations between Armenia and the Eurasian Union: 'The transit rules may change, not only from the Georgian side, but also at the request of the European Union and the Eurasian Union. Therefore, the later we sign the [accession agreement] or do not join the union at all, the better, in my opinion, for Armenia' concluded Bagratyan.³⁶⁵ In all of his speeches and statements, Bagratyan exhibits a negative view of the CU and EAEU. He sees it as an economic burden and argues that Armenia has not been welcomed to the initiative by its partners.

In December 2014, Armen Darbinyan took a more functional view when he expressed his opinion about Armenia's entry to EAEU as a chance for Armenia to subscribe to Russian technologies: 'I attach importance to the accession of Armenia to the EAEU as a transfer of technologies. We are not on the technical industry map, but now there is a chance to become at least a part of Russian technology, and we should use this chance', stated Darbinyan. Thus, he adopts a pragmatic approach and presents the image of a state that is able to contribute in terms of technology transfer, highlighting the concern of improving economic conditions and promoting Research and Development projects. However, at the same time, he also noted that the category of sovereignty in the matter of joining the Union cannot be considered in its

³⁶⁴ Ibid

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

absolute, since in any international relations there is a concession to sovereignty in economic and geopolitical interests:

If there is a problem, it is necessary to solve it, and for this decision it is necessary to sacrifice a certain part of sovereignty, which means that in many cases it is desirable, since many European countries have sacrificed their currency, which is considered a national treasure³⁶⁶

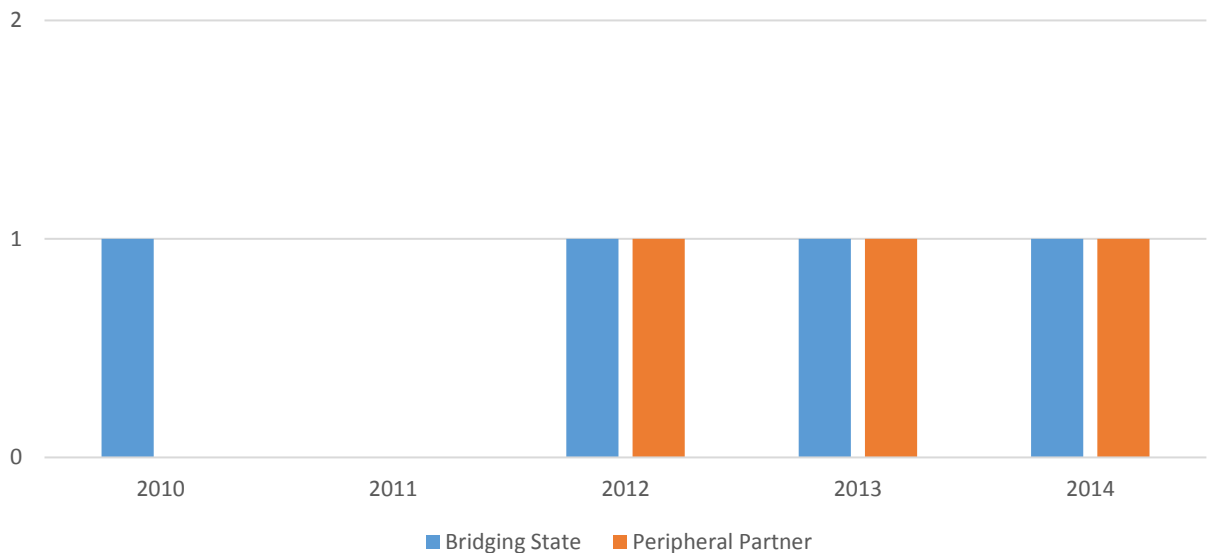
Once again, through Darbinyan we see the rational, functional approach that is often adopted by Armenian policy-makers; if there is an obstacle, then it must be overcome. There is no room for prevarication or lamenting the fact that Armenia finds itself in an integration initiative that it is not entirely content with.

4.2.6. Summary of the First Era

The most striking aspect of the first era is the distinct lack of role conceptions evident in the speeches and statements. Most policy-makers instead took the opportunity to voice their concerns about joining the CU and the EAEU which was viewed as a potential barrier to economic growth and, through abruptly deciding against the AA with the EU, reputationally destructive as well. Even prior to formalizing their membership of either the CU or the EAEU, there were hardly any speeches on the Eurasian integration at all. This is strong evidence of the fact that integrating with Eurasia was truly not on Armenia's radar. Policy-makers of other states will often speak about the potential role they will play when they end up joining the association, but Armenia, by contrast, does not do this.

³⁶⁶ Darbinyan, Armen. 'Вступление Армении в ЕАЭС позволит приобщиться к российским технологиям', *Yerkramas*.12/12/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/38WrzTR>

Figure 21: Armenia, First Era Role Conceptions



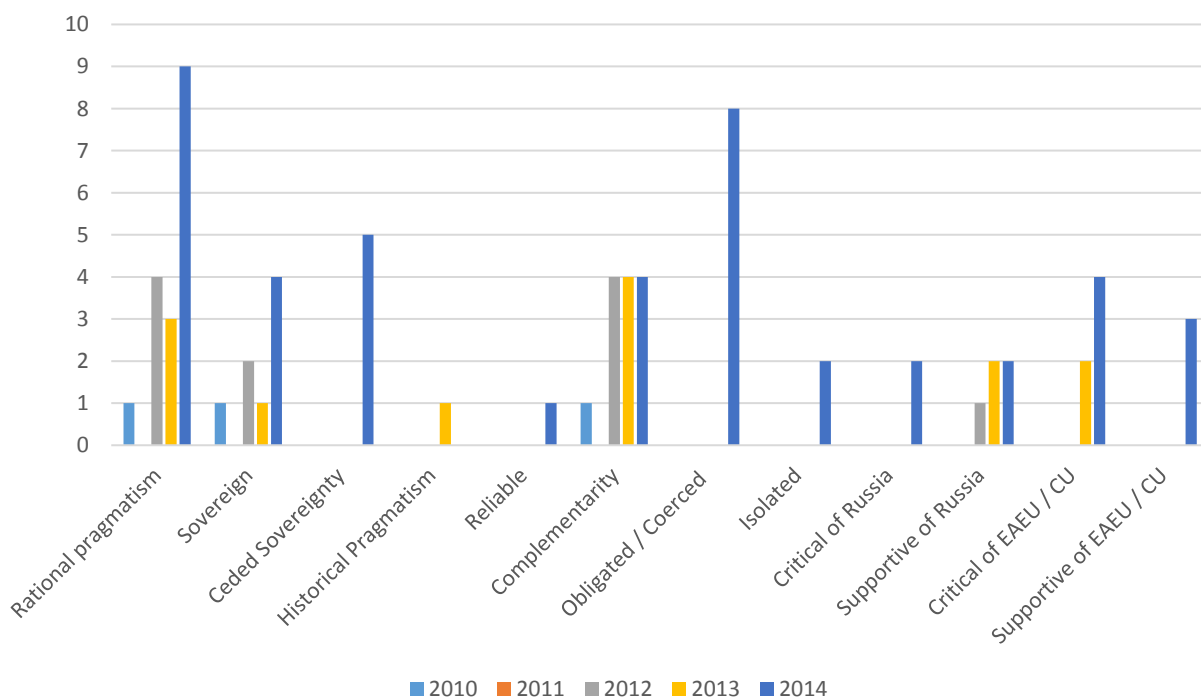
Indeed, the only role conceptions that do emerge from the rhetoric are relatively weak references to the role that Armenia could play in uniting the interests of East and West, which appears in every year apart from 2011, and the notion that the country could play a role a peripheral partner; this is related to the bridging idea in that it relates to pursuing its complementarian policy outlook of loose engagement with the institutions of both the EU and EAEU / CU. This role conception is best understood as a rational-pragmatic approach that, according to some of the speeches and statements that were analysed, is based on their geographical location between Europe and Asia.

However, the lack of speeches between 2010 and 2012 are reflective of the fact that Armenia was itself taken somewhat by surprise with membership of the EAEU / CU. By 2014 there is a large increase in the volume of statements as Armenia abandoned its accession agreement with the EU in favour of the Eurasian Union instead. During this period of transition, nearly all of the statements gathered and analysed reflected the idea that Armenia had been coerced by Russia into joining; held hostage by the wider geopolitical situation (such as Russian assurances over Nagorno-Karabakh) or thinly-veiled threats if Armenia were to politically pivot towards Europe. Eight of the statements reflect the theme of being obligated or coerced. Interestingly, Armenia is the only case study which has such overtly negative self-presentation with many policy-makers making no attempt to conceal their aversion to the Union – a union which is generally viewed to be a marriage to Russia, rather than to the region and its partners as a whole. Although rarely voiced, this opposition to Russia is born of Armenia's historical memory of oppression and repression during the Soviet era.

In consequence, it is unsurprising that the overwhelmingly most-mentioned self-presentation themes in this era are those of obligation. However, another of the most widely featured and enduring of the themes is that of Armenia as “rational pragmatists”. This more calculated approach characterized by cost-benefit analysis or simply a desire to make the best out the situation occurs at least once in every one of the years (except 2011) and nine times in 2014. As with Belarus, this can be seen as evidence of consistency in Armenia’s foreign policy approach and while changes do occur, driven by circumstance that Armenia sees as beyond its control, the notion of a pragmatic Armenian state remains constant. Indeed, an accurate summary would be that, at this stage, Armenia is consistent in its scepticism towards Eurasian integration, but pragmatic enough to try and make the best of the situation.

We also see hints at the political dialectic emerging in this first era. In 2014, two speeches are critical of Russia, two are supportive; four are critical of the EAEU / CU, three are supportive; four argue that Armenia is still a sovereign state, five argue that they have ceded sovereignty. In keeping with the Hegelian notion of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, Armenia retains its rational outlook in order to try and continue to make the best out of the situation.

Figure 22: Armenia self-presentation themes by year, 2010 - 2014



4.3. The Second Era: (2015-2017)

4.3.1. Introduction

At the summit of the leaders of the CIS countries and EurAsEC member states, held on October 10, 2014 in Minsk, the Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan signed the “Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Armenia to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of 29 May 2014”. Thus, after a year of preparation, the formal legal framework was established for Armenia’s accession to the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). After ratification of the agreement by the legislative bodies of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Armenia, from January 2, 2015 Armenia became a full member of the EAEU. The President of Armenia also became a member of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council, and the Prime Minister became part of the Intergovernmental Council. Furthermore, a representative of Armenia appeared in the EAEC Council. Armenia was represented by three members of the board at the Eurasian Economic Commission, the executive body of the EAEU.

The contract for accession included five annexes, each of which was subdivided into a series of protocols. These protocols outlined twenty-nine different international treaties which Armenia was required to join; it also clarified the terms of their membership for example by providing a list of goods for which import duties were to be applied during the transitional stage. For example, upon joining the EAEU, customs duties on meat and meat products were imposed until 2022, dairy products, eggs, honey until 2020, some types of fruits and nuts until 2019. The terms of the EAEU also imposed customs duties on the import of weaponry for use by Armenian armed forces, as well as goods necessary for the construction or modernization of nuclear power plants.³⁶⁷

Russia also pledged to apply a number of privileges for Armenia pending its entry into the EAEU such as setting the price for Russian gas at 189 US dollars per thousand cubic meters. Indeed, Armenia was also guaranteed lower rates for gas prices for a fixed term when Russia canceled the 30% export duty for Armenian energy resources. Putin remarked that this may be detrimental to Russia’s economy, but ‘creates favorable conditions for Armenia today, for

³⁶⁷ ‘Armenia - Republic of - Transitional Import Tariffs for Armenia in EAEU until 2022’. *USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, GAIN Report*, Report No.: AM1501. 04/03/2015. pp. 1-13

normal functioning of the economy and for a smooth but fairly quick accession to the Customs Union.³⁶⁸

Armenia also received funding to ensure the survival of the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant – often referred to as the ANPP, or Metsamor, it is Armenia’s only nuclear power plant and has been referred to as ‘one of the world’s most dangerous’ due its historically poor safety record.³⁶⁹ However, it supplies the country with 40% of its energy needs and therefore tighter regulation and more funding under the terms of the EAEU deal was an attractive opportunity for Armenia’s policy-makers.

Additionally, according to the agreement, Armenia was allocated income from 1.13% of the customs duties received from the import of goods into the EAEU territory during the year (Belarus receives 4.65%; Kazakhstan - 7.25% and Russia - 86.97%). According to the IMF, this would amount to roughly \$ 250 million per year.³⁷⁰ The outcome of these protocols was to significantly reduce the risk for Armenia in joining the EAEU and, in turn, it provided the EAEU countries with an economic buffer against any initial adverse effects of Armenia’s accession.

4.3.2. Criticism of Armenia’s membership

Discussions on Armenia’s EAEU membership were heated in 2015 as Armenian policy-makers largely divided into two camps; the first was supporting Russia and the EAEU, speeches adopted a functional, utilitarian approach that saw the union in terms of the economic benefits. This is a stance which contrasts sharply with the more emotive motivations in Belarus, for example. Belarusian policy-makers spoke frequently about such roles that emphasized national brotherhood, but these are entirely lacking in the speeches and statements of Armenia. The second camp adopted a more pro-EU stance and continued to criticize the EAEU, presenting evidence of its negative economic effects and raising concerns that Armenia had essentially been coerced into membership by Russia and pro-Russian politicians.

³⁶⁸ Putin, Vladimir. 'Пресс-конференция по итогам российско-армянских переговоров', *Kremlin Press Release*, 02/12/2013, See: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/19741> (Accessed 05/04/2018)

³⁶⁹ Mersom, Daryl. ‘The city in the shadow of an ageing nuclear reactor’, *BBC Worklife*, 27/05/2019, See: <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20190527-the-city-in-the-shadow-of-an-ageing-nuclear-reactor> (Accessed 28/05/2019)

³⁷⁰ *International Monetary Fund*. ‘REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA’, IMF Country Report No. 16/380. December 2016. p.11. See: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2016/cr16380.pdf>

One of the harshest criticisms of the EAEU was given by Ashot Yeghiazaryan in April 2015. He not only exhibited in his statement an extreme reluctance to be part of the initiative but even equated Armenia's then four-month stint in the EAEU with the idea of the demise of the Armenia state. He declared that 'The EAEU should be considered not only from an economic point of view, it is an imitation. The EAEU should eventually become a state, that is, it means the death of the Armenian state.'³⁷¹ Here Yeghiazaryan is implying that the EAEU has ambitions to become a single body that transcends the economic sphere and move into political and perhaps even cultural integration as well – in the same manner that a state is united around common political, cultural, economic norms and values. This, he argues would result in Armenia ceding sovereignty and ultimately ceasing to be Armenia.

However, Yeghiazaryan also does not trust in the EAEU to provide Armenia with significant economic benefits either. He elaborated on these comments towards the end of the year stating in November in an interview with the First Information Agency that the EAEU limits the economic potential of Armenia. He stated that: 'We chose the Eurasian economic union and were initially protected due to the established common customs regulations - the Customs Union. By joining the EAEU, we deprived ourselves of an alternative opportunity for development.'³⁷² He also declared that the EAEU has failed as an economic union due to Moscow's own ambitions, among these are the desire to show that it is a power center and to maintain a distinct, separate Russian civilization. However, Yeghiazaryan asserted that to have such a separate civilization in the modern world, a great deal of economic and diplomatic potential is needed, potential which Russia does not possess. Yeghiazaryan's tone here is far more assertive than in many of the other speeches and statements while his use of the phrase "we chose" the EAEU runs contrary to the narrative promoted by many other members of the Armenian regime – that Russia compelled them to join. Although he is critical of Russia's ability to unite the region, he presents Armenia as having been reactive and short-sighted in their decision to join. Yeghiazaryan does not argue that the EAEU is a good thing ("we deprived ourselves"). However, this also displays remarkable rationality by insisting that any economic woes facing the country are of Armenia's own making rather than adopting the more emotive position of blaming conditions that have been imposed upon them by a hegemonic power such as Russia.

³⁷¹ Yeghiazaryan, Ashot. 'Факты доказали – ЕАЭС для Армении смерти подобно', *Lragir.am*, 18/04/2015. See: <https://www.lragir.am/ru/2015/04/18/41757/> (Accessed 18/09/2018)

³⁷² Yeghiazaryan, Ashot. '«Евразийский союз» ограничивает экономический потенциал Армении: Ашот Егиазарян', *the First Information Agency*, 16/11/2015. See: <http://ru.1in.am/1123513.html> (Accessed 18/09/2018)

Months earlier, in March 2015, Hrant Bagratyan struck a slightly more moderate and pragmatic tone in an interview where stated that it is ‘impossible to say’ whether the economic plight of Armenia was the fault of the EAEU or if ‘these are our economic failures.’³⁷³ Here he seems to suggest that both the EAEU and Armenia may shoulder some of the blame. He is more conciliatory towards Russia when discussing the decision *not* to invite Armenia into the initiative to establish a single currency. He stated ‘I think that in Russia’s position regarding that [the refusal to invite Armenia to be a co-founder of the EAEU single currency fund], in Armenia there is an understanding of the reasons why.’³⁷⁴ He then spoke of how in the long term it may be more beneficial to Armenia as they will be allowed to keep their currency like some states in the EU have done, most notably the United Kingdom.

This statement is interesting for several reasons: first, Bagratyan mentions Russia rather than Belarus or Kazakhstan as the key decision maker in the EAEU. This could be interpreted as pandering to Russia or, equally, as a subtle attempt to question the strength of Belarus and Kazakhstan in the union. Second, he is excusing Russia for what could have been interpreted as something of a political slight (‘there is an understanding’). This is a rational assessment that also presents Armenia as subservient in the integration with little political power to challenge the decision. His comment on retaining the Armenian currency outlines his will to also retain a degree of sovereignty. In addition to this, his comment on ‘understanding’ displays a certain contentment with the state of affairs – namely that Armenia *is* in the EAEU, but is not considered a major partner. Thus, it displays the dual role conceptions of peripheral and subordinate partner; roles that Armenia seems more than happy to play.

This role was emphasized later in the interview when he stated: ‘As for the EAEU, first of all, as far as I understood, it’s impossible to get out of there, because the exit mechanism is not specified in the contract, it seems to me that the only solution is that once you get here, you need to make do.’³⁷⁵ In other words, although Armenia has been obliged to join the EAEU, a less committed form of integration may be more beneficial to Armenia because the more a state is tied into the institutions of the EAEU, the harder it is to leave. He also highlights how a certain degree of pragmatism is crucial and, once the EAEU has been joined, it is futile complaining instead ‘you need to make do.’

³⁷³ Bagratyan, Hrant. ‘Грант Багратян о ЕАЭС: Раз уж попали сюда – нужно выкручиваться’, *Tert.am*, 24/03/2015, See: <http://www.tert.am/ru/news/2015/03/24/hrant-bagratyan/1626278> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

In fact, concerns over the economic benefits that have been received by both the CU and the EAEU were prevalent in the rhetoric of policy-makers across all levels of government. Even the former prime minister, Tigran Sargsyan, commented that Armenia only receives ‘problems’ from integration as a result of increases in customs duties and taxes. This, he stated, is ‘inappropriate’. He stated that Armenia does have the support of their ‘Russian colleagues’ who are ‘sympathetic to this situation’ and also emphasized that Armenia is looking ‘for forms of cooperation without the Customs Union.’ He even suggested establishing ‘a new platform or a special status for Armenia’ because in its present form the CU simply does not provide Armenia with ‘such tools that would be beneficial for business entities. And then it [integration] becomes meaningless.’³⁷⁶ Here, Sargsyan presents a rational assessment of the situation; the current framework does not benefit Armenia, therefore a new framework needs establishing. In spite of attempts to conciliate Russia by using moderate language (e.g. referring to the sympathy of their Russian colleagues), Sargsyan’s rhetoric in this speech betrays a serious concern over the practicality of the CU. His suggestion that a new platform or special status for Armenia should be developed is clear evidence of this concern. Although he does not specifically mention the EU, Sargsyan’s statement that Armenia should establish cooperation outside of the CU, also implies a return to the complementarian policy of previous years an attempting to re-establish cooperation with the West. As with many speeches and statements in Armenia, no obvious role conception is present here since how can Armenia contribute fully to an integration initiative that it does not believe in and that it sees as directly contributing to its economic woes.

A few months earlier, Alexander Arzumanyan, deputy of the opposition, continued with the critique of the EAEU. He declared that there was no need to call Kyrgyzstan, who had expressed interest in joining the EAEU when, in his opinion, it was in danger of collapsing. He stated that:

If the Kyrgyz comrades are waiting to become our comrades in fate, then you could start the discussion in May. If the Government is in no hurry, where should we hurry? We ourselves were trapped with this Eurasian Union, and now we are leading Kyrgyzstan there. You will remember my words when the Eurasian Union collapses, and it will happen very soon.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Sargsyan, Tigran. 'В Армении задаются вопросом: «А зачем ЕАЭС Тигран Саркисян?»', *Regnum*, 19/10/2015, See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1994155.html> (Accessed 23/09/2018)

³⁷⁷ Arzumanyan, Alexander. 'Александр Арзуманян: «Не зовите Кыргызстан в гибнущий ЕАЭС»', *Armenian Report*, 16/06/2015. See: <http://www.armenianreport.com/pubs/108852/> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

This is an obvious example of highly critical rhetoric directed at the EAEU. Arzumanyan presents the country as having been coerced into joining and now obligated to go along with proceedings. He uses words such as ‘trapped’ and ‘fate’ to highlight his dissatisfaction at how Armenia now finds itself powerless in the EAEU having ceded decision-making autonomy to more powerful states. His use of ‘we’ outlines how he is speaking on behalf of the country. Further, he talks of how he does not expect the EAEU to last that long due to disagreements among members and the limited economic advantages that it offers. He warns Kyrgyzstan that they will share Armenia’s fate if they elect to join.

These criticisms continued into 2016; in February, Kocharyan criticized the lack of rationality exhibited by Armenian policy-makers in their decision to accede to the EAEU. He stated that the decision ‘had to be better calculated with possible consequences, pluses or minuses. I get the impression that it was an emotional decision without sufficient elaboration.’³⁷⁸ For Kocharyan and many Armenian policy-makers, presenting a rational pragmatic image is essential. Indeed, he elaborates by stating that the specter of international sanctions against Russia and the consequent impact on oil prices were already clear on the horizon and Armenian policy-makers should have taken this into account. He stated ‘Just when the decision was made to join the Customs Union, these problems were already visible and it was clear that these problems would increase.’ He then declared that ‘we were, voluntarily or involuntarily, under some influence of these negatives [sanctions].’³⁷⁹ This is an interesting statement as it hints at the fact that Armenian policy-makers may well have understood that the timing was poor for accession to the EAEU given the impending sanction, but may have been compelled ‘involuntarily’, possibly by Russia, to join the Union. This is a subtle criticism of the role that Russia plays in the affairs of Armenia and also presents Armenia as having been coerced into joining the EAEU.

In September, Vazgen Manukyan, former defense minister, former prime minister, and chairman of the Public Council, struck a similar chord at a press conference at the National Press Club on the 25th anniversary of the independence of Armenia. He highlighted how Armenian sovereignty has been eroded and that the reliance of Armenia on the Russian

³⁷⁸ Kocharyan, Robert. ‘Роберт Кочарян: Никогда не говори никогда’, *News.am*, 18/02/2016. See: <https://news.am/rus/news/312392.html%20https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/27625889.html> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

³⁷⁹ Kocharyan, Robert. ‘Роберт Кочарян: Никогда не говори никогда’, *News.am*, 18/02/2016. See: <https://news.am/rus/news/312392.html%20https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/27625889.html> (Accessed 21/09/2018)

economy renders it unable to make any significant political decisions that deviate in any way from the will of Russia:

When joining any union, you lose a part of independence, regardless of whether it is the EAEU or the EU. It seems that we are much more subordinate to Russia. I agree, but we are to blame. Armenia has always tried to please both the EU and the EAEU. Quite large sectors of the economy were given to Russia, but what else do you expect? That it does not try to dictate its will?³⁸⁰

Manukyan's language is slightly more moderate in that he does not blame the EAEU for the loss of sovereignty, claiming that it is inevitable in any kind of union. Further, he states that Armenia has willingly allowed this erosion of autonomy to happen, partially due to their long-standing policy of complementarity. Now, according to Manukyan, Armenia has gifted control of their economy to Russia and seems to have settled into a role of subservience. Even his final statement on Russia dictating their will is a rational, even realist, acceptance of Armenia's position; like the city of Melos in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, who were forced to accept Athenian dominance due to their relative size and strength,³⁸¹ so too must Armenia accept a more subservient position. After all Russia is stronger than Armenia, so, as Manukyan states 'what else do you expect; that it does not try to dictate its will?' It is highly significant that he highlights inevitable loss of sovereignty and how Armenia should accept its role in the EAEU on the day of Armenian independence – a wider audience gives his words far greater resonance in terms of self-presentation. We also see an interesting evolution in Manukyan's thinking. A previous interview from 2014, prior to Armenia's formal accession to the EAEU, had outlined how Armenia wanted to join the Union, but on their terms as an autonomous state. By September 2016, he speaks (to a wide public audience) about the need to accept the position they find themselves in.

Upon joining the EAEU, Yerevan attempted to maintain dialogue with the EU in order to promote cooperation and integration within the framework of the EU Eastern Partnership initiative. However, when the Ukraine crisis began to unfold, they faced difficulties with retaining this position as sanctions were imposed against Russia. This led Serzh Sargsyan to state in November 2016, in an interview with Dmitriy Kisilev, the director general of the Russia

³⁸⁰ Manukyan, Vazgen. «Крупные отрасли экономики мы отдали России, а чего еще вы хотите?»: Вазген Манукян, *Aravot – News Armenia*, 16/09/2016. See: <http://ru.aravot.am/2016/09/16/221444/> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

³⁸¹ Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Translated by Rex Warner. 2nd ed. London: Penguin Books, 1972. 5.84

Today international news agency, that ‘Specifically for Armenia, entry into the Eurasian Economic Union, unfortunately, coincided with the deterioration of the economic situation for the main engine of this Union - the Russian Federation, as a result of the sanctions that were imposed.’ He added that this has affected the Armenian economy as their fortunes are intertwined with those of Russia: ‘Naturally, our economy is very small, we are connected with the Russian economy by thousands of threads. Therefore, these – let’s say – negative external impacts, of course, slightly worsened our performance.’³⁸² In spite of Sargsyan’s clear frustration at the economic situation in Armenia, he nevertheless strikes a neutral tone. He does not directly blame Russia stating that the economic deterioration ‘coincided’ with sanctions rather than directly being caused by Russia’s actions. He also does not blame the EU for the situation, instead delicately referring to the ‘negative external impacts’ of sanctions which have had a ‘slight’ impact. This is a conciliatory stance to adopt and is in keeping with Armenia’s historical policy of complementarity. However, deeper analysis of his statement reveals a certain acceptance of their subordination. For example, the implication of a statement such as ‘naturally, our economy is very small’ is that it presents the image of a state that *inherently* has limited international strength. In other words, the natural order is for Armenia to have a weak economy and to be beholden to Russia.

In following month, in December 2016, Serzh Sargsyan gave a speech at a meeting with his namesake, Tigran Sargsyan, the Chairman of the board of the Eurasian Economic Commission. He stated that when Armenia joined the EAEU they had expected ‘to significantly improve the economic situation’ but that this has not occurred due to ‘international economic processes’ (i.e. sanctions) which have taken their toll on the Armenian economy. His main frustration, however, is that Armenian citizens are struggling. He stated ‘our citizens are still, to put it mildly, in a state of expectation, although I’m sure if we had not joined the EAEU, there would be more negative trends.’³⁸³ Again, we see a softer tone to Sargsyan’s rhetoric – he does not blame Russia or the West or even refer directly to sanctions (‘international economic processes’). However, his reference to hardships within the EAEU, but ‘more negative trends’ out of the EAEU presents a pessimistic “damned if you do, damned if you don’t” perspective in keeping with a feeling that Armenia was obliged to join the union and are now suffering as a result.

³⁸² Sargsyan, Serzh. ‘Серж Саргсян: у нас вообще нет проблемных вопросов с Россией’, RIA Novosti. 17/11/2016. See: <https://ria.ru/20161117/1481524273.html> (Accessed on 22/09/2018)

³⁸³ Sargsyan, Serzh. ‘Серж Саргсян: По отношению к ЕАЭС наши граждане всё еще находятся в состоянии ожидания’, Radio Liberty, 16/12/2016. See: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/28180601.html> (Accessed on 22/09/2018)

Indeed, some Armenian policy-makers even returned to the idea of maintaining close ties with the EU. In September 2015, the foreign minister Eduard Nalbandyan stated in an interview with the BBC Russian service that ‘we are members of the EAEU, and we are ready to cooperate with the EU in various fields’. To the journalist’s question about how Armenia sees its future path, with the West or with Russia, he replied that Armenia has ‘never changed [its] position: we are members of the Eurasian Union, and we are ready to cooperate with the EU in various fields, but taking into account the obligations of Armenia in other integration processes.’ Here Nalbandyan presents Armenia as complementarian. Given that at this stage Armenia was formally tied into the EAEU, it could be interpreted as a criticism of the union given a lack of economic benefits. Indeed, he went on to state that ‘Armenia is interested in being in other integration processes,’ including developing ‘relations with the European Union to the maximum.’³⁸⁴

This answer prompted the interviewer to ask which relationship Armenia would prioritize, to which Nalbandyan replied:

So, as members of the Eurasian Union, taking into account these obligations, we will develop relations with others. I must say that we have already very close and sometimes fraternal relations with each of the 28 EU countries. In many of these countries there are Armenian communities that are a link between these countries and Armenia. In general, two thirds of our people live in 100 countries of the world. Therefore, Armenia is not just the smallest country in this geographical location, but it is also 100 large and small Armenias, scattered around the world. It is one of our strengths.³⁸⁵

Nalbandyan’s interview could be construed by certain partners (particularly Russia) as a lack a commitment to the EAEU. He states that Armenia has ‘fraternal’ relations with the EU – a comment that is never used in relation to Russia, Belarus or Kazakhstan. Indeed, he clearly states that Armenia intends not only to continue to build links with the EU, but to strive to maximize that relationship. Although he states that Armenia is obligated to the EAEU, his statement makes it clear that the administration does not intend to fully commit to the union, but will instead play the role of a peripheral partner. This is not just because of the lack of economic benefits that the EAEU has brought to Armenia. Instead, Nalbandyan provides one of the clearest examples of a link between geography and self-presentation. He directly

³⁸⁴ Nalbandyan, Eduard. ‘Эдуард Налбандян: Готовы по максимуму развивать отношения с ЕС’, *Golos Armenii*. 15/09/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/36aiO5M> (Accessed 24/09/2019)

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

connects the diaspora to Armenia's "complementarian" foreign policy approach,³⁸⁶ arguing that this is a pragmatic decision based on geographical realities and, thus, this legitimizes their decision to continue to integrate with both the East and West.

However, Armenian policy-makers are all still very aware of the strong influence of Russia in their decision-making process. Throughout 2016, anti-government protesters, demanding the release of the opposition leader Jirair Sefilian, had been engaging in violent clashes with police in Yerevan. The clashes culminated in July with the deaths of two police officers when armed protesters stormed and took control of a police station in the capital. Hovik Abrahamyan subsequently stepped down from his position as prime minister stating that 'we need a new beginning'.³⁸⁷ On the surface, it appeared as though the protests were the cause of his resignation and it would be inaccurate to state that they did not play a significant part. However, there were also rumors that Russian authorities had grown dissatisfied with him and had requested that he be replaced. Aram Sargsyan, who had served as prime minister from 1999 to 2000, confirmed these suspicions when he gave an interview (in Russian) to the Armenia branch of Radio Liberty (Radio Azatutyun). Here he stated: 'I think that Hovik Abrahamyan did not enjoy the confidence of the Russian authorities and did not have the influence in order to work with them in the future, so that they considered it, and they wanted to have a more reliable figure.'³⁸⁸ Further evidence that a political decision was taken in order to pander to Russia's will is that Abrahamyan's replacement was Karen Karapetyan, the former deputy chief executive of Gazprom's Mezhhregiongaz branch. Whether this is a conspiratorial stance adopted by Aram Sargsyan, he is nevertheless presenting Armenia as subordinate to Russia and as a country that has been willing to cede autonomy in political decision making to the hegemon.

³⁸⁶ "Complementarian" or "complementarity" is a term often used to describe Armenia's policy of balancing the interests of all regional partners. It was first used in Armenia's 2007 National Security Strategy where the Armenian approach, under the sub-heading "COMPLEMENTARITY", was described as follows: 'The foreign policy of Armenia is based on a partnership approach that seeks to simultaneously develop relations with all states in the region and with states with interests in the region. Such a policy is aimed at maintaining an overall balance in the region.' See: REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY (approved at the session of National Security Council at the RA President office on January 26, 2007),

<https://www.mfa.am/filemanager/Statics/Doctrineeng.pdf>

³⁸⁷ Abrahamyan, Hovik. 'Абрамян объяснил свое решение об уходе с поста премьера', Armenian Sputnik, 08/09/2016. See: <https://ru.armeniasputnik.am/politics/20160908/4836869/premier-otstavka-Abramyan.html> (Accessed on 25/09/2018)

³⁸⁸ Sargsyan, Aram. 'Арам Саргсян: Карен Карапетян был назначен премьером под диктатом России', *Radio Liberty*, 09/09/2016. See: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/27977746.html> (Accessed 25/09/2018)

4.3.3. Advocates of the EAEU in Armenia

However, in keeping with the political dialectic in Armenia that sees starkly contrasting views even among members of the same administration, there was also some support for the EAEU. In April 2015, a number of Armenian politicians spoke of how the EAEU was politically, and perhaps also economically, beneficial. Prime-minister Hovik Abrahamyan stated that the principle of free movement of goods, services, capital and labour makes the EAEU ‘the most advantageous format’ for developing relations with partners as well as making Armenia ‘more attractive from the point of view of investment and the implementation of large long-term projects.’ In his opinion, in the ‘current geopolitical and economic situation’ it would be disastrous if Armenia was not tied into some form of union as the EAEU provides the best opportunity for developing industrial cooperation, while, as a result of a lack of customs clearances, financial costs, technical obstacles, and the amount of time required for economic activities are reduced.

Crucially, he also added that Armenia is ready to use its experience with reforms to aid the process of integration within the EAEU.

Armenia is ready to use the experience gained in the course of system and infrastructure reforms for the development of integration processes. I consider it necessary to emphasize that our main task is to meet the expectations of the peoples of the EAEU countries and significantly improve the standard of living and well-being of our citizens.³⁸⁹

Here, we arguably see the first clearly defined role in Armenia’s rhetoric. All previous speeches and statements were lamenting or defending the decision to join the EAEU, but none obviously outlined how Armenia wanted to contribute. Abrahamyan directly refers to Armenia’s experience with infrastructure reforms learned during its attempts to integrate with the West and how this could be applied to the EAEU to help streamline integration between existing and prospective members. In this sense, Abrahamyan is trying to carve out a role for Armenia as an integration facilitator.

In the same month, Ashot Yeghiazaryan spoke similarly of Armenia’s previous experiences. He stated that ‘Armenia experienced infrastructure system, investment development [is] thanks to the assistance of Western structures’ and that the EAEU offers ‘a great perspective for

³⁸⁹ Abrahamyan, Hovik. *RitmEurasia*. 01/04/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2EJtMDV>

development.³⁹⁰ Yeghiazaryan did highlight the fact that the institutional base of the EAEU was ‘currently extremely scarce’ as a result of a lack of a common market. However, he also stated that Russia ‘can fill this emptiness at any moment’. In fact, Yeghiazaryan immediately followed this statement by arguing that he does not expect Armenian authorities ‘to try to use legal gaps and pursue their own policies. I don’t think they can say - we will take into account only general customs rates, but otherwise we will decide ourselves.’³⁹¹ His statement indicates that Armenia is subordinate to Russia in the decision-making process and he does not expect Armenian policy-makers to pursue autonomous policies outside of the structures of the EAEU.

This idea of subordination to Russia was subtly emphasized by Hovik Abrahamyan, the Armenian prime minister, in September 2015 when he suggested trade within the EAEC should be conducted in rubles to ‘reduce dollarization’ and enhance ‘the implementation of coordinated macroeconomic policies.’ In this context, he argued that ‘implementing mutual trade in strategic commodities based on the ruble without reference to the dollar is important.’³⁹² It stands to reason that if a common currency were to be used in the EAEU, it would be that of the hegemon. Indeed, the Belarusian President Lukashenko made a similar point on trading in Russian rubles in 2011.³⁹³ However, in terms of convenience this would certainly be more advantageous to Russia than to the other member states who would be compelled to give up their national currencies. A comparison could be drawn with the EU, who adopted the euro as a neutral currency to ensure no one state was perceived to exceed another in terms of importance. The fact that Armenia and Belarus both advocate for abandoning their national currencies in favour of the ruble reveals how they present as subordinate to Russia. By contrast, Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan, stated that ‘I believe that not a single national currency, including one as powerful as the ruble, is suitable for the role [of adopting a single currency]. There must be a different name, a different currency.’³⁹⁴ This Kazakh perspective panders far less to Russia in that it advocates for the adoption of a neutral currency that treats all member states as equal. The Armenian administration, by contrast, presents the country as willing to cede power to Russia.

³⁹⁰ Yeghiazaryan, Ashot. ‘Факты доказали – ЕАЭС для Армении смерти подобно’, *Lragir.am* 18/04/2015. See: <https://www.lragir.am/ru/2015/04/18/41757/> (Accessed 18/09/2018)

³⁹¹ *Ibid*

³⁹² Abrahamyan, Hovik. ‘Премьер Армении предложил торговать внутри ЕАЭС за рубли’, *NTV.RU*. 08/09/2015, See: <http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1509138/> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

³⁹³ Lukashenko, Alexander. ‘Лукашенко: можно создать Евразийский союз к 2014 году’, *АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ КОММЕНТАРИИ*. 20/11/2011. See: http://actualcomment.ru/lukashenko_mozhno_sozdat_evraziyskiy_soyuz_k_2014_godu.html (Accessed 23/09/2018)

³⁹⁴ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘Рублю отвели роль единой валюты в Таможенном союзе’, *Tengri News*, 19/12/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/30DDO3u> (Accessed 12/12/2018)

By contrast, in July 2015, the Armenian foreign minister Nalbandyan had given a speech at a government hour in the National Assembly of Armenia, where he argued for more equality in the union. The subject under discussion was Azerbaijan's potential accession to the EAEU, but Armenia had not been consulted on the issue. Nalbandyan argued that 'Now the issue of Azerbaijan's entry into the EAEU is not being discussed. Armenia is a member of the Union, and every country has the right to an opinion, and such decisions should be made by consensus'.³⁹⁵ Here we see a role conception where Armenia wants to be treated as an equal partner. It should be obvious that any state involved in an integration initiative would want to have a vocal input into its policies; however, this is one of the only examples in the rhetoric of a more assertive stance from Armenia. Instead, the rhetoric usually reflects Armenia's reluctance to be a part of EAEU, presenting an image of a country that is filled with the resolve to make the best out of a bad situation, or powerless and subordinate to Russia.

In November 2016, Tigran Sargsyan, Chairman of the EAEC board, adopted a stance that did not subtly emphasize Armenia's subordination to Russia or the desire for equality, but instead promoted the intellectual potential of the Eurasian region using the EAEU as a springboard. He stated that the EAEU's future is dependent on how effectively member states are able to develop human potential through the proliferation of knowledge. He argued that the process of 'industrialization' meant that the whole region 'dropped out of competition'; now we are in a period of 'post-industrialization', but Eurasia is behind the curve and if the union is to survive member states must work together 'to be 'modern' and 'competitive''. He clarified this statement by stating that in an industrial society producing goods was the priority, but in a post-industrial society the priority is 'intellectual and human potential'. Here, he argued, the EAEU should be able to compete with any country or union and gives the example of the strong mathematical skills of Eurasia's youth. His belief is that 'We need to understand in which areas we have competitive advantages on a global scale, where we specialize and what trend we can build.' Tigran also outlined the role that Armenia could play in furthering this effort in terms of the 'modernization of our entire Eurasian space.' He stated that Armenia is 'developing a concept and would like to be supported by the countries of the Union. This could be a breakthrough direction of our activity, which would help us make the leap from industrial to

³⁹⁵ Nalbandyan, Eduard. 'Заявление Баку о возможном вступлении в ЕАЭС: Угроза или предупреждение?', PanARMENIAN, 08/10/2015. See: <https://www.panarmenian.net/rus/details/198609/> (Accessed on 12/12/2018)

post-industrial society.³⁹⁶ Here he is outlining a role for Armenia as an innovator within the EAEU that can help bring the region into the modern era.

The same month, in an interview published on the Eurasian Economic Commission's website, Tigran Sargsyan was asked whether he thought the EAEU could suffer the same fate as the CIS whereby it failed to fully form institutions. He replied that the CIS was always 'more of a political than an economic union,' compared with the EAEU which 'is primarily an economic formation created on the basis of the mutual economic interest of the countries participating in the Union.' According to him, 'we should not mix economics and politics.'³⁹⁷ Here Sargsyan presents his, and given his position as Chairman of the EAEC board, Armenia's preference for promoting economic rather than political ties. He clarifies why this is his preferred format for the EAEU by stating that 'multidirectional political systems of the CIS countries' undermined its efficacy; thus, if political integration is avoided, he sees 'no prerequisites for the Eurasian Union to fail.' He presents each state with the EAEU as sovereign and able to 'follow its own political path' free from external interference.³⁹⁸ Unlike Kazakhstan and Belarus which respectively oppose and promote political union for historical reasons, Armenia's inclination for economic union is based on pragmatism rather than historical memory. Further, even if historical memory *does* factor into their outlook, it is not presented as a factor that has influenced them.

He gave another interview one month later where he again underlined the non-political nature of the union stating that the member states 'have always emphasized that we are building an economic union, not a political one.' He then spoke about the myriad economic benefits that the EAEU has brought. Particularly, he argued that Armenian entrepreneurs now had significantly reduced operating costs for foreign trade and were feeling the effects of 'regional economic shocks' far less. He also noted that Armenia has 'expanded the access of Armenian producers to the markets of the Union countries, primarily Russia.' While 'in just nine months of 2016, Armenia increased exports to the EAEU countries by more than 55% compared to the same period of the previous year.'³⁹⁹ It should be remembered that this interview was delivered

³⁹⁶ Sargsyan, Tigran. 'Председатель Коллегии ЕЭК Тигран Саркисян: «Будущее Евразийского экономического союза напрямую связано с развитием кадрового и интеллектуального потенциала»', Eurasian Commission, 14/11/2016. See:

<http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/14-11-2016.aspx> (Accessed on 12/12/2018)

³⁹⁷ Sargsyan, Tigran. 'Председатель ЕЭК: Нужно создавать в странах ЕАЭС мощные современные кластеры', Eurasian Commission, 01/11/2016. See:

<http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/01-11-2016-4.aspx> (Accessed on 12/12/2018)

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Sargsyan, Tigran. 'Интервью председателя Коллегии ЕЭК Тиграна Саркисяна армянской газете «Ноев ковчег»: «Снятие барьеров и облегчение таможенных процедур упрощает

in the Russian language rather than Armenian, thus his detailing of how Armenia has benefitted from the EAEU is also meant to send a signal to Russia that the Armenian administration is happy and committed to the Union. This marks a clear shift in outlook to that seen in the speeches and statements of Armenian policy-makers in previous years.

4.3.4. Attitudinal shift: towards “Strong interest” in the Eurasian Union

By the end of 2016, many of the speeches reflected a mood of increased optimism and this trend continued into 2017. For example, in March 2017 Serzh Sargsyan gave an interview with the interstate television and radio company *Mir*. Crucially, *Mir* was created in 1992 in the wake of the Soviet Union’s collapse with the objective of promoting areas for political, economic and humanitarian cooperation between CIS countries. The channel reaches thirteen Eurasian states and has a potential audience of more than 150 million. Thus, any statements made on this platform are highly significant in terms of role theory and self-presentation. Sargsyan began by reaffirming Armenia’s commitment to the EAEU. He stated that Armenia has become ‘a part of a very large market’ and this ‘gives Armenia the opportunity to export more.’ Contrary to much of the pessimism from the Armenian public that joining the EAEU had resulted in severe economic downturn, Sargsyan pointed to ‘almost 20% export growth’ in 2015 and 2016. He then mentioned that the creation of the EAEU had coincided with negative economic events and this made difficult for Armenian citizens to see the benefits of joining the Union at first. However, he attempted to reassure the population that the goals set are realistic and that Armenian citizens will soon see the benefits of the membership. He stated, ‘I am convinced that if this union had not been created, if Armenia had not entered into it, then we would have more problems than now.’⁴⁰⁰ Here Sargsyan continues with the softer narrative seen in previous years that Armenia’s economic woes merely ‘coincided’ with them joining the EAEU. He is unwilling to attach any causal claim to the decision, likely for fear of upsetting either Russia or the EU given that Armenia was still keen on pursuing a policy of complementarity with both. Instead he argued that any union requires ‘great efforts and, most importantly, time,’ in order to succeed. Here, he declared Armenia to be ‘strongly interested’ and argued that the country has a ‘special responsibility’ in facilitating the ‘quicker formation’ of the EAEU:

бизнес»’, Armenian newspaper Noah’s Ark, 30/12/2016. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/30-12-2016-2.aspx> (Accessed on 12/12/2018)

⁴⁰⁰ Sargsyan, Serzh. ‘Серж Саргсян: Армения сильно заинтересована в становлении Евразийского союза’, *NEWS.am*. 24/03/2017. See: <https://news.am/rus/news/380748.html> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

It is very important that members of the association are interested in its [the EAEU's] quicker formation. Here, I think, Yerevan has a special responsibility, because the representatives of Armenia are the Chairmen of the Commission, and a lot depends on their precise work. We are strongly interested in the formation of the Eurasian Union.⁴⁰¹

Here Sargsyan presents Armenia as being capable of playing a role facilitating integration between partners and ensuring it occurs as rapidly as possible. The 'responsibility' that he refers to is significant as it is a rare display of commitment to the integration initiative and a suggestion that Armenia could play a more constructive role.

This notion of being an 'integration facilitator' contrasted somewhat with the views of the RPA parliamentary faction, in particular Khosrov Harutyunyan. In an interview conducted with Aravot News Armenia in July, he stated that Belarus and Kazakhstan were exploiting Russia for their own gain. He argued that without Armenia, the EAEU operates according to a '2+1 format' where Belarus and Kazakhstan can vote strategically against Russia. However, Armenia 'will restore balance in this structure: issues will be resolved in the "2 + 2" format'. This statement implies that Armenia will always side with Russia regardless of the issue being debated. Arguably it is a rational statement as Armenia is heavily reliant on Russia's financial and military aid in the frozen Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. However, it also betrays a certain subservience to the hegemon – that Armenia will not make autonomous political decisions, but will simply back up Russia.⁴⁰²

In February 2017, Tigran Sargsyan had delivered a speech at the Skolkovo Innovation Center on the subject of "digital transformation of the economy of EAEU" where he had also raised the issue of national sovereignty (albeit in a more direct manner than Harutyunyan). He stated that this subject 'can both interfere and help develop integration'. Here he presented his own rational assessment of how states should behave when they are involved in an integration initiative. He argued that states should be willing to cede a degree of sovereignty to a supranational body in order to promote faster and more efficient integration. He asked the rhetorical question of where authority lies, 'is the authority [with] the supranational body or with countries? Are they [member states] ready to give the supranational authority additional

⁴⁰¹ Sargsyan, Serzh. 'Серж Саргсян: Армения сильно заинтересована в становлении Евразийского союза', *NEWS.am*. 24/03/2017. See: <https://news.am/rus/news/380748.html> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

⁴⁰² Arutyunyan, Khosrov. 'Мы не собираемся ради Евразийского союза устанавливать границу между Арменией и Карабахом', *Aravot – News Armenia (Аравот - Новости Армении)*, 25/07/2014. See: <https://www.aravot-ru.am/2014/07/25/181424/> (Accessed 20/09/2018)

powers so that we can pursue a joint policy in the field of digital transformation?’⁴⁰³ Here Sargsyan clearly presents Armenia as one of the states that is willing to cede some sovereignty. However, this is not based on the notion that sovereignty is not important for him or the country; rather it is due to a rational assessment that more effective integration can be achieved as a result.

The next month, in March, Tigran Sargsyan gave a speech in front of the congress of the Association of Russian Banks on behalf of the Eurasian Economic Commission. He declared Armenia’s commitment to the EAEU, but outlined the importance of all member states to improve collaboration in order to uncover new ways of stimulating economic growth. He also emphasized the role of competition and prospects for the development of the financial market through the removal of barriers and further harmonization of EAEU legislation. He pointed to the Treaty on the EAEU, which had declared that a common financial market should be formed by 2025.⁴⁰⁴ His speech was essentially a rundown of all the ways the EAEU had succeeded followed by a more extensive list of how the Union could improve. This is a clear presentation of Armenia as committed to the union as well as their desire to maintain ‘active participation’. Further, by outlining the plethora of ways that integration could be improved it also shows Armenia in the role of integration facilitator.

The idea of rational pragmatism was continued in April 2017 when Karen Karapetyan spoke about what the EAEU has achieved so far and what role Armenia can play. He discussed how the EAEU’s story has thus far been one of success – more successful ‘than it was given credit for’ – and that by joining, Armenia ‘with a population of just three million, became members of a “club” - a market with a population of almost 183 million people.’ According to Karapetyan, this “club” is one ‘we understand, and which understands us’ – this comment implies that Armenia is treated equally and with respect within the EAEU. He then talked about how ‘the logic of the EAEU is absolutely pragmatic for us’ in that Armenia plays the role of ‘one of the five [countries], which unites a huge market’. Again he is presenting Armenia as equal in the integration and that ‘Armenia intends to continue to work productively in this regard.’ He also presents a clear role for Armenia when he states that the country ‘aims to become a bridge between the EAEU club and other economic blocs, for example, members of

⁴⁰³ Sargsyan, Tigran. ‘Цифровая трансформация экономики ЕАЭС: новые угрозы и источники роста. Консолидированная позиция бизнеса’, *Eurasiancommission.org*, 09/02/2017. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/10-02-2017-150407.aspx> (Accessed on 20/09/2018)

⁴⁰⁴ Sargsyan, Tigran. ‘Development, not stagnation. Competition is the main lever of economic growth’, *Eurasiancommission.org*, 28/03/2017. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/28-03-2017-%D0%92.aspx>

the European Union, countries that have signed an association agreement with the EU, as well as Iran and the Middle East.’ Armenia’s desired role in this integration could not be presented in a clearer fashion than this – it is still the pursuit of the long-held policy of complementarity by bridging the interests of East and West. Crucially, Karapetyan highlighted his (and by extension the Armenian administration’s) belief that involvement in the two integration blocs is not mutually exclusive, due to ‘no restrictions regarding cooperation, investment and dialogue with the European Union.’ He summarizes Armenia’s role ‘as a country bringing these two markets closer, and not separating them.’⁴⁰⁵ This final statement perfectly encapsulates the Armenian perspective; a pragmatic stance of complementarity that is guided by their geographical location between both Europe and Asia.

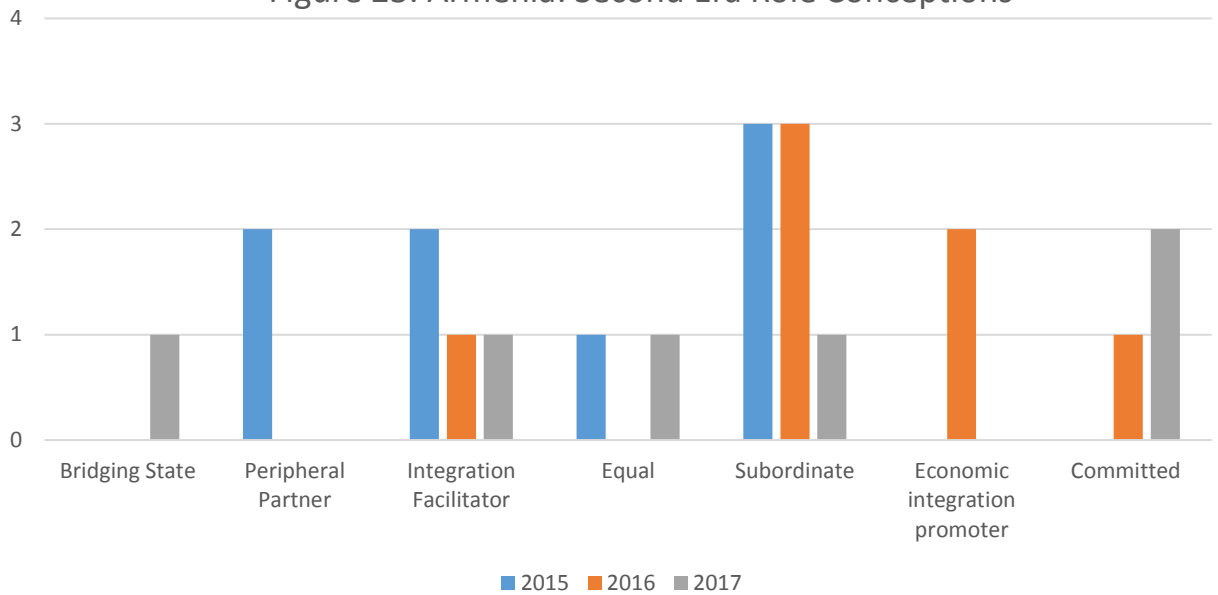
4.3.5. Summary of the second era

As Armenia’s membership of the CU and EAEU became formalized in 2015, the number of speeches increased and there were more references to the potential role that they could play in the Eurasian region. The most prominent role conception that was identified was that of a subordinate partner. This role conception is based on a recognition that they are a small state with a poor economy and low population. Their influence, relative to the other major states in the region is thus, to their mind, limited. Further, geopolitical concerns such as the frozen Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and ongoing tensions with Azerbaijan mean that they are beholden to Russia and many of the speeches and statements are an attempt to convey that fact.

However, as the era progressed there was also growing evidence that Armenia wanted to play a more active and constructive role. The notion of being a peripheral partner was relatively prominent in 2015, but disappears from the rhetoric from 2016 and is replaced with statements on their commitment to the project and how they can play a role facilitating integration between partners. The idea of a “complementarian” approach is also evident at the end of 2017 with one clear reference to bridging the interests of East and West.

⁴⁰⁵ Karapetyan, Karen. ‘«Армения стремится стать мостом между ЕАЭС и Евросоюзом»’, *Mir Peremen*, 03/04/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/36asrBe> (Accessed 22/09/2018)

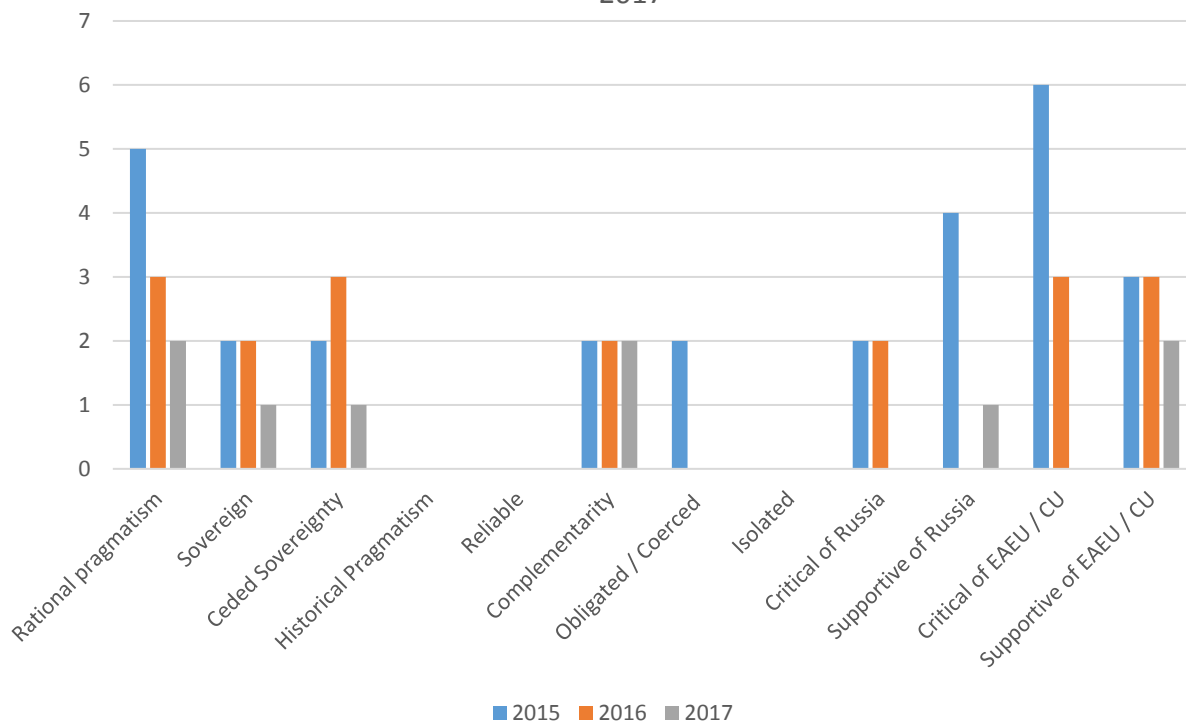
Figure 23: Armenia: Second Era Role Conceptions



Nevertheless, it is interesting that just six role conceptions were identified and only two of those are referenced each year. Although Armenia professes to be committed to the integration project, the sparse references to constructive roles they could play in the integration would suggest otherwise.

Indeed, Armenia’s self-presentation themes are arguably more revelatory in this regard as they indicate the state’s dialectical approach to politics: certain policy-makers argue that Armenia should be sovereign, an equal number argue that ceding some sovereignty is necessary or inevitable. Some argue that Russia is a malignant influence, others are more supportive of their role. Some are critical of the EAEU / CU, others only see its benefits. Although there is disagreement among politicians in every country, Armenia is different in that members of the same administration present the country in a diametrically opposed manner. This stands in contrast with the conclusions of Wish referred to earlier, who argued that policy-makers from within the same state will exhibit a degree of uniformity in the national role conceptions they present.

Figure 24: Armenia self-presentation themes in the second era, 2015 - 2017



However, there are still a number of consistencies in Armenia’s self-presentation in this era: each year sees two references to their policy of complementarity and each year sees speeches and statements that project an image of rational pragmatism. In other words, the rhetoric of Armenian policy-makers exhibits a consistently instrumental approach in that the EAEU is seen as a tool for the country’s growth. This reflects the trend identified in the first era that Armenian policy-makers may disagree on certain issues, but they form a general synthesis in terms of promoting a complementarian policy outlook – a rational and pragmatic stance to adopt given their geographical location.

4.4. Conclusion

Throughout the different eras, Armenia has proven to be an interesting case. Its geographical position between Europe and Asia and its idea of sharing cultural traits with both continents has often led to indecisive foreign policy. This is exemplified by the lack of political will to join any of the early post-1990s integration initiatives in Eurasia and, between 2010 and 2014, several U-turns on their decision to adhere to an Accession Agreement with the EU.

In fact, Armenia is a country of foreign policy paradoxes; internal divisions exist between policy-makers who want to align with the EU and those who want to align to Eurasia. Both are driven by their own idea of what constitutes a rational approach. Those in favor of European integration argue that the Western bloc offers the greater economic prospects. By contrast, those that support integration with the EAEU see Russia as the key to the continued economic success and military / political stability of the country. The source of this is the Armenian diaspora, which is referenced in the rhetoric as both a weakness and a strength. The country's population is scattered across different countries with so many ethnic Armenians being exposed to alternative cultural value systems. This makes it very challenging indeed for policy-makers to try and forge a clear, unified national identity. Thus, the challenge for Armenia is to promote and apply "a one size fits all" national identity that responds to a wide range of public perceptions.

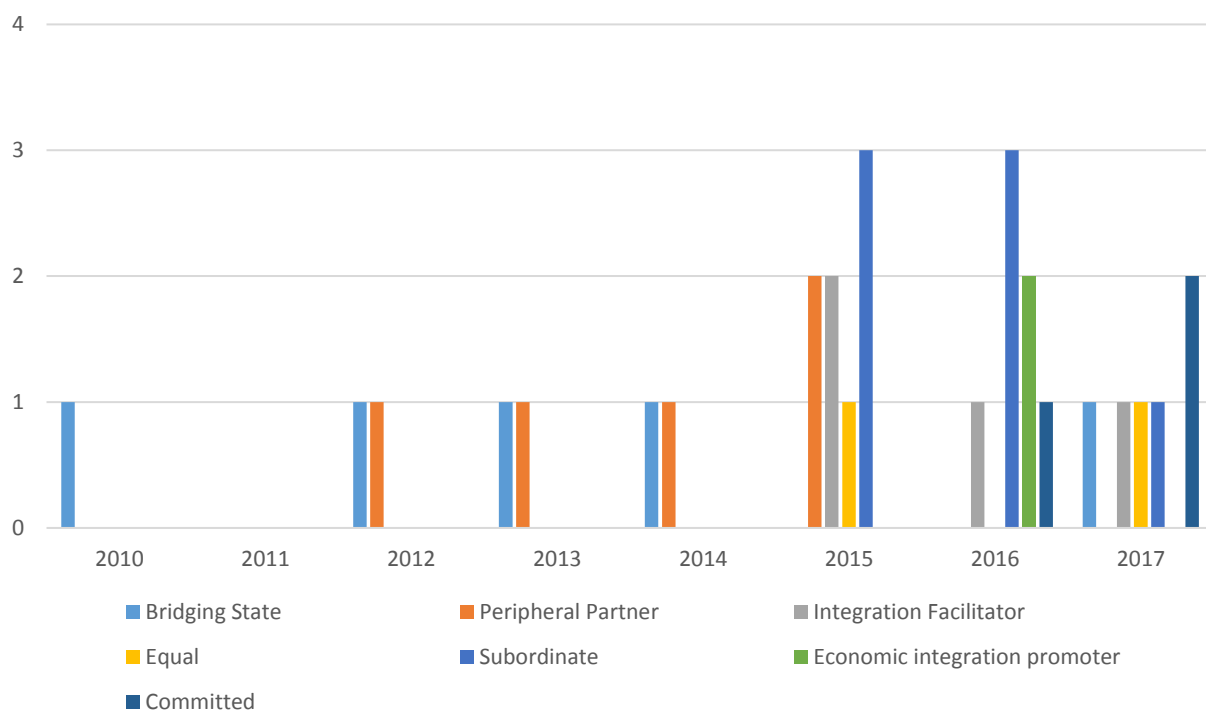
This is not to say that no Armenian national identity exists – far from it. Indeed, one of the most enduring and unifying national identity traits is created by the common sense of tragedy as a result of multiple genocides and the close Armenian bond that this has forged. However, these roots are rarely discussed in a foreign policy context. Indeed, the analysis reflects the idea that past experiences are all but ignored and, instead, the rhetoric is peppered with examples of what is termed in this thesis as a "rational pragmatism". In other words, Armenia does not ignore its past, for example, Ottoman or Soviet occupation, but these incidents are rarely invoked in the public rhetoric to influence foreign policy decisions. Instead Armenian policy-makers often display a calculated cost-benefit analysis approach that revolves around what would be the best option for Armenian economic growth or continued security.

The introduction of this thesis discussed some potential sources of role conceptions and self-presentation. One of these sources is understood to be geography and, for Armenia, this is certainly something that is factored into their rational analysis of policy options. Indeed, the unique geography of Armenia as a country positioned between both Europe and Asia, but with a population that is scattered across both continents is something is directly referenced by policy-makers on several occasions. As the data suggest, the outcome of this geographical condition is the unerring commitment to a policy of complementarity (mentioned in every year across the two eras apart from 2011 where no speeches exist). Complementarity is essentially a hedging strategy that involves limiting their commitment to both the EU and the EAEU so as not to be inescapably tied into their institutions meaning they are free to build relations with both.

The downside to this approach is it results in a lower level of expression of enthusiasm for the integration project and, indeed, one interesting difference between Armenia and other states is that prior to joining any of the integration associations, Armenia did not speak publicly about the role it *could* play. Other states are more willing or more vocal in detailing how they potentially could contribute. Further, even when Armenia had formally acceded to the EAEU and the CU and began to explore the role it could play, its conceptions came in the form of fairly weak references to being a bridge or acting as a peripheral partner, which as figure 25 shows are the most consistent role conceptions across the two eras. This indecision and weak commitment from Armenia contrasts starkly with the steadfast support exhibited by other member states such as Belarus and particularly Kazakhstan.

Indeed, each of the member states of the Eurasian economic union possess differing visions for the future of Eurasian integration. Each state has its own preferences and reasons for joining the integration. For Armenia, the suggestion in the rhetoric is that they were obliged or coerced into joining by Russia and have remained in the EAEU for fear of the repercussions if they left. However, despite the attempts of Russian politicians to implement a common Eurasian identity, Armenian policy-makers did not once display the desire to accept this notion with not even one oblique reference to a Eurasian identity or even of the EAEU as an ideological union.

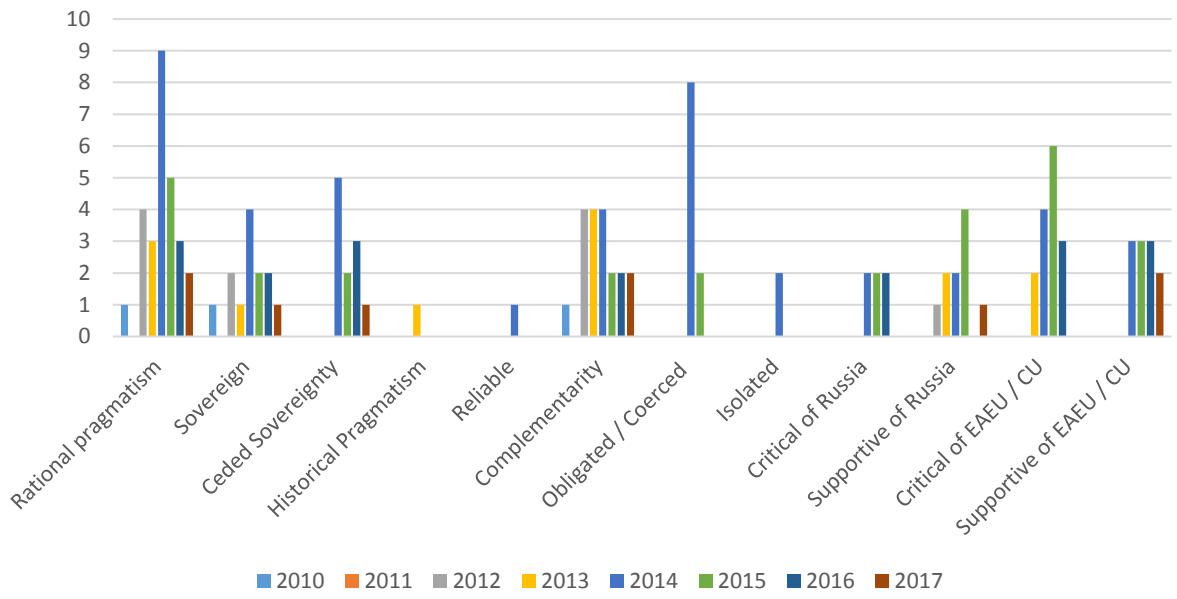
Figure 25: Armenia role conceptions across the two eras



Despite not referencing the need to forge a Eurasian identity, it is significant that the ‘subordinate’ role conception emerges in the rhetoric from 2015, while from the following year the role conception of peripheral partner disappears. First, the very fact that ‘subordinate’ exists as a role conception is testament to the outlook of Armenia’s policy-makers; there is the general recognition of their limited international standing and thus, when some pressure was applied by Russia, they publicly announced on several occasions that they would toe the line. As a result, their vision of playing a peripheral role in the integration faded away.

This notion is also reflected in the self-presentation themes, which arguably reveal more about the nature of Armenian politics in relation to integration. Figure 26 shows how, in 2014, one of the most dominant themes was that Armenia had been coerced into joining the union; there were also five speeches that referenced the loss of sovereignty. However, once the union had been joined in 2015, there were only two mentions of being coerced into joining and just two references to ceding sovereignty. The idea of coercion then completely disappears from 2016. This could be interpreted one of two ways: 1) Russia’s influence has prevented Armenian policy-makers from speaking up. 2) the rational/pragmatic nature of Armenian policy-makers meant that once they had joined the union formally from 2015, there was no point in complaining about the reasons for joining and instead it was important to make the best of the situation. The consistency of Armenian policy-makers’ rational and pragmatic rhetorical approach across each of the years indicates the latter (although Russia’s influence certainly cannot and should not be ignored). Armenia’s politics is fraught with inherent dialectics that result from the lack of obvious national identity (*yerkire yerkir chi* – our country is not a country) and the diaspora; for every policy-maker that adopts one position, another policy-maker will adopt the opposite position. This is evidenced in the self-presentation themes of sovereign versus ceded sovereignty, supportive of Russia versus critical of Russia, and supportive of the EAEU / CU versus critical of the EAEU / CU. However, the thesis – anti-thesis dichotomy requires a synthesis and for Armenia this came in the form of working towards a constructive solution once the EAEU had been joined – hence why most of the role conceptions emerge post-2015. In short, the rational Armenian approach can be summarized by blending the statements of two former Presidents Robert Kocharyan and Ter-Petrosyan referred to earlier: ‘we have what we have’ and so ‘faced with such a reality, any fidgeting is meaningless.’

Figure 26: Armenia: self-presentation themes across the two eras, 2010 - 2017



Chapter 5

Kyrgyz Case

Introduction

For many of the Central Asian states the post-Soviet period was fraught with difficulties. These difficulties were not just related to the economic hardships that resulted from the collapse of the USSR, but also the challenge of having to discover (or re-discover) cultural traditions and a sense of national identity that had been suppressed over the course of Soviet occupation. Kyrgyzstan is no different in this regard, indeed the political scientist and Russia and Central Asia expert Eugene Huskey argued in 2003 that Kyrgyzstan has arguably had a more difficult task in defining a clear national identity than other states due to factors such as ethnic division, limited natural resources and an ‘unenviable location.’⁴⁰⁶ This is a bold claim that perhaps lacks sufficient evidence to substantiate it given that every so-called ‘post-Soviet’ state faced their own respective challenges, while perceptions of countries’ success in overcoming these challenges should not be regarded as proof of their difficulty. Nevertheless, Huskey’s points about the role of ethnic division and geography as hindering the formation of a unified national identity are valid.

Kyrgyzstan has a small population of just 6.2 million and, according to World Bank data, ranks only above Tajikistan in the Central Asian region in terms of GDP (current US\$).⁴⁰⁷ It is a landlocked country that borders Kazakhstan to the North, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to the southwest and China to the East. The near impassable Tian Shan mountain range along the Kyrgyz border with China has been a double-edged sword; while on the one hand it provided physical security, it has also rendered the country geographically (and therefore politically and economically) isolated. The Issyk-Kul lake (the tenth-largest lake in the world by volume) within Tian Shan in eastern Kyrgyzstan acted as a resting point for traders on the Silk Road and gradually Kyrgyzstan carved out a role for itself as a transit state which was connected with the rest of the world through trade. Indeed, historically, the Kyrgyz relied heavily on buying and selling for their fortunes. In spite of rich natural resources such as coal and gold, the country

⁴⁰⁶ Huskey, Eugene. ‘National identity from scratch: Defining Kyrgyzstan's role in world affairs’, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2003, p. 111

⁴⁰⁷ World Bank. All Countries and Economies, GDP (Current US\$) 2018. See: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?most_recent_value_desc=true&view=map

historically lacked the infrastructure to capitalize on it. In fact, Kyrgyzstan produces very little and so the purchase of goods (often from their Chinese or Kazakh neighbors) for re-sale across Central Asia was the cornerstone of the economy. The Kyrgyz economic model has advanced very little over the years and the Kyrgyz are still extremely reliant on the purchase of goods from China, Kazakhstan, and (as a function of its recent history) increasingly Russia for re-export.

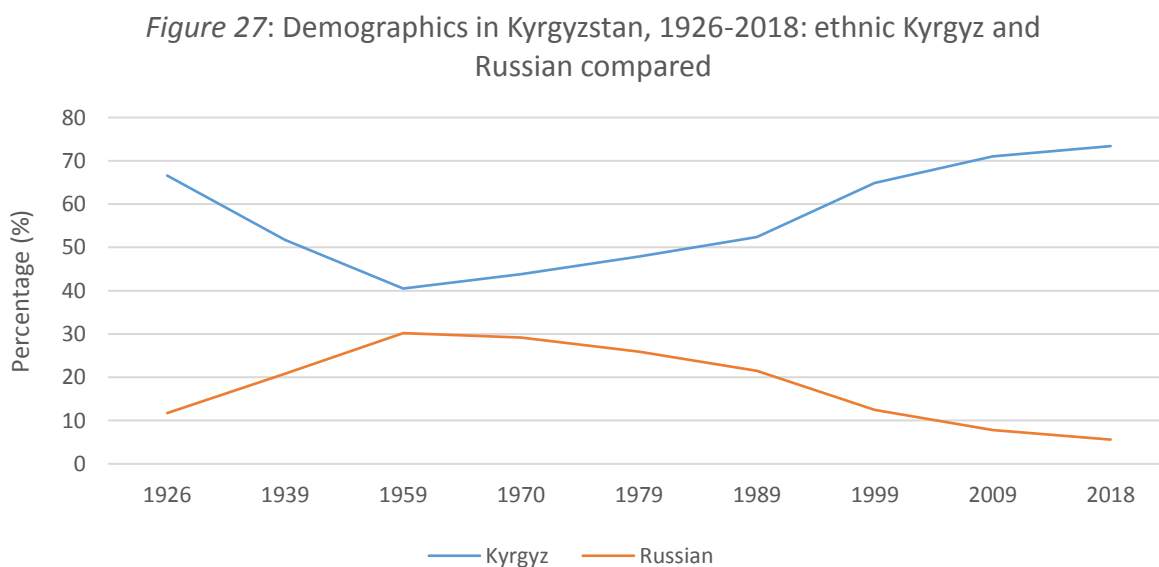
The territory of Kyrgyzstan is also very mountainous; in fact, 93% of its territory is covered with mountains, leaving just 7% for cultivation. This unique geography has played a defining role in shaping Kyrgyz national identity as well as the way the country has engaged with the international community over time. Historically, the mountains acted as a physical barrier between human settlements meaning that a political culture of tribes, or “clans” emerged. Indeed, even the name “Kyrgyz” is derived from the Turkic word for the number “forty” (*kyrk*). The more modern name of the Kyrgyz Republic (Kyrgyzstan) conveys the idea that these forty clans have been unified around a centralized government.⁴⁰⁸ Even the flag depicts this concept; it shows a yellow sun on a red background and the sun has forty rays. Within the sun is a yurt, the traditional nomadic dwelling of the Kyrgyz people and a symbol of family and societal unity and togetherness. This concept of simultaneous diversity and unity is one of the points of pride for Kyrgyzstan with dozens of ethnic groups still existing in the country such as Dungans, Uyghurs, Tatars, Azeris and Kurds. Indeed, speaking in 2014 about the strong and opposing views the public hold about Eurasian integration, the former President Almazbek Atambayev (2011-2017) said that the ‘variety of opinions’ was testament to the country’s demographics and illustrated the openness of their society.

However, on the other hand, the ‘variety of opinions’ it is also an indication of the underlying instability in the Kyrgyz system. A lack of a clear national identity, contrarian politics, and instability through ethnic tensions have been the hallmarks of the Kyrgyz system post-independence. The lack of a clear identity stems in part from the country’s historical experience. Throughout its history, Kyrgyzstan has formed part of other people’s empires – often at the peripheries of the conquering state’s territory. For example, it formed part of the Uyghur Khanate from 747, followed by around 200 years of independence. However Mongol expansion gradually eroded their territory and by the thirteenth century the Mongol invasion of Central Asia led to them being subsumed into the Mongol empire. Independence following the Mongol empire’s demise was short-lived and Kyrgyzstan was subsequently conquered by the

⁴⁰⁸ Pulleyblank, E. G. 'The Name of the Kirghiz.' *Central Asiatic Journal*. Vol. 34 No. 1-2, 1990, p. 108

Dzungarian Khanate, under the Qing dynasty, the Uzbeks, and ultimately the Russians. As Huskey writes, this has meant that, in the modern era ‘there was neither a Kyrgyz state, nor a Kyrgyz national consciousness.’⁴⁰⁹

Today, the Kyrgyz people comprise 73.3% of the population (around 4.6 million people of a total of 6.4 million). While ethnic Uzbeks make up 14.6% of the population and Russians just 5%. However, just before and during the Cold War it was a very different story; chart one (below) shows how demographics have shifted in Kyrgyzstan since Soviet occupation in 1926. It shows how, at the time of Soviet occupation, the Kyrgyz people made up 66.6% falling to a low of 40.5% in 1959. However, for ethnic Russians, the inverse is the case with their population reaching a peak in 1959 of 30.2% before dropping sharply over the subsequent decades. It is crucial to understand these demographics when analyzing how the Kyrgyz present themselves; the Soviets pursued an active policy of ethnic diversity in order to erase any sense of unified “Kyrgyz” identity. It is only in the last few decades that they have been the clear ethnic majority in their own country with demographics slowly beginning to reflect how the country was before Soviet occupation.



⁴⁰⁹ Huskey, Eugene. ‘National identity from scratch: Defining Kyrgyzstan's role in world affairs’, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2003, p. 112

5.2. Soviet Occupation to Independence

Kyrgyzstan was subsumed into the Russian Empire in 1876 when Russian forces marched into the country and overthrew the khanate of Kokand. Tens of thousands fled to neighboring countries such as China or through Tajikistan into Afghanistan. However, for those that stayed, the repressive Russian rule gave cause for popular discontent and led to years of protests and uprisings. This culminated in the so-called Central Asian Revolt of 1916; the threat was deemed to be so great by Russia that it recalled 30,000 Russian and Cossack troops from the Eastern Front of the First World War to Kyrgyzstan. The revolt was crushed in January 1917 leading to the imposition of military courts across Kyrgyzstan and a further exodus of tens of thousands to China. By 1919, the Soviets had formally consolidated their power in the country and by 1936 the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic was formed as a constituent of the Soviet Union.

From the early twentieth century and throughout the Cold War, Kyrgyzstan's historical experiences were similar to those of its regional partners with widespread cultural, religious and political repression. For example, the Kyrgyz people were nomadic but under the Soviet regime were forced into a sedentary lifestyle - between 1918 and 1937, roughly 142,000 households were forced to settle down and, through the policy of collectivization, give up their livestock.⁴¹⁰ The consequence of this was the disruption of traditional tribal life as well as economic downturn. However, in comparison to many of other states that had been occupied, Kyrgyzstan was comparatively less discontented with membership of the USSR. As a result of the subjugation under various empires of the past, the spirit of rebellion was arguably comparatively weaker compared with their Kazakh counterparts, for example, while economically and politically, the Soviets introduced a more modern industrial system and a class of political intelligentsia that had not existed previously, but that have come to dominate Kyrgyz politics to this day.⁴¹¹

Towards the end of the 1980s Gorbachev's policy of *Glasnost* liberalized the political environment in Kyrgyzstan, but also exposed underlying ethnic tensions between the Kyrgyz people and the Uzbek minority. This culminated the so-called "Osh riots" in June 1990; these were violent riots in the cities of Osh and Uzgen that resulted in the deaths of between 300 and 1000 people. The violence had exposed the weaknesses in the Soviet system in its current form

⁴¹⁰ Adle, Chahryar. *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Towards the contemporary period: from the mid-nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century. Volume VI*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2005, p. 276

⁴¹¹ Huskey, Eugene. 'National identity from scratch: Defining Kyrgyzstan's role in world affairs', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2003, p. 113

and Askar Akayev was selected as President of Kyrgyzstan in the same year. The same month in the following year, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Akayev ran unopposed in public Presidential elections and was elected again as the first President of Kyrgyzstan.

In a bid to create (or recreate) a sense of unity and collective identity in the country, one of Akayev's first actions was to elevate the Kyrgyz language to the status of official state language. The preservation of language was seen as one of the elements that was constitutive to nation building and the administration therefore issued a piece of legislation entitled 'Measures for Guaranteeing the Functioning of the State Language on the Territory of Kyrgyzstan.' This formally acknowledged Kyrgyz as its official state language while Russian was designated a language of 'interethnic communication'.⁴¹² According to the Kyrgyz government at the time, this ensured the Kyrgyz language maintained its symbolic importance, while Russian served a more functional day-to-day purpose. However, in 1995 Akayev suggested that Russian also be designated an official state language in order to improve relations with Moscow. The proposal was rejected by parliament, but, in 2000, when Akayev again raised the issue, parliament gave its approval. As a result, by 2003, Russian along with Kyrgyz was also designated an official state language and Kyrgyzstan officially became a bilingual state; this is in spite of just 5.6% of the population identifying as ethnic Russian.

Indeed, Kyrgyzstan's approach post-independence has been characterized by a desire to maintain strong ties with Russia, but also with the Western world. Akayev even coined the often-heard nickname for Kyrgyzstan as the 'Switzerland of Asia' – small, mountainous, sparsely populated, and, crucially, politically neutral.⁴¹³ The country's mountainous terrain and geographical location have rendered Kyrgyzstan physically isolated from the international centers of power in both the East and West. Integration with powerful states is therefore an attractive notion for Kyrgyz policy-makers who strive to elevate their country's position both politically and economically.

However, this comparison to Switzerland is a modern invention rather than a unifying cultural or historical reality that acts as a source of national pride. Indeed, a Google search for the term "Switzerland of Central Asia" returns results that indicate it is used as a convenient mantra by the Kyrgyz tourist board to attract visitors who may be more familiar with the European state. Instead, the enduring challenge that still affects the country is, due to the factors discussed

⁴¹² Huskey, Eugene. 'The Politics of Language in Kyrgyzstan'. *The National Council for Soviet and East European Research*, 1995, p. 7, See: <https://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/1995-810-28-4-Huskey.pdf>

⁴¹³ Cheterian, Vicken. 'Kyrgyzstan: Central Asia's Island of Instability', *Survival*, Vol. 52, No. 5, 2010, p. 21

above, an overarching sense of confusion as to what it is to be Kyrgyz. This brings the discussion back to Akayev's statement on the 'variety of opinions' in Kyrgyzstan; the lack of national cohesion has led to inconsistent policies from government, political instability such as the Tulip revolution of 2005 which saw the resignation of Akayev, and serious ethnic division which have boiled over into violence such as the Kyrgyz Revolution of 2010. The country is therefore torn between the desire to present itself as stable and modernizing and the reality of serious division on a number of political issues. The question is will this tension, division, and confusion be reflected in the rhetoric regarding Eurasian integration?

5.3. The First Era, 2010 - 2014

5.3.1. Kyrgyz accession to the Customs Union, 2010 – 2014

In the late 1990s, Kyrgyzstan was actively involved in discussions for the creation of a Eurasian Customs Union (CU) and was even formally described as one of the initiative's co-authors. However, while Kyrgyzstan's economy floundered, other regional partners such as Belarus and Kazakhstan progressed more rapidly and pressed ahead with the CU while Kyrgyzstan lagged behind. It was only during the early 2000s that Kyrgyz policy-makers once again began publically to express stronger support for Eurasian integration initiatives. They had signed the treaty for the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) in 1999 and had formally joined in 2000. From around 2005, Kyrgyz policy-makers began to reaffirm their commitment to the initiatives of which they were already members (the CIS, CSTO, EurAsEC, and the SCO) while also expressing their support for the concept of closer integration with regional partners in general terms.

For example, in February 2005, the Kyrgyz Foreign Minister, Askar Aitmatov, said that Kyrgyzstan 'always acts as an active supporter of the integration processes in the region. We certainly believe that Nazarbayev's proposal [on the Central Asian Union] should be supported by Kyrgyzstan.'⁴¹⁴ This sentiment was reiterated the following year when the President Bakiyev, at a meeting with the Russian president, said that his country will do their best to strengthen the integration processes: 'In such areas as the fight against terrorism, within the

⁴¹⁴ Aitmatov, Askar. 'Назарбаеву стало тесно в Казахстане', *Nezavissimaya Gazeta*, 25/02/2005. See: http://www.ng.ru/cis/2005-02-25/1_nazarbaev.html (Accessed 25/06/2018)

framework of the SCO, EurAsEC, CSTO and the CIS, Kyrgyzstan will continue to take a firm position and will do everything to intensify integration processes.’ In 2005 and into 2006, many of the speeches and statements, prior to any formal arrangements with other Eurasian states, expressed a strong conviction that relations between Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and other countries of the post-Soviet space were developing positively along integration lines.

However, the CU, which entered into force in 2010 with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan as members, represented a much deeper level of integration and therefore dominated the majority of discussions and debates in Kyrgyzstan. The treaty on CU was signed in 1999 and had taken over a decade to get off the ground. Prior to 2010, Kyrgyzstan was fairly quiet in terms of expressing a desire to join and discussions to work out how Kyrgyzstan would go about joining, what form their accession would take and what benefits it could bring to the initiative mostly took place informally and in private. Starting from early 2010 these discussions became more serious and the topic of joining the CU was mentioned more by politicians. In February 2010, referring to the potential benefits of the CU, the Kyrgyz Prime Minister at the time, Daniyar Usenov, said that ‘The government should proceed in the interests of the republic. We will use all the means that benefit our country’s economy.’⁴¹⁵ Usenov is clearly presenting the benefits of integration, but the underlying theme here is the assertive suggestion that Kyrgyzstan will always put its own interests first; political or economic altruism is not his (or the administration’s) goal, economic advantage is.

Kyrgyzstan had been a member of the WTO since 1998 and had obligations to it under its customs rules and regulations. However, with the creation of the CU, Kyrgyzstan started to weigh up its options. CU countries were vital to the country’s economy; in terms of the structure of the foreign trade turnover of Kyrgyzstan with the countries of the CU, the largest share is occupied by the Russian Federation (28.5%) and Kazakhstan (10.7%). Belarus accounts for just 1.7%. In total, these three countries comprise 40.9% of Kyrgyzstan’s commodity turnover (22.7% in exports, and 49.5% in imports). However, analyzing the commodity structure of exports and imports, it should be noted that Kyrgyzstan imports nearly five times more products from CU countries than they export. At the end of 2009, the total foreign trade of Kyrgyzstan with CU countries amounted to \$ 1,831.5 million. Of this figure, exports amounted to \$ 326.3 million and imports were valued at \$ 1505.2 million. As a result of this reliance, prior to

⁴¹⁵ Usenov, Daniyar. ‘Обзор СМИ по итогам 14-го заседания Комиссии таможенного союза’, *Interstate TV and Radio Company Mir*, 25/02/2010. See: http://www.tsouz.ru/Community/Pages/SMI_14KTS.aspx (Accessed 25/06/2018)

formalizing their accession application, Kyrgyzstan made efforts to adapt its economy to work within the framework of the CU.

However, in April 2010 the government's plans for modernizing the economy and formalizing an application to join the CU were thrown into disarray by the "Kyrgyz Revolution". In February, the country's pro-Russian President Kurmanbek Bakiyev raised heating and electricity tariffs in order to improve the performance of the sector which was still using old Soviet-era equipment. Despite these increases, the country still suffered from rolling blackouts during the winter and many electricity companies fell into administration soon after. This led the public to question where their money was being spent and anger over corruption and cronyism began to rise. On 6 April, demonstrators gathered in the western City of Talas. Bakiyev announced a state of emergency, but the protests quickly spread across the country with opposition parties joining in, including the future President, Almazbek Atambayev who was arrested at one of the demonstrations. Government buildings were seized, including the headquarters of the Kyrgyz intelligence services and a state-owned television station.

Bakiyev was forced to flee on 15 April and an interim government was formed with Roza Otunbayeva as President. Otunbayeva had been a leader in the "Tulip" revolution of 2005 which had seen Bakiyev come to power after ousting Askar Akayev. She served briefly as Bakiyev's Foreign Minister before joining and leading the Social Democratic Party between 2008 - 2010. By the end of the revolution, roughly 2,000 people had lost their lives and a further 400,000 had become displaced. There were also disturbing reports of ethnic violence including killings, torture and rape perpetrated by the Kyrgyz against the Uzbeks.⁴¹⁶ The revolution had exposed Kyrgyzstan's political and social frailties and demonstrated to partner countries, some of whom were already deeply skeptical about allowing Kyrgyzstan to join, that the country was a liability.

With a new interim government in place, it was clear that Kyrgyzstan did not have the requisite political or physical infrastructure to join the CU. It would take months before they would be ready to formalize any accession plans to the CU. These deficiencies were well recognized within Kyrgyzstan which was due to hold a constitutional referendum in June 2010 following the serious political upheaval. Policy-makers saw this as an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone; improving the state of their infrastructure and streamlining political processes within

⁴¹⁶ Pole, Mary. 'Kyrgyzstan conflict victims need justice, not just aid'. *The Guardian*. 10/06/2011. See: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/libertycentral/2011/jun/10/kyrgyzstan-uzbeks-victims-justice-aid> (Accessed 26/06/2018)

the country would also improve their chances of acceding to the CU. Thus, in July 2010, Roza Otunbayeva, then President of Kyrgyzstan, informed the other EurAsEC participants about the results of the referendum and outlined Kyrgyzstan's intentions to adhere to the framework of the CU. She also reaffirmed the country's commitment to existing initiatives, noting that the EurAsEC was emerging as an authoritative international organization and was still crucial to the continued security of the country. In particular, she gave the example of the EurAsEC's financing of specific projects in Kyrgyzstan through the anti-crisis fund which was 'going through difficult days' as a result of the Second Kyrgyz Revolution. According to Otunbayeva, the future political and economic fortunes of Kyrgyzstan were inextricably linked to the Eurasian region in broad terms and, more specifically, to the CU. She concluded by stating that 'A commission has been established in Kyrgyzstan that is studying all the conditions for our future entry into the Customs Union. We are determined to join the Customs Union.'⁴¹⁷

Otunbayeva's rhetoric is clearly to trying to present the image of a country that recognizes its own deficiencies, but is nonetheless willing to address these issues by making the requisite structural changes in order to be considered for membership. It comes across almost like an appeal to the more authoritative members of the initiative to overlook the issues that had blighted the country in recent months and concentrate instead on the potential. Her praise of the EurAsEC, its growing international influence and importance to Kyrgyzstan seems to be an attempt to send the signal that the country supports the idea of integration and, furthermore, sees closer ties with regional partners as crucial to their political, economic, and social security. However, Otunbayeva's speech is also very shrewd; although not explicitly stated, the subtext seems to imply that membership of the CU will mitigate the risks of further unrest in the future by improving the economic situation. Political instability in Kyrgyzstan could create a refugee crisis in the region or even a possible spillover of tensions into neighboring countries. Thus, this may be a subtle attempt to manipulate the other members into approving membership of the CU.

In October 2010, Kyrgyzstan started to seriously consider accession to the CU. Prior to formalizing their application, a number of studies were commissioned to assess how realistic Kyrgyzstan's chances of gaining entry into the Customs Union were. All forty-six CU documents were cross-referenced with the national legislation of the country and its international treaties for compliance with the legal framework of the Customs Union. Of these

⁴¹⁷ Otunbayeva, Roza. 'Роза Отунбаева: Мы полны решимости вступить в Таможенный союз', *Azattyk (Radio Liberty)*, 05/07/2010. See: <https://www.azattyk.org/a/2091156.html> (Accessed 15/06/2018)

forty-six documents, Kyrgyzstan complied with thirty-four, suggesting that accession would be possible. However, twelve found that existing obligations to the WTO would make accession to the CU impossible. Unfortunately for Kyrgyzstan, these twelve documents form the basis of the Customs Union and their share in the legal framework of the CU can be estimated at 70%. Former prime minister Amangeldy Muraliyev stated that ‘Kyrgyzstan is deeply studying the situation with the creation of the CU, but this will take some time. At the same time, we are making efforts to adapt our economy to work in the conditions of the Customs Union. This implies structural changes.’⁴¹⁸ He is presenting Kyrgyzstan as fully committed to adhering to the rules of the CU. He is also honest about where Kyrgyzstan needs to improve conveying the idea that the country has deficiencies, but is trying hard to rectify them.

Of course, before a formal roadmap for accession could be issued by the member states of the CU, Kyrgyzstan needed to prove it currently adhered to the CU’s framework. Thus, although Kyrgyzstan’s policy-makers were keen supporters of closer regional ties, formal discussions on accession simply could not take place until all the criteria outlined in the forty-six documents were met. Nonetheless, throughout 2010, Kyrgyzstan reiterated their commitment to meeting these criteria and the rhetoric reflected the sense that they wanted to present themselves as enthusiastic supporters of integration.

	2010		2010
Supporter of EAEU / CU	3	Committed Member	3
Partners positive	1		
Assertive	1		
Rational pragmatism	2		
Self-interested	1		
Unstable, but reforming	2		

Figure 28: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2010

⁴¹⁸ Muraliyev, Amangeldy. ‘Помощь Казахстана помогла пережить трудное время - первый вице-премьер Кыргызстана Амангельды Муралиев’, *Kazinform*, 07/10/2010. See: <https://bit.ly/3jnsKR2> (Accessed on 15/06/2018)

5.3.2. 2011: Formal Announcement and a shift in tone

If in 2010 the mood to join the CU was positive, one year later the realization of the multitude of challenges they were facing in order to adhere to the roadmap began to sink in with Kyrgyz politicians. At this stage, discussions on accession to the CU were still very informal as a result of Kyrgyzstan's failure to meet many of the criteria. However, in June, the tone of speeches was still fairly positive; Otunbayeva stated that while Kyrgyzstan is not ready to enter the CU in its current state, there were clear benefits to joining as soon as possible; particularly praising the efforts of Kazakhstan and Russia she said:

there are a lot of objective reasons why Kyrgyzstan should join the CU. The market is very harmonious - the Kazakh, Russian markets. The market is not only for goods, but also for labor and capital. Therefore, for us it certainly represents an important benefit.⁴¹⁹

However, in November, Almazbek Atambayev (who became President in December) struck a slightly more negative tone. While he did state that 'we have a common past and I see the future of Kyrgyzstan in the Eurasian Union', he also noted that Kyrgyzstan was increasingly a victim of circumstance. After the creation of the CU, Kyrgyzstan was obliged to adhere to the rules established by the Roadmap and this was undermining the country's traditional role as a re-exporter of goods (for example, goods that were purchased from China and immediately sold on). The CU placed barriers on re-exports and this and this was hitting big clothing markets very hard. Atambayev acknowledged that 'the country cannot live on re-export, on resale abroad of imported goods' and that preparations were underway for avoiding re-export.⁴²⁰ However, he expressed frustration that Kyrgyzstan is still heavily dependent on re-exports for their short-term economic health and were therefore caught in a catch-22 situation: how could Kyrgyzstan ensure the requisite political and physical infrastructure was being established under the terms of the roadmap if the cornerstone of the economy was being undermined by barriers?

He expressed concerns that the potential of the country's promising energy and mining sectors was being damaged by a lack of funding as well as endemic corruption and that loans that were promised to tide the country over while it put the roadmap's measures in place had not been

⁴¹⁹ Roza Otunbayeva. 'Киргизия пока не готова вступить в Таможенный союз заявила Отунбаева', *RIA Novosti*, 16/06/2011. See: <https://ria.ru/economy/20110616/389065124.html> (Accessed on 25/06/2018)

⁴²⁰ Atambayev, Almazbek. '«У нас общее прошлое, и я вижу будущее Кыргызстана в Евразийском союзе»', *Izvestia*, 17/11/2011. See: <http://iz.ru/news/506878> (Accessed on 25/06/2018)

provided. In an assertive and harshly worded statement he said ‘... it was not about any special conditions for obtaining it [membership], like someone’s election victory. And it is not clear to me why, in a situation where the country has completed all the formalities, the loan has not yet been issued. It’s obvious, it’s time to rely more on yourself, on your economy.’⁴²¹ While this is clearly a presentation of Kyrgyzstan as a victim of others’ apathy about their plight, it is also an appeal for help. Atambayev will have recognized that the country’s economy is in poor shape and cannot realistically have meant that Kyrgyzstan intends to rely on itself. Closer economic ties with regional partners through the CU were still vital to their interests and Atambayev is likely simply attempting to shake the policy-makers in other countries into taking action. Indeed, he even alluded to the ‘common past’ of the members states as the reason that they should stick together.

Simultaneously, a number of policy-makers had raised concerns that joining another union would be counter-productive. Many of the aims and objectives of integration initiatives that Kyrgyzstan was already a member of (for example the SCO, the CSTO and EurAsEC) overlapped and this was causing a great deal of confusion within the country. Thus, some prominent voices within government suggested the organizations be merged into the overarching Eurasian Union. The practical implications of this would mean more red tape while some countries of the SCO, for example China, India and Pakistan, had no intention of entering the Eurasian Union. Thus, by November 2011, Secretary General Muratbek Imanaliyev announced that a merger between the different integration initiatives was unlikely. He stated that:

Certain SCO countries, including Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, are unilaterally informed and are dealing with this problem (joining the Eurasian Union). But all the SCO countries as a whole do not intend to enter there. There are no talks about merging these two organizations⁴²²

In keeping with the positivity displayed by policy-makers the previous year, Imanaliyev also added that the SCO attaches great importance to interaction with regional international organizations while also reaffirming Kyrgyzstan’s support for integration initiatives more generally:

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Imanaliyev, Muratbek. ‘Генсек ШОС: Слияние с Евразийским союзом не планируется’, *TengriNews*, 22/11/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2R7YgXe> (Accessed on 26/06/2018)

During the meeting with the heads of the CSTO, EurAsEC and the CIS on Tuesday, we exchanged views on what we can do together and how. We need to develop current cooperation and look for new perspectives in this direction.⁴²³

Here he also presents Kyrgyzstan as playing an equal role with the other members ('what we can do *together* and how'). Cooperation, according to Imanaliev will be key to realizing their collective objectives for any Eurasian integration initiative. However, he does not suggest that Kyrgyzstan will take the lead in coordinating these efforts, just that an equal partnership is necessary.

Otunbayeva was careful to reassure citizens that the government had established a working group designed to consider pros and cons of entry and ensure it would not overburden the country's economy. Interestingly, the attaché to Kyrgyzstan to oversee the process was Sergey Glazyev, a Russian national who acted as executive secretary of the Customs Union commission, and representative of the Russian Federation. His task was to work closely at that point with Kyrgyz ministers of economy and finance and provide assistance where necessary. This was a similar situation to that observed in Armenia when a Russian national working on behalf of the CU was charged with overseeing Armenia's accession - this came at a time when Armenia was having doubts about joining. It is likely that Russia saw the seeds of doubt creeping in based on Kyrgyzstan's own assessment that it was currently unprepared for accession and wanted to ensure that Kyrgyzstan did not renege on its commitment to the project.

The rhetoric in 2011 largely continued from that seen in 2010 in that Kyrgyzstan's policy-makers were careful to present their support and enthusiasm for the CU. However, some of the speeches and statements also struck a more negative tone. Many betrayed an element of confusion as to what the CU was trying to achieve and whether this was any different from the many existing initiatives. Some other speeches presented the country as a victim of the circumstances role they found themselves in; funds that had been promised to help Kyrgyzstan improve its infrastructure and meet the CU's accession requirements had not been released leading to frustrations from certain policy-makers. The rhetoric demonstrates the dichotomy between a clear will to join the CU and the lack of means to meet the criteria. By presenting the country as a victim of circumstance, Kyrgyz policy-makers are trying to remind their regional partners that they will need assistance.

⁴²³ Ibid.

	2011		2011
Supporter of EAEU / CU	1	Committed Member	1
Detractor of EAEU / CU	2		
Partners positive	1		
Assertive	1		
Equal	1		
Shared History	1		
Victim	1		

Figure 29: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2011

5.3.3. 2012: Members, not just partners

Concerns over integration appeared to be short lived and in 2012 formal discussions took place between Kyrgyz policy-makers and members of the CU with a view to establishing a road map for accession. At the beginning of the year, policy-makers began to express the sentiment that the country's interests would be best served through deeper integration. This was epitomized by Roza Otunbayeva's speech in January 2012 when she said she sees the fate of her country as being inevitably associated with the Eurasian Union: 'The natural flow of labor, services and capital flows is undoubtedly heading to Russia and Kazakhstan.'⁴²⁴ As the process became more formal, some of the rhetoric began to reflect a sense that Kyrgyzstan wanted to be viewed as more than just regional partners, but respected as equal members of the integration project. Kyrgyzstan had taken some steps to ingratiate themselves with Russia by accepting a strong military presence on their territory and, after the US withdrawal from the airbase at Manas, the then president of the country, Almazbek Atambayev, made it clear that he sees the fate of Kyrgyzstan as very closely connected with Russia.⁴²⁵ As a result, there were expectations within Kyrgyzstan that they should be regarded as important members of the region. For example, the Kyrgyz vice-prime minister Djoomart Otorbaev stated in March 2012:

The position of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan on the Eurasian Economic Union has become a very important issue at today's meeting of the heads of the EurAsEC member countries. In particular,

⁴²⁴ Otunbayeva, Roza. 'Евразийский Союз – амбициозный проект Москвы', *Inozpress.kg*, 03/01/2012. See: <http://inozpress.kg/news/view/id/35219> (Accessed on 22/06/2018)

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

what status will these two states have. Kyrgyz President Almazbek Atambayev said that the republic is not ready to be just a partner. Either the state becomes a member, or it does not enter at all.⁴²⁶

This is a level of assertiveness previously unseen in the rhetoric of Kyrgyz policy-makers and indicates a greater willingness both to exert influence over states in the region and also to attempt to get a deal out of the integration process that is not disadvantageous to the country's economy. For example, in July 2012, the political analyst Ednan Karabaev stated at a round table in Bishkek that: 'Twenty-year participation in various organizations did not bring any dividends to Kyrgyzstan ... However, I believe that Kyrgyzstan needs to jump into the Customs Union, but only with a bag of preferences behind it.'⁴²⁷ This 'bag of preferences' is a rather literal translation and means that the country should pursue integration from the objective perspective of Kyrgyz national interest (i.e. its own 'preferences'). This objective pursuit of the national interest would include forging closer ties with Russia, a move that most of the ethnic Kyrgyz were deeply opposed to. Karabaev went on to explain that high-ranking policy-makers understand the complexity of this issue and that the country would reap the economic benefits of deeper integration with Russia, but that this message should be conveyed to the general public who are strongly divided on the issue:

There is an understanding of this issue at the top, but there is also the problem of conveying information to the population. The new geo-format of external relations of Russia requires the growth of Central Asia. The issue of whom Kyrgyzstan should align with is solved in the new format. The opinions of ordinary Kyrgyz people are of different polarities - this is a fact.⁴²⁸

Karabaev's statement goes to the heart of a perennial issue within Kyrgyzstan; the disconnect between policy-makers and the public. Karabaev's statement is perhaps a little condescending to the Kyrgyz people. He seems to imply that the elites in Kyrgyzstan know better than the public; he states that the union will have clear economic benefits and policy-makers have 'an understanding of this'; the public, by contrast, are not able to grasp this concept. The difference in opinion stems from the fact that policy-makers spend their careers wrestling with budgetary and infrastructural challenges caused by the poor state of the economy. While closer ties with

⁴²⁶ Otorbaev, Djoomart. 'Для Кыргызстана разработают «дорожную карту» по вступлению в Евразийский экономический союз', *Kabar*, 20/03/2012. See:

<http://kyrgyzembassy.ru/?p=8303#.WVoYYYiGPIU> (Accessed on 22/06/2018)

⁴²⁷ Karabaev, Ednan. 'Эднан Карабаев: Кыргызстану надо впрыгнуть в ТС с мешком преференций за спиной', *Vechernii Bishkek*, 05/07/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/3hf0o9W> (Accessed on 22/06/2018)

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

partners such as Russia will provide the means to improve the economy, the public, however, are largely opposed to deeper integration as a result of justifiably negative perceptions of Russia due to historical experiences. It was, after all, the Soviets that created centralized political power in Kyrgyzstan and a class of political elites to help govern it; two things which had not existed in the historically nomadic and tribal country. However, the Kyrgyz policy-makers seem to approach the problem from the perspective of rational self-help; the benefits of joining will provide clear long-term economic and political benefits which, in time, will also improve social stability. The slightly assertive tone that is struck is an attempt to persuade their partners that while they are still supporters of the CU, they will not do anything that comprises the will of the people.

In December 2012, member states approved Armenia's accession to the CU based on their adherence to the road map; the members then turned their attention to Kyrgyzstan which had decided to proceed with joining the CU and begin high-level discussions on being provided a road map for accession. Once again, the rhetoric displayed by Kyrgyz vice-prime minister Otorbaev displayed an assertive quality; in spite of the country's small population and weak and ailing economy, they would not be forced into joining a union that did not serve their best interests.

Our President Almazbek Atambayev has repeatedly said, and today, too, that we are ready to join the Customs Union, *but under conditions that satisfy our country*. Any step of Kyrgyzstan will be associated with the need to meet the conditions that the *state sets* for joining this union. At the same time, all the countries participating in the CU should also be satisfied with the roadmap action plan.⁴²⁹

He continued by explaining that the path to meeting the criteria of the roadmap would be arduous, but necessary for the future of the country:

Conditions for all are individual. What Armenia wants will not satisfy Kyrgyzstan or Ukraine. We must fulfill our obligations. When the development of the Roadmap will be completed, it is difficult to say. The process should be completed without much delay. We have to go through a difficult path, sign hundreds of regulations.

In 2011, most of the speeches and statements continued to present the image of Kyrgyzstan as an enthusiastic regional partner and a keen supporter of integration. Further, due to the difficult

⁴²⁹ Otorbaev, Djoomart. 'Когда заработает Евразийским союз?', *МФ-Информ*. 25/12/2012 (italics added for emphasis). See: <https://bit.ly/2YwuvBH> (Accessed on 22/06/2018)

situation they found themselves in as a result of not receiving a loan to help them install new infrastructure, some of the rhetoric began to reveal that they considered themselves to be a victim of circumstance – caught between the desire to join the CU and the impact that adhering to requested criteria was having on their economy. By 2012, the idea of presenting the country as a victim of circumstance has disappeared and has been replaced with more assertive rhetoric. There is still enthusiasm for the CU (and for integration projects in the region in more general terms); however, the rhetoric shows that Kyrgyzstan wants it to be on their terms. This can be seen as a kind of evolution from the “victim” role seen the previous year; rather than dwell on negative aspects of integration, policy-makers decided to rationally formalize discussion for accession, but on the condition that their preferences were not overlooked.

One of the most prominent self-presentation themes that can be seen in this year is one that Armenia has also frequently displayed: rational pragmatism. The Kyrgyz general public were divided on the issue of forging deeper ties with the region largely as a result of the influence of Russia and the potential loss of sovereignty that would inevitably ensue. However, Kyrgyz policy-makers saw the economic and political advantages that would come as a result of the CU and made the rational decision, unguided by historical experience, to take steps towards formalizing the accession agreement. Interestingly, issues relating to sovereignty or ceding sovereignty are not discussed at the highest level.

This is also the first year that a clearly-defined role conception emerges. Although 2011 saw rhetoric that hinted at the desire to be treated as an equal partner, the assertive rhetoric in 2012 more strongly conveys this sense. In short, Kyrgyzstan wants to be treated not just as a partner, which could imply peripheral engagement by the member states, but as a member with equal rights and decision-making influence.

	2012		2012
Supporter of EAEU / CU	3	Equal Member	2
Russia positive	1	Committed Member	3
Partners positive	1		
Assertive	3		
Rational pragmatism	3		
Equal	2		
Self-interested	3		
Unstable, but reforming	1		

Figure 30: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2012

5.3.4. 2013: Roadmap for accession is granted

Kyrgyzstan made great progress towards meeting the criteria of the CU throughout 2012 and by May 2013 a road map for accession had been granted. In response, Otunbayeva gave a speech where she outlined the importance of maintaining ties with existing partners such as China through initiatives such as the SCO, but she also highlighted the importance of Russia to Kyrgyzstan. Much of her statement bears quoting in full due to its relevance to role conception:

In Kyrgyzstan, from the very beginning of the formation of the Republic, vectors of our integration policy were immediately outlined. First of all, we are a member of the CIS. We are members of the Union of Turkic-speaking countries [Turkic Council - ISP], Uzbekistan is not a member. Speaking of Russia as an integrator and the center of gravity, now the Customs Union and the Eurasian Union are on the table. Kyrgyzstan will enter the Customs Union, and we strive to enter. We must act according to the laws that dictate reality to us. We have a large trade turnover with Russia, our migrants go to Russia, only 3,000 work there on a permanent basis, and in some seasons the number of workers exceeds one million. This is a considerable figure for our Republic with a population of 5.5 million. Therefore, the Customs Union, which involves the free passage of goods, services and finance, is a very important union for us. We are preparing, we are negotiating the accession of Kyrgyzstan to this union. If we talk about the European Union, then it needs to mature. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is also a very important area because China is our largest trading partner.⁴³⁰

Otunbayeva's statement that Kyrgyzstan 'must act according to the laws that dictate reality to us' is contrary to the assertiveness seen in many of the speeches and statements from just one year previously. The idea that Kyrgyzstan could somehow determine the manner of its accession that had emerged the previous year has been replaced by a passiveness that suggests they must simply go along with the pre-existing rules and regulations without complaint. Furthermore, Otunbayeva highlights how important Russia is to the country referring to the country as 'an integrator and the center of gravity'. Here it is worth reminding ourselves that this speech was given in Russian, not Kyrgyz. Thus, the intended audience was Russia and it can be interpreted as an attempt to ingratiate the country with the hegemon by sending the message that Russia is a vital partner to Kyrgyzstan. However, she also follows this statement up by speaking about how the CU and the EAEU are now competitors to Russia's monolithic power and Kyrgyzstan will benefit enormously in terms of international status by joining.

⁴³⁰ Otunbayeva, Roza. Video conference at the Institute of World Politics, *Glavcom*, 26/02/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/39cYhkj> (Accessed on 23/06/2018)

Kyrgyz commitment to the CU was reaffirmed throughout the year. In October 2013, Otunbayeva visited Germany at the invitation of the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung). In the conference hall of the foundation she gave a lecture on the political and economic situation in Kyrgyzstan stating that the Customs Union ‘is our living space’ implying that they are comfortable with the expectations from other members and that in terms of free movement of goods, services, labor and capital, ‘all this is extremely attractive and important to us.’ However, upon answering the questions of a correspondent from Deutsche Welle who had asked about the problems during negotiations on the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the Customs Union, Otunbayeva responded with some criticisms of the CU:

We understand that joining the CU is a difficult process. We will have to fight for many positions. Kyrgyzstan has long been in the WTO, there are established economic ties with many other countries that are members of this organization. The region of the CU is uneven, there are WTO members, and there are non-members (Kazakhstan and Belarus are not members of the WTO). Plus China, which is the main trading partner for many countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, as well as for Russia. Negotiations on joining the Customs Union will continue, and we already see quite a few pitfalls.... We have not simply been accepted to the Customs Union. In turn, we see that the CU is not manna from heaven.⁴³¹

This is an interesting speech as it reveals a degree of reluctance on the part of Otunbayeva. She states that a number of barriers to entry still exist for the country including the implication of skepticism from partners. She intimates that even if these are overcome, the CU ‘is not manna from heaven’. She noted that many Kazakh businesses have folded as a result of being in the CU while China will also be a major competitor in the Central Asian space. This does not imply that Otunbayeva is stating that Kyrgyzstan is reluctant to join, but rather that they should not be complacent about the challenges that they will face in the future and should meet these challenges pragmatically.

⁴³¹ Otunbayeva, Roza. Lecture on the political and economic situation in the republic, *Deutsche Welle*, 02/10/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/2qUs1Rh> (Accessed on 23/06/2018)

	2013		2013
Supporter of EAEU / CU	1	Equal Member	2
Detractor of EAEU / CU	1	Committed Member	2
Russia positive	1		
Partners positive	1		
Partners negative	1		
Passive	2		
Rational pragmatism	1		
Victim	1		

Figure 31: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2013

Overall, the rhetoric in 2013 displays a certain degree of reluctance on the part of Kyrgyz policy-makers to formalize their membership of the CU. There are fewer speeches than in 2012 and the tone is balanced between affirmation and detraction of the CU as well as speaking about regional partners both a positive and negative light. This generally reflects reports in the news at the time that suggested Bishkek was ‘stalling’ on the CU and setting the bar for their own entry ‘deliberately too high’ in order to receive a better deal from Russia.⁴³² Nevertheless, the rhetoric also simultaneously displays commitment to the union.

5.3.5. 2014: Appeals for assistance

By 2014, Kyrgyzstan’s policy-makers were confident that they were meeting the requirements of the road map and that they would soon be seeing the benefits. At the end of January, former Prime Minister Amangeldy Muraliyev, speaking at the expert forum “Customs Union: phantom fears and real risks,” noted:

We are not in it with one foot, but eighty percent of our “body”. In the foreground, we have structural changes in the economy, which we have not been able to do in 20 years. This will allow us to reorient the economy. The arrival of large investors will create new jobs and production, thereby starting the fight against the shadow economy. Structural adjustment does not come on its own.⁴³³

⁴³² Rickleton, Chris. ‘Kyrgyzstan: Is Bishkek Stalling on Customs Union?’. *Eurasianet*, 17/09/2013. See: <https://eurasianet.org/kyrgyzstan-is-bishkek-stalling-on-customs-union> (Accessed 23/06/2018)

⁴³³ Muraliyev, Amangeldy. ‘«Made in Kyrgyzstan»: торговый капитал против промышленного’, *Ritmeurasia*, 20/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/3eItk8r>

Here Muraliyev presents an unemotional and pragmatic view of the CU – its tone is positive insofar as he discusses the structural changes to the economy that Kyrgyzstan has been unable to make for at least twenty years, but that will finally be possible under the CU. He opines that this will kick start the economy through new jobs and opportunities. Conventional Realist IR theory argues that state actors will respond rationally to situations as they arrive, carrying out a cost-benefit analysis of the risks versus the opportunities and it seems as though this is what Muraliyev is doing here; historical concerns over Russia’s occupation of the country or the potential loss of sovereignty that may ensue from joining (a major cause for concern among many of the general population) do not come into his assessment; instead, he expounds the clear economic benefits through investment and employment.

During 2014, the crisis in the Ukraine began to escalate and Russia’s role in annexing the Crimea and arming separatists became apparent. This raised serious concerns across the Central Asian region given that many countries had a high proportion of ethnic Russians (for example Kazakhstan with 25% of the population identifying as Russian) and in Armenia who often spoke of Eurasian integration as a synonym for Russian integration. Nevertheless, in Kyrgyzstan the rhetoric did not address the concerns that many held over creeping Russian influence and instead continued to reflect support for integration initiatives generally and the CU specifically. In March 2014 Askar Akayev discussed the future of the Crimea and how this relates to the CU. He said:

I am convinced that the Customs Union will develop regardless of what is happening in Ukraine. Of course, for Ukraine itself it would be very important to join the Customs Union, because the Ukrainian economy would receive a new direction. Now it is in a disastrous state. The Ukrainian economy is alien to the European. The European economy does not integrate the Ukrainian one; it will reject it as an alien element. As for the next steps, I see that strong Eurasian integration is possible on the basis of the Customs Union, and a strong Eurasian Union will be created.⁴³⁴

In this speech, Akayev is keen to highlight the idea of strength through integration and reaffirms Kyrgyzstan’s support for the CU. He does not mention Russia at all, but instead talks only of how integration breeds structure and strength. This idea of strength through unity was repeated by Akayev in November 2014 when he referenced the Soviet historian and thinker, Lev Gumilyov – a proponent of Eurasianism who had once written “unite to survive”. He postulated

(Accessed on 23/06/2018)

⁴³⁴ Akayev, Askar. Interview on situation in Post-Soviet area and Russian economy, *Pro-kg.ru*, 30/03/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2R6HAIK> (Accessed on 23/06/2018)

that Gumilyov would have rejoiced at the integration initiatives that are taking place across the region since it would allow the Central Asian region to compete on a global level. Akayev spoke on the subject of the Ukraine again in November. He mentioned that he thought the Ukraine should integrate with Eurasian partners and linked this to Kyrgyzstan's prospects for accession to the Customs Union the Eurasian Union, he said:

... today no country in the world can successfully develop without participation in regional cooperation. This is the call of the times. The CU today has become a very attractive interstate alliance with great development potential. The accession of the republic to the CU promises significant benefits to the country and will help to bring its economy out of crisis.⁴³⁵

The importance of the CU and closer ties with regional partners was re-emphasized in May by the Prime Minister, Djoomart Otorbaev who was interviewed by *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* – a popular news agency in Russia which is often used by Russian speaking policy-makers across Central Asia to convey their message to the hegemon. During this interview Otorbaev stated:

For Kyrgyzstan, the issue of joining Eurasian integration associations is very important. The upcoming Eurasian integration of our republic should become a successful example both for the countries of the Customs Union and for other states that are considering joining the CU. We are aware of our responsibility within the initiative and we understand that in fact this step is without the right to make mistakes. The republic should enter the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space with a minimum of risks and, of course, without fuss. That, in principle, is our approach. Therefore, I am grateful to the “troika” for the fact that it reacted with understanding to such a position of the KR [Kyrgyz Republic]. I emphasize that no one rushed us, did not push us to take a decision.⁴³⁶

Otorbaev addresses the potential challenges that the country will face and admits that Kyrgyzstan cannot afford to make any mistakes at this stage of the process. Nevertheless, he praises the conduct of member states who had the patience to allow Kyrgyzstan to get its political affairs in order before joining. His statement that ‘I emphasize that no one rushed us, did not push us to take a decision’ is clearly a reference to the role Russia had played in states such as Armenia who were close to integrating with the EU before Russia persuaded them otherwise. Instead, Otorbaev illustrates how Kyrgyzstan had taken these steps autonomously in order to send a signal to other member states of the CU that the country was not ceding any

⁴³⁵ Akayev, Askar. Interview to News-Asia, 10/11/2014. See: <http://www.news-asia.ru/view/ks/interview/7537> (Accessed on 23/06/2018)

⁴³⁶ Otorbaev, Djoomart. ‘Киргизия: выбор сделан’, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta (rg.ru)*, 23/05/2014. See: <https://rg.ru/2014/05/23/otorbaev.html> (Accessed 23/06/2018)

sovereignty. This is clear attempt to ingratiate themselves with the hegemon. Although in general terms the interview conveys support for integration associations and the CU, Otorbaev also highlights the fact that that Kyrgyzstan's entry into the Customs Union will likely aggravate the economic and social problems in the republic:

As you know, having announced our intention to join the CU, we are simultaneously applying for membership in the Common Economic Space (CES). These two steps, in general, will inevitably be associated with certain social problems. Since the structure of the economy of Kyrgyzstan is different from the structures of the economies of the countries of the Customs Union, the issue of its adaptation to new economic realities is very important. In fact, a country with a lower per capita consumption enters the "rich" integration association. To avoid negative consequences, we need to take into account literally every detail. At the same time, we count on assistance from Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. And they, by understanding our problems, are ready to support Kyrgyzstan⁴³⁷

Otorbaev states that Kyrgyzstan's economy differs from those of the existing members of the CU and will need time to adapt to the 'new economic realities'. Furthermore, he highlights the comparative poverty of the country compared with the 'rich' CU members and states that this will also present potential social problems. According to Otorbaev, in order to avoid these issues Kyrgyzstan will need to rely on assistance from Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Given that this interview took place in a Russian newspaper, this is clearly a direct appeal for Russia's help in mitigating potential social unrest by providing funds and guiding the country through the initial stages of accession. This is a presentation of the country as a supplicant; a rational perspective that they have adopted based on the realistic assessment of their limited economic and political power. For Kyrgyzstan, projecting the image of a state in transition and in need of financial assistance is an important part of its foreign policy.

Appeals for assistance were not limited to finances, however. In August 2014, the director of the Forsite Center Barometr, Ednan Karabaev, spoke of the problem of smuggling across the state border of Kyrgyzstan. He lamented the fact that there has been little cross-border development between neighboring states and Kyrgyzstan and this lack of infrastructure creates shadowy interstate markets, which are very difficult for many Kyrgyz people, who rely on these markets for their livelihoods, to reject. Karabaev stated his belief that 'Bishkek needs participation in the Customs Union even more than Moscow, Astana and Minsk. The era of Chinese goods is in the past, and the need to look for a niche even if on the regional market

⁴³⁷ Ibid

becomes obvious every day.’⁴³⁸ Karabaev is acknowledging the problems that the country faces, but, much like Otorbaev’s appeal for financial assistance, is also presenting an image of a country that will require help maintaining border security, particularly from Russia.

By November 2014, it became apparent that Kyrgyzstan was getting its wish; both Russia and Kazakhstan announced that they were willing to support Kyrgyzstan financially. According to Atambayev, \$300 million had been allocated for the creation of modern laboratories, customs points and border infrastructure. \$200 million of this would be provided by Russia and the other \$100 million by Kazakhstan. In addition to this, a Kyrgyz-Russian development fund with a capital of \$1 billion was created. Atambayev stated that ‘having such resources, the government should create jobs and all efforts should be directed to the development of the economy.’⁴³⁹ In this case, Kyrgyzstan’s self-presentation as a country in dire need of assistance seems, quite literally, to have paid off.

Most of the speeches in 2014 focused on Kyrgyzstan’s support for the CU, however speeches highlight the rationality of Kyrgyz policy-makers. In November, Atambayev stated ‘I am convinced that there are much more advantages from joining the Eurasian Economic Union than disadvantages.’⁴⁴⁰ A few months before, in a speech in August 2014, Akayev mentioned how Kyrgyzstan should weigh up its options and list the advantages and disadvantages of joining before devising their economic development strategy. In a clear example of Rational Pragmatism, he uses phrases such as ‘examine all the pros and cons’ and ‘calculate all the nuances’. According to Akayev, failure to do so will mean the country will face further challenges in the future.

The Customs Union is an economic project. However, the government should examine all the pros and cons and develop a proper economic development strategy. If there is a right strategy, there will be no difficulties. If the cabinet of ministers does not calculate all the nuances, then the entry of the Kyrgyz Republic into the CU may have certain difficulties.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸ Karabaev, Ednan. ‘Налицо саботаж вхождения Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз’, *Vechernii Bishkek*, 14/08/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/32AvXa0> (Accessed on 19/06/2018)

⁴³⁹ Atambayev, Almazbek. ‘Чынгышев: Ответственность за ЕАЭС лежит на Атамбаеве и парламенте,’ *Gezitter*. 25/12/2014, See: <https://bit.ly/379sbUt> (Accessed 19/06/2018)

⁴⁴⁰ Atambayev, Almazbek. ‘Атамбаев убежден, что плюсов в евразийской интеграции гораздо больше, чем минусов’, *Vesti.kg*, 19/12/2014. See: <https://vesti.kg/politika/item/31642-atambaev-ubezhden-что-плюсов-в-евразийском-интегрatsii-gorazdo-bolshe-chem-minusov.html>

⁴⁴¹ Akayev, Askar. ‘А.Акаев: Кыргызстан получит больше выгоды от вступления в ТС’, *RitmEurasia*. 03/08/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2R8fyne> (Accessed 18/06/2018)

Two months later, In October 2014, Akayev restated how the country's policy-makers need to continue to put the effort in to ensure the Kyrgyzstan see the full benefits of the CU. According to Akayev, these benefits won't happen automatically, but through hard work:

The positive results of Kyrgyzstan's accession to the Customs Union depend on the correct political integration of the Kyrgyz government. Do not think that positive changes will automatically arise from the accession. Many believe that the Kyrgyz will have a "time of prosperity" after joining the Customs Union. But prosperity has to be earned by hard work. On the one hand, the troika of the CU member states may wonder whether the union will pull the troubled and unstable Kyrgyz back with their regular rallies. To this, the political elite of Kyrgyzstan, the political leadership of the country should seriously think about how to ensure the future stable and fruitful development of Kyrgyzstan within the Union.⁴⁴²

Akayev's speech implies that there is no room for complacency among the political elites of Kyrgyzstan and failure to align the country with the wider interests of the region may put their membership in jeopardy. He is sending the signal both to the country's policy-makers and the wider region that Kyrgyzstan has work to do, but is fully committed to the meeting the requirements outlined in the CU's road map. This was re-iterated by the Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan Djoomart Otorbaev who stated in October that Kyrgyzstan plans to become a full member of the Eurasian Economic Union from January 2015.

We are committed to fulfilling our obligations under the Road Map both for joining the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space. Thus, having completed this year the formal steps relating to the Eurasian integration associations, we are preparing to sign an agreement on joining the EAEU with all obligations. We believe that it is precisely economic integration that will allow our country to develop economically even more successfully.⁴⁴³

Although many of the speeches and statements present Kyrgyzstan as fully committed to Eurasian integration initiatives, most of the rhetoric conveys the idea that membership of any union is for the benefit of their own country. There are, at this stage, very few discernible role conceptions that reveal how Kyrgyzstan feels it can contribute or how it would like to contribute in the future, other than perhaps general references to 'commitment' to the project implying that they will work hard. Indeed, throughout 2014, some skepticism towards integration initiatives among policy-makers crept back into the rhetoric. These doubts had intensified since

⁴⁴² Akayev, Askar. 'Аскар Акаев сказал своё мнение о Таможенном союзе', *Gezitter*, 30/10/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/32wIiMy> (Accessed on 18/06/2018)

⁴⁴³ Otorbaev, Djoomart. 'Оторбаев: Кыргызстан постарается стать полноправным членом ЕЭС до конца этого года', *Vesti.kg*, 21/10/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/39c7UzD> (Accessed on 18/06/2018)

the beginning of discussions for accession. For example, Akayev asked in 2014 whether a ‘troubled and unstable Kyrgyzstan’ would ‘become a load pulling the CU down?’⁴⁴⁴ As a result, the president of Kyrgyzstan began to speak in public more frequently about the benefits of integration in 2014. Atambayev was trying to reassure the people of Kyrgyzstan that they will be joining the Eurasian Economic Union ‘under very good conditions’. It was still uncertain whether Kyrgyzstan would be accepted to join the CU and in his speech Atambayev mentioned ‘because one country was categorically against’. Atambayev was heavily implying that it was Kazakhstan that had concerns over the potentially adverse effects on the CU of allowing Kyrgyzstan to join.

In November 2014, the Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan Otorbayev held a meeting with Sergei Glaziev, Russia's President's advisor on Eurasian integration issues. During this meeting he assured his Russian counterpart and the other member states that entry into the Eurasian Economic Union ‘is a priority task in the work of the Government of Kyrgyzstan.’⁴⁴⁵ The following month he gave an update on progress where he stated that ‘[a] lot of work has been done, but more needs to be done.’ In particular, he referenced the harmonization of national legislation with the CU and the Eurasian Economic Union’s contractual legal framework.

In December 2014, the president of Kyrgyz Republic Almazbek Atambayev clearly stated that Kyrgyzstan needs to join the Eurasian Economic Union in 2014. Interestingly we see similarities in themes in his speech with other countries of the Union such as Belarus. His speech presents Kyrgyzstan as tied to the region through a common history shared spirit: ‘The countries of the Eurasian Economic Community are not just our economic partners, but, above all, close neighbors to us in spirit. We have a common history, and I’m sure, a common future.’⁴⁴⁶

This idea of a closeness through ‘spirit’ implies a natural bond that has been forged through history. His statement also implies an element of destiny – any union they form is more than one of convenience, it is one of friendship and brotherhood as a result of their Soviet past and this guides their destiny towards the same direction. However, he also displayed a degree of assertiveness declaring that Kyrgyzstan’s membership of any union should be respected and

⁴⁴⁴ Akayev, Askar. ‘Аскар Акаев сказал своё мнение о Таможенном союзе’, *Gezitter*. 30/10/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2THuQkj> (Accessed 18/06/2018)

⁴⁴⁵ Otorbaev, Djoomart. ‘Оторбаев обсудил с советником президента России присоединение Кыргызстана к ТС и ЕЭП’, *Knews.kg*, 13/11/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2WDbrlA> (Accessed on 18/06/2018)

⁴⁴⁶ Atambayev, Almazbek. ‘Войти в Союз сейчас’, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, 21/12/2014. See: <https://rg.ru/2014/12/22/atambaev.html> (Accessed on 18/06/2018)

his administration would never take steps that would contravene the interests of the Kyrgyz people.

We will join the Eurasian Economic Union, of course, only if the interests of Kyrgyzstan are respected. In making decisions, we are guided solely by economic expediency. This step will revive our industry, strengthen security, open borders with neighboring countries, and improve people's living standards. Joining this association opens up new opportunities for economic development. Kyrgyzstan needs the ability to freely move its goods, its labor. It is necessary that financial resources freely come to the republic.⁴⁴⁷

Here he adopts a rational stance by arguing that 'economic expediency' is what will guide Kyrgyzstan's decision.

Although Atambayev warned in his speech that after joining the Eurasian Economic Union, some difficult times would await the country, he also emphasized how important for Kyrgyzstan it was that integration processes did not slow the pace of economic development and helped to maintain stability:

Of course, the process of preparing for the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the CU had a definite impact on the socio-economic situation in our country. Public discussion from both the representatives of the civil sector and the business environment, and the deputies did not always go smoothly and painlessly. There were a variety of opinions. But all this speaks about the openness of our society, about the good development of democratic institutions in the country.⁴⁴⁸

Here, Atambayev is embracing the diversity of the country – those in favor of integration and those against. According to Atambayev, it is this diversity that gives the country its spirit. He talks about how, against the backdrop of considerable social unrest, policy-makers had to weigh up the pros and the cons of joining before taking a decision. However, he also paints the country as a victim of circumstances and how plans for integration caused a number of socio-economic issues in the country. Clearly, Atambayev sees the variety as a positive thing (or at least presents the idea that the diversity is positive). Taken at face value it would be easy to accept his version of events. The reality is that the disagreements between policy-makers and at societal level as to the actual benefits of joining the CU were fierce.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

Evidence of this difficulty in finding agreement is found in the fact that it took Kyrgyzstan three years to work out a “road map” for the accession of the country to the Customs Union. Some policy-makers argued that such a long period was necessary for the coordination of the positions of the countries participating in the CU and, above all, Kyrgyzstan for a smooth transition of foreign trade policy, customs rules to the existing rules of the integration association. In total, the “road map” consists of 10 sections. They contain procedures that bring the country to the level of compliance of the CU countries in terms of legislation and technical equipment of customs infrastructure and infrastructure for monitoring the quality of products. Atambayev stated ‘I believe that our neighbors and partners in trade and economic cooperation - members of the Customs Union - are interested in joining Kyrgyzstan to this regional organization.’⁴⁴⁹ This is an interesting comment to make that implies there has been some friction between Kyrgyzstan and the members of the CU. It seems as though he is trying to convince the general public and perhaps other member states that it is worth allowing Kyrgyzstan into the union.

Atambayev also mentions in his speech that ‘the majority of citizens still understand that there are more advantages from the CU. But there will be more disadvantages if we do not join it’.⁴⁵⁰ This is an attempt to present the image of a country that is united in its commitment to the union. In his opinion, entering into the CU and will greatly facilitate the conditions of stay of Kyrgyz citizens who work in Kazakhstan and Russia, which is more than 500 000 people. He said:

Each of them feeds at least 3-4 people at home. It turns out that two million citizens of Kyrgyzstan will definitely only received benefits from integration. Therefore, some opponents do not need to make unreasonable populist statements, but rather need to be realistic about the situation.⁴⁵¹

This speech sums up the pragmatism exhibited by many of the most prominent Kyrgyz policy-makers; in spite of the undeniable challenges that the country faces, they still try and present an image of pragmatism; for Atambayev, it is important weigh up the pros and the cons and ‘be realistic about the situation’. Given that the road map for accession was approved for Kyrgyzstan in 2013, it is unsurprising that the sheer volume of speeches and statements on the subject of Eurasian integration increased in 2014. As with previous years, there is a degree of continuity in that Kyrgyzstan presents an image of enthusiasm and commitment for all types of integration as well as a recognition that the country is unstable, but trying to overcome these

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

challenges. However, interestingly, the rhetoric is also often critical of integration arguing that, although the country is committed it will inevitably lead to some social and economic problems. There are also some contrasts between assertiveness and passivity. Some speeches are quite harshly worded arguing that Kyrgyzstan’s policy-makers will not compromise on demanding respect and equal treatment as well as working solely for the benefit of the Kyrgyz people. However, this is contrasted with meeker pleas for assistance given their poor economic situation. This entailed appeals for help to the larger regional partners such as Kazakhstan and, most notably, Russia in order to achieve the terms established in the road map.

In total, there are fourteen different identifiable self-presentation themes in 2014 – some standing in stark contrast to one another. The multitude of different themes in just one year is certainly testament to the challenges that the country faces. In particular, reconciling the need to modernize the economy through integration and improving infrastructure with the will of the people who hold legitimate concerns over a potential loss of sovereignty through closer ties with Russia –it should be noted that although the issue of losing sovereignty was certainly important for the Kyrgyz people, only one speech from a policy-maker addresses this concern.

2014 saw the same role conceptions of committed partner and equal partner. However, these are relatively generic role conceptions that convey the basic idea that Kyrgyzstan is enthusiastic about joining and aims to play a constructive role in its future. Further, it is a demonstration that if it participates, it wants to participate on an equal footing with the other members.

	2014		2014
Supporter of EAEU / CU	7	Equal Member	1
Detractor of EAEU / CU	3	Committed Member	5
Sovereign	1		
Russia positive	3		
Partners positive	1		
Partners negative	2		
Assertive	2		
Passive	3		
Rational pragmatism	6		
Equal	1		
Self-interested	4		
Shared History	1		
Victim of circumstance	1		
Unstable, but reforming	4		
Unstable, need assistance	3		

Figure 32: Self-Presentation themes (L), role conceptions (R), 2014

5.3.6. Summary of the First Era

In 2011, the government of Kyrgyzstan formally announced its intention to integrate into the Customs Union (CU). In the same year at the government level, it was decided to start measures to coordinate economic policy, and the first real steps were taken toward this end. Kyrgyzstan made the final decision on joining the CU only at the end of 2014. However, it was the preceding year, 2013, that was the most important period in determining Kyrgyzstan's role conceptions in this era. In May, Bishkek officially asked to join the CU, but problems arose with the so-called "Road Map"; this was a set of measures designed to coordinate the legislations of all countries involved in the initiative in order to ensure everyone was pulling in the same direction. However, Kyrgyzstan faced serious problems relating to divided public opinion and disagreements over the set of requirements for joining.

As in Armenia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, public opinion in Kyrgyzstan was split between those who were in favor of closer ties with Eurasian partners and those who were opposed. Public support (or opposition) on an issue as important as Eurasian integration is rarely monolithic, however the difference in Kyrgyzstan is the contrast between the public voices and those of policy-makers. Interestingly, in this era, the public found themselves at odds with the majority of the policy-makers who presented a far more positive view of the integration project.

The second point is that the Kyrgyz government was pushing for the easing of some entrance requirements and this caused tensions with partners such as Kazakhstan. Primarily, the sticking point was the question of the Dordoi, Karasu, and Madina markets which, at the time, were not subject to the trading rules and regulations of the CU. Dordoi, Karasu, and Madina are the largest markets in Central Asia, where Kazakhs, Uzbeks and citizens of other countries of Central Asia travel to for goods. However, if they were forced to trade under the rules of the CU, it would have negatively impacted these markets in terms of employment and sourcing goods from China. Kyrgyzstan also faced difficulties with the minimum infrastructure requirements of the CU – for example the creation of customs points at the outer border of a single customs territory and the manufacture of equipment such as laboratories in order to certify goods made in Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan did not possess the financial means to meet these requirements and therefore the government announced the need to create an assistance fund for Kyrgyzstan. However, in turn, this did not suit other participants such as Kazakhstan. They argued that if this relief was provided for the Dordoi, Karasu, and Madina markets within the Customs Union, it would mean the legalization of cheap Chinese re-export: Kyrgyz citizens

buy goods, then add price and resell goods to member states. This could not be allowed. The issue of these markets and the poor state of Kyrgyz infrastructure meant other member states were reluctant to share the financial burden that allowing Kyrgyzstan into the Union would entail.

The main challenge for Kyrgyzstan is that, in the future, integration into any form of Eurasian Union may undermine the performance of the Dordoi, Karasu, Madina markets and lead to negative social consequences. This means that fewer people will be able to re-export because it will become unprofitable and mass unemployment will ensue. Political processes and public protest movements in Kyrgyzstan can be very intense and often take on radical forms, so any damage to the markets could challenge and destabilize the Atambayev regime.

It is worth noting that the public discussions in Kyrgyzstan were similar to those that took place in Kazakhstan. Many representatives of the anti-Eurasian movement argued that, firstly, the scale of the member states' economies is very different. There is a great deal of truth to this: for example, in 2015 Kyrgyzstan's GDP was just 6 billion dollars, compared with Belarus's GDP of 71 billion, Kazakhstan's GDP of 203 billion, and Russia's GDP of 2 trillion dollars. Secondly, opponents to the CU argued that joining would mean an increase in import duties. Again, this was accurate: Kyrgyzstan has been a member of the WTO since 1998 and had very low import rates. This created opportunities for re-export activities. In addition to this, China joined the WTO in 2001 meaning that Kyrgyzstan could buy goods at low prices in China and then resell it to Kazakhstan.

Arguably the most significant argument used by opponents of Eurasian integration against accession to the CU was a warning: in the end, the CU would lead to the loss of political sovereignty. Such concerns were expressed in Kazakhstan as well and in this regard, in February 2014, an anti-Eurasian movement was created in Kyrgyzstan. Activists for the anti-Eurasian movement in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan put forward their demands for a referendum on accession. However, in spite of widespread public opposition, the government of Kyrgyzstan decided to join the CU and there were no public speeches that recognized this movement and just one that subtly attempted to contradict the notion that sovereignty would be lost. This is a crucial point as it illustrates the disconnect between the political elites in the country and the general public – particularly on issues such as Russian influence – and how policy-makers will present the image of a state that is unified and more stable than the reality. The government's position was that the integration project would increase the attractiveness of the Kyrgyz market for investors and expose the benefits that the country has to offer: for example, Issyk-Kul (a

popular domestic holiday destination), inexpensive real estate, relatively cheap electric power industry. They also argued that duties would initially be reduced for energy carriers, in particular Russian and Kazakh companies, and would eventually be removed altogether. This would pave the way for cheaper energy trade and would be a huge boon to the Kyrgyz economy.

Of course, there were problems attached to the CU even prior to joining. Firstly, prices in Kyrgyzstan had been rising. This was due to the fact that customs rates of Kyrgyzstan were much lower than the total customs rates within the framework of the CU. This led to an increase in the price of products, particularly those products imported from China. Second, it was seen as very likely that Kyrgyzstan would become more sensitive to movements in the Russian economy. These arguments were based on observations of the Kazakh economy - a number of negative consequences had been noted by economists such as a decline in business activity in Russia and problems with the ruble exchange rate. However, the crucial point is that after the international condemnation of Russia's actions in the Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea, it was important for Russia to present the image of a strong and stable union with the potential to expand. Kyrgyzstan and Armenia became the *de facto* poster children at a difficult time and, thus, many of their economic or political shortcomings were overlooked.

Figure 33: Kyrgyzstan: first era self-presentation themes, 2010 - 2014

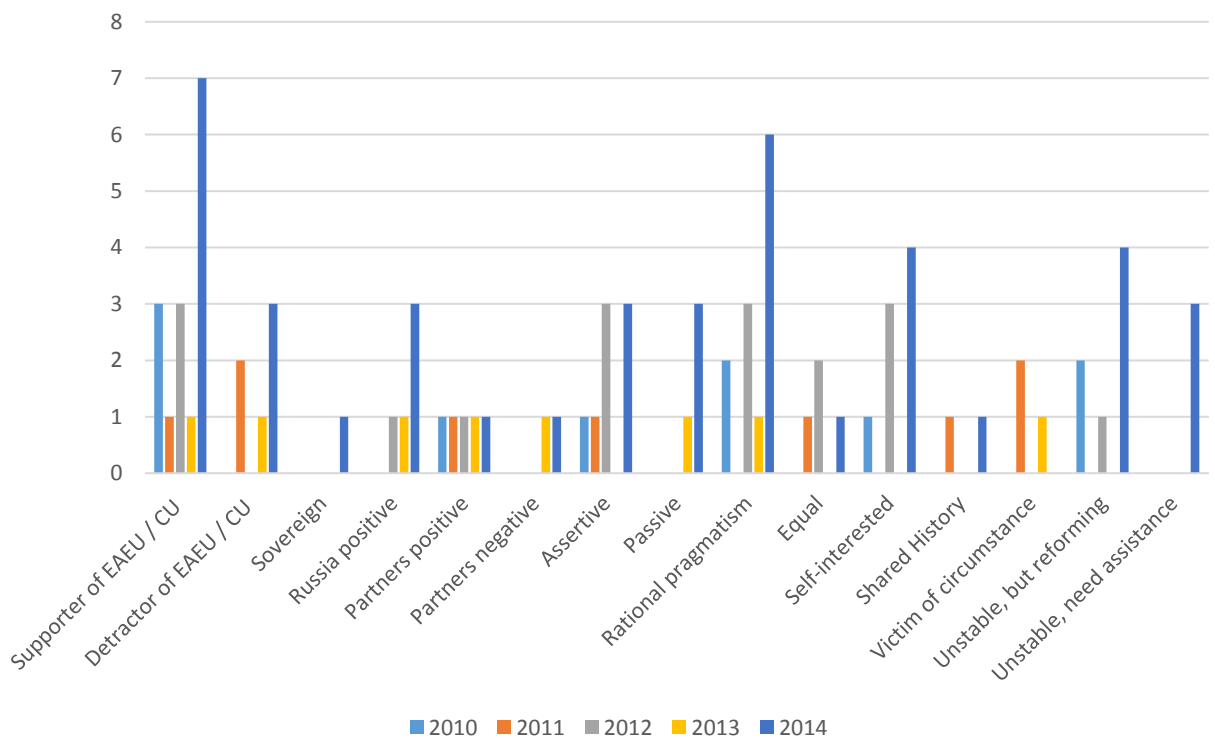


Chart 2 provides a summary of the self-presentation themes from the first era. The somewhat confusing nature of the chart is testament to the level of division between policy-makers and the general confusion as to what Kyrgyzstan's role should be in the integration process. Throughout the era, Kyrgyz policy-makers simultaneously present the country as supportive *and* critical of Eurasian integration initiatives; assertive *and* passive; able to make structural reforms unilaterally *and* in need of assistance to make structural reforms; supportive of regional partners *and* critical of regional partners. Indeed, Akayev's statement on the 'variety of opinions' in Kyrgyzstan seems to be accurate. However, unlike Akayev who saw this diversity as a positive thing, it seems as though the effect of contrasting opinions at the highest policy-making level is actually a hindrance to accession and to effectively contributing.

Having said this, there are also clear consistencies in the rhetoric. There are frequent references to the precarious political stability in the country and the recognition that Kyrgyz policy-makers need to solve these issues (See "unstable, but reforming"). There is also a consistent degree of rational pragmatism in the rhetoric. Like Armenia, Kyrgyzstan's speeches are also characterized by careful cost-benefit analysis of a situation often from an economic perspective and with little regard to any negative perceptions of historical experience or public opposition. It is hardly surprising that this role is seen in both Armenia and Kyrgyzstan as it is very much a "small state" role conception. States that do not have many bargaining chips, for example a strong economy or military, are often compelled to pay greater heed to the economic benefits over and above the will of the general public. It is a rational assessment driven by necessity and based on the assumption that the long-term economic benefits will likely eventually moderate the dissenting voices in the public.

Many of the speeches conveyed the idea that Kyrgyzstan wanted first to be seen as a *member* of the CU, not just a partner and, second, to ensure that they were able to join the CU on their terms. It is likely that this role conception was an attempt by Kyrgyz policy-makers to hedge their bets; they made the rational assessment to formalize their application to the CU, but aware of the fact that this may lead to some social unrest from those who felt that it would be ceding sovereignty to Russia, made the statement that they would only join if their own preferences and conditions were met. Thus, there are also frequent references to 'self-interest' rather than more altruistic self-presentation themes or role conceptions.

Interestingly, just one year later, Kyrgyz policy-makers seemed to do a U-turn and this new-found assertiveness was replaced by passivity in the rhetoric. There are no references to Kyrgyzstan getting what it wants from the CU instead the speeches demonstrate a willingness

to toe the line according to the existing rules and regulations. This is a theme in the rhetoric of their Belarusian partners who have a more fraternal relationship with Russia. Kyrgyzstan, however, has a more functional relationship with Russia. Other than around seventy years of Soviet occupation, Kyrgyzstan's interactions with Russia for previous centuries have been limited and many of the Kyrgyz people are still resentful towards the hegemon. Other than acknowledging their increasingly important economic role, praise for Russia is usually reserved.

There are clearly abiding themes in much of the rhetoric of Kyrgyzstan's policy-makers such a support for integration and a degree of pragmatism in their approach to challenges and opportunities. Nevertheless, the image that the country presents is somewhat muddled. This is largely a function of the many changes to government over the last two decades, the poor state of the economy, the potential for further civil unrest and, crucially, the desire to ingratiate themselves with the CU member states while also ensuring the general population are not seriously opposed. The result is that there is no clear thread that ties rhetoric to policy action; the country's policy-makers seem to be caught between doing what they believe is best for the country's long-term economic growth and attempting to ensure short-term political and social stability. These contradictions mean that the role conceptions that are presented to the international community often do not reflect the reality in terms of their domestic policy.

Only two clear role conceptions are identified in the rhetoric from the first era: the committed member and the equal member. Both of these are abstract conceptions based on a general desire

Figure 34: Kyrgyzstan: Role conceptions in the first era, 2010 - 2014



to support integration now and in the future and the idea of promoting equal and mutually-beneficial membership. Instead, most of the rhetoric could be classified as attempting to convince the international audience that Kyrgyzstan can fix its problems prior to joining and convincing its domestic population that membership will be worthwhile.

5.4. The Second Era, 2015-2017

On 6 August 2015, Kyrgyzstan formally acceded to the CU; its accession should be viewed within the wider geopolitical context. One of the principal concerns was that entry into the EAEU would mean Kyrgyzstan would find itself under the influence of Russia. Russia would increasingly begin to factor into the foreign policy decision making of Kyrgyzstan, potentially undermining its sovereignty. Russia's growing influence in the country was underscored by the United States' decision to withdraw its troops from the Manas Air Base in 2014 as part of its phased withdrawal from Afghanistan. Following this decision, Russia took steps to consolidate its military power in the country by renewing leases on its bases. In 2012, Russia and Kyrgyzstan had agreed a 15-year deal on its four bases in the country in exchange for writing off of 500 million dollars of debt. All this meant that the "Russia factor" in Kyrgyzstan was growing.

At the same time, Bishkek announced that it would continue to try to pursue a multi-vector policy, because, in the government's estimations, this would optimize the country's political and economic performance. At present, Kyrgyzstan is already involved in huge economic processes with China and is not interested in closing trade channels. Secondly, security challenges around Kyrgyzstan had become more complex. As mentioned previously, the US withdrew its troops from Afghanistan leading to a resurgence of Islamist extremism in the region. This included the growth in influence of activation of Islamic State (Daesh, IS, ISIS). Intelligence reports revealed that the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, a prominent Central Asian terrorist organization, had pledged allegiance to ISIS. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) had been a major concern in Kyrgyzstan since the Batken conflict of 1999 when the IMU pushed into Kyrgyz territory in Batken (a region with a high number of ethnic Uzbeks). Kyrgyz security forces struggled to effectively counter the militants and requested technical assistance from Russia. After extensive artillery bombardment, over a thousand militants had been killed. Russia's assistance had been invaluable in this situation, but Kyrgyzstan is still interested in attracting assistance from the United States. Of course, the

American factor will remain very important, because in Kyrgyzstan, non-governmental organizations, which are mainly funded by Western countries, play a huge role. In addition, Kyrgyzstan has a very well-developed Turkish vector. The Kyrgyz business elite is closely connected with the Turkish business community and there is substantial evidence of both Saudi Arabian and Qatari economic influence in the country. This is a manifestation of a multi-vector policy and Kyrgyzstan will not abandon it. Moreover, as the experience of Belarus and Kazakhstan shows, a multi-vector policy can be pursued within the framework of an economic union with Russia.

For example, Kazakhstan abstained from voting on the issue of Crimea, although many said that it would be very difficult to do so. In turn, Kyrgyzstan did not participate under the General Assembly resolution on Crimea. The Kyrgyz side seems committed to the pursuit a multi-vector policy, but Russia's influence is increasing in the region. In addition, the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the Eurasian Economic Union is directly relevant to the discussions about Tajikistan joining the union because there they share a common border. Unfortunately, the case with Kyrgyzstan shows that geopolitics seems to trump economics on the issue of integration. Evidence of this is that in 2015 Kyrgyzstan was not quite ready to fully enter the Eurasian Economic Union. Atambayev's statement that if Kyrgyzstan does not join the EAEU, gasoline, for example, will cost \$ 300 per ton. This suggests that Russia can exert massive pressure through the use of coercive economics.

The Minister of Economy of Kyrgyzstan, Temir Sariyev, said in the first era that the risks of non-entry far exceed the risks of entry. The Kyrgyz side is guided by this. Of course, geopolitics prevails here. At the same time, there are risks, because no one knows what social consequences the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the Customs Union will have. If levels of unemployment had increased as expected after joining the Union, there were no guarantees that it would not lead something similar like the Ukrainian Maidan in Bishkek. At this stage, everything was ambiguous for the Kyrgyz government and politicians had their concerns. General opportunities that were created sounded very promising but there were no guarantees that everything would proceed as planned.

5.4.1. 2015: Accession to the EAEU

In 2015 Kyrgyzstan implemented all the relevant measures for full-fledged accession to the Eurasian Economic Union and soon after the Protocol of the Agreement on the Accession of

the Kyrgyz Republic to the Eurasian Economic Union was developed and agreed upon. Resources were sent to provide customs posts along the borders that met the standards of the Eurasian Economic Commission and checkpoints were established to provide laboratories with equipment.

According to the Kyrgyz President Atambayev, by mid-2015 the parliament of the country had, ‘[i]n a short time’, managed to adopt the full package of relevant laws to adapt the regulatory framework of Kyrgyzstan to the standards of the EAEU. The speed at which Kyrgyzstan had adopted these measures was testament to the administration’s eagerness and commitment to the initiative. However, during a meeting of the Eurasian intergovernmental council, Atambayev also thanked the support of the member states for helping Kyrgyzstan. He stated: ‘I would like to express my gratitude for supporting the Kyrgyz colleagues to achieve this goal.’⁴⁵²

Part of this support had come in the form of loans from Russia and Kazakhstan. Russia had given Kyrgyzstan a grant of \$200 million and \$100 million had been provided by Kazakhstan. Atambayev stated ‘Of course, Kazakhstan has no extra money. But the fact that Kazakhstan allocates \$ 100 million to support Kyrgyzstan - is there anyone else who would do that apart from a fraternal country?’. This rhetoric is reminiscent of some of the support given to their regional partners in previous years. As was seen in the Belarus case, a fraternal bond is something that is perceived to be natural rather than manufactured – it implies a level of equality that has been forged via a shared history. For example, when the CIS was formed post-collapse, member states declared that they wanted to preserve the ‘Дружба народов’, the friendship of peoples.⁴⁵³ This is a famous Soviet mantra (also referred to as the ‘fraternity of peoples’) that politicians would often speak of. For example, in 1949 on the birthday of Josef Stalin, G.M. Malenkov gave a speech where he declared ‘the friendship among peoples which has been firmly established in our country is a great achievement of the Bolshevik Party. The Bolshevik Party alone was able to forge the indestructible fraternity of peoples...’⁴⁵⁴ Of course, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have a strong bond for a variety of reasons; for example, appearance, religion, nomadic culture and geographical proximity. However, similarity does not always lead to good relations and it is the notion of equality and fraternity that was instilled in them during the time of the USSR that helped to shape this bond.

⁴⁵² Almazbek Atambayev. *Gezitter*. 12/05/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2tJwHdI> (Accessed 17/06/2018)

⁴⁵³ Voronin, Yuri. 'Аналитика"Сообразили на троих": как подписывали Беловежское соглашение по ликвидации СССР'. *Новые Известия*. 04/12/2019. See: <https://bit.ly/3767mZG> (Accessed 19/06/2018)

⁴⁵⁴ Malenkov, G. M. ‘Comrade Stalin—Leader of Progressive Mankind’ in *Pravda Articles, On the Occasion of the 70th Birthday of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, December 21, 1949*, London: Soviet News, 1950, p. 5

The assumption that many policy-makers made was that acceding to the EAEU would help improve these relations even further. Respect and equality is a theme that were prevalent throughout the first era both in terms of self-presentation and role conceptions. Policy-makers almost seem to be nostalgic for the historical sense of unity and therefore it is essential for them to present the country as enthusiastic towards integration and, crucially, a country that will not be a burden through instability or economic frailty. As such, many speeches and statements in 2015 outline Kyrgyzstan as having followed the requirements that were asked of them and are now ready to act as an important member of the union. This, in turn, will lead to improved relations between members. For example, Atambayev stated as much in a speech in front of all the heads of member states. He said that the Government of Kyrgyzstan will continue to direct its efforts towards improving the work of the Eurasian Economic Union through the formation of a single market for goods, services and capital and, crucially, by facilitating the free movement of labor resources across borders. By working together towards this objective, Atambayev hoped that relations between members would improve:

I am convinced that the membership of the Kyrgyz Republic in the EAEU and the agreements reached during this meeting will give additional impetus to the ongoing development of relations between the Kyrgyz Republic and the EAEU member states⁴⁵⁵

There are also more tangible role conceptions that emerge in the rhetoric in 2015. The previous era saw fairly nebulous role conceptions such as “equal member” and “committed member”. While these are still present, the formalization of their membership in the EAEU seems to have fomented the desire to be seen as integral to the integration project. As was alluded to earlier, this is likely born of the desire not to be perceived as weak or a burden. For example, in order to promote cooperation between member states, the government of Kyrgyzstan announced that it had devised plans to implement joint projects with partner countries in the EAEU. The presidents of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan announced an agreement for the construction of the Almaty-Cholpon-Ata road by 2017. This road would be 280 km in length and provide a boost both to trade and the development of the tourism industry near Lake Issyk-Kul. As for Belarus, at a meeting with the Prime Minister of this country Kyrgyz politicians discussed the possibilities of cooperation and agreed to set up joint ventures using Kyrgyz factories for the production of elevators, the assembly of household appliances and agricultural equipment. The Kyrgyz-Russian Development Fund was also established which will help finance such

⁴⁵⁵ Atambayev, Almazbek. ‘Заседание Евразийского межправительственного совета’, Kyrgyz Government Press Release, 29/05/2015. See: <http://government.ru/news/18293/> (Accessed 20/06/2019)

integration projects. Temir Sariyev, the then prime minister, told the audience that ‘[t]he first projects are already being funded, and it is expected that by next year the foundation will begin to work in full force and provide businessmen with “easy” money.’⁴⁵⁶

Sariyev also confirmed Kyrgyzstan’s readiness and commitment in October 2015 when he stated that the Kyrgyz government was ‘seriously preparing for this accession, and a lot has already been done towards this end.’ He gave examples such as aligning border checkpoints with the requirements of the CU and the Common Economic Space and the formation of a unified automated system for recording the movement of goods as well as the creation and strengthening the laboratories’ material base. With this new infrastructure in place and up to the required standards, he stated that Kyrgyzstan had finally ‘created the necessary conditions for our products to move.’⁴⁵⁷ Here Kyrgyzstan is presenting itself as a committed, important and maturing member by acting as a production base and, through rapidly improving infrastructure, as a source of great opportunity for investors.

At the same time, all government agencies and the business community took part in discussing and resolving issues related to the accession of Kyrgyzstan to the Customs Union and the Eurasian Economic Space. Atambayev added that the Kyrgyz people are eagerly awaiting full entry into the union: ‘I am confident that the Eurasian Economic Union will become a common favorable acquisition for our peoples.’⁴⁵⁸ This was an interesting statement in that he uses the word “acquisition” – this is a rational and transactional approach to integration that is evident in many speeches from Kyrgyz policy-makers. Atambayev is talking about the EAEU as a cost-benefit project and justifies it as almost as a purchase for the Kyrgyz people. It is also interesting to see how his rhetoric differs to that of other policy-makers in previous years. In 2012, Karabaev struck an almost patronizing tone towards the people when he mentioned that the Kyrgyz have divided opinions about joining the integration because they do not fully understand the benefits of accession and, thus, it was the responsibility of the policy-makers to make that decision on their behalf regardless of the opposition. However, in this most recent speech, Atambayev refers to the benefits that accession will have for “our peoples”. Here the use of the plural (“peoples”) is also interesting. It embraces the diversity of the country and with one simple word implies that the country is fully unified and that all will see the benefits from the integration project.

⁴⁵⁶ Sariyev, Temir. ‘Премьер-министр Кыргызстана: Мы никогда не говорили о том, что если вступим в Союз, то завтра у нас будет рай’, *Interfax*, 01/10/2015. See: <http://www.interfax.ru/interview/470458> (Accessed 21/06/2018)

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid

⁴⁵⁸ Atambayev, Almazbek. *Gezitter*. 12/05/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2tJwHdI> (Accessed 17/06/2018)

One of these main benefits that Atambayev and a number of other policy-makers discussed during this year was the “historic” opening of Kyrgyzstan’s borders as full members of the EAEC. In August, at a meeting on the main areas of integration and macroeconomics of the EAEC, Sariev said that ‘Tomorrow the borders of the Eurasian Economic Union will open for Kyrgyzstan. Entry into the EAEU is an historic step’.⁴⁵⁹ Sariev’s words show the importance of this integration for Kyrgyzstan as a modernizing, maturing state. This was emphasized by Igor Chudinov, a parliamentary deputy who is often vocal on the subject of Eurasian integration, who stated in August:

The opening of borders is an historical moment for Kyrgyzstan ... We need to understand that we have become one whole in a common space where 180 million people live. The total budget of all countries in the Eurasian economic space is more than 2 trillion dollars. Of course, this gives rise to the expectation of prospects from business, from ordinary people. Now we can freely move labor, financial resources and commodity resources.⁴⁶⁰

Chudinov’s speech also portrays Kyrgyzstan as a maturing and modernizing state. However, he also exhibited a degree of rational pragmatism that is often seen in the rhetoric of Kyrgyz policy-makers when he warned that: ‘nobody canceled competition in the market and we need to create a convenient platform for competition with the business of Kazakhstan and Russia.’⁴⁶¹

Nevertheless, Kyrgyzstan’s accession presented the country with more opportunities than they had had in any years since independence and, as they did in centuries past, they could start to turn their favorable geographical location to their economic advantage once again. Kyrgyzstan is very proud of its location and, as discussed previously, is certainly one of the factors acts as a source of self-presentation and role conceptions. In spite of this, in the context of Eurasian integration, geography and its historical role as a transit state is not mentioned at all in the rhetoric prior to 2015. This is likely a function of the multitude of other concerns that were given precedence in the speeches and statements of policy-makers, or even due to the fact that policy-makers were not considering how to contribute to integration before their membership had been formalized. Nevertheless, on 1 October 2015, Sariev gave an interview with *Interfax*,

⁴⁵⁹ Sariyev, Temir. ‘Темир Сариев: Завтра для Кыргызстана открываются границы Евразийского экономического союза’, *News Agency 24.kg*, 11/08/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/30GD911> (Accessed 24/06/2018)

⁴⁶⁰ Chudinov, Igor. ‘Игорь Чудинов: открытие границ исторический момент для Кыргызстана’, *Birbol*, 12/08/2015, See: <https://bit.ly/30BOK1G> (Accessed 22/06/2018)

⁴⁶¹ Ibid

a major Russian political news agency, where he emphasized the idea that Kyrgyzstan could once again play a role as a transit state:

Even today, two automobile corridors are being built in Kyrgyzstan with access to China and further to Asian markets. But to be a full-fledged transit country, we must build a railway. Without the railway it will be difficult, because road transport is much more expensive than rail.⁴⁶²

This idea was grounded in a number of projects that had been agreed upon as Kyrgyzstan became members of the EAEU. Within the framework of working with countries outside of the EAEU, but still abiding by the customs rules of the Union, several lucrative projects were announced with Kyrgyzstan acting as the transit state: two automobile corridors would be built in Kyrgyzstan with access both to Chinese and Central Asian markets; a project for the construction of a railway was under discussion with China; plans had been finalized for a large gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to China through the territory of Kyrgyzstan; and, crucially, during an official visit of President Atambayev to Tehran, an agreement was struck between the heads of state to build a railway from China through Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan into Iran. The objective from the Kyrgyz perspective was to improve access to the Persian Gulf - a large market for oil consumption and supply. In addition, Kyrgyzstan plans to become a transit country in terms of electricity transmission. Kyrgyzstan entered into the CASA 1000 program, which will make it possible to transfer electricity to other countries, in particular to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Given these developments, there was a great deal of positivity among policy-makers over the potential benefits of accession. For example, Sariyev gave a speech that stated how, after August 2015, commodity flows had increased by two to two and a half times as Kyrgyz products began to move into the EAEU's market. However, some policy-makers adopted a more pessimistic position by stressing that a multitude of challenges still lay ahead for the country. Kyrgyz politician Amangeldy Muraliyev stated in April that the situation in Kyrgyzstan was complex because 'life has risen in price; the structural elements of the economy do not work as they should. People are tormented by specific questions. For example, what barriers will there be

⁴⁶² Sariyev, Temir. 'Премьер-министр Кыргызстана: Мы никогда не говорили о том, что если вступим в Союз, то завтра у нас будет рай', *Interfax*, 01/10/2015. See: <http://www.interfax.ru/interview/470458> (Accessed 21/06/2018)

after joining the EAEU.⁴⁶³ The language used here presents the country as still struggling with instability and words such as ‘tormented’ imply that there is a high level of discontent. Sariyev also pointed out some of the challenges, but adopted a more rational-pragmatic stance. In October, Sariyev gave an interview about the results of EAEU membership (which came into force in August 2015). He was honest and direct with his assessment about the benefits of joining the EAEU. He stated: ‘we received free movement of goods, services, including labor resources. But we never said that if we join the Union, then tomorrow we will have paradise.’⁴⁶⁴ His statement implies that Kyrgyzstan recognizes the challenges, but is modernizing to meet these challenges.

This was reaffirmed by Roza Otunbayeva who, in an interview, considered the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the Eurasian Economic Union to be the correct decision in order for the country to modernize, stating that the Kyrgyz people must learn to ‘live balanced and rationally’.⁴⁶⁵ When Otunbayeva was asked about the perennial issue of Kyrgyzstan’s sovereignty and how large sections of the public are still against it due to the belief that the integration process means ceding sovereignty to the Russians, and what measures the authorities should take to prevent the escalation of such a protest, Otunbayeva replied saying that:

Entering the European Union, European countries have given up their sovereignty. They cannot solve many questions on their own. Nobody is indignant and everyone works within the framework of the European Union. The problem is in raising the economic level of our population. Recently, one entrepreneur asked what, besides slippers, is Kyrgyzstan currently producing? That's what we have to think about. Do we remain a country that produces only felt and shirdaki (Kyrgyz national carpets)? We have to move to production. We have taught people democracy, but we cannot develop a single mine. In Talas they say that they don't touch “Jerui” that they will survive at the expense of cattle breeding. If this continues to be the case, production will never develop in Kyrgyzstan.⁴⁶⁶

Drawing a comparison with the EU, here Otunbayeva presents the slightly passive idea that Kyrgyzstan sees a slight loss of sovereignty as an almost inevitable consequence of any integration process, but that it is unimportant. She then discusses how Kyrgyzstan still has

⁴⁶³ Muraliyev, Amangeldy. ‘Амангельды Муралиев: Население голосует за вступление в ЕАЭС из соображений безопасности’, *Kabarlar*. 22/04/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/35PEg0C> (Accessed 25/06/2018)

⁴⁶⁴ Sariyev, Temir. ‘Премьер-министр Кыргызстана: Мы никогда не говорили о том, что если вступим в Союз, то завтра у нас будет рай’, *Interfax*, 01/10/2015. See: <http://www.interfax.ru/interview/470458> (Accessed 21/06/2018)

⁴⁶⁵ Otunbayeva, Roza. ‘Мы должны жить взвешенно, рационально’, *Gezitter*, 07/04/2015. Source: <https://bit.ly/2OMIm2p> (Accessed on 21/06/2018)

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

serious issues with a lack of production of goods. Her comment also displays a level of skepticism over whether the Kyrgyz people have the same drive to modernize as those in power. Although the country has made great strides in terms of its democratic processes, she laments the fact that the people seem more reluctant to abandon their more entrenched economic preferences such as cattle breeding. This presents the image of a state that has policy-makers with the correct vision, that are being hindered by the people – indeed this notion of a disconnect between the wills of policy-makers and those of the public has increased in prevalence in 2015. It conveys the idea that Kyrgyzstan is simply a victim of circumstance, circumstance that has been caused by rebellious people.

5.4.2. Summary of 2015

Over time, the rhetoric of Kyrgyz policy-makers has changed from presenting the country as a multi-vector state to a Eurasia-oriented state. Although Kyrgyzstan still approaches foreign policy from a multi-vector perspective, in recent years, as a direct result of greater involvement in Eurasian integration movements, the country has adapted its approach to the wider regional geopolitical interests. Therefore, with the entry into the Eurasian Economic Union, Kyrgyzstan will promote greater cooperation with the former Soviet countries as a result of close and economic, geographical, and also historical ties.

In terms of trade the regional leaders are Russia and Kazakhstan by a considerable margin with the trade profiles of other regional partners paling in comparison. As mentioned previously, Kyrgyzstan's economy is one of the worst in Central Asia and its trade profile is dominated by re-exports. Other integration initiatives that included states outside Central Asia such as the CIS, CSTO, SCO increased the level of competition between the countries of Central Asia and, as a result, the region struggled to become a single, globally powerful geopolitical force. This was exacerbated by the rivalry between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan for leadership, struggles for water resources, border issues and more. These issues had a negative impact on the stability of Kyrgyzstan and, after two revolutions, Kyrgyzstan became synonymous with instability for its neighbors.

It is against this backdrop that Kyrgyzstan's accession to the CU and EAEU must be seen. For the first time in its recent history, the republic had been given the chance to modernize and be part of something bigger. Thus, after the road map was approved and Kyrgyzstan finally joined

the CU and EAEU in 2015, the rhetoric often reflects a desire to be seen as a committed, grateful, and maturing state – although there is also an element of subservience to presenting the country as grateful, as it demonstrates a recognition that the Kyrgyz administration would have been unable to adhere to terms of the “road map” without external financial assistance from Russia and Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, the rhetoric, by referencing common history and forging stronger bonds through integration, also implies the desire to play an equal role in the integration process in spite of Kyrgyzstan’s relative economic and political weakness.

It is perhaps for this reason that Atambayev references ‘our peoples’ – simultaneously embracing the ethnic diversity of the country while also presenting the image of a united state. This is crucial for Kyrgyz policy-makers since only by convincing the other member states that the country is stable can Kyrgyzstan achieve its objective of equal membership. The reality, however, is that there is still a serious disconnect between the political elites and the public. This was evidenced by Otunbayeva’s speech where she essentially blamed the Kyrgyz people for not pulling in the same direction as the state. This is perhaps an attempt to deflect some of the blame from the administration by, again, presenting the image of a maturing state that recognizes its faults, but is working hard to correct them.

It is interesting, too, that 2015 sees the first references to the importance of Kyrgyzstan’s geography and its historical role as a transit state. This is perhaps a function of formal accession to the integration association; in other words, it was only once they were accepted as members that they realistically began planning for the future. Hence why Kyrgyzstan also enthusiastically carves out roles for itself as a haven for investors and an industrial base for building tools, appliances, and machinery.

Overall, the most striking aspect of the self-presentation themes is that several new ones have emerged in the rhetoric. Although many of the themes overlap for Kyrgyzstan, they are sufficiently different from one another so as to warrant separate categories. Unlike other case studies that have broadly consistent themes, Kyrgyzstan’s are more diverse; this is reflective of the diversity that is also often referenced by the country’s policy-makers.

	2015		2015
Supporter of EAEU / CU	5	Equal Member	2
Detractor of EAEU / CU	1	Committed Member	5
Subordinate	1	Transit State	3
Russia positive	1	Industrial Base	2
Passive	3	Investment haven	1
Rational pragmatism	7		
Self-interested	2		
Shared History	2		
Victim	1		
Maturing / modernizing	5		
Fraternal	2		
Grateful	2		
United	1		

Figure 35: Self-presentation themes (L), Role Conceptions (R), 2015

5.4.3. 2016: Deepening integration and some frustrations

In 2016, discussions among Kyrgyz policy-makers began with further attempts to justify the decision to accede to the EAEU. The general public were still uneasy with the decision and thus it fell to individuals such as Erlan Abdyldaev, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to try and assuage these fears while simultaneously presenting a confident and committed image to their now integration partners. Abdyldaev spoke of meticulous cost-benefit analysis that had been carried out by Kyrgyz policy-makers prior to accession stating that it had been ‘deeply thought out’ and that they had ‘joined this integration, taking into account the economic advantages for our country, and conditions that will not harm our independence and foreign policy.’⁴⁶⁷ Here he contradicts Otunbayeva’s interview response in 2015 that had argued some loss of sovereignty is inevitable. Instead he argues that Kyrgyzstan’s administration had struck a deal that preserved autonomy while also bringing economic benefits.

Abdyldaev also spoke of the ‘unpleasant effect’ that a number of external factors had had on Kyrgyzstan such as ‘the imposition of sanctions against Russia, a sharp reduction in trade within the EAEU, the depreciation of the national currencies of EAEU member countries’. However,

⁴⁶⁷ Abdyldaev, Erlan. ‘Эрлан Абдылдаев, министр иностранных дел КР: «Не присоединяюсь к сказанному об охлаждении наших отношений с Россией»’ *Gezitter*. 23/06/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2Zg0arj> (Accessed 23/06/2018)

compared with Armenia, who raised similar issues, Kyrgyz policy-makers qualify their statements by putting a more positive slant on them. In this case, Abdyldaev stated that in spite of these issues, ‘The entry of Kyrgyzstan into the Eurasian Economic Union is one of the priority areas of our country's foreign policy. In addition to this, it is in the national interest’.⁴⁶⁸ First Deputy Prime Minister, Aaly Karashev emphasized a similar point in April when he stated ‘the decision [to join] was balanced and supported by the population. Today we are convinced of the correctness of our choice, otherwise it would be difficult for us to overcome the crisis [civil instability and currency devaluation],’⁴⁶⁹ Kyrgyz policy-makers recognize that the country is less isolated and has more international standing in the union. Thus, they want to present the image of commitment.

Indeed, this is part of a wider trend in many of the speeches of 2016; although many highlight the slight frustration of Kyrgyz policy-makers that customs deals are still having to be conducted bilaterally despite the country’s membership of the EAEU, there is a recognition that Kyrgyzstan still needs membership of the EAEU. For example, a meeting of ministers in Minsk, the First Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration (and future President) Sooronbai Jeenbekov, stated that the EAEU ‘cannot fully function and expand while internal barriers remain.’⁴⁷⁰ Further, Kerimkulov talked about how partners such as Kazakhstan had previously agreed to reduce transit tariffs for the transport of goods, but that these promises had not yet been met. He stated that the ‘Import of petroleum products from Kazakhstan is not economically feasible due to the effect of barrage export duties, which amount to \$ 169 per ton.’ However, he followed this up by stating that:

Kyrgyzstan can get alternative advantages and benefits in the field of transport. As part of the agreement on a coordinated transport policy, the member states of the union agreed to provide equal and favorable conditions for consumers of railway transport services by applying a uniform tariff for the carriage of goods, which is significantly lower than currently used transit tariffs.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ Abdyldaev, Erlan. ‘Эрлан Абдылдаев, министр иностранных дел КР: «Не присоединяюсь к сказанному об охлаждении наших отношений с Россией»’ *Gezitter*. 23/06/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2Zg0arj> (Accessed 23/06/2018)

⁴⁶⁹ Karashev, Aaly. ‘Карашев: без вступления в ЕАЭС Кыргызстану было бы тяжело’, *Sputnik News*, 08/04/2016. See: <https://ru.sputnik.kg/economy/20160408/1024099075.html> (Accessed 26/06/2018)

⁴⁷⁰ Jeenbekov, Sooronbai. ‘Сооронбай Жээнбеков в Минске. Подписаны документы по ЕАЭС’ *Kaktus Media*, 28/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2G2QM1o> (Accessed 20/06/2018)

⁴⁷¹ Kerimkulov, Medetbek. ‘Заправь «железного коня». Кыргызстан оказался в топе стран с самыми низкими ценами на бензин», *Slovo.kg*, 16/02/2016/. See: <http://slovo.kg/?p=54190> (Accessed on 21/06/2018)

Therefore, although his tone clearly conveys slight frustration, the speech is not as harshly worded as some of the rhetoric seen in Armenia or Belarus, for example. When Belarus faced a similar situation, they threatened a total severance from the Eurasian Union. However, Kyrgyzstan states that they may not be receiving full benefits in one area, but ‘alternative’ areas will make up for this. The country comparatively holds fewer cards compared with Belarus in terms of the strength of its economy or the influence of its politicians on the international stage. Therefore, their main strategy is to voice their concerns while continuing to present the image of state that is committed and proactively trying to meet the requirements of the EAEU. This is a pragmatic approach that simultaneously allows the country to affirm their commitment to the region while also trying to influence the actions of their partners.

Indeed, despite the perception that there were still barriers to Kyrgyzstan receiving maximum benefits, policy-makers continued the theme identified in 2015 of trying to take a more active role in the integration. Some suggested ways integration between partners could be deepened as well as new projects that could be undertaken to improve the mutual benefits received. For example, In July 2016, Akayev spoke of the enormous potential of the EAEU and how it could be linked to initiatives from abroad such as the New Silk Road in China. He stated that there is ‘a great chance to give a new impetus to the economic development of the Eurasian Economic Community by connecting with the project of the economic belt, the Great Silk Road, which China has put forward.’⁴⁷²

Some Kyrgyz politicians even suggested the idea of deeper integration through the introduction of a common currency in order to promote joint trade and customs regulation. For example, First Deputy Prime Minister Karashev on several separate occasions spoke about the need to regulate currencies and consider introducing one Eurasian currency. He stated on 15 April that the considering currency regulation and the introduction a single currency was something that needed to be done ‘urgently’ and, a few days later, stated ‘In the very near future we need to consider issues of currency regulation. In particular, the issue of introducing a single EAEU currency for joint trade and customs regulation within the organization.’⁴⁷³ This is something that had also been suggested by their Belarussian counterparts who see the EAEU as more than a union of economic convenience (such as the view seen in Kazakhstan). Adopting a single currency is often associated with ceding sovereignty and the notion left one Kyrgyz news

⁴⁷² Akayev, Askar. ‘Интервью Аскара Акаевича’, *Govorit Moskva*, 20/07/2016, See: <https://govoritmoskva.ru/interviews/1332/> (Accessed on 28/06/2018)

⁴⁷³ Karashev, Aaly. ‘Единая валюта ЕАЭС для Кыргызстана: зависимость или триумф’. *Sputnik News*. 15/04/2016. See: <https://ru.sputnik.kg/economy/20160415/1024374930.html> (Accessed 22/06/2018)

agency to wonder what had caused these sudden ‘warm feelings for a single currency?’ The editors of the site concluded that they were ‘perplexed’ by the rhetoric of the policy-makers.⁴⁷⁴ However it was likely due to a combination of Kyrgyzstan wanting to appear committed to the EAEU, while also rationally planning for how to deal with the threat of currency devaluation in the future. For Kyrgyz policy-makers at least, the idea of sovereignty did not (overtly) factor into their discussions.

Nevertheless, this was one of the issues that was a concern for the Kyrgyz public. In particular the creeping influence of Russia over their internal and foreign affairs. These fears had been exacerbated by the tone of the rhetoric from many policy-makers who began to praise the level of assistance provided by Russia. The intention of Kyrgyz policy-makers, however, was to present the image of a grateful partner as well as to ingratiate themselves to the hegemon. Indeed, many of the speeches and statements throughout 2016 focused on the economic advantages of trading within the framework of the EAEU, often with specific reference to the role of Russia and their provision of oil and gas. For example, Medetbek Kerimkulov, president of the Association of Petrotraders of the Kyrgyz Republic, when talking about the Eurasian integration, stated that ‘it is profitable for Kyrgyzstan to buy fuel in Russia.’⁴⁷⁵ According to him, due to profitable agreements between the presidents of Russia and Kyrgyzstan, fuel can be delivered to the republic without paying customs duties. He stated that this allows Kyrgyzstan to save significant amounts of money when importing petroleum products (US\$ 78.5 million in 2015, US\$ 322 million in 2014). Kerimkulov’s rhetoric highlighted the advantages that Russia had brought to Kyrgyzstan and how grateful Kyrgyzstan was for their assistance: ‘no other country offers such discounts. The rest sell fuel at world prices. Their proposals are not cost-effective and competitive compared to the Russian ones ...’⁴⁷⁶

Russia had essentially bought the loyalty of Kyrgyzstan and ensured that they would rely on Russia for their oil and gas for decades to come. For a country as poor as Kyrgyzstan, it would simply be uneconomical to look anywhere other than Russia (or a regional partner such as Kazakhstan) for fuel. Kerimkulov emphasized how good Russia has been for the country’s oil industry stating that ‘The capacity of the factories in Kyrgyzstan has doubled in recent years

⁴⁷⁴ *InoZPress*, 'Почему Кыргызстан вдруг заговорил о единой валюте?' *InoZPress*. 11/04/2016. See: <http://www.inozpress.kg/news/view/id/48286> (Accessed 20/06/2018)

⁴⁷⁵ Kerimkulov, Medetbek. ‘Заправь «железного коня». Кыргызстан оказался в топе стран с самыми низкими ценами на бензин’, *Slovo.kg*, 16/02/2016/. See: <http://slovo.kg/?p=54190> (Accessed on 21/06/2018)

⁴⁷⁶ Kerimkulov, Medetbek.. 'Кыргызстану выгодно поставлять ГСМ только из России', *Region.kg*, 12/02/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/376aТао> (Accessed 22/06/2018)

and amounts to more than 2 million 110 thousand tons of oil. In the case of full capacity utilization, the output will allow to fully meet the domestic needs of Kyrgyzstan.⁴⁷⁷

Nevertheless, the issue of tariff-free zones with Kazakhstan was still a source of frustration for many policy-makers. For example, in October 2016 Prime Minister Sooronbay Jeenbekov said at a meeting of the Eurasian Intergovernmental Council:

Until the Eurasian Economic Union provides preferential trade to third countries, all barriers inside the Union should be removed to ensure full free movement of goods of the EAEU countries,⁴⁷⁸

He stressed that Kyrgyzstan, having signed the Treaty on accession to the EAEU, as well as developing its position on various issues, is guided by the principle of protecting its national interests and strengthening Eurasian integration. However, the rhetoric towards the end of 2016 began to display a degree of tension between the member states; particularly over the issue of removing veterinary control on the Kyrgyz-Kazakh border – something that had not been resolved almost for a year and a half. According to a number of policy-makers, this had severely limited Kyrgyzstan's ability to fully participate in the union. Sooronbay Jeenbekov voiced these concerns by stating that 'Our system is not recognized, and Kyrgyz products are not able to enter the common market. This is a sensitive problem that creates a negative perception of both the population and the product manufacturers themselves.' The head of government stressed that at the last meeting, the Kazakh side agreed to assist in solving this issue, while noting that it depends on all parties:

This situation cannot continue indefinitely. Initially, the issue was thrown from the multilateral to the bilateral level. Now our partners, referring to the fact that the issue requires a solution at the level of five countries, do not agree on recognition of the veterinary system of Kyrgyzstan at the bilateral level. Despite the presence of a conflict of interest, we must look at the situation more broadly. A one-sided approach and protection of individual interests does not contribute to the deepening and strengthening of integration as a whole. Moreover, they do not look attractive for countries – or potential participants of the Union.

⁴⁷⁷ Kerimkulov, Medetbek. 'Заправь «железного коня». Кыргызстан оказался в топе стран с самыми низкими ценами на бензин', *Slovo.kg*, 16/02/2016/. See: <http://slovo.kg/?p=54190> (Accessed on 21/06/2018)

⁴⁷⁸ Jeenbekov, Sooronbai. 'Сооронбай Жээнбеков в Минске. Подписаны документы по ЕАЭС' *Kaktus Media*, 28/10/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/2G2QM1o> (Accessed 20/06/2018)

The Prime Minister had stressed that Kyrgyzstan had already fulfilled all obligations that are specified in the “road map” for the country's accession to the EAEU, but that other member states were still refusing to lift tariffs and restrictions. By the end of the year, the mood about Eurasian integration seemed to be changing towards the negative. Atambayev began to give speeches where he expressed concern about the image of Eurasian integration for Kyrgyz people. He stated:

There have been many changes: there were both positive moments and negative ones. Unfortunately, the negative sometimes prevail and this generally affects the way the people of Kyrgyzstan accept the country's entry into the Eurasian Economic Union. And this naturally leaves a negative imprint on the economic effect of the integration of Kyrgyzstan into the Eurasian Economic Union. There are other problems, and I would like to voice these problems later when we stay in a narrow circle.⁴⁷⁹

Here, Atambayev seems to be using the Kyrgyz people's attitude towards integration to influence other members into taking action since in the previous years before integration Atambayev did not mention the Kyrgyz people's will or attitude towards the integration at all. This statement seems to be born of a genuine concern that the country as a whole was being overlooked by other members and, as a result of other member states refusing to lift tariffs and restrictions, it had been far more challenging to persuade the general public that Eurasian integration was a positive thing for the country.

The rhetoric in 2016 conveys the idea that Kyrgyzstan is supportive of and committed to the EAEU / CU; there are two references to the gratitude of Kyrgyz policy-makers to Russia and their partners for their assistance. This gratitude is a softer and more conciliatory tone in order persuade partners that they are indebted to them, committed to the union, but still require further assistance. Indeed, presenting the state as grateful is a tool to try and manipulate their partners into action.

However, many of the themes in the second half of 2016 also reflect a growing feeling of frustration at the lack of equality and respect offered by the other member states, in particular Kazakhstan. Although some of the rhetoric also conveys the idea that Kyrgyzstan is a victim of circumstance, the frustration theme differs in that its objective is to *directly* challenge the actions of the other member states, rather than obliquely. Hence why some of the themes in the

⁴⁷⁹ Atambayev, Almazbek. ‘Обзор: Кыргызстан в ЕАЭС’, *Central Asian Portal*, 27/12/2016, See: <http://www.ca-portal.ru/article:32120> (Accessed 20/06/2018)

rhetoric are also assertive; policy-makers are being more forceful in their speeches in order to present the state as a more confident and powerful entity.

Interestingly, in 2016 Kyrgyz policy-makers do not refer to the common past of the member states and there are three speeches that speak about their partners in a negative light. There are also no specific role conceptions evident in the rhetoric such as industrial base, investment haven or transit state. This is principally a function of the Kyrgyz policy-makers' growing frustrations with the EAEU's other members.

	2016		2016
Supporter of EAEU / CU	5	Equal Member	2
Detractor of EAEU / CU	4	Committed Member	5
Sovereign	1		
Russia positive	3		
Partners negative	3		
Rational pragmatism	5		
Assertive	4		
Victim	3		
Fraternal	1		
Grateful	2		
Frustrated	5		

Figure 36: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2016

5.4.4. 2017: Allaying concerns

After a series of speeches and statements in 2016 that conveyed the frustrations of Kyrgyz policy-makers, the rhetoric in 2017 returned to the more enthusiastic tone seen in previous years. Since Kyrgyzstan had announced its intentions to join the EAEU and CU, the general public had become more vocal in their opposition to the initiative. Given the country's very recent history of violent revolution, it was necessary for policy-makers to present an image of a state that was maturing, able to cope with accession and ultimately that entering the integration was the correct decision for the country and would not contravene the security of the other members. Placating the general public was a significant part of this and many of the speeches had to reassure both their international and domestic audiences; this was epitomised by a speech by first Deputy Prime Minister of the Kyrgyz Republic Aaly Karashev who stated during the International Forum "Eurasian Economic Perspective" that "[t]he accession of

Kyrgyzstan to the Eurasian Economic Union is an historical event. It should be noted that our relations in the Eurasian space are developing while our national identity is being preserved⁴⁸⁰. Here he presents the country as enthusiastic and committed ('an historical moment') while also attempting to convey the idea that the country will not abandon its values ('our national identity is being preserved'). Then prime-minister Djoomart Otorbaev had struck a similar tone years previously in a speech in 2014 that aimed to reassure the public that the integration will be economic in nature and not political. He stated, 'the Eurasian Economic Union is an economic association. There should be no political issues.'⁴⁸¹ Political integration implies that a state would be obliged to relinquish more sovereignty.

These speeches contrast with some Kyrgyz politicians who presented the Kyrgyz people as happy to join the Eurasian integration project. For example, parliament deputy Igor Chudinov promoted the Eurasian Economic Union as a *de facto* revival of the Soviet Union, but that most of the public are nostalgic for this. He stated:

Among the population, long before Kyrgyzstan joined the EAEU, the idea of Kyrgyzstan's accession to Russia was in sight. We can say that, in general, the idea of creating such a project belongs to the people. Sociological studies show that more than half of the adult population of Kyrgyzstan suggests that before the collapse of the Soviet Union we lived better, not in terms of totalitarianism of the regime, but in terms of the economic advantages of the single economic space, which was the USSR. And today, the EEU is the best option to return to such a single economic space with mutually beneficial economic cooperation of sovereign states.⁴⁸²

His argument is that Kyrgyzstan was planning to integrate with Russia anyway, so the EAEU is not too far a leap from this idea. He then declares that integration 'belongs to the people' as an idea; this subtly implies that it would be paradoxical for the public to oppose integration as it is for them. He justifies this idea by stating that the people were happier in the USSR. While some of the Kyrgyz population may hold similar opinions, the most vocal opposing views come from the sections of the general public who believe the revival of the USSR is precisely what is trying to be achieved, but that this is unilaterally a negative thing that will lead to a profound loss of sovereignty. Given that this is the opinion of the majority of the public, Chudinov's speech (which was conducted in Russian rather than Kyrgyz) is clearly not directed at the

⁴⁸⁰ Karashev, Aaly. International Forum "Eurasian Economic Perspective", 08/04/2017. See: <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/EAES/full/104838> (Accessed 30/06/2018)

⁴⁸¹ Otorbaev, Djoomart. 'Оторбаев: Из-за Таможенного союза цены не повысятся в 2-3 раза', *Radio Liberty*, 16/09/2014, See: <https://rus.azattyk.org/a/26586686.html> (Accessed 27/06/2018)

⁴⁸² Chudinov, Igor. 'Кыргызстан и ЕАЭС: полтора года спустя', *Region.kg*, 13/01/2017, See: <https://bit.ly/2RdsR61> (Accessed 21/06/2018)

domestic audience, but to the hegemon, Russia. If one were to take an even more cynical angle, it could be that Chudinov is attempting, not to represent the interests of the state, but to preserve or further his own career by ingratiating *himself* to the hegemon.

Even after two years of accession there still was heavy criticism of the EAEU, mainly due to concerns that Kyrgyzstan was unprepared for such a big market and could overstretch itself too soon. On this topic, the former prime-minister, and then candidate for the presidency, Temir Sariyev tried to put a positive spin on the situation by highlighting the advantages of entering the EAEU. He stated:

We entered the union, whose members have more developed economies, more developed industries, and much higher purchasing power. For us, this [integration] opens up new markets, new opportunities. The Eurasian Economic Union was created primarily to open the markets of its members, secondly, to protect the market of the EAEU countries, and thirdly, to give the opportunity to create equal competition within the market.⁴⁸³

While he is clearly recognizing that Kyrgyzstan is far behind the other member states in terms of power, Sariyev is presenting the image of a state that is fully committed and supporting of the integration project. He wants to convey the idea that they in no way see it as disadvantageous to enter such a big market, but as a positive challenge for a modernizing, maturing state. He expresses the desire to be treated as an equally-respected partner – an issue which was raised by Atambayev in several speeches where he challenged the idea of Kyrgyz unpreparedness. For example, in March 2017 he stated:

... I think that this is a stage of formation. You know that a large harmful campaign in Kyrgyzstan exists on this topic, which is supported by external forces, as if the country's entry into the organization was a mistake. But thanks to joining the Eurasian Economic Union, we have made life easier for our labor migrants by an order of magnitude.⁴⁸⁴

Atambayev is trying to present Kyrgyzstan as a maturing state that has had to go through a period of 'formation'. He states that they have been able to deal effectively with the obstacles that presented themselves and even implies that 'external forces' have sought to disrupt them.

⁴⁸³ Sariyev, Temir. 'Темир Сариев: У Киргизии есть возможность наверстать упущенное', *REGNUM News Agency*, 28/03/2017. See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2255601.html> (Accessed 27/06/2018)

⁴⁸⁴ Atambayev, Almazbek. 'Эксклюзив: Алмазбек Атамбаев о ЕАЭС, Афганистане и «Мире»', *Interstate TV and Radio Company "Mir"*, 31/03/2017. See: <https://mir24.tv/news/15903439/eksklyuziv-almazbek-atambaev-o-eaes-afganistane-i-mire>

Through his rhetoric, it is clear to see that he supports the integration initiative whole-heartedly and only sees the positives in being part of a bigger market. In the same month, Sariyev reflected these sentiments in a speech where he addressed the question of whether *not* entering the Eurasian Economic Union would have been an option. He said:

of course, it was possible not to enter [the EAEU and CU], but then we had to be prepared for an even worse scenario in the economy. Because all of our infrastructure and our entire market is focused on the market of the Customs Union, and we would then have to look for other markets. And they are much more difficult to find, and the competition there is several times higher.⁴⁸⁵

In other words, the most senior members of the Kyrgyz government all adhere to the idea that membership of the CU and other Eurasian integration initiatives was the most prudent course of action for the country at the time. Sariyev argues that the costs would, quite literally, have been too high if Kyrgyzstan had not decided to accede. His and Atambayev's speeches present the image of a fully-committed partner that supports the concept of integration, but that took this decision based on a calculation of all the options.

Additionally, there was the concern that Kyrgyzstan would sell off some of its state facilities in order to raise capital in the short and medium term. These concerns were discussed at a round table by Almanbet Matubraimov, former prime-minister and current politician, who raised the question as to whether Kyrgyz strategic objectives were in line with partner's expectations in the EAEU – particularly the sale of crucial state infrastructure. In his opinion, 'Kyrgyzstan should not sell strategic facilities'.⁴⁸⁶ According to him, Kyrgyzstan seems to be in a hurry to achieve some nebulous target and this entails the sale of strategic assets.

If we give an example, then in the USA 70% of the energy carriers in the states are regulated by the state, in Belgium - more than 58%. These countries had this indicator at a low level, but they increased it. Only such principles will enable the development of the country's economy, its safe regulation. However, for this, ministries, departments, people and laws should work. Some say that there is no authority for this, but the king of Spain is working, despite the limitations of his authority.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Sariyev, Temir. 'Темир Сариев: У Киргизии есть возможность наверстать упущенное', *REGNUM News Agency*. 28/03/2017. See: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2255601.html> (Accessed 27/06/2018)

⁴⁸⁶ Matubraimov, Almanbet. 'Кыргызстан не должен продавать стратегические объекты, считает общественный деятель', *Kabar agency news*. Round table "Kyrgyzstan on the path to Eurasian integration". 14/03/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2GiAX77> (Accessed 26/06/2018)

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Matubraimov's point is that he does not understand why the country is adopting such a short-term and astrategic approach. He believes that it is a small state mentality and, while Kyrgyzstan certainly has a multitude of probems that need addressing, their approach to improving the economy should be more mature. This was a trend in several of the speeches in 2017 including, as in 2015, the notion that Kyrgyzstan should use its geographical location to its advantage as transit state. Kyrgyz president's Atambayev spoke the prospect of becoming one of the transit countries for Europe at a meeting in Munich with the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. Atambayev said that 'the goal was that Europe should be located from Brussels to Vladivostok, and at least in the south to Bishkek.'⁴⁸⁸

Many of Atambayev's speeches were ambitious in 2017 and, at the same time, critical of past administrations. He talked about the Eurasian Economic union as the only practical decision for Kyrgyzstan and, adopting an assertive tone, severely criticized the previous Kyrgyz administrations saying that '[i]t was because of the stupidity of our then leaders that everything was in ruins. Agriculture also completely collapsed, because they immediately decided that everything should be taken in blind faith in other countries'.⁴⁸⁹ Here Atambayev is presenting the idea of a newly-styled and maturing state that will take a more constructive approach compared with previous administrations.

He also lamented their decision to join the WTO, the first country in the region to do so, calling this 'an absolutely wrong economic policy' given that it set any potential accession to the CU back by a decade and the country was not ready economically or structurally for such a large market. He spoke of how Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus had been more pragmatic by joining the WTO later as "normal" countries and praised the actions of Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan, who ensured that the state's interests would not suffer in the WTO and the interests of its industries were protected.⁴⁹⁰ While clearly praising what he perceives to be the shrewd policy making of the other members, by criticizing former policies of Kyrgyz policy-makers, Atambayev is also demonstrating that the country has learned from its mistakes. In the second era, Kyrgyz policy-makers took steps towards altering the country's foreign policy vector towards Eurasian integration using the approaches taken by these three "normal" countries (Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus) as a framework.

⁴⁸⁸ Atambayev, Almazbek. 'Эксклюзив: Алмазбек Атамбаев о ЕАЭС, Афганистане и «Мире»', *Interstate TV and Radio Company "Mir"*, 31/03/2017, See: <https://bit.ly/2G2DiCW> (Accessed 24/06/2018)

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

Drawing inspiration from the models employed by their fellow member states also led to an increase in fraternal rhetoric from Kyrgyz policy-makers. In 2017 the hegemon-ingratiator role conception is more evident in the speeches of policy-makers than in any of the previous years. Here Atambayev provides another strong example when he praised the assistance provided to Kyrgyzstan by Russia and Kazakhstan:

... thanks to the support of Russian President Vladimir Putin. After all, we were given the strongest support in joining the EurAsEC, both moral and material. Until now, we receive financial assistance. Now our Kazakh brothers promise to support us, and I know that Nursultan Abishevich will keep his word. Therefore, it is very great that we are part of the Eurasian Economic Union, it is very healthy for our citizens.⁴⁹¹

Atambayev wanted to convey the message that he, and the country were grateful for the support during a ‘difficult transition period and the adaptation period of [Kyrgyzstan].’ He also praised the ‘political will of the President of Russia’ and claimed that it was only Putin’s desire that ensured the Russian-Kyrgyz Development Fund with an authorized capital of \$ 500 million was created with the addition of \$ 200 million to solve the issues of integration of Kyrgyzstan into the EEU as technical assistance for the supply of relevant equipment and programs.⁴⁹² He also refers to the country’s Kazakh ‘brothers’ – a continuation of the fraternal theme that emerged in 2015 and another allusion to their shared history.

Compared with 2016, the rhetoric in 2017 was far more positive towards integration and the EAEU, indeed much of the self-presentation themes and role conceptions was redolent of that seen in 2015. For example, there are five references to Kyrgyzstan as a maturing state (the same as 2015), more frequent observations on the fraternal relations between members and a return to the idea that the country could play the role of a transit state; a role conception that also emerged for the first time in 2015. The rhetoric also continued the abiding role conceptions of commitment to the EAEU, but on equal terms. For example, in his speeches during this period Prime Minister Jeenbekov often talked about the EAEU as “profitable” for Kyrgyzstan and seemed as though most parties, both in Kyrgyzstan and among member states, were satisfied with the transition period.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

	2017		2017
Supporter of EAEU / CU	6	Equal Member	2
Sovereign	3	Committed Member	5
Subordinate to Russia	1	Transit State	1
Russia positive	2		
Rational pragmatism	3		
Partners positive	1		
Shared History	2		
Grateful	1		
Maturing / modernizing	5		
Fraternal	2		
Economic Union	1		
Political Union	1		
Unstable People	3		

Figure 37: Self-presentation themes (L), role conceptions (R), 2017

5.4.5. Summary of the Second Era

Since Kyrgyzstan's accession to the EAEU in 2015, many significant results were achieved; in 2017, Kyrgyzstan's share of the distribution of customs duties increased to eclipse that Armenia (1.9% for the former and only 1.21% for Armenia). Labor migrants have been provided with a simplified means of gaining employment, which has resulted in the improvement of social conditions of life for their families. Due to this, the transfer of labor migrants from abroad into Kyrgyzstan has increased by 18.5%. Furthermore, the funds allocated by Russia have facilitated the modernization of Kyrgyz customs posts, checkpoints and laboratories, and seven veterinary control checkpoints at Torugart, Irkeshtam, Dostuk, Kyzyl Bel, the railway at Kara- Suu, and the airports of Manas and Osh. In total, 30 accredited laboratories and 9 certification bodies were included in the Unified Register of the EAEU, which is able to issue documents that are legally recognized throughout the Union.

Furthermore, a Kyrgyz-Russian Development Fund was established, which, since September 2015, has started issuing loans to entrepreneurs of up to \$ 3 million through RSK Bank and Ayil Bank and other projects were commissioned through the banks of Kyrgyzstan and BTA. During 2017 alone, more than 640 projects have been approved with a total value of \$202

million. As the state of Kyrgyzstan's infrastructure has improved, they have also started to receive more financial support not only from Russia, but neighboring countries as well. Recently, an agreement was signed with Kazakhstan for technical assistance which totals \$ 100 million.

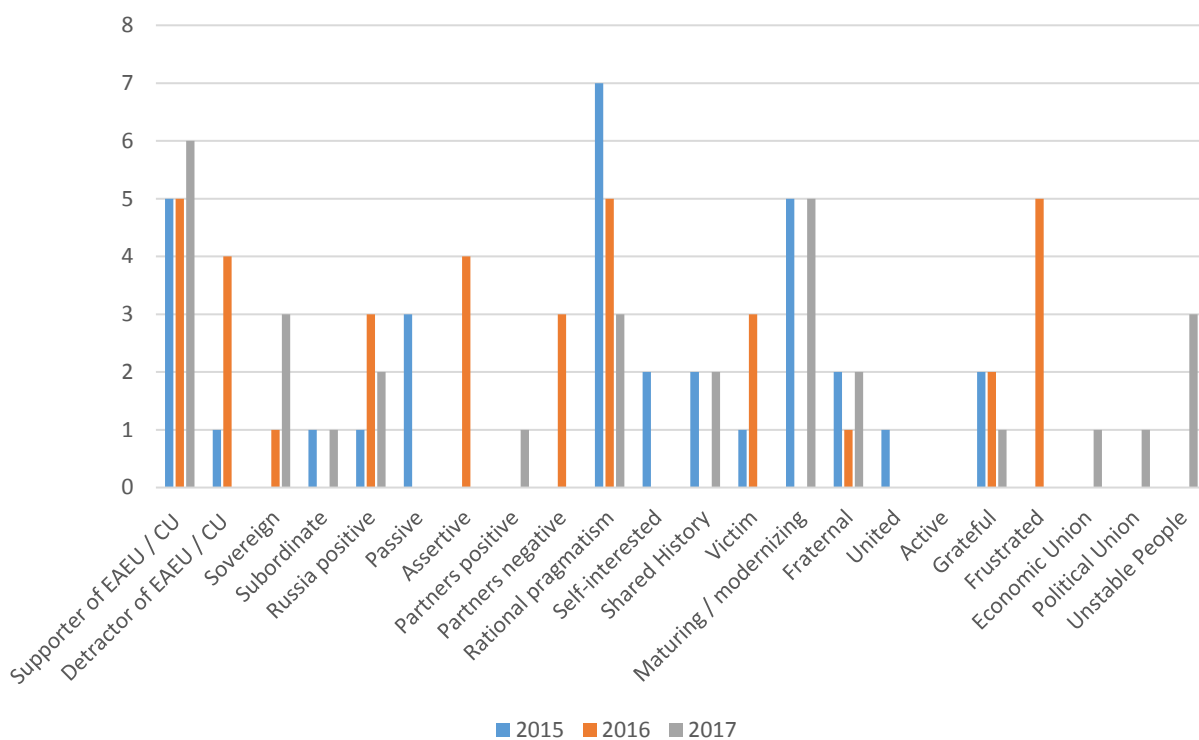
Better relations between members has led to the adoption of the Treaty on the Customs Code of the Eurasian Economic Union. This pledges to reduce the cost of imported goods to Kyrgyzstan, through the so-called "Law On Railway Transport" and, in addition, an Agreement was signed with Kazakhstan on the application of a unified tariff for the carriage of goods by rail through Kazakhstan to and from the Kyrgyz Republic. Furthermore, for the protection of domestic producers, rules associated with the application of a minimum level of control prices for goods were introduced into tax legislation; fifteen technical regulations of the Customs Union (EAEU) have fully entered into force, and twenty technical regulations of the EAEU operate in the territory along with Kyrgyzstan's corresponding technical regulations. In addition to this, with the participation of the EAEU member states, including Kyrgyzstan, the Program for the formation of the Unified Electricity Market of the Eurasian Economic Union has already been developed and approved and work has begun for the formation of a unified industrial policy.

Membership of the Eurasian Union has also given Kyrgyzstan a more significant status in the international community and connected with a number of East Asian states. For example, the Free Trade Agreement between the EAEU and Vietnam entered into force and work has started on concluding agreements on a free trade zone with Iran, Egypt, Serbia, Singapore and China. For Kyrgyzstan, this has created more favorable conditions for access to additional markets increased prospects for large foreign investment projects.

In terms of the rhetoric, the second era in Kyrgyzstan was characterized by some inconsistencies over how the state presented itself. Accession was formalized in 2015 and, at this stage, much of the rhetoric was positive. It presented Kyrgyzstan as supportive of the EAEU, as a maturing and modernizing state, and as a state that was grateful for the support offered by their partners with whom Kyrgyzstan shares a strong bond as a result of their common history. However, the next year much of this positivity dissipates; there are more references to the negative aspects of accession or the disruptive actions of their partners and 'frustrated' is how Kyrgyz policy-makers typically self-present.

There is yet another rhetorical U-turn in 2017 when the rhetoric begins to reflect that of 2015 again. Interestingly, in 2017 the attitudes of the public begin to influence the speeches and statements of policy-makers. For example, there are more references to how Kyrgyzstan is still sovereign and will retain its national identity –both issues that were of concern to dissenting groups in the country. The fact that integration will be economic, and not political, in nature is also referred to. In addition to this, on three occasions policy-makers used their public platform to declare that the problems Kyrgyzstan was having in the EAEU were due to the Kyrgyz people who were causing instability in the state.

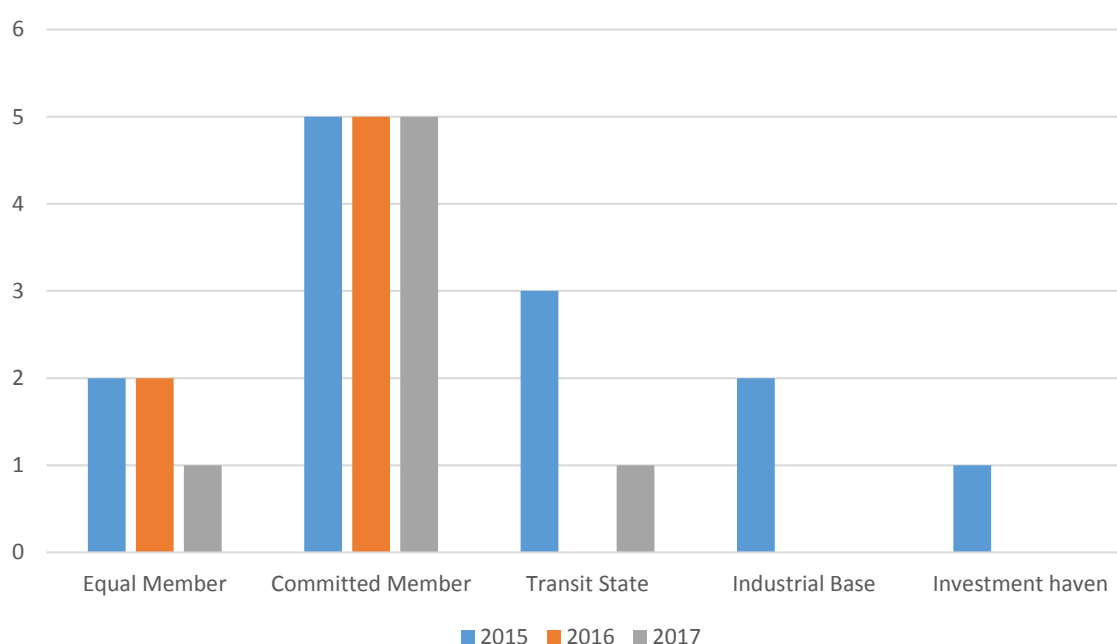
Figure 38: Kyrgyzstan: Self-Presentation themes, 2015-2017



Overall, however, the most striking aspect of the rhetoric in the second era is the sheer number of self-presentation themes that are identified. There are twenty-two in total with some appearing just for a single year. While there is consistency in some of the themes (supporter of EAEU, Russia positive, rational-pragmatism, and grateful partner), the image that is projected by policy-makers in Kyrgyzstan is far from cohesive. For example, in terms of role conceptions, Kyrgyzstan sees itself as an equal member within the integration process while it also wants to play the role of a committed partner; enthusiastically encouraging, developing, and championing Eurasian integration. However, other than these two vague role conceptions, there is little else in the rhetoric that clearly expresses how Kyrgyzstan sees itself contributing in a more tangible sense.

The role conception of ‘Transit State’ emerges in 2015, this is a logical role for Kyrgyzstan to play given its geographical location, however 2016 sees no further reference to this role and there is just one speech in 2017 that mentions it. Meanwhile the idea that Kyrgyzstan could act as an industrial base or an investment haven was suggested in 2015, but this idea quickly fades in subsequent years. The explanation is likely that concerns over domestic security led to the rhetoric being directed at convincing regional partners that Kyrgyzstan was ready and able to contribute to the EAEU in general terms, rather than expressing more specific ideas over potential contributions.

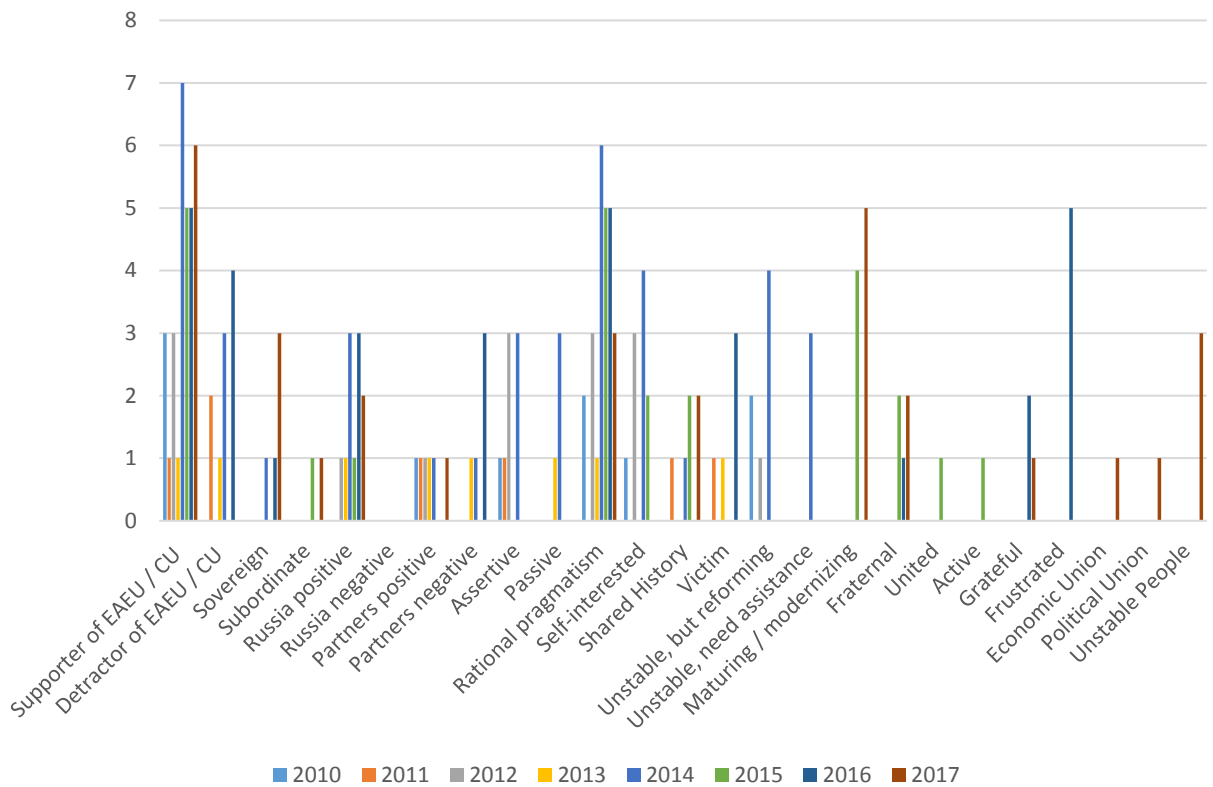
Figure 39: Kyrgyzstan, Role conceptions, 2015 - 2017



5.5. Conclusion

As was mentioned in the summary of the second era, the rhetoric in Kyrgyzstan is erratic in terms of the themes that arise. Policy-makers often adopt contrasting, even contradictory stances and, while there are some consistencies such as a rational-pragmatic outlook, self-presentation in the country is characterized by disparity. Indeed, there are twenty-five self-presentation themes across the two eras. This is compared with nineteen in Belarus and just twelve in Armenia over the same period. This is a testament to the ethnic diversity of the country and the “variety of opinions” that arise as a result.

Figure 40: Self-presentation themes across the two eras



While this diversity is often lauded as a positive in Kyrgyzstan, it has also led to general confusion among policy-makers as to what the country’s strategic objectives are. Indeed, overall the messaging that Kyrgyz policy-makers are attempting to present is muddled. This reflects the fragmentation in the country’s political and social spheres. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Armenia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan have all seen periods of relative social, political and economic stability compared with Kyrgyzstan. Their governments have remained consistent and their respective visions for the future have been more or less clear; this is reflected in their role conceptions. By contrast, Kyrgyzstan saw two serious revolutions in the space of five years with brand new governmental systems being installed in each case. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the role conceptions reflect this lack of political continuity.

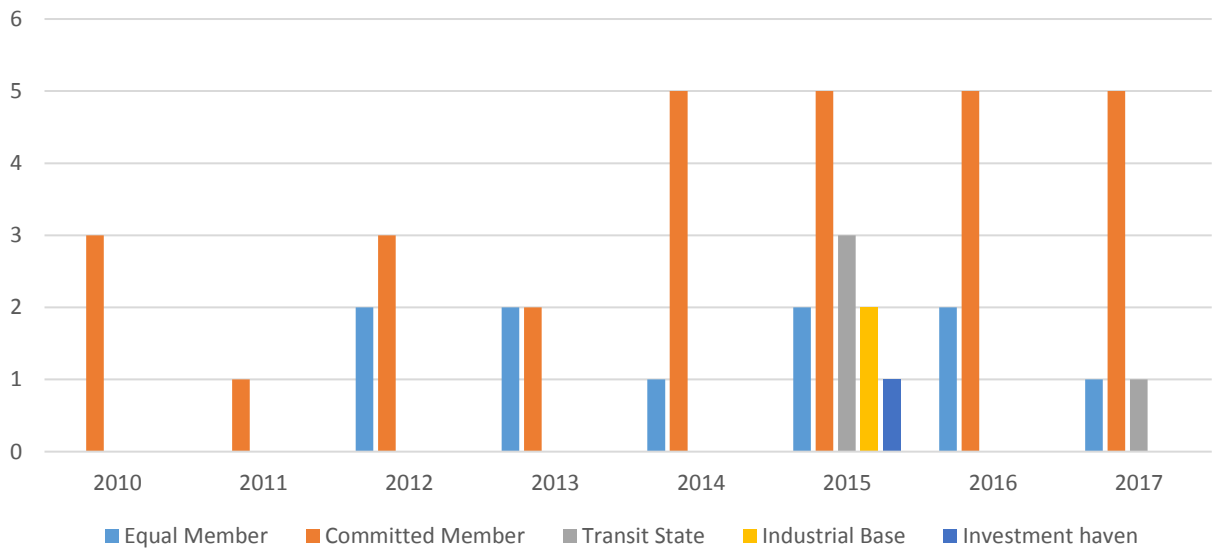
Apart from declaring general support for the EAEU / CU, Kyrgyzstan’s most consistent self-presentation theme across the time period was rational pragmatism – this was characterized by cost-benefit analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of joining the CU given fears that it could overstretch their economy too soon, as well as the social turmoil they had recently experienced and the vocal opponents from the general population who believed any kind of integration was a re-imagining of the Soviet Union and would lead to a serious loss of sovereignty. However, Kyrgyz policy-makers wanted to present the image of a reliable country with a government able to make decisions objectively on behalf of the people. Whether this is

a wise strategy given the precedent for revolutions in recent years, however, remains to be seen, but what is certain is that this is the view Kyrgyzstan wanted to project. Linked to this is the projection of the idea of a maturing, modernizing state – a theme that emerges from 2015 in the second era. Having presented an image of a state that is able to objectively assess a situation, it was important for the country to demonstrate that, while they recognize their own deficiencies, they are dedicated to improving the political, economic and social situation and bringing their country into the modern era.

However, despite these general consistencies in the self-presentation themes in Kyrgyzstan, there were also plenty of inconsistencies with contradictory and sometimes paradoxical roles being presented. For example, in 2012, multiple policy-makers attempted to present the image of an assertive member state that would be able to dictate the nature of their engagement in the CU to other members. However, the following year there were no assertive statements and one policy-maker (Otunbayeva) even delivered a speech that exhibited passivity. Certain policy-makers often contradicted each other in speeches just months apart such as Askar Akayev who spoke of how accession to the CU would lift the country out of economic crisis, only for Joomart Otorbaev to state that accession to the CU could cause economic and social crises.

Overall, compared to many of the other post-Soviet states, due to shared common values during Soviet times, some policy-makers referred to the positive aspects of occupation and some of the speeches strike an almost nostalgic tone when talking about what helps Eurasian states to bond; for example, common value orientations or a common educational and lingo-cultural space. While some of the speeches and statements made in Bishkek's parliament are against Eurasian integration, this is mostly for a domestic audience. For example, in one instance a Kyrgyz politician called those who support the EAEU "traitors".

Figure 41: Kyrgyzstan: Role conceptions across the two eras, 2010 - 2017



In terms of Kyrgyzstan’s role conceptions, there is a general consistency across the two eras in that they see themselves playing an equal role within the unity and will contribute as “committed” partners by promoting and developing integration. However, this support for the union comes across as lip service given the dearth of tangible role conceptions where policy-makers outline specific ideas over how their country can and will contribute. For example, despite Armenia’s general reluctance to be involved in the EAEU, once they had joined they adopted a pragmatic outlook and carved out a role as a bridging state; a role that exploited their inherent geographical advantages. There is a hint of the role of geography in determining role conceptions in Kyrgyzstan when, in 2015 (the year Kyrgyzstan formally acceded to the union), several of the speeches reference a potential role as a transit state. However, this role conception disappears in 2016 and there is just one mention in 2017. Given some of the self-presentation themes that exhibit passivity, pandering to Russia, or even explicit references to ceding some sovereignty, it even appears as though the role conception of equal partner is for a domestic audience to try and assuage public fears over integration rather than an actual expectation that Kyrgyz policy-makers hold for their role in the region.

In summary, there is a fascinating contrast in the Kyrgyz case between the image that is presented by policy-makers and the reality; what is *not* in the rhetoric is crucial: reading their speeches and statements it would be easy to get the impression that Kyrgyzstan was a relatively stable state that was fully committed to the union. There are few references to the frustrations of other partners at perceived procrastination, while the fractious domestic political environment is rarely mentioned at all. For Kyrgyzstan, it seems presenting the right image is

everything. However, across this time period, the country's policy-makers did not manage to ensure that the image they presented was cohesive. As Huskey argued, Kyrgyzstan has struggled to form a coherent national identity as a result of challenging geography, a history of occupation, and ethnic diversity. He argues that this has hindered their ability to interact on the international stage. This chapter has shown that there is some truth in this statement with the rhetoric reflecting a sense of overall disunity.

Chapter 6

Kazakh Case

6.1. Introduction

Kazakh or Kazakhstani? The challenge of defining national identity and the implications for role theory

On 16 December 1991, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan declared its independence. Like most other former Soviet states, with independence came the challenge of defining, even re-defining, their national identity and understanding the fundamental question of ‘who are we’? In theory, pinpointing an overarching national identity should be straightforward. It should be the observed set of attitudes, perceptions and behaviors which derive from the existing political, cultural and economic institutions of the state coupled with the symbols of the society in which they live. These symbols should include the state, citizenship, legislation, territorial structure, language, religion, history, etc. However, in Kazakhstan, even after nearly three decades of independence, it has become apparent that no definite, ubiquitous concept that applies to all its citizens exists.

The heart of the matter is the dichotomy that exists between those who identify as ethnically ‘Kazakh’ and those that identify as ‘Kazakhstani’. This issue of identity permeates all levels of society in Kazakhstan. One interesting example occurred in an interview with the famous boxer and national sporting hero, Gennady Golovkin, who was born in Karaganda in the Kazakh SSR in 1982, but is of mixed heritage. The bio on his English Wikipedia page cites his ethnicity as ‘Kazakhstani’⁴⁹³; an issue which has been the subject of several interviews with the boxer. In one such interview in 2013 Golovkin gave the following response to a question about his ethnicity: *‘Kogda menya sprashivayut o natsional'nosti, ya govoru: otets – russkiy. Mama – koreyanka, a men kazakpyn!’* The literal translation of this is ‘When they ask me about my nationality, I say: my father is Russian. My mother is Korean, and I am Kazakh.’⁴⁹⁴ Not only does he explicitly state that he is *Kazakh*, rather than *Kazakhstani*, but he also states this part of

⁴⁹³ Golovkin, Gennady. *Wikipedia*. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gennady_Golovkin (Accessed 22/11/2019)

⁴⁹⁴ Golovkin, Gennady, ГЕННАДИЙ ГОЛОВКИН: «МОЙ ОТЕЦ — РУССКИЙ, МАМА — КОРЕЯНКА, Я — КАЗАХ!» *AKBOXING.RU*, 25.04.2013. See: <http://www.arirang.ru/news/2013/13024.htm> (accessed 22/11/2019)

the sentence in the Kazakh language (*a men kazakpyn*) rather than Russian. This demonstrates his awareness of language as one of the most important symbols for the Kazakh people, while Russian is the preferred language of those who identify as Kazakhstani. An eloquent description of the complex and challenging nature of the debate was given in the article ‘Kazakhs do not wish to be Kazakhstani’ in the review of the Kazakh press, published in November 2007 in the newspaper *Megapolis* by journalist Serik Maleev.⁴⁹⁵ The salient point is this: however people prefer to refer to themselves, no blanket term for all citizens exists and this renders it challenging to define an overarching national identity.

It is important to understand that the distinction is not one of simple linguistic preference, but one with meaning rooted in history; in general terms, the ethnonym ‘Kazakh’ is used by the indigenous people of Kazakhstan to refer to themselves, by contrast, ‘Kazakhstani’ is a term that was used predominantly by the Soviets to refer to the people of Kazakhstan after multiple ethnic groups had been settled on the territory. Thus, for the people of Kazakhstan, the latter ethnonym possesses an inexorable connection with the Soviet era. As the famous Kazakh journalist Serik Maleev wrote in 2007: ‘Today we see before us the clearly outlined contours of the emerging, large, unified modernized community composed of various ethnic components, which, if desired, can be called Kazakhstani, although in reality, if we put aside any politesse, it would be better to call us Kazakhs.’⁴⁹⁶ Nevertheless, there are still a great number of individuals who identify as Kazakhstani and therefore reconciling these two identities into one cohesive national identity has proved to be an almost insurmountable challenge.

The word “Kazakhstan” itself is derived from Persian as ‘the land (or country) of the Kazakhs’;⁴⁹⁷ this highlights the historical connection between the country, its people, and the term ‘Kazakh’. In the modern era, the official name of the state is the Republic of Kazakhstan. This name was adopted immediately after independence was declared. However, in the summer of 1995, discussions on the formation of a new constitution took place between senior members of government. The initial version of the constitution suggested renaming the state to the “Kazakh Republic”.⁴⁹⁸ However, this proposal was met with strong resistance among the

⁴⁹⁵ Maleev, Serik. ‘Kazakhs do not wish to be Kazakhstani’. *Megapolis*. Vol. 6, No. 3-4. November 2007, See: https://zonakz.net/%22http://www.megapolis.kz/show_article.php?art_id=7193%22

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Ford, Matt. ‘Kazakhstan's President Is Tired of His Country's Name Ending in 'Stan', *The Atlantic*, 02/07/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2s8KxWG> (Accessed on 02/09/2017)

⁴⁹⁸ Kabdulova, K.D. ‘КОНСТИТУЦИЯ 1995 ГОДА – ОСНОВА СОЗИДАТЕЛЬНЫХ ПРЕОБРАЗОВАНИЙ НЕЗАВИСИМОГО КАЗАХСТАНА.’ *Открытая школа*. (“Open School”) Vol. 7, No. 178, 2018. See: <https://bit.ly/2QmyuNA>

developers of the basic law of non-Kazakh ethnicity. In the end, the name Republic of Kazakhstan was preserved.

An interesting comparison is Kazakhstan's southern neighbor Kyrgyzstan who *did* manage to rename their country officially to the Kyrgyz Republic. The issue in Kazakhstan is the greater level of competition for influence between Kazakhs and Kazakhstanis. During the Soviet era, Soviet identity took precedence over any others. Indeed, Soviet identity was considered to be a *de facto* national identity. 'Kazakhstani' was an artificially-created republican identity, while Kazakh identity was actively suppressed. In other words, in terms of a hierarchy of identity, ethnic Kazakhs were deemed to be part of the Kazakhstani community, which, in turn, was part of the Soviet people. The important point here is that during the Soviet era, Kazakh identity was pushed to the periphery while Soviet and Kazakhstani identities occupied a central position.

An example of the dominance of the Soviet over the Kazakh can be seen in the official flag of the Kazakh SSR. The flag is predominantly red with the golden hammer and sickle in the top left hand corner. Below it, running along the bottom of the flag, is a thin light blue strip. This light blue color has religious significance to Kazakhs in that it is supposed to be the color of the soul, while also representing the sky, unity and freedom. Of course, the Kazakh SSR flag has the light blue color at the bottom, subtly implying the subservient position of the Kazakh people in Soviet society.

Independence therefore offered the opportunity to reorient the position of the Kazakh people away from the periphery and closer to the more dominant central position of the country. In June 1992, a new flag which took the light blue theme as the main background color was adopted. In the center is a golden sun with rays in the shape of wheat to signify life and abundance. Under the sun is a *berkut*, an Asian Golden Eagle that is one of the most important and recognizable symbols in Kazakhstan. The adoption of this flag was the first major symbolic step towards re-asserting Kazakh identity. However, many of the political elites in Kazakhstan were still Soviet era Kazakhstanis who held a strong affinity and nostalgia for the Communist system and were concerned about the marginalization of Russian ideals. It was for this reason, for example, that the proposal to rename the country to the Kazakh Republic was rejected by policy-makers and the public alike.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁹ Xuequan, Mu. 'Deputies of Kazakhstan proposes Kazakh Republic as official country name', *Xinhua Net, Asia & Pacific*, 24/01/2019. See: http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/24/c_137769102.htm (Accessed on 24/01/2019)

So, if during the Soviet era the Kazakh identity was on the lowest tier of ethnic strata, post-independence they had at least achieved a degree of parity with those who still identified as Kazakhstani. However, in the nearly three decades since independence, the full cultural revival of Kazakh identity proved to be an elusive target. Indeed, it was not until 2017 that Kazakhstan began to fully implement reforms that aimed at reviving and promoting Kazakh national identity. Most notably, in October 2017, Nazarbayev announced the Latin alphabet would replace the Cyrillic alphabet in a bid to throw off some of the cultural and political influence of Russia and its Soviet past. The same year the program known as *Rukhani Zhangyru* was launched. The literal translation of this term is “cultural development”, but it is generally understood as a project to promote and cultivate the national identity of the country, hence its alternative name, the Modernization of National Identity Program.⁵⁰⁰ In essence, the mission is to instill a sense of both pride and awareness over Kazakh national identity given the issues that have been discussed above and the attempted erasure of national symbols and culture during the Soviet period. As a result, Kazakhstan may be moving towards a more cohesive and structured identity as ancient history, philosophy, literature etc. becomes codified once again and taught to the younger generations.

Nevertheless, the national identity of Kazakhstan remains a spectrum of identities rather than a monolithic identity. At each extreme of this spectrum are the Kazakh and Kazakhstani identities. The differences between the two are possibly irreconcilable since the promotion of Kazakh identity based on elements such as the nomadic way of life, Kazakh horses, yurts, folk music and language necessitates the marginalization of the non-indigenous Kazakhstanis who want to preserve Soviet and Russian values. Thus, although Kazakhstan is arguably currently more united than it has been in the last hundred years as a result of the *Rukhani Zhangyru* initiative, role conceptions and self-presentation are likely to be influenced by this underlying tension between the respective identities as the sources of these themes will differ between Kazakh and Kazakhstani policy-makers.

⁵⁰⁰ Zhumagulov, Talgat. ‘Rukhani Zhangyru Programme in Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy’, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 12/04/2018. See: <https://bit.ly/34WHE8p> (Accessed on 14/04/2018)

6.2. First Era: 2010 – 2014

6.2.1. Context

Although the first era of this study begins in 2010, it is important to note Kazakhstan's commitment to integration initiatives had been steadfast throughout the 1990s and 2000s. In the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the political elite of Kazakhstan recognized that the 'chaos of disintegration' could have disastrous and long-lasting effects on the smaller states that had been cast adrift by the recent political upheaval.⁵⁰¹ Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first President of Kazakhstan, was particularly vocal in signaling his desire for forming a union as quickly as possible in order to ensure that the Central Asian region did not collapse into further political disarray and economic obscurity.

However, for Nazarbayev, any subsequent union formed between regional partners should have an exclusively economic, and not political, agenda. He had witnessed the repressive policies of the USSR first hand and had no desire to cede his country's autonomy to another state, even referring to the 'feelings of joy for Kazakhstan' at finally receiving the independence they had 'longed for'.⁵⁰² Thus, any union that Kazakhstan entered into would be voluntary and based on the principle of mutual respect and equality. Nazarbayev's family history and upbringing had played a major role in defining his vision for Kazakhstan and the Eurasian region as a whole. He had lived through Joseph Stalin's regime and his family had been victims of Stalin's policy of collectivization; his family's farm had been seized forcing them live in the mountains as nomads. In 1962, Nazarbayev joined the Communist Party and slowly gained more responsibility. Crucially, many of his tasks involved dealing with the industrial disputes and the gripes of individual workers giving Nazarbayev a keen understanding of what made the everyday workers tick.⁵⁰³

By 1984, he had risen to the rank of Prime Minister of Kazakhstan, working under the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Dinmukhamed Kunaev – a staunch supporter of Brezhnev who had been in office since 1962. However, there were simmering tensions between Nazarbayev and Kunaev (classified by Nazarbayev as 'an intergenerational

⁵⁰¹ Nazarbayev, Nursultan cited in 'Eurasian Union: from idea to future history.' *Center for Strategic Assessment and Forecasts*. 26/10/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/38d1K18> (Accessed on 09/10/2017)

⁵⁰² Nazarbayev, Nursultan cited in «Из Декларации Президентов государств–членов Таможенного союза и Единого экономического Пространства Республики Беларусь, Республики Казахстан и Российской Федерации О ЕВРАЗИЙСКОЙ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОЙ» *ИНТЕГРАЦИИ .20 Лет Евразийскому Проекту*. 18/11/2011. p. 26

⁵⁰³ Aitken, Jonathan, 'Nazarbayev and the Making of Kazakhstan: From Communism to Capitalism', London: Continuum Books, 2009, pp.37-39

disagreement’)⁵⁰⁴ as well as suspicions of corruption. Furthermore, the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, had grown dissatisfied with Kunaev who he accused of not supporting the *Perestroika*.⁵⁰⁵ Gorbachev removed Kunaev from office in 1986 and replaced him with Gennady Kolbin. Kolbin had been born in Russia, had never worked or lived in the Kazakh SSR and did not speak the language. His outsider status led to great anger among the ethnic Kazakhs, who had grown increasingly frustrated with food shortages and the marginalization of Kazakh culture (including the language) and, from 16-19 December 1986, thousands of students gathered in peaceful protest at Brezhnev Square in Alma-Ata (today, Almaty).⁵⁰⁶

Unnerved by the mass-gathering, the Soviet administration sanctioned the use of Kazakhstan’s internal forces and the OMON (Mobile Special Purpose Unit), who specialized in riot control, to suppress what they considered to insurrectionary behavior. Exact numbers of casualties following the violent crackdown on the protesters are uncertain and much of the data has been erased. However, the US Library of Congress reports that around 200 people lost their lives as a result of the actions of the security forces, including executions (US Library of Congress).⁵⁰⁷ The protests became known simply as “*Jeltoqsan*” (meaning “December” in Kazakh).

For Nazarbayev specifically, and Kazakhstan in general, *Jeltoqsan* marked the ‘dawn of independence’.⁵⁰⁸ This is a sentiment that has been echoed in Kazakh media who also portray the events as opposition to the Soviet’s colonial rule and as a struggle for independence. The importance of *Jeltoqsan* in Kazakh identity cannot be understated – throughout Soviet rule, Kazakhstan found itself on the receiving end of many of the Soviet’s most brutal policies, including an artificially-created famine (known in Kazakhstan as the Goloshchekin genocide) which led to the deaths of around 42% of the population and made ethnic Kazakhs the minority in the country (falling from 60% of the population in 1926 to 38% by 1939).⁵⁰⁹ *Jeltoqsan* was the culmination of years of oppression and the passionate belief that sovereignty, tolerance, and peacefulness must remain the core values that determine international interactions.

⁵⁰⁴ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. *Nursultan Nazarbayev: My Life, My Times and the Future*, Peter J. Conradi trans. London: Pilkington Press, 1998

⁵⁰⁵ Kazinform International News Agency, *Nursultan Nazarbayev. A life story of the first President of Kazakhstan*, London: Stacy International Publishing House, 2013, Chapter 4

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ US Library of Congress. ‘Country Studies: Kazakstan (sic), Reform and Nationalist Conflict’. See: <http://countrystudies.us/kazakstan/6.htm> (Accessed on 11/10/2017)

⁵⁰⁸ Kazinform International News Agency, *Nursultan Nazarbayev. A life story of the first President of Kazakhstan* (Stacy International Publishing House, London, 2013). Chapter 4

⁵⁰⁹ Volkava, Elena. ‘The Kazakh Famine of 1930-33 and the Politics of History in the Post-Soviet Space’. *Wilson Center, Kennan Institute*. 02/05/2012. See: <https://bit.ly/36f0qJj> (Accessed on 15/10/2017)

It was also these values that formed the basis of Nazarbayev's thinking and on 24 April 1990 he was named the first President of Kazakhstan. However, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Nazarbayev was also acutely aware of the precarious position that Kazakhstan now found itself in. He was the head of a country with a population of just 16.5 million spread over 2,724,900 square kilometers. Infrastructure was in a poor state and in the first five years of his Presidency, Kazakhstan saw industrial production fall by 52% due to the absence of Soviet support.⁵¹⁰ According to the World Bank, Kazakhstan's GDP in 1990 was \$27 billion; by 1995 this had fallen to \$20.4 billion and had reached a low of \$16.9 billion in 1999 (World Bank).⁵¹¹

In Nazarbayev's opinion, unlocking the indisputable economic potential of the country hinged upon their ability to successfully integrate with regional partners, particularly reigniting bilateral ties with Russia who were seen as the key to Kazakhstan's economic success. Thus, on 21 December 1991, on Nazarbayev's 'persistent initiative', a summit between the leaders of eleven post-Soviet States was held in Alma-Ata and the Alma-Ata Protocol, which established the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was signed.⁵¹² According to Nazarbayev, the creation of the CIS 'drew a line under the short, but difficult, historical period of the collapse of the superpower and, at the same time, became the starting point of the new integration process in the post-Soviet space.'⁵¹³

Indeed, throughout the 1990s Kazakhstan's commitment to integration initiatives remained steadfast. In March 1994, Nazarbayev gave an address in the academic auditorium of the Moscow State University where he addressed the leaders of the former Soviet Union and implored them to 'pull out of the stupor' that they found themselves in just two years after the CIS had been established.⁵¹⁴ The CIS was intended to act as an equivalent to the European Union by bolstering trade, but a lack of commitment had hindered progress and, in 2008, Georgia withdrew completely. According to Nazarbayev, only through hard work and perseverance would the region's economic potential be fully realized and, in 2000, another

⁵¹⁰ "Country Profile: Kazakhstan, December 2006". *Library of Congress – Federal Research Division*. p. 8, See: <https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Kazakhstan.pdf>

⁵¹¹ World Bank. GDP (current US\$) – Kazakhstan.

See: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=KZ> (Accessed 13/11/2019)

⁵¹² Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'ЕВРАЗИЯ: от идеи – к интеграции', 26/11/2011. *ИЗВЕСТИЯ*. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/евразия%202015.pdf

⁵¹³ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'Astana should become the capital of the Eurasian Union: Nazarbayev's reply to Putin', *Military Review*, 27/10/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2qxh8o4> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁵¹⁴ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. Speech from March 1994 cited in '20 years of Eurasian project'. *Eurasian Economic Commission*. 2014, p. 28. See: <https://bit.ly/2QgnsJv>

integration initiative, the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was formed by Russia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan at a summit that took place in Astana. The EurAsEC's focus was narrower in scope and sought to promote mutually beneficial economic growth between the member states.

Crucially, during the years prior to the first era as defined in this study, Kazakhstan's approach to integration initiatives remained consistent; Kazakhstan (and Almaty and Astana in particular) hosted numerous summits over the years and the country's political elites were also keen to demonstrate their unwavering commitment to the region and to mutual economic prosperity through cooperation. Indeed, Nazarbayev and his administration's approach to integration derives from Lev Gumilyov's theory of Eurasianism that was popular among Russian thinkers in the first half of the 20th century. It argues that voluntary participation and mutual economic interests should define integration initiatives, not political concepts or 'abstract geopolitical ideas and slogans.'⁵¹⁵ This concept is so important to the Kazakh approach that Nazarbayev even named one of the Astana's first universities after Gumilyov: the L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University.

6.2.2. The Creation of the Customs Union

On 1 January 2010, the Eurasian Customs Union (CU) was signed by Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. It was publicly announced as a full-scale integration of the Eurasian continent and as a new model for the successful development of the region post-crisis world. Primarily, it involved the introduction of common external tariffs on any goods that entered the Union, while all member states agreed not to exact levies on goods that are traded internally. The CU was introduced as one of the 'principal tasks' of the EurAsEC until it was subsumed under the broader initiative of the EAEU in 2014.⁵¹⁶

The CU involved five priority areas: First, promoting trade and open borders between member states. This involved additional reforms for regulating trade flows which would limit the possibility of regional protectionism. Although the CU began this process in 2010, it would be developed over the years and would eventually lead to the cheaper and faster movement of goods and services between member states. Second, the development of common transport and

⁵¹⁵ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. "Евразийский Союз: от идеи к истории будущего", *Izvestiya*, 25/10/2011. See: <http://izvestia.ru/news/504908> (Accessed on 12/10/2017)

⁵¹⁶ Customs Code of the Customs Union as amended on 05/08/2015. Appendix to the Agreement on the Customs Code of the Customs Union, adopted by the Decision of the EurAsEC Interstate Council at the level of Heads of State of November 27, 2009

communication infrastructure with the objective of connecting Europe and Asia. The propositions included the formation of global transport and communication hubs which used the latest logistics and information technologies standards in order to significantly reduce transaction costs. Third, the stimulation of mutual investments and technological exchange. Nazarbayev argued that large-scale integration would be impossible without the generation and reorientation of significant investment flows.⁵¹⁷ Thus, the creation of a favorable investment climate within the continent was seen as an essential step. Fourth, the establishment of common capital markets. This would entail the integration of European and Asian financial markets, the improvement and harmonization of financial regulation, and the implementation of common approaches to risk management to help build a stable financial system that effectively complements the trade and investment flows on the continent. The aim of this task was to maximize the involvement of Asian countries. Fifth, the development of deeper cultural and humanitarian connections between the people of the region through closer economic integration. This included the promotion of sport and tourism, common industrial development, as well as specific projects dedicated to sharing ecological, medical and educational expertise.

These five tasks were established by Nazarbayev in July 2010 at the III Astana Economic Forum and, in his concluding statement he said ‘[i]n the future, to develop relevant decisions on the implementation of this Declaration, I propose to use the site of the Astana Economic Forum.’⁵¹⁸ This statement was emblematic of the desire of Kazakh policy-makers to be seen as the progenitors of Eurasian integration and as the country that is best placed to drive initiatives forward. For example, Nazarbayev had also stated that ‘[t]wo years ago, in the very center of Eurasia, we [Kazakhstan] started a very important conversation about the problems and prospects of national economies.’⁵¹⁹ Here, the President wants to present the country as a crucial member of the Eurasian region; he highlights the country’s favorable geographical location at the center of Eurasia and states that it was Kazakhstan itself that initiated conversations about integration. It is not the only time that Nazarbayev refers to the importance of Kazakhstan, in the same speech he states that ‘Kazakhstan, being in the heart of the continent, can be the initiator and coordinator of Eurasian integration.’⁵²⁰ Here, through a reference to being the heart, the country is presented as geographically well-positioned and also as the committed driving force behind the integration initiatives as both an initiator and coordinator.

⁵¹⁷ Nazarbayev, Nursultan speech from 01/07/2010 in E.B. Sydykov ed. *‘N.A. Nazarbayev and Eurasia: a collection of selected articles and statements by the head of the state’* (Astana: L.N. Gumilyov ENU, 2012). See: <https://bit.ly/3fNEI15>

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

It is interesting that he references the country as the geographical center of Eurasia; not only is Eurasia a vague geographical concept with no clearly delineated borders, but even if it were, Kazakhstan would not necessarily be at its 'heart'. The fact that Nazarbayev states that they are the center presents the country as crucial to the success of the region and is also testament to the role that he sees the country playing, namely one that will act as the driving force behind any union. It should therefore be considered as simultaneously a self-presentation theme and a role conception.

Much of the rhetoric reflects the themes that had emerged in the 1990s and the early 2000s, specifically that Kazakh policy-makers continued to express their whole-hearted support for integration initiatives. However, one key difference in the rhetoric is that speeches and statements from Kazakh policy-makers in previous years seemed to be linked mostly to addressing the problems of, and prospects for, national economies. In 2010, there were the first signs in the rhetoric that exposure to the 'very weak' global economy could be mitigated by adopting an economically pragmatic approach and promoting closer Eurasian integration.⁵²¹ In other words, integration was the solution to the great uncertainty that most states were facing in the post-financial crisis world. For example, Nazarbayev stated that 'Today it is obvious that no country in the world can develop separately...', and 'I am a staunch supporter of deep and consistent integration processes on the Eurasian continent.'⁵²²

As discussed in the previous section, there is a great deal of national pride in being Kazakh; however, pride in the Eurasian region is also something which is often discussed, particularly in the context of the region realizing its huge economic potential. As Nazarbayev himself stated in 2010, 'the Eurasian continent accounts for more than half of the world's production. It is home to two thirds of world's population. In the coming decades, the importance of this continent will only grow.'⁵²³ Unlike many of its regional partners such as Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, Kazakhstan stands out as more of a champion for the potential of the Eurasian region and the role it can not only competing with the West and the Far East, but also supplementing their economies. Again, Nazarbayev exhibits a degree of economic pragmatism when he states 'I want to emphasize that the integration of Europe and Asia will have large-

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Nazarbayev, Nursultan speech from 01/07/2010 in E.B. Sydykov ed. *'N.A. Nazarbayev and Eurasia: a collection of selected articles and statements by the head of the state'* (Astana: L.N. Gumilyov ENU, 2012). See: <https://bit.ly/3fNEI15>

scale synergistic effect, having a positive impact on the economic development and social well-being of not only the Eurasian continent, but also the new post-crisis world.⁵²⁴

Interestingly, at no point in the speeches and statements of 2010, do Kazakh policy-makers mention the idea of closer *political* ties or mention Russia in any context other than to mention their role as co-founders of various initiatives or to express their importance to Kazakhstan as a trading partner. For many ethnic Kazakhs, the memories of the Cold War and Soviet occupation are still fresh and this permeates much of the thinking of Kazakh policy-makers. Russia is viewed as an indispensable partner from an economic perspective, but there is a general sense of opposition to the idea of ceding any form of political sovereignty to the hegemon. In fact, from the speeches and statements analyzed from 2010, several clear self-presentation themes and role conceptions emerge, these are:

	2010		2010
Supporter of EAEU / CU	2	Committed Member	3
Sovereign	1	Center of the integration	2
Economic pragmatism	1	Integration driver	2
Indispensable	1	Progenitor / initiator	1
Stable	1	Coordinator	1
Mature	1	Leader	1
Heart of the integration	1	Equal / voluntary union promoter	1
Ambitious	1	Economic union Promoter	1

Figure 42: Self-presentation themes (L), role conceptions (R), 2010

It is interesting to note that even at this early stage, Kazakhstan, unlike the other case study states, displays eight role conceptions. During the first era, the other states tend to make oblique references to acting as bridging states or being generally ‘committed’ the idea of a union. However, tangible, practical ideas of how they could contribute are lacking. This is not the case with Kazakhstan. Overall, the country is presented as a stable and mature state that not only wholeheartedly supports integration initiatives, but is also the founder of several projects and is able to carry them forward. Eurasia is viewed in Kazakhstan as the platform for growth in the future and, as such, policy-makers tend to praise the potential of the region. This is not a role conception as such given that it is not linked to how *Kazakhstan* wishes to be viewed.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

Instead it is more a strategic theme of promoting the region that comes across as an attempt to encourage foreign investment or to encourage other regional leaders to assist with integration.

As alluded to earlier, a further theme that is evident is that any integration project should be focused on economic growth and trade, not politics. For example, economics is referred to seven times in Nazarbayev's speech, which took place at the III Astana Economic Forum. By contrast, politics or political integration is not mentioned even once.⁵²⁵ In other words, the rhetoric from speeches and statements in 2010 reveal that Kazakh policy-makers exhibited the belief that through cooperation between partners who have all entered into integration agreements voluntarily and as equal partners, the full economic potential of the region can be fulfilled.

6.2.3. 2011: The Creation of the Common Economic Space

Interestingly, many of the themes that emerge in the rhetoric in 2010 continue into 2011. Many of the speeches and statements during this year concerned the creation of the Common Economic Space (CES). This was the next step of the CU which proposed the free movement of goods, people, services and capital between member states. Although the CES would not formally enter into force until 2012, its creation had been guaranteed by the signing of three treaties between its founding members, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia. The first in 2003 which ensured that it would be created at some stage in the near future. The second in 2007 which guaranteed its formation and the third in November 2011 when the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council, which comprised representatives from Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan, outlined the details for the establishment of the CES. Its purpose, according to Nazarbayev, was 'crystallizing the national interests of the new independent states, searching for the optimal model of Eurasian integration and the hopes of millions of ordinary people.'⁵²⁶ This concept of 'crystallizing the national interests' implies that he wants to ensure the sovereignty of each state is preserved through equal and voluntary integration while simultaneously seeking the most economically pragmatic outcome for all involved.

⁵²⁵ Nazarbayev, Nursultan speech from 01/07/2010 in E.B. Sydykov ed. *'N.A. Nazarbayev and Eurasia: a collection of selected articles and statements by the head of the state'* (Astana: L.N. Gumilyov ENU, 2012). See: <https://bit.ly/3fNEI15>

⁵²⁶

Nazarbayev, Nursultan. "Евразийский Союз: от идеи к истории будущего", *Izvestiya*, 25/10/2011. See: <http://izvestia.ru/news/504908> (Accessed on 12/10/2017)

The President of Kazakhstan continued with a message of support for closer integration. During an interview with Novosti and Interfax, he stated that ‘in today’s globalizing world, it is impossible to imagine a state locked within its borders. This is a dead end, it is stagnation for a country.’⁵²⁷ Karim Massimov, the then Prime Minister of Kazakhstan, echoed this sentiment with his statement that ‘... there is no alternative to the implementation of our integration plans in the modern world.’⁵²⁸ Nazarbayev’s stance in the interview displays Kazakhstan’s unwavering support for the idea of integration while Massimov references ‘our integration plans’ – this clearly presents the country as not only wholeheartedly committed to the project, but also as the progenitor of the idea and the driving force behind it with power that equals that of the hegemon. This is a fairly assertive reference to the role that Kazakhstan played and, in fact, many of the themes which emerge from the rhetoric in 2011 are identical to those exhibited in 2010. The main difference in 2011 is that the rhetoric is more forceful. For example, in 2010 Nazarbayev merely hints at the fact that Kazakhstan played a defining role (‘we started a very important conversation’), in 2011 he explicitly states that the idea of Eurasian integration was ‘[a]dopted on the Kazakhstani initiative, with my most active personal participation,’ and later that ‘I have always believed that objectively Kazakhstan and Russia are the locomotives of Eurasian integration.’⁵²⁹ There is no equivocation here; Eurasian integration is presented as a Kazakh idea while his use of the term “locomotives” conjures up the image of Kazakhstan as a powerful state that is physically driving other member states towards a more efficient and effective integration for the benefit of the Eurasian region.

For Kazakh policy-makers, the idea that the country can play an important role in connecting the economic interests of East and West as a bridging state emerges in the rhetoric. On 25 October 2011, Nazarbayev gave an interview that was published in the Russian Newspaper *Izvestiya*, he stated that the country can act as a ‘global competitor, a developed part of the Euro-Atlantic and Asian areas’, and a ‘bridge between dynamic developments in the EU, the East, the South-East and South Asia’⁵³⁰. Here he presents the country as a mature and economically-developed state; a bridge must be stable and this is precisely how Kazakh policy-makers see their state.

⁵²⁷ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. *RIA Novosti and Izvestiya*, 19/11/2011. See:

<http://repository.enu.kz/bitstream/handle/123456789/6900/evraziiskii-soyuz.pdf>

⁵²⁸ Massimov, Karim. ‘Карим Масимов, премьер-министр Казахстана: Альтернативы интеграции нет’, *MK in Kazakhstan*,. 20/12/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2uhDQSy> (Accessed on 07/11/2017)

⁵²⁹ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘ЕВРАЗІЯ: от идеи – к интеграции’, *Izvestiya*, 26/10/2011, See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/евразия%202015.pdf

⁵³⁰ Nazarbayev, Nursultan cited in Mostafa, Golam and Mahmood, Monowar. ‘Eurasian Economic Union: Evolution, challenges and possible future directions’. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 9, 2018, p.164

Belarus and Russia were seen as particularly important to Kazakhstan's integration strategy; in the first half of 2011 alone, the total trade turnover between each of the three countries increased by one third and reached a value of \$ 100 billion by the end of the year – this was 13% more than in 2010. Moreover, the most rapidly growing volumes of cross-border trade were between Kazakhstan and Russia with growth in some sectors exceeding 40% annual growth in value terms.⁵³¹ The importance of Belarussian and Russian involvement in the CU was emphasized by both the President and the Prime Minister. Nazarbayev stated that 'The Customs Union has expanded the boundaries of the market for Kazakhstani manufacturers to Brest and Vladivostok. In 2011, our exports to Russia grew by 60%, and to Belarus more than 2.3 times. Restrictions on movement within a single customs territory of foreign currency have been lifted. The same happened for commodity producers of Russia and Belarus.'⁵³² Similarly, Massimov stated

The combined GDP of the three countries is almost two trillion dollars, the industrial potential is estimated at 600 billion dollars, the volume of agricultural output is about 112 billion dollars, and the total consumer market is more than 165 million people.⁵³³

The purpose of rhetoric of this nature is not merely to pat each other on the back for a job well done. It is also intended to encourage other states in the region to consider joining. For example, Nazarbayev specifically singles out Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan as two states that may benefit from joining given that it is the logical next step following on from the CU. Again, by championing regional integration, Kazakhstan presents itself as the engine in a region that is well-positioned for rapid growth. Indeed, Eurasia is spoken of very fondly in the speeches and statements in 2011 as a region that draws its strength through its cultural, religious and linguistic diversity as well as the unifying factor of a shared recent history. In his speech, Nazarbayev raises the interesting point of an emerging Eurasian identity which supplements the national identity in Kazakhstan. He states:

Today, our people increasingly perceive themselves as part of an emerging Eurasian identity with its cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, but with a common desire for fruitful economic interaction and good neighborliness. We all witness the birth of a new unique

⁵³¹ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'ЕВРАЗІЯ: от идеи – к интеграции', *Izvestiya*. 26/10/2011, See: <https://bit.ly/30AGbon>

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Massimov, Karim. 'Карим Масимов, премьер-министр Казахстана: Альтернативы интеграции нет', *MK in Kazakhstan*, 20/12/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2uhDQSy> (Accessed on 07/11/2017)

Eurasian community of nations, which has not only a wealth of experience in sharing the past, but also an indivisible common history of the future.⁵³⁴

Here we also see the interesting theme of ‘economic interaction and good neighborliness’ – the ‘wealth of experience in sharing the past’ that he mentions is of course the Soviet occupation that all of the states experienced during the 20th century. It is for this reason that ‘economic interaction’ is emphasized along with respect for partners while the political aspects of integration are intentionally omitted. For Kazakhstan, this is a crucial point and policy-makers are often quick to reiterate the fact that any Eurasian integration projects are in no way an attempt to revive the Soviet Union. For example, on 26 October, Nazarbayev stated that ‘There is no “restoration” or “reincarnation” of the USSR, nor will there be. These are just phantoms of the past, speculation and more speculation. And in this, our views fully coincide with the leadership of Russia, Belarus and other countries.’⁵³⁵

Instead, Kazakhstan presents the idea of Eurasian integration as cooperative, mutually beneficial and founded on respect for each other’s sovereignty. For example, Massimov states that ‘This [the CU] is a voluntary, pragmatic, beneficial cooperation for all parties. And so it attracts us, Kazakhstan, and all partners in these associations.’⁵³⁶ Indeed, in 2011, the word “pragmatic” is mentioned four times in the speeches and statements, “mutual” is also mentioned four times in conjunction with “benefit” (2), “respect” (1), and “support” (1). “Voluntary” is mentioned five times as is “equal” (or equality). The Kazakh perspective at this stage is perhaps best summed up by Nazarbayev who states that ‘I initially saw the Eurasian Union as an association of states based on the principles of equality, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of state borders.’⁵³⁷

It is not just the policy-makers of Kazakhstan who support these ideals of Eurasian integration; on 3 April 2011, the country held Presidential elections. The elections had originally been scheduled for 2012, but were brought forward at Nazarbayev’s insistence after the President rejected parliamentary plans to hold a referendum on dropping term limits. According to Nazarbayev, extending his term limit would have ‘set the wrong precedent for future

⁵³⁴ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘ЕВРАЗИЯ: от идеи – к интеграции’, *Izvestiya*. 26/10/2011, See: <https://bit.ly/30AGbon>

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Massimov, Karim. ‘Карим Масимов, премьер-министр Казахстана: Альтернативы интеграции нет’, *MK in Kazakhstan*, 20/12/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2uhDQSy> (Accessed on 07/11/2017)

⁵³⁷ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘ЕВРАЗИЯ: от идеи – к интеграции’, *Izvestiya*, 26/10/2011. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/евразия%202015.pdf

politicians.⁵³⁸ With a weakened opposition to the President, Nazarbayev emerged victorious with 95.5% of the vote and an 89.5% turnout.⁵³⁹ Although some observers were critical of the vote, many Eurasian commentators interpreted the victory as evidence of the overwhelming support from the Kazakh public, not just for Nazarbayev, but also for Eurasian integration and the President's vision for bolstering the economic prospects of the region. This viewpoint was reaffirmed in January 2012 when Parliamentary elections were held and the President's Nur-Otan party was victorious again. This prompted a Russian news agency *Golos-Ameriki*, (Voice of America – a Russian language news agency that examines foreign news stories with their own interpretation) argued that his victory demonstrated the ‘full support of the Eurasian Union initiative by the Kazakh society.’ They wrote that Eurasia and the Customs Union was a prominent theme of the election, specifically that it was the Nur-Otan party's ‘priority direction’. They also argued that the fact that 80 percent of the votes went to Nur-Otan was evidence that ‘not only the political elite aspires to a new union.’⁵⁴⁰ This stands in stark contrast to the views of Kyrgyzstan or Armenia, for example, in these states there is a disconnect between the political elites and the people over the viability of integration and how beneficial it will be. Kazakhstan presents a more stable and united image.

	2011		2011
Supporter of EAEU / CU	4	Committed member	5
Sovereign	3	Center of the integration	1
Assertive	1	Integration driver	3
Economic pragmatism	3	Progenitor initiator	2
Shared History	2	Coordinator	1
Mature	2	Leader	2
Stable	2	Equal / voluntary union promoter	3
Heart of the integration	1	Bridging State	1
Ambitious	1	Economic union Promoter	3

Figure 43: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2011

⁵³⁸ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘Досрочные выборы президента Казахстана назначены на 3 апреля’, *Deutsche Welle*. 04/02/2011. See: <https://bit.ly/2So4jYN> (Accessed on 08/10/2017)

⁵³⁹ *The Economist*. ‘Outdoing himself’, 04/05/2011.

See: <https://www.economist.com/banyan/2011/04/05/outdoing-himself> (Accessed 08/10/2017)

⁵⁴⁰ Laukkanen, Anastasia. ‘Будет ли Казахстан лидером евразийской интеграции?’ *Golos-Ameriki*, 19/01/2012. See: <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/kazakstan-future-prognosis-2012-01-19-137689303/250139.html> (Accessed on 11/10/2017)

6.2.4. 2012: Formation of the Common Economic Space

On 1 January 2012, the Common Economic Space formally entered into force with the purpose of giving ‘a new impulse to the development of closer integration and harmonization of their [the member states’] economies with a view to enhancing social progress and improving the welfare of their peoples;’, ‘confirming the friendly relations linking their States and peoples, wishing to ensure the flourishing of those relations,’ and ‘Respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and pledging non-interference in internal affairs;’.⁵⁴¹ After its formation, Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Foreign Minister, gave an annual address where he stated that ‘the flow of integration processes in the CIS space’ and the creation of a supranational body - the Eurasian Economic Commission was ‘the most important result of the year’.⁵⁴²

Nevertheless, outside of the Eurasian region, perceptions of the Customs Union and the CES contrasted starkly with the views from countries within these initiatives. In December 2012, the FT reported that the Customs Union was a ‘new Soviet Union’ and quoted the former US secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, who had stated:

It’s not going to be called that [USSR]. It’s going to be called customs union, it will be called Eurasian Union and all of that ... But let’s make no mistake about it. We know what the goal is and we are trying to figure out effective ways to slow down or prevent it.⁵⁴³

She implied that it was Russia’s integration project and a desperate attempt to regain lost ground in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. There is some truth to this, Mostafa and Mahmood argue that the CU ‘allows Moscow to present an image of itself as a great Eurasian power that enhances its own self-esteem and, supposedly, its standing in the eyes of foreign audiences.’⁵⁴⁴

However, not everyone shares this view; the original treaty, the AGREEMENT ON A CUSTOMS UNION AND A COMMON ECONOMIC ZONE, does not mention politics or

⁵⁴¹ Agreement on a Customs Union and a Common Economic Zone (Translation). Volume 2212, I-39320, p.219. See: https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/acucez/trt_acucez.pdf

⁵⁴² Lavrov, Sergey. Глава МИД РФ Сергей Лавров: итоги года’, *Interfax*, 26/12/2011. See: <https://www.interfax.ru/interview/223795> (Accessed on 11/09/2017)

⁵⁴³ Clinton, Hilary cited in Clover, Charles. ‘Clinton vows to thwart new Soviet Union’. *Financial Times*. 06/12/2012. See: <https://www.ft.com/content/a5b15b14-3fcf-11e2-9f71-00144feabdc0> (Accessed on 02/09/2019)

⁵⁴⁴ Mostafa, Golam and Mahmood, Monowar. ‘Eurasian Economic Union: Evolution, challenges and possible future directions’. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 9, 2018, p. 164

ideology once, but mentions economics fifty-seven times.⁵⁴⁵ The editor-in-chief of Russia in Global Politics Fedor Lukyanov stated that ‘despite the fact that in the West, the Eurasian Union is interpreted solely as Putin’s desire to restore the USSR, in fact, for the first time, an attempt is being made to build a reasonable economic model necessary for all participants.’⁵⁴⁶ Furthermore, Carnegie Europe wrote ‘For some EU member states, the customs union is Moscow’s new attempt to rebuild its empire. But this is not just a political project; the union has a practical side. The EU must accept that members were not coerced to join.’⁵⁴⁷ This is precisely the stance that Kazakh policy-makers take to Eurasian integration. After all, the CIS was formed in Almaty and it was Nazarbayev who first coined the term “Eurasian Union” back in 1994. Since then, most of the rhetoric by policy-makers has highlighted, not only Kazakhstan’s indispensable role, but also the voluntary and predominantly economic nature of integration projects. Even Stanislav Chernyavsky, the former Soviet diplomat and director of the Center for Post-Soviet Studies at MGIMO, refers to Kazakhstan, not Russia, as ‘the leader of Eurasian integration’.⁵⁴⁸ This is more than just words: in 2012 over a thousand Russian companies relocated their businesses to Kazakhstan due to more favorable taxation policies, more liberal laws and better business conditions.⁵⁴⁹ This prompted Azat Peruashev, the chairman of the liberal Kazakh democratic party, Ak Zhol, to state that ‘We have something to learn from our neighbors, and we have something to show them.’⁵⁵⁰ Here, he presents Kazakhstan as a country with innovative ideas, but he also adopts a fairly modest tone by arguing that respect for partners’ contributions and an integration based on equality is the most mutually-beneficial way of developing the project.

As was discussed earlier, Kazakhstan recognizes that the lack of success of the CIS project is a result of revolutions and political upheaval in other Eurasian states, infighting between members, and, crucially, different expectations over what the initiative entailed (i.e. is it, or should it be, an ideological integration?) It is due to these missteps during the early days of the

⁵⁴⁵ AGREEMENT ON A CUSTOMS UNION AND A COMMON ECONOMIC ZONE. Volume 2212, I-39320. (Capitals in original document)

⁵⁴⁶ Lukyanov, Fedor. 'Будет ли Казахстан лидером евразийской интеграции?' *Golos-Ameriki.Ru*, 19/01/2012. See: <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/kazakstan-future-prognosis-2012-01-19-137689303/250139.html> (Accessed on 07/09/2017)

⁵⁴⁷ Shumylo-Tapiola, Olga. 'The Eurasian Customs Union: Friend or Foe of the EU?', *Carnegie Europe, The Carnegie Papers*. October 2012, p.1
See: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/customs_union2.pdf

⁵⁴⁸ Chernyavsky, Stanislav. 'Будет ли Казахстан лидером евразийской интеграции?' *Golos-Ameriki.Ru*, 19/01/2012 See: <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/kazakstan-future-prognosis-2012-01-19-137689303/250139.html> (Accessed on 07/09/2017)

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ Peruashev, Azat. 'Будет ли Казахстан лидером евразийской интеграции?' *Golos-Ameriki.Ru*, 19/01/2012. See: <https://www.golos-ameriki.ru/a/kazakstan-future-prognosis-2012-01-19-137689303/250139.html> (Accessed on 07/09/2017)

CIS that Kazakhstan is careful to highlight the economic, rather than political, nature of all subsequent initiatives. For example, Peruashev stated that ‘We need to move from declarations to action [and] convert macroeconomic indicators into advantages for every citizen and enterprise. This is an applied economy.’ There is no hint of any kind of political union, merely taking pragmatic steps to ensure that the mutually-beneficial aspects of Eurasian integration do not remain ‘virtual’.⁵⁵¹ This concept was developed further by Kairat Kelimbetov who stated during a panel session at a conference in St. Petersburg, that Eurasian integration transcends traditional concepts of political union and belongs instead to a more modern ‘geo-cultural or geo-economic identity’. It is this form of collective identity that has influenced integration projects such as the CIS, EurAsEC, the Common Economic Space and, crucially, the nature of the cooperation between members.

In general terms, as Mostafa and Mahmood write, Kazakhstan is by far the most enthusiastic supporter of Eurasian integration.⁵⁵² Much of this stems from the fact that Kazakhstan recognizes the challenge it faces in exporting its goods. The International Maritime Organization estimates that 90% of world trade is by sea and although Kazakhstan does have a coast to its west, it looks out into the Caspian Sea, which is in fact the world’s largest lake.⁵⁵³ As a result, improving trading routes in order to augment and diversify their developing economy is an essential component of their strategy. Bolat Baikadamov, director of the Institute of Parliamentarism of the NDP ‘Nur-Otan’, argues precisely this when he states in Kazakhstan, improving and developing local (i.e. Eurasian) structures is crucial to the country’s ability to resist global economic pressures.⁵⁵⁴ In order to achieve this vision, Kazakhstan tends to promote itself as a bridge between the East and West. Geographically, this makes perfect sense as the country borders Uzbekistan, China, Russia, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan and, in the past, the country was a major trading route along the Great Silk Road which merchants would use to export exotic goods to Europe. This role as a bridging state was emphasized in June 2012 by Imangal Tasmagambetov, the Mayor (Akim) of Astana at the time. During a welcoming speech at a plenary session he stated that Kazakhstan had selected a role for itself as Eurasia’s gateway. Echoing the rhetoric used by Nazarbayev in 2010, Tasmagambetov stated that ‘Astana is the heart of Eurasia and the gate to the Customs Union.’ As a result, Astana’s main advantage is

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Mostafa, Golam and Mahmood, Monowar. ‘Eurasian Economic Union: Evolution, challenges and possible future directions’. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 9, 2018, p. 165

⁵⁵³ International Maritime Organization (IMO). ‘Overview’. See: <https://business.un.org/en/entities/13> (Accessed on 02/08/2019)

⁵⁵⁴ Baikadamov, Bolat. ‘ОБЗОР публикаций о деятельности Парламента Республики Казахстан в средствах массовой информации с 1 по 8 октября 2012 года’, *Mazhilis of the parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, 08/10/2012. See: <http://www.parlam.kz/en/mazhilis/news-details/id448/2/1> (Accessed on 07/11/2017)

the presence of a ‘well-established investment platform for the development of modern production’.⁵⁵⁵

As with the previous two years, there is remarkable consistency in the role and themes presented by Kazakh policy-makers. Again, the rhetoric shows their support for integration and the desire to emphasize their role in initiating the various projects and driving them forward. The speeches and statements still highlight the potential of the Eurasian region, but in no uncertain terms states that the reason for integration is pragmatic and based on economic concerns, not the reconstruction of the USSR. Lastly, the rhetoric in 2012 highlights the role that Kazakhstan should play as a bridging state in a more forceful manner than in previous years indicating that as Eurasian integration initiatives began to advance and develop more formally, the prospects for the country being able to fulfill this role became more realistic. For example, Kelimbetov states that ‘one of the niches of our space is the solution it provides on questions of global energy security, both for Europe and in Asia. I think this is the direction that we should work together and jointly find opportunities for both cooperation, and for development.’⁵⁵⁶

	2012		2012
Supporter of EAEU / CU	3	Committed member	2
Sovereign	1	Center of the integration	1
Assertive	1	Integration driver	2
Economic pragmatism	3	Coordinator	1
Mature	2	Equal / voluntary union promoter	2
Heart of the integration	2	Economic union promoter	3
Ambitious	2	Bridging State	3

Figure 44: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2012

6.2.5. 2013 – frustrations emerge

It was during 2013 that discussions for the creation of a Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) began to gather pace. The idea had been suggested by Nazarbayev in 2011 and, in October 2013, in October, a summit between the leaders of three countries – Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia – took place in Minsk and the decision to create a Eurasian Union was formally taken

⁵⁵⁵ Tasmagambetov, Imangali. ‘Астана сердце евразии и ворота в Таможенный Союз’, *Newstravel*, 05/06/2012. See: <http://newstravel.kz/news/astana-serdce-evrazii-i-vorota-v-tamozhennyj-soyuz/> (Accessed on 01/12/2017)

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

by the prospective members. It was agreed at the summit that all interstate procedures necessary for entering the treaty on the union should be finished by May 2014. The EAEU was intended to upgrade and merge the CU and CES that were already in existence. Its mission statement declared that the EAEU was:

motivated by the desire to strengthen the economies of the member States of the Eurasian Economic Union and to ensure their harmonious development and convergence, as well as to ensure sustainable growth in business activity, balanced trade and fair competition, ensuring economic progress by means of joint activities intended to solve faced by member States of the Eurasian Economic Union common problems on sustainable economic development, comprehensive modernization and strengthening the competitiveness of national economies within the framework of the global economy.⁵⁵⁷

However, the road to transforming the CU and CES into the Eurasian Union faced a number of challenges along the way and Kazakh policy-makers began to express their frustration. The date for the formation of the EAEU was pushed back to January 2015 prompting some mild criticism from policy-makers such as Daniyal Akhmetov, the former Kazakh Prime Minister and Defense Minister and then Minister for Energy and Infrastructure of the Eurasian Economic Commission, who stated in June ‘The problems that have accumulated over the years cannot be solved quickly, ... But the task has been set by January 1, 2015 to enter the newly created Eurasian Economic Union without exemptions and restrictions.’⁵⁵⁸ However, according to Mikhael Klimentyev of TASS, Nazarbayev was the most vocal in criticizing the progress of former initiatives stating that, in its present state, membership in the CU had more disadvantages than advantages. For example, he cited the fact that the market was imbalanced and noted in October that this meant that Kazakhstan had suffered a 4% export drop (US\$ 7 billion). Meanwhile imports had increased to US\$ 17 billion leaving the country with a trade deficit for that year.⁵⁵⁹

Of particular concern was the difficulty that Kazakhstan had in promoting Kazakh products, particularly meat, to the Russian market. Furthermore, the CU and the CES made no provisions for free market access to the electrical energy sector in Russia meaning there are serious supply

⁵⁵⁷ TREATY ON THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION. 18 November 2011. p.1

See: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/kaz_e/WTACCKAZ85_LEG_1.pdf

⁵⁵⁸ Akhmetov, Daniyal. ‘Министры транспорта стран ТС утвердили перечень мероприятий по сокращению барьеров в транспортной сфере’, *Belta.by*, 05/12/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/30CsgxW> (Accessed on 01/12/2017)

⁵⁵⁹ Klimentyev, Mikhail. ‘«Суверенитет не икона»’, *Gazeta.ru*, 24/10/2013.

See: <https://www.gazeta.ru/business/2013/10/24/5722545.shtml> (Accessed on 09/09/2017)

and transmission problems. As a result, Nazarbayev argued that the customs codex of the CU needs to be eased and liberalized. According to Klimentyev, the Kazakh president was choosing his words very carefully even though it appeared he was very frustrated at the number of times he has had to make similar speeches to the leaders of the same countries.⁵⁶⁰ Nazarbayev used the example of the food sector to express his frustrations, he stated that ‘Sometimes deliberately impassable conditions are created as norms that are absent in the sanitary certificates of our countries are used’.⁵⁶¹

He also criticized the work of the Eurasian Commission – the working body of the CU – by stating that ‘because the commission is not accountable to any of the countries they distribute documents the day before the summit.’ He recalled that one of the documents submitted for signature at one of the summits contained 134 pages, but was issued just hours before the summit was due to start. He stated that it is simply impossible to assimilate such a large amount of information in such a short space of time and, in uncharacteristically outraged rhetoric, Nazarbayev asked: ‘Who is chasing us!? Why are we in a hurry?!’⁵⁶²

He also spoke out against the rapid expansion of the CU, arguing that the members must first solve the many problems that already exist before deepening integration and accepting new members. For example, he stated ‘We did not agree on oil transportation. Did not agree on railway tariffs. Also on electricity. But we are already discussing the concept of the CES plus’.⁵⁶³ This is not to say that Nazarbayev vehemently opposed the CU’s and CES’s expansion, simply that existing issues must be addressed first. In fact, Nazarbayev offered to discuss the entrance of Turkey and Syria into the CU in order to dispel any ideas in the West that Eurasian integration was an attempt to create a new version of the Soviet Union. He stated: ‘When I visit the West, I’ll often be asked “are you re-creating the Soviet Union under the guise of a Customs Union?” So that there will be no more such conversations, let’s accept Turkey. This is a big country and the conversation will end.’⁵⁶⁴ Nazarbayev implies that it is Kazakhstan that has the power to accept or reject countries accession the CU. The tone is again clearly one of frustration, particularly at the idea of recreating the USSR, instead Nazarbayev’s vision is to promote economic integration. He also presents Kazakhstan as a mature and pragmatic state that is

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘«Суверенитет не икона»’, *Gazeta.ru*, 24/10/2013.

See: <https://www.gazeta.ru/business/2013/10/24/5722545.shtml> (Accessed on 09/09/2017)

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

simply committed to addressing the problems that exist within the CU before attempting to expand.

However, in spite of the fierier and slightly frustrated tone of the speeches and statements from Nazarbayev in this year, he still put forward one condition that is evident in most of the rhetoric from Kazakh policy-makers; this was that all members of the union should have equal rights in any Union that is created in the Eurasian region. He stated that there should be no special conditions for entry into the Customs or Eurasian Union and also invited the leaders to discuss the prospects for the accession of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia.

These principles of equality had been raised by Daniyal Akhmetov in early 2013 who stated

I want to emphasize once again that, undoubtedly, our Kazakhstan specialists will take part in all integration processes. Any economic agreement is based on the principles of equality, competitiveness, integrity and a culture of fair relations, therefore the results of Kazakhstan's work within the framework of the Customs Union are obvious.⁵⁶⁵

Here Daniyal Akhmetov is highlighting Kazakh support for integration initiatives in general terms, but he is also presenting the country as powerful and influential ('the results of Kazakhstan's work ... are obvious') and notes that it is primarily thanks to Kazakhstan's efforts that the CU has had such a level of success. He is also quick to point out that it is an 'economic agreement' that must revolve around the core principle of equality. The rhetoric in 2013 reaffirms the idea that Russia is viewed not as the hegemon and the dominant regional power with the ability to influence Kazakh policy, but instead as in terms of their importance to Kazakh trade. This is emblematic of Kazakhstan's assertiveness on the international stage, its belief in its own power and influence as well as its steadfast belief in equality. For example, within the framework of a meeting of the higher Eurasian economic council, Serik Akhmetov, the then Prime Minister, had a meeting with the heads of governments with a particular focus on relations with Russia: During the negotiations with his Russian counterpart, Akhmetov noted 'the interaction between the two countries [Russia and Kazakhstan] on topical issues of Kazakhstan-Russian relations and the prompt resolution of issues within the Customs Union has intensified.'⁵⁶⁶ Serik Akhmetov went on to state that 'At the end of 2012, the volume of

⁵⁶⁵ Akhmetov, Daniyal. 'Даниал Ахметов принят Сериком Ахметовым', *Azattyq* (Radio Liberty), 22/01/2013. See: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/24880136.html> (Accessed on 02/01/2018)

⁵⁶⁶ Akhmetov, Serik. 'В РАМКАХ ЗАСЕДАНИЯ ВЫСШЕГО ЕВРАЗИЙСКОГО ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО СОВЕТА СЕРИК АХМЕТОВ ПРОВЕЛ ВСТРЕЧУ С ГЛАВАМИ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВ РОССИИ И КЫРГЫЗСТАНА', *Strategy2050*, 25/09/2013. See: <https://strategy2050.kz/ru/news/1512> (Accessed on 03/09/2017)

trade and economic turnover exceeded one billion dollars,⁵⁶⁷ and noted the potential for the further growth of mutual trade. He stressed that ‘joint work in this direction is a bright indicator of the high level of integration between our countries, the commitment of our states to the effective use of the full potential of partnerships’.⁵⁶⁸ Kazakh policy-makers do not necessarily present the country as the leader of the integration, however there is certainly the notion that they are indispensable members with an equal status to Russia that drive the project forward.

Overall, the rhetoric in 2013 seems to follow the same pattern as the previous years – there are still multiple references to Kazakhstan’s pivotal role as an initiator and driver of all the integration projects as well as an emphasis on the economic and voluntary nature of all partnerships between states. However, 2013 is perhaps the first year when signs of frustration begin to creep into the language. Slow progress and issues of varying levels of commitment between members led to some harsh words in particular from Nazarbayev. He questioned the efficacy of some of the arrangements in the CU and CES given that barriers in the economically crucial food and energy sectors remained and railed against the inefficiency of the governing bodies of these initiatives. Russia, whose role has been criticized outside of Eurasia for attempting to re-forge the USSR, is not spoken of in Kazakhstan in such terms. Instead, the rhetoric reflects the Kazakh perspective that Russia is a vital trading partner and, if cooperation can continue on the same trajectory, both states will continue to reap the rewards. It is interesting to note that Kazakh policy-makers do not refer to Russia either positively or negatively (as some of the other case study states do), instead they speak about them in practical economic terms.

	2013		2013
Supporter of EAEU / CU	1	Committed member	3
Assertive	3	Integration driver	2
Economic pragmatism	2	Progenitor / initiator	1
Mature	2	Coordinator	1
Frustrated	4	Equal / voluntary union promoter	3
		Economic union promoter	3

Figure 45: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2013

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Akhmetov, Serik. ‘ГЛАВЫ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВ СТРАН ТС ОДОБРИЛИ МЕХАНИЗМ ЗАЧИСЛЕНИЯ И РАСПРЕДЕЛЕНИЯ ТАМОЖЕННЫХ ПОШЛИН – ПРЕМЬЕР КАЗАХСТАНА’, *EurasianClub*, 25/09/2013. See: <https://bit.ly/39c2W5g> (Accessed on 11/10/2017)

6.2.6. 2014, the Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) is signed

On 29 May 2014, the parties of Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia gathered in Astana, Kazakhstan's capital, to sign the Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union. The leaders of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan, who would join the EAEU in January and August 2015, respectively, were also present. The key difference between the EAEU and any of its predecessors is the fact that the level of integration between members is much deeper. It creates ties based on common external tariffs on imports and ensures general standards on products that are traded between members are observed. It also establishes a number of working bodies to guarantee that there are no barriers to the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor as well as promoting joint ventures between member states. In contrast to previous initiatives, it also has more substantial and properly codified rules, regulations, laws and procedures. It is most similar in nature to the EU which a number of policy-makers in Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan have all stated inspired their model of integration.

However, the road to 29 May 2014 was not easy. Bakhytzhan Sagintayev, then First Deputy Prime Minister and future Prime Minister of Kazakhstan, noted that 'Preparing for this event has been going on for a long time.'⁵⁶⁹ Discussions began in November 2011 when the Presidents of Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus established the objective of codifying the international treaties of the CU, but since then, according to Sagintayev, 'a great deal of work has been done on preparing, improving and agreeing on a draft comprehensive treaty, which is currently ready for signing.'⁵⁷⁰ Sagintayev goes on to state that his enthusiasm for the new EAEU integration which 'allows us to bring the relations of our countries to a qualitatively new level.' Much of Sagintayev's speech is positive in tone and the frustrations that permeated much of the rhetoric in 2013 have dissipated.

Nevertheless, one of the first things that is addressed by Sagintayev in his speech is the criticism of EAEU as being a kind of Soviet Union 2.0. On this point, Sagintayev notes:

today, there are questions and even concerns in society that the EAEU could be a "test" for the sovereignty of the allied states. Fears about a certain recreation of the USSR are often heard. In

⁵⁶⁹ Sagintayev, Bakhytzhan. 'ЕАЭС - важный стратегический проект', *Zakon*, 24/05/2014. See: <https://www.zakon.kz/4627589-eajes-vazhnyjj-strategicheskijj-proekt.html> (Accessed on 06/11/2017)

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

this regard, it is important to understand the following. The first is that the Eurasian Economic Union is not a political association. The subject of the contract is exclusively economic cooperation.⁵⁷¹

Of course, it would be easy to dismiss this comment as empty rhetoric. However, Sagintayev goes on to provide some details on the trilateral discussions that took place between the “troika” of Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia and points out that:

Despite the proposals of our partners, we did not consider the rules on cooperation of the parties in non-economic areas related to citizenship, legal assistance, border security, the general parliament, passport and visa policy, export control, general migration, defense, security, health care, education, science and culture. They are not in the draft agreement.⁵⁷²

Sagintayev’s statement is assertive and presents Kazakhstan as a kingmaker; a powerful state with the ability to challenge the other states’ suggestions and make them change their minds about certain initiatives. This is not the same as a leadership role as, in accordance with Kazakhstan’s own views on equal integration and mutual respect, no one state should attempt to dominate another. However, it certainly conveys the idea that Kazakhstan wields a great deal of power. Indeed, at Kazakhstan’s insistence, there are a number of safety mechanisms in place in the legislation of the EAEU to ensure that no one state can hold dominion over another or dominate proceedings in the union. For example, first, the draft treaty contains a consensus mechanism by way of a “board of the commission”. This is a supranational body comprised of a “council”, with the three deputy prime ministers of the member states as representatives, and the “board” which also consists of three representatives from each of the states of the troika. The board of the commission employs a system of decision-making by consensus and qualified majority. Thus, for the most sensitive issues, policy decisions are made by consensus and, for other less sensitive issues, decisions are made by a qualified two-thirds majority. As a further safeguard, even decisions taken by the commission can be revised at the level of the Intergovernmental and Supreme Councils by the heads of state if a ruling is considered to be inconsistent with a particular state’s interests. The creation of a Union Court with two presiding judges from each member state also means that, as a last resort, states can challenge a particular ruling legally. This means in most scenarios the interests of *all* member states are taken into full consideration.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ TREATY ON THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION. CHAPTER II. Composition of the Court. See: https://www.un.org/en/ga/sixth/70/docs/treaty_on_eeu.pdf

There is nothing in the treaty that bars member states from entering into agreements with third party states or alternative international organizations. This proposal was introduced by Kazakhstan which pursues a multi-vector foreign policy which seeks to promote their interests globally, rather than limiting themselves to a specific region. For example, in a speech delivered in June, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, (the Chairman of the Senate, Nazarbayev's right-hand man and future President of Kazakhstan) noted that 'the new integration association is set up for mutually beneficial cooperation with other similar organizations, including the European Union.'⁵⁷⁴ Kazakh policy-makers also made sure to include in the treaty 'a provision on the unconditional observance of the principle of the rule of constitutional rights and freedoms of a person and citizen.'⁵⁷⁵ This ensures that the rights of the citizens of member states are protected by their own Basic Laws and Constitutions. All of this leaves no room for misinterpretation; at least in the eyes of Kazakh policy-makers, the EAEU is categorically not a political union in any way shape or form, but is a union based on 'voluntariness, equality and pragmatism, multi-speed and multi-level integration.'⁵⁷⁶

This resolute belief in the EAEU as a mutually-beneficial, and fundamentally economic, project guides Kazakhstan's policy-makers' support for integration initiatives. There is more than an element of rational self-interest and economic pragmatism in promoting the EAEU, however. For example, Kazakhstan recently launched the North Caspian project to develop offshore oil and gas fields. It comprises five locations around the Caspian Sea that have significant oil reserves: Kashagan, South-West Kashagan, Kalamkas-Sea, Kairan, and Aktoty. The oil fields at Kashagan are a particular priority for Kazakhstan as they are some of the largest that have been discovered in the country in the last forty years with estimated reserves of between 9-13 billion barrels.⁵⁷⁷ OPEC ranks Kazakhstan 11th in the world by proven oil reserves. However, the country's ratio of proven oil reserves to production is fairly poor at 582.2 million barrels per year (MMbbl). This is compared with 3818.1 MMbbl in Saudi Arabia, 3239.7 MMbbl in the United States, and 3851.3 MMbbl in Russia.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁴ Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart. 'Касым-Жомарт Токаев решил все Евразом', *Mimonomsk.ru*, 17/06/2014. See: https://www.ng.ru/cis/2014-06-17/6_evraz.html (Accessed on 04/09/2017)

⁵⁷⁵ Sagintayev, Bakhytzhan. 'ЕАЭС - важный стратегический проект', *Zakon*, 24/05/2014. See: <https://www.zakon.kz/4627589-eajes-vazhnyjj-strategicheskijj-proekt.html> (Accessed on 06/11/2017)

⁵⁷⁶ Massimov, Karim. 'ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ', *Eurasian Commission*, 03/2014. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕК%2020%20years.pdf

⁵⁷⁷ North Caspian Operating Company. 'About North Caspian Project'. See: <https://www.ncoc.kz/en/ncoc/about> (Accessed on 09/11/2019)

⁵⁷⁸ Data downloaded from OPEC's Annual Statistics Bulletin: Table 9.1: World proven natural gas reserves by country. See: <https://asb.opec.org/index.php/data-download>

The reason for this low ratio of reserves to production is partially because Kazakhstan tends to export low-cost unrefined oil and it is their inability to compete with Russia that compels the Kazakh oil industry to pursue this lower revenue strategy. Russia's oil and gas prices are incredibly low which limits Kazakhstan's capacity to charge more for their oil. The formation of a common market for oil and oil products will be implemented in gradual stages by 2025 and this should remove export customs duties and restrictions as well as opening access to gas transportation infrastructure. Daniyal Akhmetov stated that 'the creation of a single hydrocarbon market will allow the countries of the Eurasian Economic Union to be more competitive in world markets, both in terms of pricing and in terms of obtaining products with high added value.'⁵⁷⁹ It is Kazakhstan's desire to access bigger markets that is a major motivational factor in promoting Eurasian integration initiatives.

As access to bigger markets increases through the EAEU, Kazakhstan's policy-makers refer more frequently to the idea of Kazakhstan acting as a bridge between the East and West. The idea of being a bridging state is evident in the rhetoric from previous years, but with the formal signing of the treaty to establish the EAEU, this idea is mentioned more frequently in the speeches and statements. For example, Karim Massimov stated on 24 May (five days before the treaty was signed) that:

In Kazakhstan, there is a firm belief that the Eurasian Economic Union being created will contribute to the formation of a powerful economic integration space from Western Europe to Southeast Asia. This alliance should become a stable economic area with the safest and shortest land trans-Eurasian highways.⁵⁸⁰

While Nazarbayev stated that 'in economic terms we [Kazakhstan] can become a bridge connecting the dynamic economies of the European Union, East, Southeast and South Asia.'⁵⁸¹ Nazarbayev expanded on this point by stating that the EAEU (rather than Kazakhstan specifically) is a regional integration movement with enormous economic potential that could act as the bridge: 'We are located between the largest productive world parts – the European

⁵⁷⁹ Akhmetov, Daniyal. 'Общий энергорынок', *Camonitor*, 19/06/2014. See: <https://camonitor.kz/11904-.html> (Accessed on 04/09/2017)

⁵⁸⁰ Massimov, Karim. 'ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ', *Eurasian Commission*, 03/2014. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕК%2020%20years.pdf

⁵⁸¹ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'Создание Евразийского союза не означает реставрации СССР - Назарбаев', *RIA News*, 25/10/2011. See: <https://ria.ru/20111025/470742752.html> (Accessed on 11/09/2017)

Union and the Asia-Pacific regions. All of that gives us a natural competitive advantage as a geo-economic bridge between East and West, Europe and Asia.⁵⁸²

Of course, his speech implies that Kazakhstan, as a country that stretches across the continent from China to Caspian Sea, plays an indispensable role as a bridge within the EAEU. However, there is also great recognition in the speeches and statements in 2014 that, in order to realize this dream, the Eurasian region must strive to improve its infrastructure and multilateral projects within the framework of the EAEU. For example, several speeches refer to various projects that should be prioritized such as the creation of a Unified Eurasian Telecommunications Network, a high-speed railroad that stretches between Minsk, Moscow, Astana, and Almaty (note how two Kazakh cities are mentioned in this project – further evidence of the perception of Kazakhstan’s key role in the EAEU), the construction of a single internal gas transport network which would provide oil and gas to all national economies with standardized prices and tariffs, and the improvement and modernization of railway networks and roads with a particular priority given to the roads and railways on the border with the West and into Europe.

The frustrations that were evident in the rhetoric in 2013 do not appear in 2014 as Kazakh policy-makers speak with great enthusiasm about the future of the EAEU. Most of the speeches and statements are focused on delivering on the commitments that were made in the treaty as early as possible, augmenting cooperation between members on specific projects, ensuring that all members draw equal benefits from the initiative, and bolstering ties with both East and West. However, as mentioned previously, one of the most common themes that arises is certainly the argument that the EAEU is not a political union. As Massimov notes, the member states are:

striving to create a strong, effective and exemplary economic association. One should not allow politicization of the integration process, which is fraught with loss of controllability, decline in business activity and failure to achieve the initially conceived tasks. As a result, the interests of both the population and the business circles of all the participating countries may be affected.⁵⁸³

Throughout the first era, this was a common theme. Particularly given the frequent and vocal criticisms in the West towards any attempts by former Soviet States to integrate. However, in

⁵⁸² Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'ЕВРАЗИЯ: от идеи – к интеграции', *Eurasian Economic Commission*, Moscow 2015, 28/04/2014, p. 295. See: <https://bit.ly/2PSWEjD> (Accessed on 11/09/2017)

⁵⁸³ Massimov, Karim. 'ЕВРАЗИЙСКОМУ ПРОЕКТУ', *Eurasian Commission*, 03/2014. See: http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕК%2020%20years.pdf

general terms and particularly for Kazakhstan, the first era with initiatives such as the CU and CES were an attempt to unite the Eurasian area and expand its economic influence by opening up membership to multiple states. The first era of Eurasian area has two implications: firstly, it created a space where regulations for trade were lower and available only to members of Eurasian integration, therefore, it aimed at enticing other non-member states through the removal of tariffs. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the first era was preparation for a bigger integration project in the future (i.e. January 2015 when the EAEU formally entered into force). In other words, initiatives such as the CIS, CES and CU were testing the water for how successful Eurasian integration could be. Common themes in the rhetoric of Kazakh policy-makers were the imposition of standardized regulations, equal partnership between members, and competing with Europe. In terms of the role conceptions that Kazakhstan presented in this era, policy-makers projected the image of a positive and enthusiastic supporter of integration as well as a powerful state that not only created the concept of Eurasian integration, but one that is also uniquely capable of taking it forward.

	2014		2014
Supporter of EAEU / CU	5	Committed member	5
Sovereign	2	Center of the integration	2
Assertive	3	Integration driver	2
Economic pragmatism	3	Coordinator	2
Mature	3	Equal / voluntary union promoter	4
Ambitious	3	Economic union promoter	5
Powerful	2	Bridging State	4
		Global Competitor / Competitor to Europe	3

Figure 46: Self-presentation (L), role conceptions (R), 2014

6.2.7. Summary of First Era

Figure 47: Kazakhstan: Self-presentation themes, 2010 - 2014

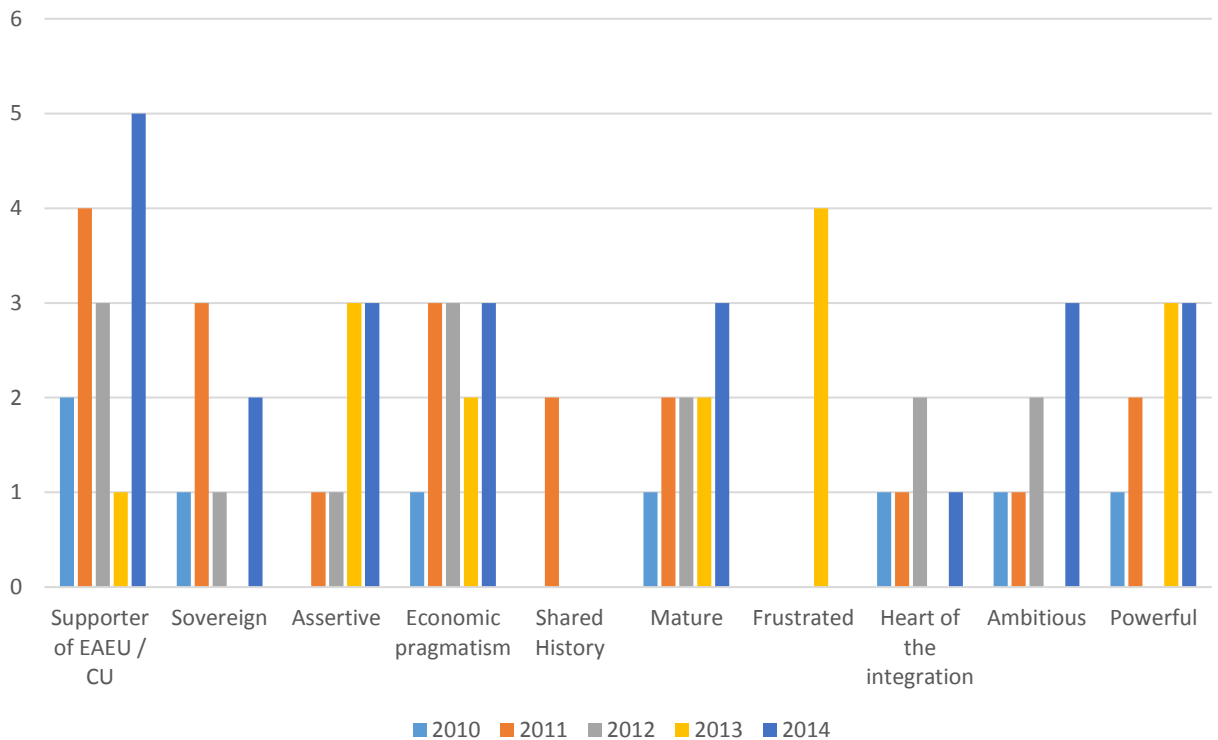


Figure 47 details the self-presentation themes identified in the rhetoric in the first era. It demonstrates that there is a great deal of consistency in the language used by Kazakh policy-makers: their support for initiatives is referred to in every year with no speeches or statements discussing integration with a negative tone. Indeed, the rhetoric mentions the great potential of the Eurasian region and how forging closer ties through the removal of tariffs and the promotion of joint projects will help to unlock this potential. According to Kazakh policy-makers' rhetoric, this is the most logical and prudent course of action since a state trying to compete globally on its own, and particularly the weaker newly-independent states of Eurasia, will inevitably struggle.

Sovereignty is clearly one of the most important themes for Kazakhstan and policy-makers frequently present the image of a state that makes its own political decisions free of the influence of external actors. This is also reflected in the role conceptions (figure 48) with references each year to Eurasian integration being based on principles of equality and voluntary membership. An essential part of this is to ensure the integration is seen as purely economic and not political. Of all the speeches and statements that were analyzed over the first era, there

are fifteen references to Eurasian integration's non-political, non-ideological, but purely pragmatic economic nature.

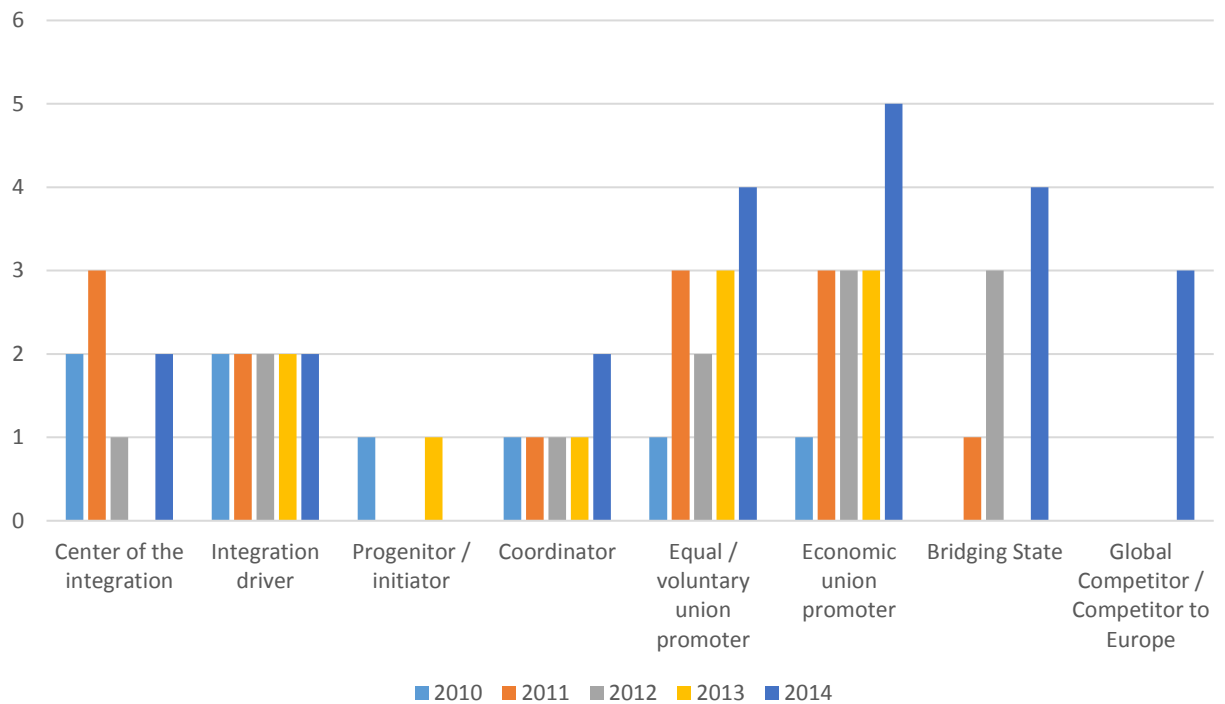
Just one year, 2014, obviously conveys Kazakhstan as a global competitor or competitor to Europe. This is likely due to the limited successes of early integration initiatives meaning that competing globally was still a dream. The role conception of frustrated partner also only appears once (in 2013) as Kazakhstan derided the efforts and general commitment of their fellow member states towards integration. However, with the signing of the agreement to form the EAEU taking place in May 2014, these frustrations abated.

The role conceptions across the first era are just as consistent as the self-presentation themes and, unlike the other case study states, there are multiple constructive roles that emerge in the rhetoric. With at least two references in each year, arguably the most consistent role conception is that Eurasian integration was realized on Kazakhstan's initiative and that Kazakhstan, as an indispensable partner, is best placed to coordinate it and carry it forward. This is emblematic of the country's vision for the future of the union – as a globally competitive association and, for Kazakhstan specifically, eventually to become one of the thirty most developed nations in the world. Carving out a role as an assertive and powerful member of Eurasia is a crucial step on the road to achieving this vision.

Acting as a bridging state is part of this vision – this is a slightly less consistent role conception that is mentioned with increasing frequency towards the end of the era. However, despite the lack of references in 2010 and 2013, it is clearly a role conception that Kazakhstan feels is important since, when it is mentioned in the other years, it is done so with little equivocation; unlike some other states that obliquely refer to the idea of acting as bridge (e.g. by using phrases such as “connecting the interests”) Kazakh policy-makers will specifically use the word ‘bridge’.

However, the two most frequently-referenced role conceptions are those of equal / voluntary union promoter and the economic union promoter. Equality, respect, and economic integration are priorities for Kazakhstan. Although the more negative aspects of the USSR are rarely voiced by leading policy-makers in the state, it is certainly their historical experiences that guide this aversion to political or economic union. As a result, they see themselves as champions of the economic integration cause.

Figure 48: Kazakhstan: Role conceptions, 2010-2014



6.3. Second Era: 2015 – 2017, Kazakh Responses to the Formal Establishment and Enlargement of the EAEU

The second era of Eurasian integration began on 1 January 2015 when the EAEU formally entered into force and Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan (the three founding members) acceded to the Union. The EAEU united more than 175 million people, more than 20 million square km, roughly 15% of the world's total territory,⁵⁸⁴ and a combined GDP PPP of over \$4 trillion.⁵⁸⁵ Initiatives and institutions to limit the effects of external shocks were also created, such as the Eurasian Development Bank which had been formed in 2006 by Russia and Kazakhstan, but had its mandate expanded under the EAEU; the Eurasian Fund for Stabilization and Development, (formerly the Anti-Crisis Fund under EurAsEC) which provides grants and financial and investment credits to member states.⁵⁸⁶ Since it formally began, over 40 countries

⁵⁸⁴ Akhmetov, Daniyal. 'В ВКО обсудили антимонопольное законодательство Евразийского экономического союза', *YK-news.kz*, 05/06/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2QdLHrT> (Accessed on 14/09/2017)

⁵⁸⁵ Author's own analysis. For statistics see: World Bank, GDP, PPP (current international \$). 2018. See: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.PP.CD>

⁵⁸⁶ Vinokurov, Evgeny. 'Eurasian Economic Union: Current state and preliminary results' *Russian Journal of Economics*. Vol. 3, No. 1, March 2017. pp.54-70

expressed interest in cooperation with the EAEU in terms of creating free trade zones in 2015 alone and it was recently reported that Free Trade Agreements are close to being struck with India, Iran, Singapore, and Egypt.⁵⁸⁷

From 2015, the EAEU also began expanding. Armenia had announced its intention to join the union as early as September 2013 and by 2 January 2015, just one day after the three founding members had signed the treaty, Armenia acceded to union as well. Kyrgyzstan had signed the enlargement treaty on 23 December 2014, as we saw in the previous chapter they encountered a number of issues on the route to joining the Union, but formally acceded on 12 August 2015. In fact, 2015 was a year when the founding member states all promoted the further expansion of the EAEU. Membership was offered to Tajikistan who, according to Russia's chairwoman of the Federation Council, Valentina Matviyenko, had shown great interest in joining. Moldova, Georgia and the Ukraine, who were all considering membership of the EU, were all also offered membership of the EAEU. Putin commented that he would cut off trade ties with all three states if they integrated with the EU and, as result, the breakaway regions of Transnistria (Moldova), South Ossetia and Abkhazia (Georgia), and Donetsk and Luhansk (Ukraine) all signaled their desire to join the EAEU. Furthermore, Putin's statement that his objective is to integrate all former Soviet Union members (apart from the Baltic states which have already joined the EU) and that plans to do so would likely advance rapidly. On this matter, the EU Observer quoted a Russian diplomat who had stated 'There is a saying in Russia: It takes a long time to saddle a horse, but no time at all to make it gallop.'⁵⁸⁸

It was comments such as this that drew renewed criticism from non-Eurasian policy-makers and academics for being a *de facto* re-imagining of the old USSR. This viewpoint was supported by Bruno Sergi who wrote in 2018 that it was a Putin and Russian-led union that was "a hybrid" of half economic and half political measures.⁵⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Hilary Clinton quoted an essay written by Russian President Vladimir Putin in 2011 where he wrote of his vision 'to create a powerful supra-national union capable of becoming a pole in the modern world'.⁵⁹⁰ Again, Kazakh policy-makers felt compelled to defend the initiative: Sergey Tereshchenko, the former Prime Minister of Kazakhstan who served as President of the International Foundation for

⁵⁸⁷ Devonshire-Ellis, Chris. 'China-Russia Great Eurasian Partnership on Development Track as EAEU Agree to Regional Free Trade', *Silk Road Briefing*, 12/02/2019. See: <https://bit.ly/2s87jhq> (Accessed on 25/04/2019)

⁵⁸⁸ Rettman, Andrew. 'Armenia to join Russia's Union, surprises EU', *EU Observer*, 03/09/2013. See: <https://euobserver.com/foreign/121304> (Accessed on 10/09/2017)

⁵⁸⁹ Sergi, Bruno S. 'Putin's and Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union: A hybrid half-economics and half-political "Janus Bifrons"', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 1, January 2018, p.52

⁵⁹⁰ Putin, Vladimir cited in Hilary Clinton. *Hard Choices*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014, p.210

Integration, stated that ‘There is no need to be afraid of integration. Some people think a center will appear that will command and dominate, as was the case in Soviet times. However, today is a different situation.’⁵⁹¹ Instead, its purpose is guided by three main principles: the free movement of goods, capital, labor, the creation of joint ventures, and the deepening of human contacts.

One article that was published in the UK’s Guardian newspaper in February 2014 called the EAEU ‘a vast trade and political bloc’ – while this may be the western perspective, and arguably the Russian point of view as well, it is important to note that this vision is categorically not shared by Kazakh policy-makers who see the EAEU as a pragmatic method of improving the economic prospects of the country and also the entire Eurasian region. It is equally crucial to understand that Kazakhstan are not silent partners in this initiative as most of the analysis in the West seems to suggest. For example, the same Guardian article only mentions Kazakhstan twice: once to state the simple fact that they are members of the EAEU, the other is misspelled as “Khazakh” and refers to protests in Almaty over imports of underwear.⁵⁹²

Clearly, given Russia’s political power, military capabilities and history of tension with the West, the greater level of attention that they receive is warranted. However, encroachment and interference into the sovereign affairs of another state is an abhorrent concept to Kazakhs and policy-makers will always attempt to limit any Russian actions towards this end. For example, Kazakhstan have already vetoed the idea of closer military cooperation and after Russia’s annexation of the Crimea, the Kazakh Foreign Ministry released a harshly-worded statement that criticized Russia’s actions as follows:

Kazakhstan calls on all parties to renounce options that imply the use of power and make maximum political efforts to resolve the current crisis by means of negotiations, ... The resolution of the crisis should be based on respect towards the fundamental principles of international law.⁵⁹³

Here we see assertive rhetoric that directly challenges the actions of the hegemon – these are not the words of a country that possesses a passive or small-state mentality that is willing to be

⁵⁹¹ Tereshchenko, Sergey. ‘Сергей ТЕРЕЩЕНКО: О захвате рынков, пользе безработицы и политическом прошлом’, *Caravan*, 27/02/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/38pIK00> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁵⁹² Henley, John. 'A brief primer on Vladimir Putin's Eurasian dream', *The Guardian*, 18/02/2014. See: <https://bit.ly/2s86g0Z> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁵⁹³ Gleboff, George D.. 'Kazakhstan ‘Deeply Concerned’ with Situation in Ukraine, Calls for Political Resolution of Differences.' *Astana Times*, 03/03/2014, See: <https://bit.ly/2tOnSzi> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

coerced by Russia. The Ukrainian President Poroshenko even thanked Nazarbayev for his ‘firm and unwavering support for Ukraine’s territorial integrity and sovereignty within the internationally recognized borders.’⁵⁹⁴ Within Eurasia, and as much of the analysis in this thesis shows, Kazakhstan are the founders of the initiative with equal rights and equal representation at the EAEU table and this fact should not be ignored.

Instead, the Kazakh dream for the EAEU is guided by economic pragmatism and non-interference in the political affairs of other states. Their strategy revolves around building a reputation as a country with great economic prospects and a willingness to trade with any countries or international organizations that offer the best opportunities to achieve growth. This approach is epitomized by Kassym-Jomart Tokayev who stated, ‘We believe that this integration association brings the participating countries to a fundamentally new level of cooperation while maintaining their state sovereignty.’⁵⁹⁵ Thus, almost immediately after the formation of the EAEU, Kazakh policy-makers began discussing opportunities outside of the EAEU, particularly in the EU and China. For Kazakhstan, it seems as though the EAEU is a useful vehicle for putting the country on people’s radar, connecting them to the rest of the world and acting as a bridge between East and West. Tokayev stated that ‘Kazakhstan has set itself a new goal to join the group of 30 most developed countries of the world,’ and that they should be looking to develop ties with China through the EAEU. He noted that:

It is extremely profitable and strategically important to pair two megaprojects - the EAEU and the Chinese Economic Belt along the Silk Road ... [if this goal is realized] a common trade and economic space with unlimited opportunities for the benefit of our countries will arise unprecedented in scale.⁵⁹⁶

Tokayev mentioned something similar in a speech where he stated that the EU was the largest trading partner for Kazakhstan followed by Russia and China. He then explicitly addressed the EU by stating that ‘we are interested in cooperation with the EU with the understanding that it will be beneficial both to Kazakhstan and all our partners in the EAEU.’⁵⁹⁷ It is interesting that

⁵⁹⁴ Putz, Catherine. 'Kazakhstan Deftly Balances Relations with Ukraine and Russia.' *The Diplomat*, 10/10/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/2ENA3yn> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁵⁹⁵ Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart. ‘Приоритеты в международной политике Казахстана’, *KazGazeta*, 18/06/2015. See: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=6196> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart. ‘ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЬ СЕНАТА ПАРЛАМЕНТА РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН КАСЫМ-ЖОМАРТ ТОКАЕВ: “СИЛЬНАЯ ООН – ГАРАНТИЯ ПРОЧНОГО МИРА’’, *Interfax*, 24/10/2015. See: https://www.interfax.kz/?lang=rus&int_id=13&news_id=270 (Accessed on 09/11/2017)

Tokayev speaks of benefits not just for his country, but also for regional partners. This underlines Kazakhstan's commitment to equal integration and mutual benefits.

Much of the prioritization of markets outside of the EAEU stems from the fact, in 2015, all of the EAEU states were hit by the symptoms of economic crisis: Lower commodity prices, devaluation of currencies and falling stock markets. This led Nazarbayev to create an anti-crisis plan. This included searching for opportunities outside of the region in order to moderate the effect of economic shocks. Tokayev declares that 'We all must learn from this crisis in order to strengthen our ability to take effective measures in a timely manner to shield our economies from disasters, and our citizens from difficulties and shocks.'⁵⁹⁸

Tereshchenko's speech alludes to a similar concept when he states that the formation of the EAEU 'coincided with the political crisis in which Russia is now experiencing, and with the economic crisis in which the whole world remains. It is clear that such integrations are not only advantages, but also certain tests. If we work well, we get a huge market.'⁵⁹⁹ We see in this statement the positivity and pragmatism that often permeates the rhetoric of Kazakh policy-makers; in other words, the financial crisis is not an inherently negative occurrence, but a challenge to be overcome and a chance to forge even closer relations with regional and even global partners.

Kazakhstan's attempts at diversification were relatively successful; in 2015, as a result of an improved GDP per Capita of US\$10.5 thousand, the World Bank re-classified Kazakhstan as an Upper-Middle income country.⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, involvement in the EAEU improved Kazakhstan's level of Foreign Direct Investment with the agricultural sector experiencing a 30% increase in investment and the oil and gas sector seeing an 80% rise.⁶⁰¹

Once again, the themes and roles that are presented by Kazakh policy-makers in 2015 are broadly consistent with those seen throughout the first era. Compared with 2014, for example, the role conceptions and themes are identical. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the majority of speeches and statements in 2014 and 2015 were focused on the formation of the

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Tereshchenko, Sergey. 'Сергей ТЕРЕЩЕНКО: О захвате рынков, пользе безработицы и политическом прошлом', *Caravan*, 27/02/2015. See: <https://bit.ly/38pIK00> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁶⁰⁰ World Bank. 'The World Bank in Kazakhstan: Country Snapshot.' April 2018. See: <https://bit.ly/2Su06TD> (Accessed 02/02/2019)

⁶⁰¹ *Kazinform*. 'Kazakhstan launches proactive policy to attract investment'. *Kazinform*. 26/05/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/379TbTF> (Accessed 08/09/2017)

EAEU. Nevertheless, it is still interesting that the rhetoric in Kazakhstan displays this level of consistency. However, perhaps the most important theme that emerges from the rhetoric in 2015 is another of Sergey Tereshchenko’s speeches where he summarizes the general Kazakh position: ‘Kazakhstan holds the unofficial status of an “integration integrator” ... we are open to the world. And the world is open to us.’⁶⁰² With this statement, Tereshchenko demonstratively emphasizes that Kazakhstan, by virtue of its tolerant and pragmatic approach, is able to play the role of a connecting state between the various global integration initiatives. Tereshchenko concludes by paying tribute to the stability of the country and, for the first time, we see a possible explanation for why the rhetoric in Kazakhstan is so consistent over time:

it is even surprising how, against the background of neighbors, looking back at Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, even at Russia, how did Kazakhstan manage to maintain stability under these conditions?⁶⁰³

In other words, overarching political stability over time has generated a more consistent and unified approach from Kazakhstan’s policy-makers. The suggestion is that instability breeds inconsistency.

	2015		2015
Supporter of EAEU / CU	5	Committed member	5
Sovereign	3	Integration driver	3
Russia negative	1	Coordinator	2
Assertive	2	Equal / voluntary union promoter	3
Economic pragmatism	4	Economic union promoter	4
Mature	2	Bridging State	2
Ambitious	3	Global Competitor / Competitor to Europe	3
Powerful	3		

Figure 49: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2015

⁶⁰² Tereshchenko, Sergey. ‘Сергей ТЕРЕЩЕНКО: О захвате рынков, пользе безработицы и политическом прошлом’, *Itv.kz*, 27/02/2015. See: <http://old.itv.kz/ru/projects/analytica/watch/040916/6> (Accessed on 10/10/2017)

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

6.3.1. 2016: Deepening economic integration

On 2 April 2016, Kasym-Jomart Tokaev stated that 2016 ‘has been declared the year of deepening the economic relations of the EAEU with other states and integration associations, including ASEAN.’⁶⁰⁴ He did not clarify exactly who had declared it as such, but Nazarbayev also suggested ‘concentrating efforts on further deepening the economic ties of the Union with such associations as the EU, SCO, ASEAN and others.’⁶⁰⁵ So, if 2014 had been the year of preparations for the EAEU and 2015 had been its launch and enlargement, in 2016, with the initiative fully under way, much of the emphasis in the speeches and statements was geared towards modernizing the economies of the member states in order to moderate the impact of economic shocks while uncovering new opportunities across the globe. Membership of the EAEU had already helped Kazakhstan recover from the crisis that had resulted from the devaluation of the tenge and lower oil prices and GDP was showing signs of steady increases, rising by 0.4% between January and September 2016.⁶⁰⁶

For Kazakhstan, who also became members of the WTO towards the end of 2015, the EAEU is not the “endgame” as it is in Belarus or Kyrgyzstan, for example. Instead it is simply part of a strategy that involves greater diversification and reaching out to as many potential partners as possible. In fact, Kazakhstan had little desire to create a supra-national body; in this sense, the EAEU is simply a useful tool to propel the country onto the world stage. For example, Tokaev stated that the Kazakh Senate would hold a parliamentary hearing on the competitiveness of the domestic agricultural sector under the conditions imposed by both the EAEU *and* the WTO. While in June 2016, Erlan Idrissov, the then Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan, referenced the common borders that the country shares with China and other Central Asian states meaning that both Asian and European markets are fully open to them allowing ‘Kazakhstan to become a link between the West and the East in the future.’⁶⁰⁷ Indeed, in early 2016 Kazakhstan submitted a proposal to the EU for developing closer ties through trade and, in 2015, the first EAEU Free Trade Agreement was signed with Vietnam. Idrissov also noted the good work that

⁶⁰⁴ Tokaev, Kassym-Jomart. *DipAcademy*, 02/04/2016. See:

http://www.dipacademy.ru/upload/iblock/1bb/vestnik_da-2_8-15-23.pdf (Accessed on 03/09/2017)

⁶⁰⁵ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. 'Заседание Высшего Евразийского экономического совета', *Akorda*, 31/05/2016. See: <https://bit.ly/3aBmalQ> (Accessed on 03/09/2017)

⁶⁰⁶ '0.4% GDP growth observed in Kazakhstan since January 2016'. *Kazinform*. See: <https://bit.ly/393AL8R> (Accessed on 05/08/2019)

⁶⁰⁷ Idrissov, Erlan. 'Выступление Министра иностранных дел Республики Казахстан на отчетной встрече с населением (г. Астана, 20 июня 2016 года)', *Zakon*, 20/06/2016. See: <https://www.zakon.kz/4802605-vystuplenie-ministra-inostrannykh-del.html> (Accessed on 06/09/2017)

is being done on developing ‘practical cooperation of the EAEU with China, India, Israel, Egypt, Iran and many other interested partners around the world.’⁶⁰⁸

In order to achieve this goal, however, it was essential to modernize the economy and improve the efficiency of interactions between member states. Akezhan Kazhegeldin paid tribute to the developments that had already taken place in Kazakhstan as a result of their involvement in the EAEU, particularly the absence of customs borders which has allowed businesses to significantly reduce transportation costs for their goods. He argued that this has also had the effect of increasing ‘the competitiveness and recognition of Kazakhstan's export products.’ However, he also noted that much could still be done to augment and streamline cooperation between states; for example, aligning ‘the national rules for regulating investments, laws on the protection of competition and the fight against monopolism, the rules of public procurement, the norms of the work of state corporations.’⁶⁰⁹ In the private sector, he also noted the importance of allowing Kazakh software companies equal opportunities to compete for contracts with the Russian Ministry of Defense and, vice versa, for Russian companies to have the right to participate in the tender for the supply of anything to Temir Zholy (Kazakhstan’s national rail company) or Kazatomprom (the country’s main uranium extraction company).

Tokayev had referred to this need to modernize in one of his speeches where he mentioned ‘a new way of economics’ that involved technology, robots and automation. He warned that Kazakhstan’s failure to compete in this space could result in the country being left behind and the younger generation suffering as a result. He noted that more than 75 million of the 210 million unemployed persons in the world are under the age of 25 and, therefore, advocated training programs in the area of technology and robotics to ensure that the youth are able to contribute nationally and globally.⁶¹⁰ Even Akezhan Kazhegeldin, usually a dissenting voice in Kazakhstan who served as Prime Minister between 1994 and 1997 but resigned criticizing Nazarbayev’s apparent indifference to human rights abuses, argued that it was essential for ‘the Eurasian Economic Union not to fall prey to inoperative mechanisms and non-transparent arrangements.’⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ Kazhegeldin, Akezhan. ‘АКЕЖАН КАЖЕГЕЛЬДИН: ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЗНАЕТ, КАК ПРОВОДИТЬ РЕФОРМУ. НО НЕ ХОЧЕТ’, *NewsEurasia*, 23/09/2016. See: <https://www.neweurasia.info/extra-1/6822-prezident-znaet-no-nehochet> (Accessed on 14/09/2017)

⁶¹⁰ Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart. ‘Вестник дипломатической академии МИД России.’ *Россия и Мир*. Vol. 2, No. 8, 03/2016, See: http://www.dipacademy.ru/upload/iblock/72e/vestnik_da-2_8-24-27.pdf

⁶¹¹ Kazhegeldin, Akezhan. ‘АКЕЖАН КАЖЕГЕЛЬДИН: ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЗНАЕТ, КАК ПРОВОДИТЬ РЕФОРМУ. НО НЕ ХОЧЕТ’, *NewsEurasia*, 23/09/2016. See: <https://www.neweurasia.info/extra-1/6822-prezident-znaet-no-nehochet> (Accessed on 14/09/2017)

However, among these discussions on how to improve processes and procedures between states, there was still the usual widespread criticisms that the EAEU was an attempt to rebuild the USSR. The difference in the rhetoric during 2016 was the palpable sense of frustration at having to repeat the same arguments.⁶¹² This was particularly evident in a speech delivered by Nazarbayev, he stated:

In the West, they are vocal that this is again the restoration of the Soviet Union - this is complete nonsense. In other words, if something needs to be said about you, then it is necessary to cling to anybody and say that it is bad, that it is Russia that is again gathering the Soviet Union. This is a purely economic, integrational management, there are no words of politics at all.⁶¹³

Furthermore, he concluded by stating that ‘if the independence of the state is infringed, we will not be in such organizations.’⁶¹⁴ Instead, the country’s membership of the EAEU is based on purely pragmatic, economic factors in order to increase the competitiveness of the country in global markets and to improve the living standards the Kazakh people as well as to modernize the economy. Tokayev reaffirmed this vision on 2 April when he gave a statement on the nature of the EAEU. He argued: ‘A while ago, Kazakhstan initiated the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). Today, the EAEU is an economic megaproject based on pragmatism and mutual benefit.’⁶¹⁵

As with previous years, the rhetoric demonstrates that Kazakhstan still supports all integration initiatives wholeheartedly and none of the speeches betray any hint of negativity (aside from the occasional bout of frustration at partners or the representation of the EAEU in the West). There are still frequent references to Kazakhstan’s role in initiating the various projects, usually directly referring to Nazarbayev’s 1994 proposal at the Moscow State University and, crucially, the idea of Kazakhstan being the link between East and West is given more prominence in the rhetoric in 2016. However, by far the most frequently referenced theme is that of economic pragmatism. Speeches and statements often defend the EAEU as a purely economic exercise that brings mutual benefits to all partners. 2016 also sees signs of rising frustration at the criticisms with Nazarbayev going so far as to call the West’s views “nonsense”.

⁶¹² N.B. This is coded as a ‘frustrated’ self-presentation theme, but the frustration is directed at the West, rather than their regional partners as it was in 2013

⁶¹³ Nazarbayev, Nursultan. ‘Назарбаев еще раз подчеркнул, что Евразийский союз – чисто экономическое объединение’, *Zakon*, 23/08/2016. See: <https://www.zakon.kz/4813222-nazarbaev-eshhe-raz-podcherknul-chno.html> (Accessed on 09/11/2017)

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Tokayev, Kassym-Jomart. ‘Вестник дипломатической академии МИД России.’ *Россия и Мир*. Vol. 2, No. 8, 03/2016, See: http://www.dipacademy.ru/upload/iblock/72e/vestnik_da-2_8-24-27.pdf

	2016		2016
Supporter of EAEU / CU	5	Committed Partner	6
Sovereign	2	Integration driver	1
Assertive	3	Progenitor / initiator	2
Economic pragmatism	4	Coordinator	2
Mature	2	Equal / voluntary union promoter	2
Frustrated	1	Economic union promoter	4
Ambitious	3	Bridging State	2
Powerful	2	Global Competitor / Competitor to Europe	2

Figure 50: Self-presentation themes (L), Role conceptions (R), 2016

6.3.2. 2017: Towards a successful Union

Since its formation in 2015, many of the EAEU member states had been affected by external factors and instability in financial and trade markets with overall regional trade decreasing by 0.7% and mutual trade turnover dropping by 11% over the two years.⁶¹⁶ The then Prime Minister of Kazakhstan, Bakhytzhan Sagintayev, said at a meeting of the Eurasian Intergovernmental Council in Bishkek that these years were not easy for the countries of the Union and ‘in such a situation it is important to consolidate efforts to increase trade between our countries.’⁶¹⁷ This entailed the removal of barriers and restrictions on trade in goods and services and a more constructive approach to Kyrgyzstan’s accession. Sagintayev stated that if the EAEU is to be successful then ‘dynamic and progressive development of each of our countries is important.’ This is an interesting comment as by referring to the mutual growth of ‘each of our countries’ it implies that cooperation, but non-interference is crucial. In other words, economic assistance by promoting trade and investment. As a result of this stance, Sagintayev announced Kazakhstan’s ‘intentions to support the Kyrgyz Republic...’. Practically, this entailed adopting a new role in the EAEU as a transit state to allow an expanded list of eighty-six goods to move ‘from Kyrgyzstan to Russia through the territory of Kazakhstan.’ Sagintayev’s overarching point was that by following principles of ‘mutual support’ the Union would be stronger and more globally competitive.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁶ Sagintayev, Bakhytzhan. ‘Бакытжан Сагинтаев: ЕАЭС за два года состоялся как’, *Knews*, 07/03/2017. See: <http://knews.kg/2017/03/bakytzhan-sagintaev-eaes-za-dva-goda-sostoyalsya-kak-effektivnoe-integratsionnoe-obedinenie/> (Accessed on 13/10/2017)

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

As a result of greater consolidated efforts, 2017 proved to be the most successful year of the union. Rambler, a Russian financial services news agency, notes that 2017 saw trade turnover between members increase by 26.7% compared with 2016 – in value terms this constituted a rise of almost \$US 44 billion.⁶¹⁹ The increase in trade was largely due to a recovery in Russia after the imposition of sanctions in 2015 which had devalued the ruble and had a knock-on effect on Belarus and Kazakhstan both of whom are highly reliant on commodities exports.

In order to mitigate against further crises in the future, the creation of a single services market was proposed by the Eurasian Economic Commission. Around 20 schemes to promote economic liberalization were launched in order to expand the EAEU's services single market by 60%.⁶²⁰ Furthermore, a commission was established to identify all of the barriers that currently exist and limit prospects for growth; the commission came up with a list of 60 barriers and devised a roadmap for removing these restrictions in stages in order to improve conditions for the economic development of the member states.⁶²¹ Timur Zhaksylykov, the Minister of Economics and Financial Policy of the Eurasian Economic Commission, noted that 'The common financial market of the EAEU states will contribute to enhancing investment cooperation, raising the level of financial depth of our countries and will be a powerful impetus for their sustainable economic growth.'⁶²²

There was also a concerted effort in 2017 to adopt the Customs Code in order to create better working conditions for businesses and manufacturers. Sagintayev stated that 'Entrepreneurs expect a positive effect from creating a common market within the framework of the integration of our countries,' and therefore set about developing 'common rules of the game' in order to manage risks that derive from customs clearance or inadequate tax regulation. Sagintayev cites the example of Chinese goods flow into Kyrgyzstan in 2016, which was 9.5 times higher compared with 2015 but was hit by tariffs.⁶²³ Thus, he suggested the creation of a working

⁶¹⁹ Rambler Finance. 'Каких результатов достиг Евразийский экономический союз в 2017 году'. 30/12/2017. See: <https://bit.ly/2ZpESYf> (Accessed on 06/10/2018)

⁶²⁰ Eurasian Economic Commission 'Еще 18 секторов войдут в единый рынок услуг ЕАЭС' 05/07/2016. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/2016-07-06-2.aspx> (Accessed on 29/09/2017)

⁶²¹ Eurasian Economic Commission. 'Barriers, Derogations and Restrictions in the Eurasian Economic Union.' *White Paper*. 14/04/2017. p.2 See:<https://bit.ly/2MqCJqd>

⁶²² Zhaksylykov, Timur. 'Тимур Жаксылыков: «Создание общего рынка финансовых услуг станет мощным импульсом для экономического роста стран ЕАЭС»' Eurasian Economic Commission. 09/02/2018. See: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/9-02-2018-3.aspx> (Accessed on 06/06/2018)

⁶²³ Sagintayev, Bakhytzhap. 'Бакытжан Сагинтаев: ЕАЭС за два года состоялся как', *Knews*, 07/03/2017. See: <http://knews.kg/2017/03/bakytzhan-sagintayev-eaes-za-dva-goda-sostoyalsya-kak-effektivnoe-integratsionnoe-obedinenie/> (Accessed on 13/10/2017)

group to ensure the same thing did not happen to Chinese goods entering Kazakhstan. This Customs Code entered into force on 1 January 2018.

Overall, many of the speeches in 2017 seem to show that the EAEU is maturing. Many of the speeches and statements discuss how cooperation between members can be enhanced, particularly how Kazakhstan and Russia can help Kyrgyzstan, whose economy is comparatively much weaker. For example, Sagintayev (in a separate speech) referred to how the list of goods allowed to be moved from Kyrgyzstan to Russia through Kazakhstan had been expanded, and confirmed Astana's intentions to support Kyrgyzstan 'to adapt to the conditions of the EAEU.' He elaborated by declaring 'We believe that for the success of our integration association, the dynamic and progressive development of each of our countries is important,' By December 2017, Kazakhstan had signed an agreement on the allocation of one hundred million dollars to Kyrgyzstan as 'technical assistance' (see Kyrgyz case). He declared that 'I am sure that building our relations on the principles of mutual support, searching for compromises and developing effective solutions will be a powerful incentive to strengthen the Union and increase its attractiveness in the world community.'⁶²⁴

Many of the speeches focus on developing cooperation between member states, often in a bilateral capacity such as joint ventures between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan on transport infrastructure and water resources. An agreement was also signed between Kazakh and Kyrgyz officials in January 2017 that established a unified railway tariff for the carriage of goods in transit through Kazakhstan. Experts estimated that it would save Kyrgyz exporters around \$US 60 million.⁶²⁵ It was as a result of many of these initiatives that the EAEU was able to emerge from the economic crisis positively. As Vinokurov noted in 2017, 'despite the overall instability of the global economy and capital flight from emerging markets, Eurasian Union member states maintain a relatively stable level of investment interactions.'⁶²⁶

Interestingly, throughout 2017, the rhetoric in the speeches that were analyzed does not directly address the economically pragmatic aspects of integration to the same extent seen in 2016. Although political concerns are not mentioned at all, there is only one clear reference to the union being a pragmatic solution to an economic question. Instead, most of the rhetoric simply addresses the successes that the EAEU has already seen and how to improve the performance

⁶²⁴ Sagintayev, Bakytzhan. 'кыргызстан получит помощь от Казахстана для адаптации экономики страны к требованиям ЕАЭС', *Eurasian Economic Commission*, 17/03/2017 See: <https://bit.ly/2R7Yqhs> (Accessed on 13/10/2017)

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Vinokurov, Evgeny. 'Eurasian Economic Union: Current state and preliminary results'. *Russian Journal of Economics*. Vol. 3, 2017, p.62

of the union in the future. This matter-of-fact method of reporting the reality that the member states are facing, including how to mitigate the effects of global or regional economic crises, seems to stem from fatigue at having to address the criticisms from the West such as the union is dominated by Russia or is too dependent on oil. Indeed, these criticisms were perhaps best addressed by the academic and Eurasian specialist Evgeny Vinokurov who argued in 2017 as follows:

Economic domination by Russia? South Africa’s weight in the South African Customs Union is even greater; the US dominates NAFTA. Raw materials account for the overwhelming share of total exports? Oil means even more for the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf; MERCOSUR exports also have a pronounced bias toward raw materials. Nascent trade and economic conflicts within the Union? The history of MERCOSUR, ASEAN, NAFTA, and other regional integration organizations is replete with such conflicts. In a word, both the EAEU’s achievements and its limitations are “normal”.⁶²⁷

As the rhetoric from 2017 reveals, the EAEU and particularly Kazakhstan, recognize the work that must be done in order to make the Union more competitive. Kyrgyzstan in particular will require more assistance from all members to ensure it does not become a strain on resources; the Common Customs Tariff must be aligned between member states; the single services market must be expanded; all existing non-tariff barriers (i.e. the mechanisms in place that are restricting imports and exports) must be systemically removed; and crucially, the EAEU must keep opportunities for free trade open with all other third party states and international organizations. The most frequently referenced theme in 2017 is the potential of the Eurasian Union and, if all of the obstacles and challenges listed above can be overcome, then the EAEU will become globally competitive in the near future.

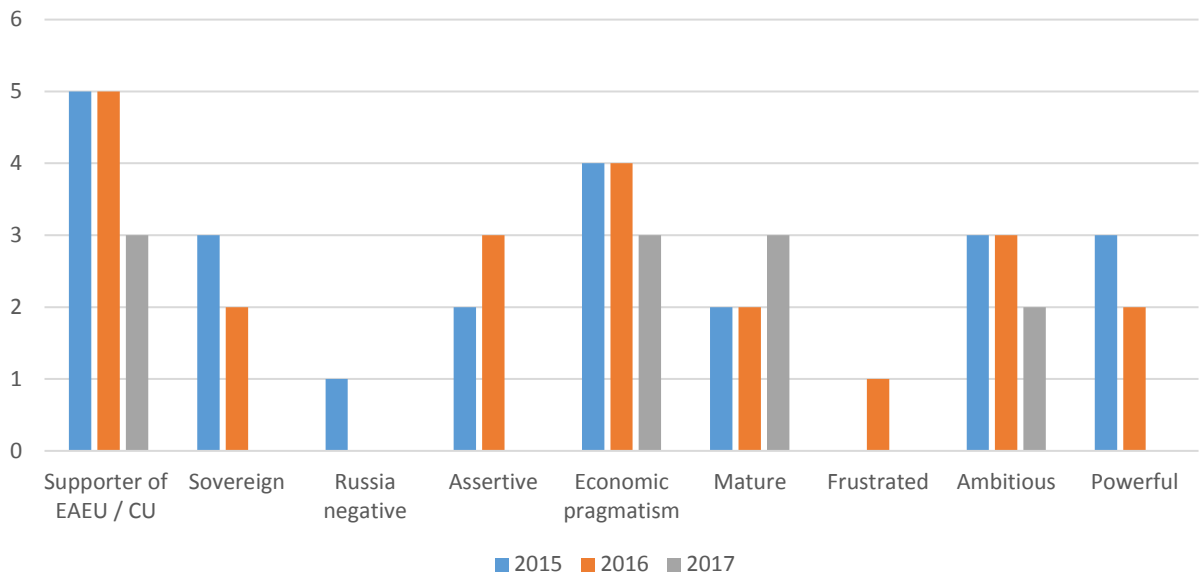
	2017		2017
Supporter of EAEU / CU	3	Committed member	4
Economic pragmatism	3	Coordinator	3
Mature	3	Equal / voluntary union promoter	2
Ambitious	2	Economic union promoter	2
Powerful	4	Global Competitor / Competitor to Europe	2
		Transit State	1

Figure 51: Self-presentation (L), Role conceptions (R), 2017

⁶²⁷ Vinokurov, Evgeny. ‘Eurasian Economic Union: Current state and preliminary results’. *Russian Journal of Economics*. Vol. 3, 2017, p.69

6.3.3. Summary of the Second Era

Figure 52: Kazakhstan: self-presentation themes, 2015-2017



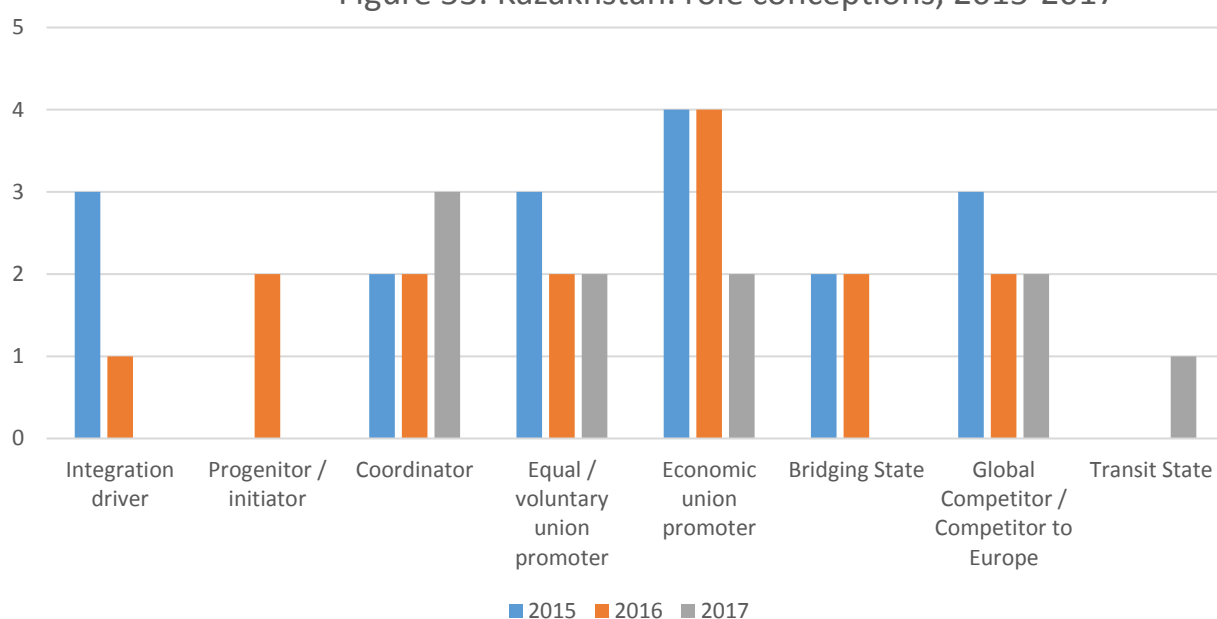
The rhetoric in the second era also displays remarkable continuity. It is largely focused on developing ties and improving prospects for economic growth following the launch of the EAEU. There is greater discussion on specific methods of improving prospects for growth particularly on promoting joint projects between members. Overall, there are no negative comments from Kazakh policy-makers towards integration at all with support being explicitly shown in the rhetoric in all three years of the era. There is one statement which criticizes Russia's actions, particularly insofar as their actions in the Ukraine were potentially damaging to the reputation and economic future of Eurasian integration.

There are fewer references to Kazakhstan's indispensable role within the union with just one statement in. This is perhaps evidence of greater maturity from Kazakhstan as they promote the Eurasian region to ensure that the EAEU is as successful as possible. This is reflected in an increase in attempts to present the image of a mature state. Here it is important to understand the pragmatic stance that Kazakhstan takes: Eurasian identity as is often promoted by Russia, is at odds with Kazakhstan's multi-vector outlook since it implies a uniform ideology. Kazakhstan's fierce pride in its own national identity precludes any secondary identity from replacing it allowing the country to preserve its norms and values and still interact with states outside of the Eurasian region.

Following on from this, by far the most frequently referenced self-presentation theme other than general support for the EAEU / CU is that of the economic pragmatism with eleven mentions across the three years. Further, in terms of role conceptions economic integration

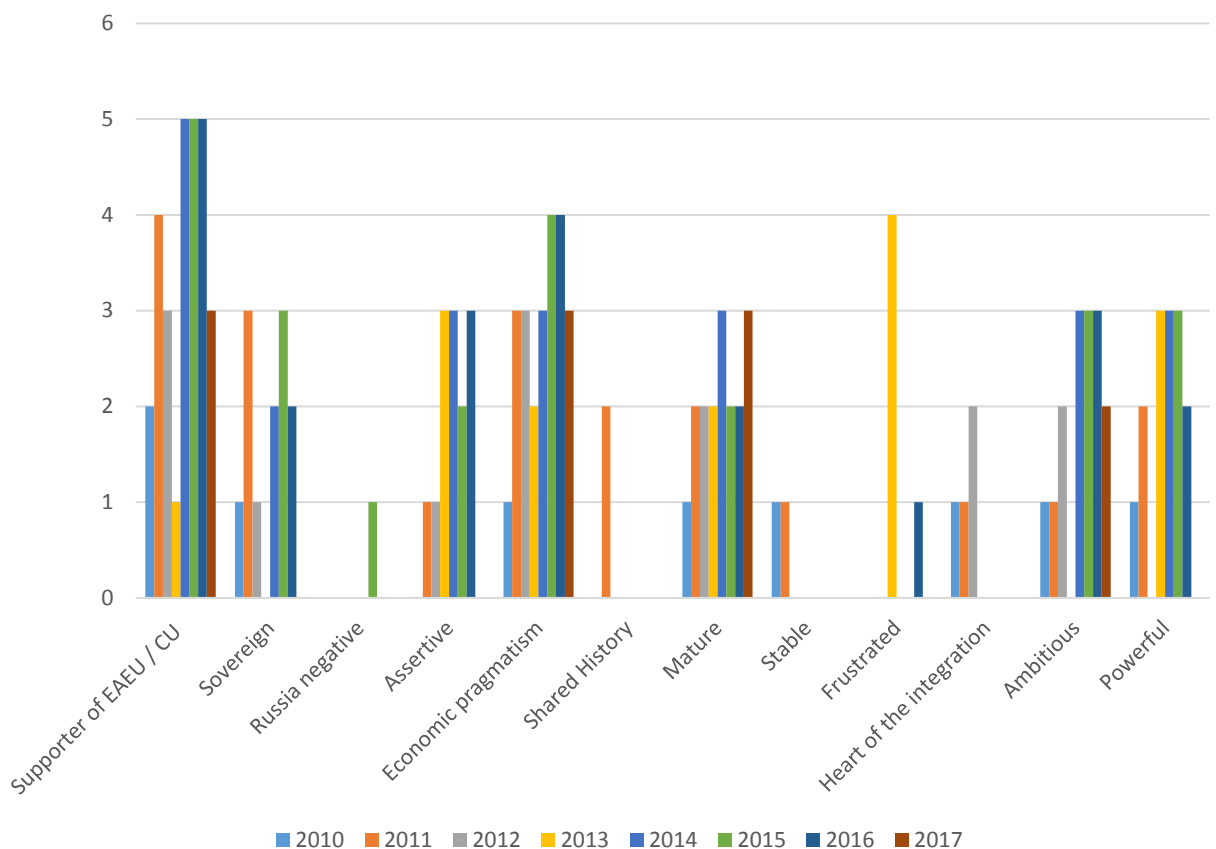
promoter is also the most referenced role. For Kazakh policy-makers, it has been their mission to try and impress upon the West that this is not a reimagining of the USSR. The reason this is such an important message to Kazakhstan is because it conjures an association with the unbridled tensions between East and West during the Cold War and implies that Kazakhstan is under the control of Russia and therefore less open for business. For Kazakhstan, the Union is more of a marriage of convenience, using trade with Russia and its international connections to make more of an impact internationally while still being open to investment and opportunities with third parties and other international associations. This is testament to the ambition of the country to become global competitors and competitors to the EU.

Figure 53: Kazakhstan: role conceptions, 2015-2017



6.4. Conclusion

Figure 54: Kazakhstan: Self-presentation themes, 2010 - 2017

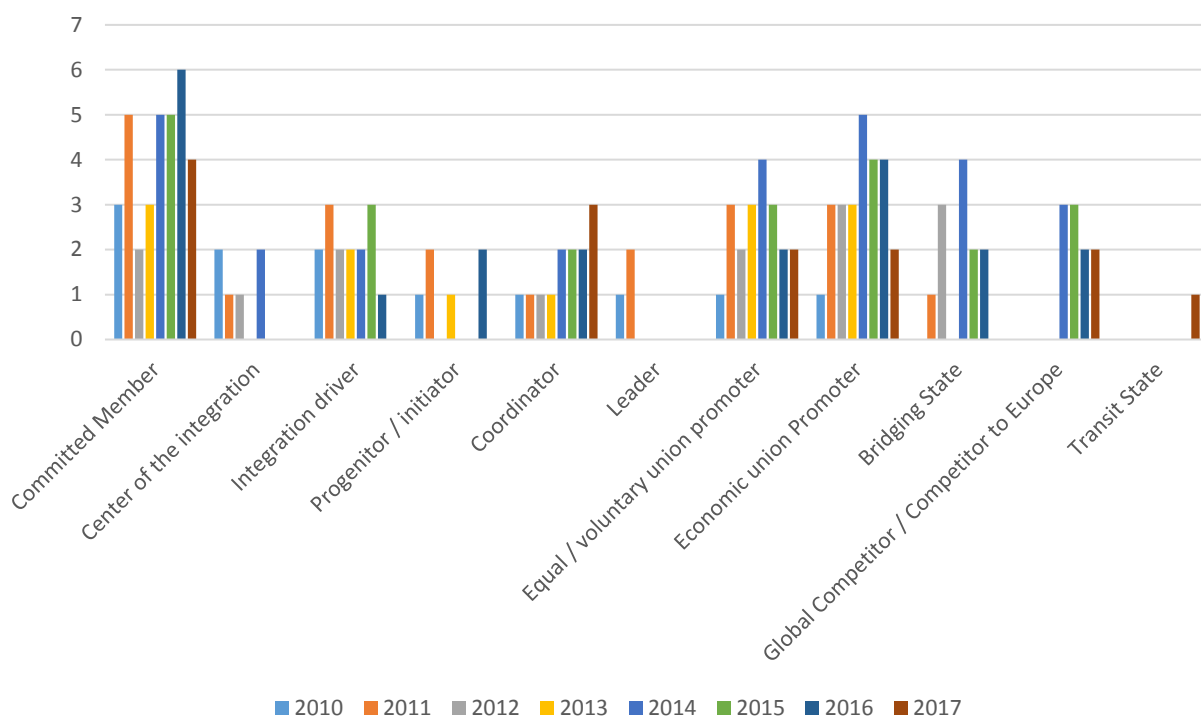


Across all of the years analyzed for Kazakhstan, the rhetoric is incredibly consistent. Overall, twelve self-presentation themes were identified and, as chart three shows, most of the themes appear in each year across the time period. Kazakhstan presents itself as a passionate supporter of the concept of Eurasian integration – this is unsurprising given that much of the rhetoric also references Nazarbayev as the progenitor of the concept. It is equally important to Kazakhstan to present itself as a mature and sovereign state, not one that is subservient to Russia. This is often achieved through firm rhetoric to express, in no uncertain terms, that Kazakhstan is not a subordinate partner in the region, but is powerful, ambitious and expects equality and mutual respect from the hegemon. This stands in contrast to Armenia, for example, which is keen to project the image of state that is willing to toe the line.

The role conceptions identified in the rhetoric across the time period are also very consistent. Clearly, Kazakhstan sees itself playing a pivotal role in the region as the engine of the EAEU with responsibilities that involve coordination, promotion and driving the project onwards while also ensuring it remains a fundamentally economic and voluntary integration. There is also clear evidence that the country sees itself as bridge between the East and West, this is seen

as a being a function of geography; Kazakhstan's massive size means it stretches from the peripheries of Europe at the Caspian Sea all the way to China. The role conceptions of transit state and global competitor / competitor to Europe only appear in 2017 and between 2014 and 2017, respectively. Again, this is explicable by virtue of the fact that the EAEU was by far the deepest integration initiative and it was only once it had been formally launched that more realistic discussions on how to compete globally could occur.

Figure 55: Kazakhstan: role conceptions, 2010 - 2017



The level of consistency in the rhetoric is remarkable for a country that has been independent for less than thirty years. This is likely a function of the fact that the country has been politically stable with just one President (Nursultan Nazarbayev) for the entirety of that time. This has allowed the country to form a clearer sense of national identity and a more consistent policy outlook based on the principles of economic pragmatism and the promotion of economic, rather than political, integration.

In spite of these efforts, however, statements made by Vladimir Putin have called the economic nature of Eurasian integration into question. For example, Putin, ironically celebrating Nazarbayev's achievements, was quoted as saying that 'he has created a state on a territory

where there has never been a state. The Kazakhs never had statehood, and he created it.’⁶²⁸ It is comments like these that have also defined the Kazakh outlook towards integration. Compared with the other three cases that are analyzed in this thesis, Kazakh policy-makers never attempt to ingratiate themselves to Russia other than to state that they are an important trading partner. Other than this, Kazakhstan tends to view itself as an equal partner within any integration initiative and expresses no desire to integrate with Russia on a political or ideological level. This is predominantly as a result of the traumas of the past which included occupation, policies of political, cultural, linguistic and religious repression, and even two instances of intentional artificially engineered famine which resulted in the deaths of millions of ethnic Kazakhs - an action which, according to some scholars, was tantamount to genocide.

The rhetoric is extremely consistent in terms of support for integration. On the surface, this could be dismissed as policy-makers toeing the party line or even just looking out for the interests of the elites. However, opinion polls show that public support for integration initiatives is higher and more unified than in any of the other states studied in this thesis. For example, a poll from November 2013 conducted by the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies, revealed that 79.1% of ethnic Kazakhs are in favor of the EAEU and 88.9% of ethnic Russians (who comprise roughly 25% of the country’s ethnic make-up). In total, 79.5% support the deepening of economic integration, while 58.8% support political integration, 47.3% support cultural and humanitarian integration and just 20.8% are in favor of military integration.⁶²⁹ We see from these results how the Kazakh perspective is dominated by the idea that integration should remain predominantly economic.

The simple fact is that it does not matter how often Kazakh policy-makers make the same argument, Russia, as the regional hegemon and state with a different interpretation of the EAEU’s ultimate aim, will always trump the opposing voices in Kazakhstan who maintain that it is a benign and economically pragmatic union. For example, even the well-respected NGO Crisis Group delivered a report in 2016 entitled *The Eurasian Union: Power, Politics and Trade* which stated ‘In November 2011, Vladimir Putin, as part of his campaign to regain the Russian presidency, called for a new regional initiative, the ‘Eurasian Union’.⁶³⁰ This factually incorrect statement entirely ignores the role that Kazakhstan played throughout the 1990s in calling for

⁶²⁸ Putin, Vladimir cited by Trotsenko, Peter. «На краю империи». Слова Путина о государственности соседей и реакции. Радио Азаттык. 18/07/2019. See: <https://bit.ly/2tFTmaM> (Accessed on 23/11/2019)

⁶²⁹ Chernykh, Irina. 'Восприятие гражданами вопросов евразийской интеграции и участия Казахстана в Евразийском союзе'. *Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KazISS)*, 2014

⁶³⁰ International Crisis Group, 'The Eurasian Economic Union: Power, Politics and Trade' Europe and Central Asia Report, No. 240, 20 July 2016. p.3 See: <https://bit.ly/376ojmM>

a Eurasian Union (a term coined by Nazarbayev in Moscow in 1994), but is a pattern in much of the analysis in the West that lends greater significance, with understandable justification, to the actions of Russia.

However, understanding the Eurasian region in greater depth as well as the motivations of the members other than Russia should be a priority for Western states; the region is not homogenous in terms of its ethnicity, language, culture, religion, history, geography, climate, or politics. Nor is it defined by its Soviet past. This is where the Eurasian integration project differs from the European Union which is an integration based on shared norms and values with members that are more homogenous in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture. Instead, this is a union based on pragmatism and therefore takes a very different shape and character to the EU. Even Nazarbayev stated that in Eurasia, the members share the same bed, but have different dreams.

Fundamentally, the association with Russia and the assumption that they are little more than satellites in Russia's sphere of influence is something that most member states (with the possible exception of Belarus) are attempting to shrug off. For example, in Kazakhstan, Russia is treated with rational indifference; there are no references to Russia in positive light and just one negative statement across the time period. Instead, they are seen as an important economic partner and nothing more. Negative historical experience does not factor into the rhetoric at all. Instead Kazakhstan's new initiative of *Rukhani Zhangyru* ("cultural development") is an attempt to modernize and raise awareness of what it means to be Kazakh after years of Soviet occupation. Even the decision to abandon the Cyrillic alphabet in 2017 was a clear-cut sign that it intends to break away from Russia's center of gravity thereby rediscovering its cultural roots and carving out a role for itself as an autonomous and ambitious developing nation with a foreign policy outlook defined by tolerance, mutual respect, and non-interference – another prevalent role conception.

To summarize, Kazakhstan's most famous poet and philosopher, Abai Kunanbaev, once wrote that 'the source of success is unity'.⁶³¹ This epitomizes the Kazakh approach; it does not mean unity through domination by one and ceding independence by others, but achieving greatness through mutual cooperation and respect.

⁶³¹ Kunanbaev, Abai. *Book of Words*. Almaty: Rollan Seisenbayev, 2016, *Word Six*. p.117

Chapter 7

Summary of Findings & Conclusion

This thesis has addressed how Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have presented themselves in the context of Eurasian integration and offered some suggestions on how disparate approaches have been damaging to integration efforts. Kalevi Holsti's 1970 work on role theory was used as the foundation for the study in order to describe and document each state's foreign policy behavior. Holsti argued that analysis of the rhetoric used by policy-makers provides evidence of certain 'national role conceptions', which were understood as the self-defined notions of suitable foreign policy behavior that are presented to an international audience for approval. This thesis drew on Holsti's argument that role theory has great descriptive utility in terms of documenting and understanding state behavior.

Nevertheless, it was argued that several weaknesses exist in Holsti's theory and, therefore, a primary aim of the study was to improve and refine the theory by updating it for the modern, post-Cold War, era. It was argued that the two most significant weaknesses in his theory were that: first, despite analyzing the general foreign policy behavior of seventy-one states, just seventeen national role conceptions were identified; and second, once a national role conception had been identified by Holsti, he assumed it was constant across time and therefore made no attempt to assess its permanence in the rhetoric. Thus, it was argued that Holsti's theory is perhaps too deterministic and restrictive. As a result, this thesis focused on fewer states by adopting a small-n approach and, by examining the rhetoric in relation to Eurasian integration initiatives, examined a more specific sphere of action than foreign policy behavior in general terms. Crucially, this thesis also charted the continuity and change of national role conceptions in the rhetoric of policy makers over time in order to improve the flexibility of the theory. Interestingly, in spite of the narrower framework that was applied in this thesis, a total of twenty-two national role conceptions were uncovered; this is five more national role conceptions than were identified by Holsti, which is an indication that foreign policy behavior is far more complex than Holsti originally argued.

This thesis also attempted to overcome the determinism and rigidity of Holsti's original theory by including the concept of self-presentation. This is a theory that was developed by Erving Goffman in the 1950s to explain how individuals present themselves in social situations. Fundamentally, it concerns the idea of image management. It was argued that this theory could

also be extended to state behavior, in order to supplement the analysis on role conceptions. Self-presentation was defined as contributing to, but not necessarily amounting to, national role conceptions (the claims to habitual patterns of behavior that ascribes to the state a distinctive, useful function within a broader international order).

This section aims to summarize the findings in the data for each state with a focus on the national role conceptions and self-presentation themes. It will then offer an account of how Eurasian integration has been affected by the respective approaches of each of the cases examined in this thesis. It will first summarize the approach that was taken in this thesis before briefly summarizing the key findings in each case study state. It will then compare and contrast the data from each state to attempt to explore the idea that differing and incompatible national role conceptions have constrained the approaches of each state to integration initiatives and undermined their efficacy.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, fifteen newly-independent states across Eastern Europe and Central Asia were thrust into the international arena. Around seventy years of unity had been dissolved almost overnight and, while independence was keenly sought after in most of these states, independence presented a series of serious challenges as well. By consensus among the leaders of many of these former Soviet states, forming another union to mitigate economic shocks and facilitate the transition from Soviet to global politics was an attractive and pragmatic option and, in 1991, the CIS was formed. Along with Russia, the founding members of the CIS were Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. However, the CIS's objectives were often vague or overly ambitious while attempts to develop political and military integration led to accusations that it was a *de facto* re-imagining of the Soviet Union and this undermined the commitment of certain states. As such, the CIS was branded in 1999 by the Western scholars Martha Oleott, Anders Aslund and Sherman Garnett as 'a failure by almost any measure,'⁶³² an accusation that is not without accuracy.

Subsequent integration initiatives have been dogged by similar criticisms and the notion that Russia is attempting to revive the Soviet Union is never far from the minds of Western observers. Nevertheless, the consensus among experts has been that the problems experienced with Eurasian integration are largely a function of internal factors born of differing ideas among member states over what form integration should take. As was outlined in the introduction, the

⁶³² Oleott, Martha Brill; Aslund, Anders and Garnett, Sherman. *Getting It Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States*. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999, p. v

crux of the problem was epitomized by former Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev who argued that members of the EAEU ‘share the same bed, but have different dreams.’ Thus, it was the purpose of this thesis to explore the extent to which the public rhetoric of senior policy-makers in four newly-independent Eurasian states (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan) reflected this sentiment of working under the same framework, but having different visions. In short, this thesis asked, *within the context of Eurasian integration, how have Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan presented themselves on the international stage through public rhetoric since 2010?*

The methodology that was applied in order to address this research question was an adapted version of Kalevi Holsti’s 1970 work on role theory. This was selected as it can be applied to studies as a descriptive device for categorizing and comparing state behavior as well as accounting for shifts in international systems.⁶³³ Holsti had examined the foreign policy behavior of seventy-one states across a three-year period to arrive at a typology of seventeen different ‘roles’ that states are expected to exhibit in their public rhetoric. Holsti’s work had been a response to what he saw as the limited analytical utility of static categorizations that existed before such as ‘bloc leader’ or ‘satellite’. To a certain extent, this thesis can also be viewed as a response to the perceived weaknesses in his theory and the need to bring role theory up to date.

Rather than analyze the arguably too broad concept of foreign policy behavior, the decision was taken to analyze the rhetoric of policy-makers in the context of Eurasian integration. By taking a narrower focus, it was hoped to uncover more evidence of the role of small states in an international setting. Holsti had omitted many small states from his analysis either due to lack of speeches or a lack of discernable role conceptions. This was interpreted as being a function of incorrectly focusing on the *content* rather than the *tone* of the rhetoric. Thus, for this thesis, self-presentation theory was included in the analysis in conjunction with role theory in order to cover both content *and* tone. It was argued that this is more revelatory in terms of telling us how a state wishes to be viewed. Self-presentation theorists Baumeister and Hutton’s concept of image management was taken to be particularly important for this thesis given that a small state may not exhibit a clearly-defined role conception, but may still want to be seen as ‘assertive’, ‘ambitious’, or ‘mature’ by an international audience.

⁶³³ Backman, Carl. ‘Role theory and international relations’. *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 14, 1970. pp. 310-319

Around fifty speeches and statements were analyzed for each state across the time period 2010 – 2017 (over 200 speeches in total). In Armenia, the rhetoric showed that policy-makers wanted to present the country as sovereign and rational, but also conciliatory in order to remain true to their policy of complementarity. Indeed, in terms of sources of role conceptions and self-presentation, physical and human geography seemed to be influential in determining their outlook. The Armenian diaspora and the state's position between Europe and Asia have certainly informed this policy of complementarity. It is for this reason that Armenia demonstrated the desire to play the role of a bridging state in some of the rhetoric in the first era.

However, Armenia also presented itself as having been obligated or coerced to join the EAEU and, across the two eras, there were fifteen statements that presented the country as critical of the EAEU compared with ten that were in favor. Beginning in 2014, when Armenia's accession to the EAEU was formalized, there were also a number of statements that were directly critical of Russia's role. Presenting the country as having been coerced and/or obligated to join the Union was reflected in the role conception of peripheral partner and the fact that policy-makers only overtly declared their commitment to the project in 2016. This indicated that Armenia was only willing to play a bit part in the EAEU, while still having the autonomy to pursue opportunities in the West. However, from 2015 to 2017 Armenia began to present itself as more enthusiastic about the EAEU. There were fewer criticisms of Russia and, from 2016, no more references to having been coerced into joining. From that point, there were also a number of slightly more tangible role conceptions such as *integration facilitator* and *economic union promoter*. Overall, however, the rhetoric shows that Armenia's commitment to the EAEU is limited at best, and their support for the Union is likely only lip service or an attempt to be seen by Russia as toeing the line, hence the role conception that emerges towards the end of the second era of subordinate partner.

In Kyrgyzstan, there was general inconsistency in the rhetoric. There were twenty-five self-presentation themes (the most in the study by a considerable margin) but just one theme appeared in every year; that of presenting the state as supportive of the EAEU / CU. This was also reflected in their one consistent role conception, that of the committed member. Apart from this, most self-presentation themes appear in just a few of the years. In fact, if an average is taken of the percentage of years each theme appears in, the figure is 36.5% (compared with 60.4% in Kazakhstan, 59% in Belarus and 47.9% in Armenia). In other words, on average, themes appear in just under three of the eight years in the time period. Further, some of the themes appear to be contradictory. For example, presenting the country as simultaneously

passive and assertive, sovereign and subordinate or advocating both an exclusively economic and a full-spectrum integration. This general confusion is unsurprising given the level of instability that Kyrgyzstan has experienced with two revolutions in the space of five years. Further, Kyrgyzstan has arguably struggled to form a consistent notion of national identity and this has more than likely affected their foreign policy behavior.

Of the more consistent self-presentation themes, Kyrgyzstan presents itself as supportive of the EAEU / CU and the role of Russia in the region. Like Armenia, they also present themselves as rational pragmatists who will weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of a situation before making a policy decision. Indeed, the reality is that Kyrgyzstan's economy is very weak and their geographical location renders them more isolated from the international community. Unlike Armenia, however, Kyrgyzstan references shared history far more implying that the idea of shared norms and values or historical obligations also guides their approach.

This general confusion over how the state presents itself is clearly reflected in the role conceptions. Although the vague ideas of acting as an equal and committed partner are consistent across time, there are otherwise very few suggestions as to what role the country would like to, or could, play. Despite its historical role as a transit state for traders along the Silk Road, the idea of acting as a transit state within the EAEU only appears in two years, while there are brief mentions of how the country could act as an investment haven or industrial base for Belarusian manufacturers. These latter two role conceptions appear only to have been a flash in the pan as they are not mentioned again. Overall, Kyrgyz policy-makers do not seem clear as to what the state's overarching values are and this affects how they conceive of roles within the integration project.

In Belarus, the rhetoric was very consistent across the time period. Belarusian policy-makers were highly assertive in their speeches and presented the country as powerful, reliable, ambitious, modernizing and globalized. They also demonstrated very strong commitment to Eurasian integration. Indeed, there were thirty speeches and statements that declared their commitment, the highest number in the study. It is for this reason that the role conceptions in Belarus are far more clearly defined than those in Armenia, for example. Belarus displays a weak level of support for the idea that integration should be on equal terms with five references across the time period. Instead, Belarus seems to be far more interested in playing the role of a *leader*; a notion which first emerges in 2011 and sees twenty-one references between 2013 and 2017. It should be noted that this is not necessarily a challenge to the leadership of Russia, but

rather a suggestion that Belarus could take the lead on coordinating and/or driving the integration forward.

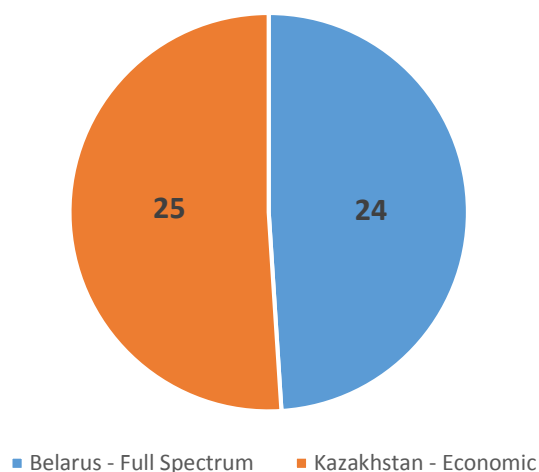
Belarus frequently referenced its special relationship with Russia and there are at least thirteen mentions of acting as the hegemon's right-hand man. This bond is a fraternal one implying that it is natural, unbreakable and, even if there are disagreements, there is a sense of unconditional love between the two. Kyrgyzstan also referenced fraternal bonds, but more in relation to Kazakhstan or the region as a whole. Belarus's fraternal relationship with Russia certainly saw several fierce disagreements over the time period and, in fact, there are more direct criticisms of Russia in the rhetoric than there are compliments. These criticisms are most evident at the beginning of the first era and throughout the whole second era when Belarus voiced extreme frustration with Russia and its partners for failing to live up to their end of the deal within the EAEU (although the rhetoric was less clear over what that was specifically). Indeed, towards the end of the second era, most of Belarus' self-presentation themes displayed assertiveness and a desire to be seen as frustrated and blameless. Indeed, in just three years there are eleven references to Belarus not being at fault for any of the EAEU's deficiencies. Here it is important to remember that self-presentation is essentially image management and Belarus is likely just attempting to shift international, and even domestic, attention away from any detrimental actions they may have taken.

The themes and role conceptions in Kazakhstan are also very consistent with three self-presentation themes and four role conceptions appearing in every year of the study; this is the highest of each of the case studies and, as mentioned earlier, they have the highest average percentage of self-presentation themes appearing across the time period with 60.4%. This level of consistency is certainly a function of the state's stability since the collapse of the Soviet Union while Nazarbayev's presence (until recently) as the head of state has provided clear and consistent political messaging. There are also a number of similarities between how Belarus and Kazakhstan present themselves. Kazakhstan also presents itself as assertive, mature, ambitious and powerful. This is reflected its role conceptions as the progenitor, coordinator, and driver of integration; roles which also appear in Belarus' profile. Indeed, there is certainly an element of competition between Belarus and Kazakhstan given that both have been major contributors to every Eurasian integration initiative since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

However, there were also a number of key differences between Kazakhstan and Belarus. The former is far more committed to the idea of equal and voluntary integration, while the latter tends to mention it briefly and only in passing. There are also no direct references to Kazakhstan

being critical or skeptical as to the merits of integration. Crucially, Kazakhstan is fully and passionately committed to the idea of *economic* integration. This is compared with Belarus who consistently attempts to promote full-spectrum integration between members (often referencing their Union State with Russia as a potential blueprint). This dichotomy is epitomized by the following chart:

Figure 56: Belarus versus Kazakhstan:
Number of speeches supporting Full-Spectrum (R) versus
Economic Union (L)



It shows that over the eight-year period, Belarusian policy-makers have spoken of full-spectrum integration almost exactly as often as Kazakh policy-makers have opposed it in favor of economic integration (24 references to 25). This is a significant clash of interests and is certainly strong evidence of the ‘different dreams’ that Nazarbayev spoke of. The next section will explore the data in greater depth in order to address the question of how these differing visions have affected Eurasian integration.

How have differing role conceptions hindered Eurasian integration?

Perhaps one of the most revelatory pieces of evidence is found in the self-presentation themes. It relates to whether a state presents itself as critical of the EAEU / CU. This does not necessarily mean that they are opposed or uncommitted to the concept of integration, but rather that they are willing to highlight its faults or perhaps how it has been detrimental to the economy of their state. The data show that Belarus is the most critical of the initiative with twenty-one references, followed by Armenia with fifteen and Kyrgyzstan with ten. Each of these states has at some stage questioned the efficacy of the union or more bluntly suggested that it has been the cause

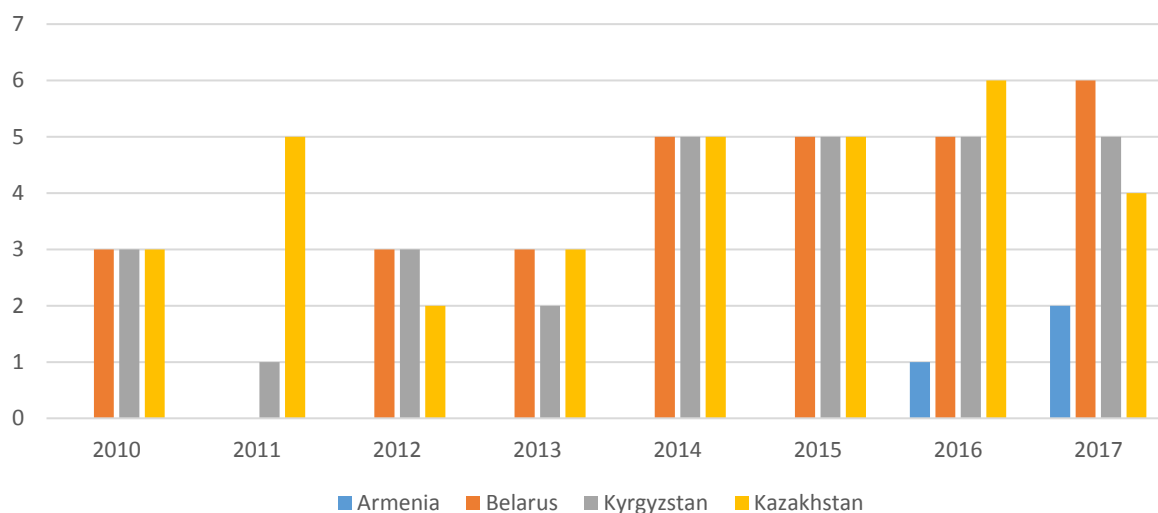
of their economic woes. However, Kazakhstan remains remarkably uncritical of the EAEU with zero mentions across the time period. This is not to say that Kazakh policy-makers do not harbor their doubts or skepticisms over the union, but rather that they rarely voice them and tend instead to turn their frustrations towards their partners, arguing that it is their actions that have hindered integration efforts rather than the broader concept of the EAEU. However, right from the start, there is clear evidence of how willing certain states are to be openly critical of the integration project.

	Critical of EAEU / CU
Armenia	15
Belarus	21
Kazakhstan	0
Kyrgyzstan	10

Figure 57

Related to this, one of the most obvious factors that would undermine the success of any union is if its member states were not committed. Thus, the first and arguably most significant aspect to investigate is the commitment that each state expresses towards Eurasian integration. Figure 58 shows that at some stage each state has expressed commitment to the integration project. However, some appear far more committed than others. Armenia only begins to express its commitment towards the end of the second era and, even then, there are only three mentions. This is compared with Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan who mention their commitment thirty, thirty-three, and twenty-nine times, respectively.

Figure 58: Commitment to integration



This varied level of commitment is generally reflected in the number of role conceptions for each state. The highest level of expressed commitment comes from Belarusian and Kazakh policy-makers and it is these two states that also have the highest number of roles with twelve and eleven, respectively. Kyrgyzstan also frequently indicates its commitment, but as mentioned earlier, there is no clear pattern to the rhetoric that suggests what role they would *specifically* like to play. Thus, the commitment they express is likely just to reassure partners that they are still enthusiastic about the concept.

It should also be noted that both Armenia and Kyrgyzstan joined the EAEU later than Kazakhstan and Belarus – two of its founding members. Kazakhstan and Belarus had also been members of every previous initiative meaning that they had had far longer to discern exactly what role they would like to play. After all, Holsti argued that the more active a state is in the international community, the more roles that state would exhibit. Given Belarus and Kazakhstan’s relative experience, at least in terms of Eurasian integration, the data would certainly reflect Holsti’s assertion.

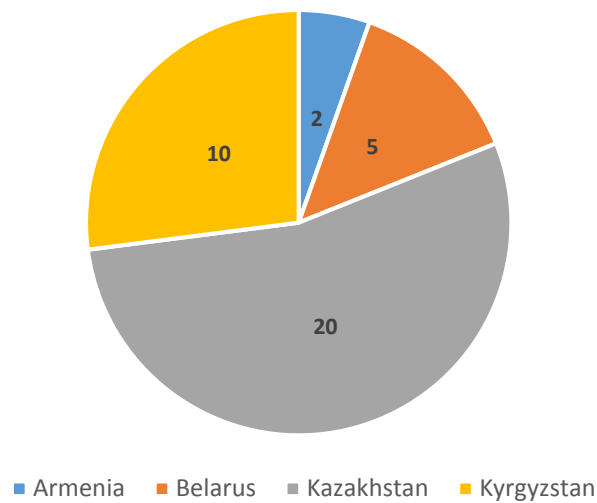
	TOTAL ROLES
Armenia	7
Belarus	12
Kyrgyzstan	5
Kazakhstan	11

Figure 59

Nevertheless, this analysis has identified that Armenia is less than enthusiastic about membership of the EAEU and thus has relatively few role conceptions, while Kyrgyzstan, while committed in principle, is unsure as to how they could contribute. This is certainly one aspect that could potentially be hindering Eurasian integration.

Divergent priorities are also something that could undermine its success. It is important for the members of any union to be pulling in broadly the same direction otherwise the fabric of the integration can be torn apart. The essence of the EU was that it was founded on the basis of compatible objectives and the similar norms and values of its member states. But is this the case for the EAEU? The only other role conception that appears in the rhetoric of every state is that of equal membership. Figure 60 shows how each state has prioritized this concept through the rhetoric. It shows that while every state does mention equality as a necessity to a certain extent, it is clearly of greater importance to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan with twenty and ten references, respectively.

Figure 60: Prioritization of Equality in the EAEU



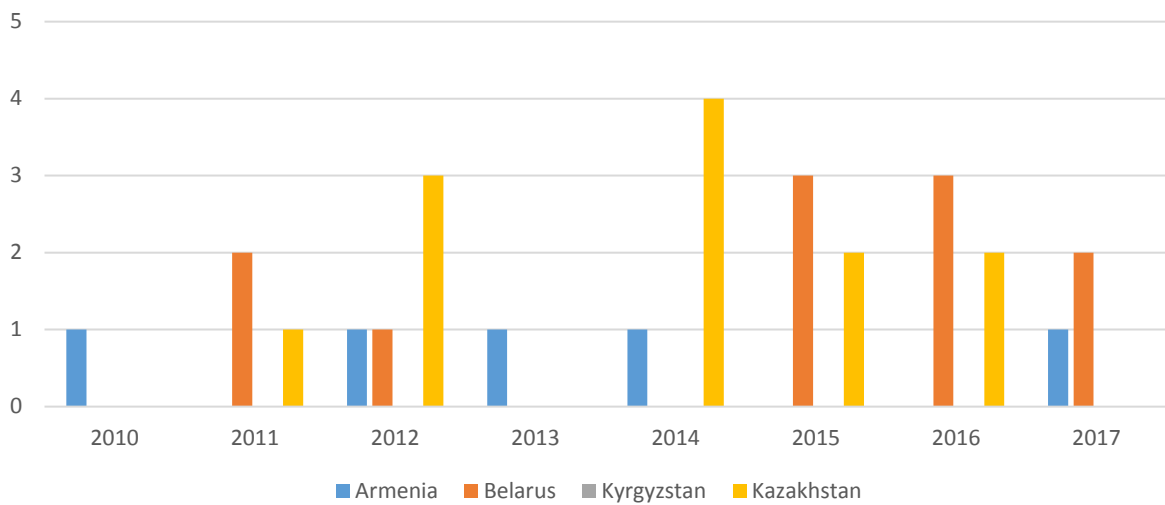
Related to this is the concept of sovereignty. Again, it is evident that retaining sovereignty is of more importance to Kazakhstan than it is to Belarus. Compared with their support of equality in the EAEU, Kyrgyzstan only references the importance of sovereignty five times – this can perhaps be seen as inconsistent, but is typical of the general confusion in the rhetoric of the state’s policy-makers. Further, although Armenia has referenced the importance of sovereignty thirteen times, it is worth noting that policy-makers mention the necessity of ceding a degree of sovereignty in a union eleven times - all after formalizing their accession to the EAEU. This is testament to the political dialectic in Armenia and a function of its diasporic human geography. This means that the only two consistent states are Belarus and Kazakhstan, but both seem to be at different ends of the spectrum in terms of their views of what the union should look like.

	SOVEREIGNTY
Armenia	13
Belarus	7
Kazakhstan	12
Kyrgyzstan	5

Figure 61

However, the EAEU is not only struggling due to the differing views of key members, but also due to incompatible and overlapping role conceptions. For example, three of the four states declare that they want to act as a *bridging state* between East and West. Each state refers to this role conception in five of the eight years with Kazakhstan and Belarus being particularly vocal on the concept.

Figure 62: Bridging State



It should be noted that it would not be entirely incompatible if multiple states expressed the desire to play this role; for example, Armenia and Belarus, by virtue of their geographical location, could conceivably both act as a metaphorical bridge between the EU and the EAEU. However, it can detract from the strength of a union if, instead of cooperating in order to form a general policy where geographically peripheral states inhabit this role, one state acts according to self-interest by attempting to claim exclusive rights to it. For example, Belarus argued that they wanted to pursue their idea of an ‘integration of integrations’ by connecting Lisbon to Vladivostok via Minsk. In other words, Armenia’s ambitions are overlooked and, instead, Belarus is attempting to carve out a role as the region’s main bridging state. Indeed, Belarus also expressed a desire to connect China to the EAEU, in spite of no geographical connection. This was largely a response to Kazakhstan’s expressed desire to bridge China and the EAEU – a more realistic role given the 1,700 km of shared border. In fact, Kazakhstan and Belarus have often found themselves competing with each other and both states have expressed the desire to play the role of leader, integration coordinator, and integration driver. Interestingly, with regard to the ‘driver’ role, both states have even used imagery of locomotion in their rhetoric implying that they both see themselves as the engine of the EAEU. However, this competition is detrimental to the smooth-running of the EAEU and, arguably, it is Russia that is the leader, coordinator and driver of the integration rather than either of these states as a result of relative size, capabilities and resources.

The crux of the issue is that cooperation between member states seems to be lacking. Integration only works if each state adopts complementary role conceptions and accepts its position within the union without attempts at competition. Rapid shifts or inconsistent rhetoric such as that seen

in Kyrgyzstan and Armenia can also be detrimental to a smooth and effective integration process. Ultimately, the hypothesis is confirmed since, not only do the sources for role conceptions and self-presentation differ greatly, but this also seems to be affecting the rhetoric of policy-makers, which shows that differing and incompatible role conceptions are constraining their approaches and this is undermining the efficacy of the union. The cultural-constructivist Alexander Wendt argued in 1992 that Anarchy is what states make of it and, clearly, Eurasian integration is also ‘what actors make of it.’⁶³⁴ The problem is that ‘what they make of it’ is vastly and potentially irreconcilably different.

Scope for further research

Such a study that compares the foreign policy behavior of four small, newly-independent Eurasian states has never been conducted before and, although it was necessarily limited to Eurasian integration, it still adds significantly to the literature by deepening our understanding of the foreign policy behavior of each case; in particular, the consistencies and inconsistencies in self-presentation over time and the factors that seem to motivate them.

However, the rarity of studies on the Eurasian region in the English language literature is something that still needs to be rectified. The region is becoming increasingly important for the West to understand due to its rapid development and high investment potential. Thus, there is still enormous scope for further studies related to the subject covered in this thesis. The first way that this thesis could be developed is to simply expand the number of states that are examined in the study to include all members of the fifteen former Soviet states of the Eurasian region in order to gain a full-spectrum perspective of the region’s dynamics. There would be a number of hurdles to such an approach, however. For example, at the time of writing, the EAEU only has five full members, four of which were analyzed in this study. Russia would thus be the only contender for inclusion but, by the same logic that was outlined previously, would skew the study by virtue of its status as the hegemon. Furthermore, a study that attempted to incorporate all former Soviet states would encounter the difficulty that three are current members of the EU (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). While it would be certainly be interesting to expand the study to include more cases, careful case selection would be necessary. For example, a study that examined the national role conceptions and attitudes towards integration of the five Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and

⁶³⁴ Wendt, A. ‘Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics’. *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, pp. 39-42

Uzbekistan) would be valid due to comparable historical experiences, a degree of cultural and religious overlap, and small state status.

There would also be significant academic and practical value in a project that drew a comparison between the role conceptions and self-presentation of states in the EAEU and the EU. Eurasian policy-makers will often reference the fact that the EU serves as a model for their own integration efforts – such a study could uncover areas of convergence, divergence and even opportunity. Indeed, there is no reason to restrict future projects to the Eurasian region. The methodology is such that one could apply the same principles of analyzing role conceptions and self-presentation themes to any global integration initiative. For example, we could apply a similar methodology to the EU, either to examine the national role conceptions of powerful states such as France or Germany or equally to examine the national role conceptions that smaller states within the bloc exhibit. One particular consideration that would have to be taken into account in terms of adapting the methodology is the role of the regional hegemon. As this thesis argued, in Eurasia, role conceptions and self-presentation themes are influenced by historical connections to the hegemon; Russia's relative size and strength would have unbalanced the study and was thus excluded. If a study that examined the role conceptions of the EU member states were to be undertaken, one would have to ask who the hegemon is and, if one exists, is it skewing the study to such an extent that it warrants exclusion from the study?

While comparative studies such as this would certainly be interesting, it would perhaps be of greater value to continue to explore the dynamics of the Eurasian region which, as noted above, is still an under-researched, and thus misunderstood, region of the world. In consequence, the logical next step for further research would be a project that built upon the findings in this study, but addressed in greater depth *why* each state has adopted their respective positions. National identity and the role of historical experience is clearly of crucial importance to how states behave, but would have warranted a very different approach with a focus on national identity literature rather than role theory. Subsequent projects could dwell on the formative effect of national identity to explore the extent to which the current policy outlook of Eurasian states has been informed by their pre-Soviet national identity.

Related to this, it would be fascinating to compare the role conceptions and self-presentation themes presented to international with those delivered to domestic audiences. Unlike most countries around the world, Eurasian states are bi-lingual and therefore comparing the statements made in Russian with native language statements about the same subject would help to expand the national role conception theory far beyond the scope first outlined by Holsti. For

example, not only would it be very interesting to examine areas of convergence and divergence between the rhetoric presented in (in this case) Russian and that presented in the state's native language, but such a study would also further elucidate state priorities as well as providing a deeper insight into the motivations of that state. It would raise questions such as: does a state that exhibits a role conception of 'leader' still convey the idea that it is a leader in speeches to its domestic audience? Are assertions made to an international audience more or less assertive in tone compared to those delivered to the general public? Are role conceptions and self-presentation themes similar, regardless of audience? If so, what does this tell us about the impact of public sentiment on foreign policy behaviour? As well as having great academic significance, a project of this nature would also have utility for policymakers in terms of promoting understanding the respective positions of their partners.

It was, of course, a partial objective of this research to achieve a degree of practical utility and it is hoped that this thesis has laid some foundations for how regional policymakers could avoid a disintegration of the EAEU through deeper understanding of the respective positions, motivations, and objectives of their partners. It is for this reason that this thesis focused on the language used by policymakers; language not only reveals a great deal about the various cultural stimuli of a state, but speech is also fundamentally about communication. In other words, speech requires another actor not just to hear, but to *listen*. In fact, it is only through mutual understanding and a degree of selflessness that the Eurasian integration project will achieve the ambitious objectives it has set for itself since, at present, misunderstanding is threatening the fabric of the EAEU.

Indeed, the situation in Eurasia is redolent of the story *Two mules: a fable for nations*. Here, two mules find themselves tethered together in a field with two piles of hay on either side of them. Each mule wants to eat so they strain in opposite directions to try and reach the hay, but to no avail. In the end, they realize that if they cooperate by walking over to each other's side, the rope will slacken and they will both be able to eat. In Eurasia, there are too many states pulling in opposite directions. This is a function of their own respective interpretations of their historical experience and the idea that they are either historically or geographically bound to other states in the region. The rhetoric examined in this thesis certainly showed a greater level of commitment towards the later part of the second era, the question is whether each state is willing to compromise on some of their more steadfast beliefs in order to ensure the longevity of the Eurasian integration project. If not, the 'different dreams' that Nazarbayev spoke of may very soon result in *separate* beds.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Table 1.1. Actors examined in Belarus.

President	Prime Ministers	Ministers of Foreign Affairs
Alexander Lukashenko (11 October 2015 – incumbent) (21 January 2011 – 11 October 2015) (19 March 2006 – 19 December 2010) (9 September 2001 – 19 March 2006) (20 July 1994 – 9 September 2001)	Andrei Kobyakov (27 December 2014 – 18 August 2018) Mikhail Myasnikovich (28 December 2010 – 27 December 2014) Sergei Sidorsky (10 July 2003 – 28 December 2010) Gennady Novitsky (1 October 2001 – 10 July 2003) Vladimir Yermoshin (18 February 2000 – 1 October 2001) Sergey Ling (18 November 1996 – 18 February 2000) Mikhail Chigir (21 July 1994 – 18 November 1996) Vyacheslav Kebich (7 April 1990 – 21 July 1994)	Vladimir Makei (20 August 2012 – incumbent) Sergei Martynov (March 2003 – August 2012) Mikhail Khvostov (2000 – 2003) Ural Latypov (4 December 1998 – 27 November 2000) Ivan Antonovich (1997 – 1998) Vladimir Senko (1994 – 1997) Peter Kravchenko (1990 – 1994)

Table 1.2. Actors examined in Armenia.

Presidents	Prime Ministers	Ministers of Foreign Affairs
Serzh Sargsyan (9 April 2008 – 9 April 2018)	Karen Karapetyan (13 September 2016 – April 2018) Hovik Abrahamyan (13 April 2014 – 13 September 2016) Tigran Sargsyan (9 April 2008 – 3 April 2014)	Eduard Nalbandyan (14 April 2008 – May 2018)
Robert Kocharyan (4 February 1998 – 9 April 2008)	Serzh Sargsyan (4 April 2007 – 9 April 2008), (25 March 2007 – 4 April 2007) – acting Andranik Margaryan (12 May 2000 – 25 March 2007) Aram Sargsyan (3 November 1999 – 2 May 2000) Vazgen Sargsyan (11 June 1999 – 27 October 1999) Armen Darbinyan (10 April 1998 – 11 June 1999)	Vartan Oskanian (February 1998 – April 2008)
Levon Ter-Petrosyan (11 November 1991 – 3 February 1998)	Robert Kocharyan (20 March 1997 – 10 April 1998) Armen Sarkissian (4 November 1996 – 20 March 1997) Hrant Bagratyan (2 February 1993 – 4 November 1996) Khosrov Harutyunyan (30 July 1992 – 2 February 1993) Gagik Harutyunyan (22 November 1991 – 30 July 1992) Vazgen Manukyan (25 September 1991 – 22 November 1991)	Alexander Arzumanyan (1996 – 4 February 1998) Vahan Papazian (1993-1996) Arman Kirakossian (October 1992 – February 1993) – acting Raffi Hovannisian (7 November 1991 – 16 October 1992) Ashot Yeghiazaryan (1990-1991) - acting

Table 1.3. Actors examined in Kyrgyzstan.

Presidents	Prime Ministers	Ministers of Foreign Affairs
Almazbek Atambayev (1 December 2011 – 24 November 2017)	Sooronbay Jeenbekov (13 April 2016 – 24 November 2017) Temir Sariyev (1 May 2015 – 13 April 2016) Djoomart Otorbaev (25 March 2014 – 1 May 2015) – acting (25 March 2014 – 3 April 2014) Zhantoro Satybaldiyev (5 September 2012 – 25 March 2014) Aaly Karashev (1 September 2012 – 5 September 2012) – acting Omurbek Babanov (1 December 2011 – 1 September 2012) – acting (1 December 2011 – 23 December 2011)	Erlan Abdylbaev (6 September 2012 – 12 October 2018) Ruslan Kazakbayev (15 April 2010 – 6 September 2012)
Roza Otunbayeva (7 April 2010 – 3 July 2010) – self-proclaimed (3 July 2010 – 1 December 2011)	Almazbek Atambayev (14 November 2011 – 1 December 2011) Omurbek Babanov (23 September 2011 – 14 November 2011) – acting Almazbek Atambayev (17 December 2010 – 23 September 2011)	Ruslan Kazakbayev (15 April 2010 – 6 September 2012)
Vacant (7 April – 17 December 2010)		
Kurmanbek Bakiyev (23 July 2009 – 7 April 2010) – ousted (15 October 2007 – 23 July 2009) (14 August 2005 – 15 October 2007) (25 March 2005 – 14 August 2005)	Daniar Usenov (21 October 2009 – 7 April 2010) Igor Chudinov (24 December 2007 – 21 October 2009) Iskenderbek Aidaraliyev (28 November 2007 – 24 December 2007) – acting Almazbek Atambayev (29 March 2007 – 28 November 2007) Azim Isabekov (29 January 2007 – 29 March 2007) Felix Kulov (15 August 2005 – 29 January 2007) – acting	Kadyrbek Sarbayev (26 January 2009 – 7 April 2010) Ednan Karabaev (February 2007 – January 2009) Alikbek Jekshenkulov (30 September 2005 – 8 February 2007)

	(15 August 2005 – 1 September 2005)	
Ishenbai Kadyrbekov (24 March 2005 – 25 March 2005) – acting		
Askar Akayev (29 October 2000 – 24 March 2005) - ousted (29 October 1995 – 29 October 2000) (27 October 1990 – 29 October 1995)	Kurmanbek Bakiyev (10 July 2005 – 15 August 2005) Medetbek Kerimkulov (20 June 2005 – 10 July 2005) – acting Kurmanbek Bakiyev (25 March 2005 – 20 June 2005) – acting until 28 March 2005 Nikolay Tanayev (22 May 2002 – 25 March 2005) Kurmanbek Bakiyev (21 December 2000 – 22 May 2002) Amangeldy Muraliyev (12 April 1999 – 21 December 2000) Boris Silayev (23 December 1998 – 25 December 1998) – acting Jumabek Ibraimov (25 December 1998 – 4 April 1999) Boris Silayev (4 April 1998 – 12 April 1999) - acting Kubanychbek Jumaliyev (14 March 1998 – 23 December 1998) Apas Jumagulov (14 December 1993 – 14 March 1998) Almanbet Matubraimov (13 December 1993 – 14 December 1993) – acting Tursunbek Chyngyshev (10 February 1992 – 13 December 1993) Andrey Iordan (29 November 1991 – 10 February 1992) - acting Nasirdin Isanov (21 January 1991 – 29 November 1991)	Askar Aitmatov (June 2002 – March 2005) Muratbek Imanaliyev (1 July 1997 – June 2002) Roza Otunbayeva (1994 - 1997) Ednan Karabaev (1992 – 1993) Roza Otunbayeva (26 February 1992 – 10 October 1992) Muratbek Imanaliyev (1991 – 1992)

Table 1.4. Actors examined in Kazakhstan.

President	Prime Ministers	Ministers of Foreign Affairs
<p>Kassym-Jomart Tokayev (20 March 2019 - incumbent)</p> <p>Nursultan Nazarbayev (29 April 2015 – 20 March 2019) (8 April 2011 – 29 April 2015) (1 December 2006 – 8 April 2011) (11 January 2006 – 1 December 2006) (1 March 1999 – 11 January 2006) (20 January 1999 – 1 March 1999) (14 December 1991 – 20 January 1999) (1 December 1991 – 14 December 1991) (24 April 1990 – 1 December 1991)</p>	<p>Bakhytzhan Sagintayev (8 September 2016 – 21 February 2019)</p> <p>Karim Massimov (2 April 2014 – 8 September 2016)</p> <p>Serik Akhmetov (24 September 2012 – 2 April 2014)</p> <p>Karim Massimov (10 January 2007 – 24 September 2012)</p> <p>Daniyal Akhmetov (13 June 2003 – 10 January 2007)</p> <p>Imangali Tasmagambetov (28 January 2002 – 13 June 2003)</p> <p>Kassym-Jomart Tokayev (1 October 1999 – 28 January 2002)</p> <p>Nurlan Balgimbayev (10 October 1997 – 1 October 1999)</p> <p>Akezhan Kazhegeldin (12 October 1994 – 10 October 1997)</p> <p>Sergey Tereshchenko (14 October 1991 – 12 October 1994)</p>	<p>Kairat Abdrakhmanov (28 December 2016 – 26 December 2018)</p> <p>Erlan Idrissov (28 September 2012 – 28 December 2016)</p> <p>Yerzhan Kazykhanov (11 April 2011 – 24 September 2012)</p> <p>Kanat Saudabayev (4 September 2009 – 11 April 2011)</p> <p>Marat Tazhin (11 January 2007 – 4 September 2009)</p> <p>Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev (June 2003 – January 2007)</p> <p>Erlan Idrissov (1 October 1999 – 29 January 2002)</p> <p>Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev (1994 – 1999)</p> <p>Kanat Saudabayev (1994 – 1994)</p> <p>Toleutay Suleymenov (December 1991 – 1994)</p> <p>Akmaral Arystanbekova (November 1989 – December 1991)</p>

Appendix 2

Table 2.1. Actors, speeches and statements examined for Belarus case.

2010
<p>Alexander Lukashenko Published on 3 July 2010 by <i>Grani.ru</i>. Source: https://graniru.org/Politics/World/Europe/Belarus/m.179507.html</p> <p>Лукашенко: Белоруссия присоединилась к Таможенному союзу</p> <p>Минск ратифицировал все договоры и соглашения, касающиеся Таможенного союза. Как сообщает Интерфакс, об этом заявил Александр Лукашенко, выступая на площади Победы в столице Белоруссии в рамках празднования Дня независимости.</p> <p>По словам Лукашенко, власти Белоруссии "и на йоту, ни на полметра, ни на миллиметр не отстали в Таможенном союзе ни от России, ни от Казахстана". Парламент Белоруссии одобрил общий Таможенный кодекс 30 июня, и для ратификации документа было необходимо, чтобы Лукашенко подписал необходимые бумаги до 5 июля. По всей видимости, говоря о готовности всех договоров, Лукашенко намекнул, что он уже одобрил Таможенный кодекс, отмечает агентство.</p> <p>Единый Таможенный кодекс в России и Казахстане вступил в силу с 1 июля – Москва и Астана ратифицировали документ еще весной. Фактически, до ратификации договора Минском Таможенный союз, членами которого должны стать Россия, Казахстан и Белоруссия, будет функционировать без участия последней.</p> <p>Договор о Таможенном кодексе Таможенного союза Белоруссии, Казахстана и России был подписан в Минске 27 ноября 2009 года. Необходимые бумаги для двустороннего союза Россия и Казахстан начали готовить весной 2010 года. Белорусская сторона торопиться с документами отказывалась, требуя от Москвы пересмотреть экспортные пошлины на нефть и нефтепродукты. В Москве пойти на уступки Минску отказались, заявив, что возможность отмены пошлин для Белоруссии возможна лишь на следующем этапе развития Таможенного союза – при введении Единого экономического пространства, то есть с 1 января 2012 года.</p> <p>Отметим, что окончательно о степени готовности Белоруссии к вступлению в Таможенный союз станет известно 5 июля на встрече Лукашенко, Дмитрия Медведева и Нурсултана Назарбаева в преддверии саммита ЕврАзЭС в Астане.</p>
<p>Alexander Lukashenko Published on 16 July 2010 by <i>Grani.ru</i>. Source: https://grani-ru-org.appspot.com/Politics/World/Europe/Belarus/m.179909.html</p> <p>Лукашенко: Таможенный союз не нужен России</p> <p>Таможенный союз России, Белоруссии и Казахстана не нужен самой России. Как сообщает Интерфакс, с таким заявлением во время рабочей поездки по Гомельской области выступил президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко. По его словам, российское руководство в качестве внешнеполитических приоритетов ставит сотрудничество с США и Европой, странами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона и только затем – сотрудничество со странами СНГ.</p> <p>Лукашенко подчеркнул, что у Белоруссии "нет планов по развалу Таможенного союза". "Мы не собираемся ничего разваливать", – заявил белорусский</p>

президент, добавив, что в случае неудачи этого политического проекта Белоруссия "не будет к этому причастна".

Однако Лукашенко уверен, что российскому руководству "надо найти крайнего". Он также заявил, что надежды руководства России на то, что в ходе организованного давления на Белоруссию ее президент не подпишет документы по Таможенному союзу, не оправдались.

"Они ждут, что мы не выдержим этого удара и начнем тем же отвечать. Я категорически против того, чтобы мы тем же отвечали, – сказал Лукашенко. – Мы не будем отвечать грязью на грязь". По его словам, в Таможенном союзе Белоруссии, России и Казахстана "мы пока ничего не теряем, но и не приобретаем".

Ранее сообщалось, что Таможенный союз должен был начать работу уже 1 июля, однако к этому сроку с участием в союзе не до конца определилась Белоруссия. 3 июля Александр Лукашенко заявил, что Минск подписал все необходимые документы.

При подготовке к формированию Таможенного союза, который должен радикально упростить перемещение товаров между тремя странами, у сторон возникло несколько экономических споров, в частности, по пошлинам на экспорт нефти и нефтепродуктов, а также по пошлинам на ввоз импортных автомобилей.

Кроме того, в июне "Газпром" ограничил поставки газа на территорию Белоруссии, объяснив это долгом со стороны "Белтрансгаза". В Минске, в свою очередь, отметили, что у "Газпрома" также есть долг перед Белоруссией. После этого обе стороны выплатили долги, а поставки возобновились в прежнем объеме. В СМИ связывали газовый конфликт с желанием Москвы надавить на Минск с целью ускорить одобрение всех документов по Таможенному союзу.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 8 April 2010 by *RIA Novosti*.

Source: <https://ria.ru/20100408/219571819.html>

Минск и Москва настроены преодолеть сложности, заявил Лукашенко "Скажу откровенно, когда-то мы широко и откровенно шли на создание Союзного государства, но потом пошли мелкими шагами, но делая очень конкретное дело - создавая равные условия для людей, субъектов хозяйствования", - сказал президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко.

МИНСК, 8 апр - РИА Новости, Олеся Лучанинова, Алексей Букчин. Минск и Москва имеют желание преодолеть сложности, сказал президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко, встречаясь в четверг в Минске с губернатором Московской области Борисом Громовым.

"Скажу откровенно, когда-то мы широко и откровенно шли на создание Союзного государства, но потом пошли мелкими шагами, но делая очень конкретное дело - создавая равные условия для людей, субъектов хозяйствования", - сказал Лукашенко.

"Нам абсолютно не нужна конфронтация, нам абсолютно не нужны проблемы и сложности", - сказал Лукашенко.

"У нас хватает тех, кто нам создаст эти сложности, но надо быть настроенными на их преодоление", - сказал президент Белоруссии.

Обращаясь к губернатору Московской области, президент Белоруссии подчеркнул, что предприятия двух стран должны на равных пользоваться мерами

государственной поддержки, иметь доступ к государственным закупкам и кредитным ресурсам.

"Полагаю, что в сложившихся непростых финансово-экономических условиях мы должны не только не ослаблять развитие кооперационных связей, но и создавать новые модели сотрудничества", - сказал Лукашенко.

По его мнению, это поможет преодолеть негативные последствия кризиса.

Он подчеркнул, что за восемь лет между Московской областью и Белоруссией товарооборот вырос более чем в шесть раз. По объему взаимной торговли с регионами Российской Федерации Московская область занимает третье место. "В наиболее благоприятном 2008 году товарооборот достиг рекордного уровня и составил почти 3 миллиарда долларов", - сказал Лукашенко.

Он подчеркнул, что Белоруссия и Московская область могли бы совместно производить любой товар от машиностроения до продуктов питания.

"Мы также готовы рассмотреть возможности поставок нашей продукции, расширение совместного производства", - сказал Лукашенко.

В свою очередь Громов отметил, что Белоруссия является ключевым партнером для Московской области. "Мы рассчитываем, что товарооборот с завершением кризиса потихоньку начнет увеличиваться. Мы уже в первом квартале текущего года фиксируем рост товарооборота на 20% к аналогичному периоду прошлого года и для нас это является огромным стимулом", - сказал Громов.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 10 December 2010 by *BELTA*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WZl3av>

Евразийский экономический союз может быть сформирован за полгода -
А.Лукашенко

10 декабря, Москва /Корр. БЕЛТА/. Евразийский экономический союз может быть сформирован за полгода. Об этом сообщил 9 декабря журналистам Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко по окончании заседания Межгоссовета ЕврАзЭС в Москве, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА. Александр Лукашенко подчеркнул, что это будет более глубокая степень интеграции, и не только в экономике. Президент обратил внимание на то, что Беларусь в этом союзе будет только сильнее. Как подтвердили 9 декабря главы государств в Декларации о формировании ЕЭП, "развивая Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство, мы движемся к созданию Евразийского экономического союза в целях обеспечения гармоничного, взаимодополняющего и взаимовыгодного сотрудничества с другими странами, международными экономическими объединениями и Европейским союзом с выходом на создание общего экономического пространства". Александр Лукашенко добавил, что существуют определенные принципы и направления, по которым будут выстраиваться отношения с Евросоюзом.

2011

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 20 November 2011 by *ActualComment*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3ePNrS8>

Лукашенко: можно создать Евразийский союз к 2014 году

Президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко считает, что Евразийский союз может быть сформирован уже до конца 2013 года.

«Ведь мы основу (ЕЭП – ред.) создали за полтора года. Ну, давайте закончим к концу 2013 года. И, вы знаете, Дмитрий Медведев и Нурсултан Назарбаев говорят: мы вполне это можем сделать. Так что, возможно, мы приблизим срок формирования Евразийского союза», - заявил Лукашенко в интервью программе «Вести в субботу» на телеканале «Россия 1».

По словам президента, возможность более скорого перехода от Единого экономического пространства к Евразийскому союзу обсуждалась во время рабочего обеда 18 ноября с президентами России и Казахстана в Москве.

«Ценность сегодняшнего дня в том, что мы начали движение (к созданию Евразийского союза – ред.). Инерция этого движения нам не даст развернуться в другую сторону. Главное, что мы движемся к большей унификации, большему единству», - отметил Лукашенко.

Лукашенко также выразил мнение, что единой расчетной валюте в Евразийском Союзе мог бы в будущем стать российский рубль. «Я на этом давно уже настаиваю: давайте перейдем в наших расчетах на национальную валюту, давайте на российский рубль», - сказал он.

Президент подчеркнул, что этот вопрос необходимо как следует просчитать, поскольку «спешка, непродуманность, непросчитанность вариантов может привести к тому, что сегодня происходит в Европе».

«Затем, почему бы расчетную единицу не ввести? Так мы через это можем прийти, как пришли через Таможенный Союз к Единому экономическому пространству. Может, выруем и на российский рубль, если он будет для всех интересен», - сказал президент Белоруссии. По его мнению, у российского рубля «очень много составляющих, чтобы представлять всем интерес», передаёт «Интерфакс».

Как сообщали «Актуальные комментарии», в начале октября текущего года премьер-министр РФ Владимир Путин выступил с инициативой создания наднационального экономического объединения - Евразийского союза. По мысли Путина, новое интеграционное объединение должно формироваться на основе Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства. Глава правительства назвал Евразийский союз «следующим, более высоким уровнем интеграции». Как прогнозировал премьер, Евразийский союз может быть создан не ранее 2015 года.

18 ноября президенты России, Белоруссии и Казахстана на встрече в Москве подписали договор о Евразийской экономической комиссии и декларацию о Евразийской экономической интеграции – «дорожную карту» интеграционного процесса, конечной целью которого провозглашается создание Евразийского экономического союза.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 17 October 2011 by *Izvestia*.

Source: <https://iz.ru/news/504081>

Context: President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko published an article named ‘on the fate of our integration’ in the Russian newspaper *Izvestia*, which was a response to an article published earlier in the same publication by Vladimir Putin on integration in the post-Soviet space within the Eurasian Union.

Тема: О судьбах нашей интеграции (translation: ‘Title: On the fate of our integration’)

Сегодня мы находимся на пороге создания качественно нового интеграционного образования. С 1 января 2012 года появится Единое экономическое пространство Беларуси, России и Казахстана — уже и де-юре, и де-факто.

Поэтому как раз пришло время говорить о главном. О жизни наших народов в завтрашнем дне. О судьбах наших государств и перспективах их взаимодействия.

О том, как будет устроен мир вокруг нас, и о нашем месте под солнцем. Именно об этом статья В.В. Путина в «Известиях».

Не в порядке комплимента моему коллеге, бывшему президенту России и нынешнему премьеру, скажу, что эта публикация — настоящее событие. Россия впервые за многие годы ясно и недвусмысленно заявила о приоритете отношений с государствами, с которыми, перефразируя классика, вышла из общей советской шинели.

Приоритете не лозунговом и поверхностном, а пронизывающем всю глубину жизнедеятельности наших стран и народов.

Более того, по-моему, впервые в новейшей истории России об этом говорит кандидат в президенты. Фактически, как я понимаю, в своей предвыборной внешнеполитической программе.

Понятно, что Россия как крупнейшая держава не может и не будет игнорировать работу с иными союзами. Это естественно. Но приоритеты — принципиально другое.

Это дорогого стоит. За словами статьи — стратегия. Правильная стратегия.

И только недалекие люди могут обвинять публикацию и ее автора в предвыборной конъюнктурности.

Разве это конъюнктурщина — осознание лидером, нацеленным на избрание на высший пост в России, того, что не получится укрепить страну, обустроивая ее только изнутри? Внутренняя национальная консолидация необходима. Но этого недостаточно! Для подлинного успеха России как и любого другого государства нужно также выстроить отношения с соседями на прочной основе, то есть взаимовыгодной и равноправной. Только на таких принципах! Без этого не будет стабильности и безопасности ни у России, ни у ее соседей. Иное мы уже проходили и знаем, чем все заканчивается.

Да и говорить о конъюнктурности могут только те, кто не знает фактов. Идея Единого экономического пространства России, Беларуси, Украины и Казахстана принадлежит как раз В.В. Путину. Он озвучил ее еще в начале 2003 года, когда мы собрались на неформальной встрече глав государств в его подмосковной резиденции. Понятное дело, выборы 2012 года тогда не были и на горизонте.

Ни в коей мере не разделяю взгляды скептиков о «декларативности» сделанных в статье заявлений. Ведь изложенная в статье стратегия интеграции адресована не только электорату и нам, соседям России, но и всем мировым центрам силы. Здесь блеф — себе дороже, потому что, получив этот мощный сигнал, все сделают свои стратегические выводы. Политику и политиков уважают только в случае их серьезности и последовательности. Поэтому не должно быть сомнений в искренности очерченных В.В. Путиным намерений.

Кстати, неудивительно, что реакция части внешних центров на инициативу В.В. Путина лишена энтузиазма. Оно и понятно: какого международного игрока обрадует весть о формировании нового мощного единого рынка с серьезнейшим производственным, ресурсным, интеллектуальным потенциалом — несомненного агрессивного конкурента.

В Беларуси реакция на известинскую публикацию тоже неоднозначна. Об обычных русофобских стенаниях «пятой колонны» нечего даже говорить. Здесь все ясно: их заботы — не о стране.

Но есть часть общества, которая искренне озабочена, поскольку на кону судьба государства. От этого мнения нельзя просто отмахнуться. Людям надо на деле показать, что конкретно им даст этот новый союз. Доказать, что интеграционные устремления — не политические игрища, а реальные предпосылки дальнейшего улучшения благосостояния человека. А это уже наша, политиков, задача.

Размышления о судьбах интеграции тем более не случайны в нынешнее непростое время, которое переживают и Европа, и Азия, да и весь мир.

Ровно двадцать лет назад завершилась эпоха противостояния двух сверхдержав.

Никогда не скрывал своего мнения о том, что считаю развал Советского Союза глубочайшей, трагической ошибкой XX столетия. Его можно и нужно было совершенствовать, изменять, но не разрушать. Когда все цивилизованные страны десятилетиями шли трудными путями к объединительным процессам, мы одним махом уничтожили свое величайшее достояние — единство, общность, кооперацию. В угоду чьим-то амбициям и интересам.

Но даже после этого смена биполярного мира на многополярный, сбалансированный множественностью центров влияния, так и не произошла.

В мире, меняющемся от одной формации к другой, на деле царит хаос. А хаос — всегда в пользу сильнейшего.

Как в таких условиях жить молодым государствам, в том числе нашему, нашим братьям и соседям? Как нам вместе добиться уважения и реализации своих законных интересов? Где наше место в осях координат Восток–Запад, Север–Юг? Невольно задумываешься, есть ли простые ответы на столь сложные вопросы.

Простых, наверное, нет. Но наверняка есть правильные. Их и надо найти. Потому что цена ошибки слишком велика — судьба государства и народа, и не одного.

Сегодняшний континентальный и даже трансконтинентальный финансовый кризис, только усиливающий мировые неопределенность и хаос, ясно подсказывает: главные «противовесы» кризису — формирование емкого общего рынка и баланс интересов. Создание серьезных объединительных союзов — верный шаг к стабильному миру.

Значит, без интеграции нельзя.

Для Беларуси глубокая, продуктивная интеграция с наиболее близкими соседями была, есть и будет естественным путем развития.

Два референдума, проведенных в нашей стране в первой половине 90-х годов, абсолютным большинством населения дали власти четкий мандат на интеграцию. На обломках СССР появилась первая интеграционная структура — СНГ с центром в Минске. На объединительных принципах строились ОДКБ и ЕврАзЭС.

И то, что у нас существует несколько межгосударственных образований, — это тоже нормально. Мы ищем, нащупываем те механизмы, которые удовлетворяли бы интересам всех участников. И главное, реально работали на наших людей.

И база для этого уже есть солидная. Создавая в 90-е годы Союзное государство Беларуси и России, мы выступили первопроходцами в наиболее тесном интегрировании двумя независимыми государствами самого широкого круга сфер жизни.

С его появлением сформулирован и апробирован принцип разноскоростной и разноуровневой интеграции.

Уже в течение полутора десятков лет Союзное государство — катализатор и своего рода масштабная лаборатория глубокой интеграции. Это предмет нашей особой гордости. Ведь мы смогли расширить рамки интеграции от экономики до социальных и даже отчасти политических вопросов.

Нам удалось серьезно продвинуться в обеспечении равных прав граждан, унификации национальных законодательств, координации внешнеполитической деятельности. Реальным стало осуществление масштабных межгосударственных программ, в том числе в сфере научно-технического сотрудничества.

Единая система социальных гарантий, равный доступ к образованию, услугам здравоохранения, беспрепятственное трудоустройство, свобода передвижения и выбора места жительства, ставшие возможными благодаря Союзному государству, являются ориентирами для дальнейшей работы в формате «тройки».

По некоторым направлениям мы даже впереди Европейского союза.

Интеграционные наработки в рамках Союзного государства позволили разумно и с уверенностью применять их в более широком, многостороннем формате. Ни для кого не секрет, что белорусско-российское Соглашение о Таможенном союзе 1995

года служит несущим каркасом договорно-правовой базы Таможенного союза Беларуси, Казахстана и России.

Созданная в процессе союзного строительства таможенная и пограничная инфраструктура мирового уровня позволяет эффективно решать задачи, стоящие сейчас перед Таможенным союзом и ЕЭП.

Важно, чтобы и в дальнейшем Союзное государство, Таможенный союз, ЕЭП обогащали и взаимодополняли друг друга. Наша задача — не утратить, а максимально использовать весь имеющийся интеграционный потенциал.

Сейчас мы выходим на воплощение решений, которые принято называть судьбоносными. Именно об этом мои размышления. Об этом статья В.В. Путина. Потому что это заботит наших людей.

Создаваемая нами конструкция продвинутой интеграции должна быть прочной. Иначе нет смысла тратить на нее столько сил.

Надежность и долговечность нового механизма определяются в конечном счете тем, обеспечивает ли он полноценную защиту интересов его участников. Необходимо четко осознавать: любые ущемления их прав, может быть кажущиеся сегодня мелкими, завтра создадут трещины, которые развалят сначала доверие, а затем и созданную неимоверными общими усилиями новую структуру.

Это главное. Весь остальной массив сложнейших юридических, таможенных, финансовых и иных вопросов можно решать. И мы совместно решим все, и в короткое время.

Здесь не должно быть примитивизма. Речь конечно же не о том, чтобы собрать и разделить на троих богатства, принадлежащие нашим народам. Белорусам это не нужно.

Но только равенство партнеров, в том числе равенство условий хозяйствования с равным доступом к единой энергетической и транспортной системе, позволит создать надежную основу для нашего союза. Лишь тогда люди, бизнес поверят нам и нашей интеграции и поддержат ее своими делами и помыслами.

На неравной основе союз единомышленников и партнеров не построить. Это аксиома! Верю, что именно такая идеология закладывается в наш новый союз.

На последних переговорах с руководством России мы договорились о необходимости работы предприятий и предпринимателей наших стран в равных условиях. В аналогичном ключе проходят встречи в рамках ЕЭП. Впереди, конечно, еще тернистый путь переговоров, но вместе с нашими партнерами по «тройке» мы его преодолеем в срок и успешно.

Говоря по правде, создание ЕЭП стало для нас нелегким компромиссом. А если еще более прямо: за Единое экономическое пространство Беларусь заплатила дорого. Но есть все основания быть убежденным, что этот «риск» окупится.

Наши ожидания от участия в Таможенном союзе начинают оправдываться. Увеличились объемы торговли между его участниками. Упразднены тарифные и нетарифные барьеры во взаимной торговле. Отменены все виды контроля на внутренних границах. Обеспечивается защита белорусских, казахстанских и российских товаров от недобросовестной конкуренции со стороны третьих стран. С единых позиций ведутся переговоры с крупнейшими мировыми торговыми партнерами.

Это первые результаты. Но мы ожидаем более значительной для наших граждан отдачи от деятельности Таможенного союза и ЕЭП.

Скажите, зачем, например, на общем интеграционном пространстве выдавливать продукцию партнеров со своих рынков нерыночными методами? Люди и дело от этого только проигрывают. Пусть бизнес свободно конкурирует, борется за рынок. Зачем искусственно насаждать дублирующие производства там, где спрос может быть удовлетворен с гораздо меньшими затратами и на высоком уровне качества действующими предприятиями? Разве мы не проигрываем от конкуренции друг с другом на внешних рынках? Вместо такого «самоедства» по уму надо бы создать

все условия для появления на нашем пространстве мощных конкурентоспособных транснациональных корпораций и их выхода на рынки третьих стран.

Следует заложить основы для дальнейшей модернизации наших экономик и внедрения инноваций.

И мы уже начали подходить к этому через конкретные масштабные и наукоемкие проекты — совместное строительство АЭС в Беларуси, совместное создание и вывод в космос спутников, создание системы управления ими.

Но движение идет медленно, слишком медленно. Если у руководства наших стран есть общая твердая позиция в пользу такой интеграции — а она есть! — пусть и чиновничество на всех уровнях сверху донизу быстрее разворачивается.

И здесь, конечно, максимум зависит от самого крупного партнера в интеграции — России.

Надо добиться принципиального поворота лицом к интеграции в рамках всех интеграционных структур — Союзного государства, Таможенного союза, ЕЭП, ЕврАзЭС, СНГ — не на бумаге, а на деле. Сделать такой подход каждодневной практикой взаимодействия. Люди наших стран ждут этого уже сейчас, без промедления.

Давайте заглянем дальше.

Если мы реализуем цели, намеченные ЕЭП, то сможем перейти к созданию Евразийского союза. Беларусь примет в его формировании самое активное участие.

Построить такой союз — дело непростое. Ведь достигнув максимально возможного уровня экономической интеграции, мы вплотную подойдем к необходимости создания прочной социально-политической надстройки — с общими ценностями, правовой системой, жизненными стандартами и ориентирами. Здесь не обойтись без постепенного консенсусного формирования неких наднациональных органов, в том числе, возможно, политических. Допускаем, что в таком случае в практическую плоскость перейдет и вопрос о введении новой единой валюты. Время покажет.

Перспектива мощной и глубокой интеграции, которая открывается сегодня, на самом деле захватывает. Но краеугольный камень всего того, что мы собираемся построить, — суверенитет наших государств, который не отменяет даже самая тесная интеграция.

Вместе с доверием руководить государствами наши народы вручили нам и обязанность сохранить их право самим распоряжаться своей судьбой. Исходя из этого, мы должны строить свои планы.

Успех Единого экономического пространства важен не только для наших народов и экономик. Этот проект может стать притягательным полюсом для других стран, в том числе для нашей ближайшей соседки Украины. Ведь она работала вместе с нами над первым прообразом ЕЭП.

И еще один очень важный внешнеполитический аспект.

Интеграция Беларуси, России и Казахстана — не против кого-то. В создании Евразийского союза не следует усматривать попытку некоего раздела Европы.

Скажу больше: нам нельзя замыкаться в этой интеграции. Евразийский союз я вижу как неотъемлемую часть общеевропейской интеграции. Наш союз призван стать ключевым региональным игроком, который поможет выстраивать отношения с ведущими мировыми экономическими структурами.

Именно отсюда исходит предложение «тройки» о таком взаимодействии с Евросоюзом, которое привело бы в конечном итоге к созданию общего экономического пространства от Лиссабона до Владивостока. Кстати, единственная таможенная граница на этом пути сейчас проходит через Брест.

Мы предлагаем «интеграцию интеграций».

По инициативе Беларуси в декабре прошлого года главы государств ЕврАзЭС подтвердили в своей декларации намерение работать именно в данном

направлении. Это не прихоть, а продиктованная реалиями последовательная позиция.

Такая интеграция на постсоветском пространстве быстрее приведет к более тесным и равноправным отношениям с Евросоюзом и построению Большой Европы, чем сепаратные хождения по европейским кабинетам.

Для этого, конечно, нужен соответствующий уровень развития ЕЭП и будущего Евразийского союза. Он должен стать зрелой структурой, серьезным экономическим игроком на евразийском рынке, мощным партнером Евросоюза.

Естественно, в этом деле многое зависит и от европейцев — насколько они готовы сотрудничать на равных.

Беларусь, находясь на стыке двух интеграционных союзов, особо заинтересована в их взаимном сближении. Грандиозный, но вполне реалистичный проект создания Евразийского союза таит огромные выгоды для всего континента. Возможность работы по одинаковым правилам на рынке от Атлантики до Тихого океана укрепит экспортный потенциал наших предприятий и привлекательность наших экономик для иностранного бизнеса.

При этом нашей интеграционной структуре нельзя ограничиваться только западным вектором. Важнейшей задачей должна стать и тесная интеграция с государствами и экономическими объединениями на Востоке, прежде всего с нашим стратегическим партнером Китаем.

Каждая из трех стран уже имеет богатый опыт работы с государствами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона. Объединив свои усилия, мы будем гораздо успешнее продвигать наши интересы. Беларусь вплотную приблизится к рынкам АТР, который, вероятнее всего, станет двигателем экономики планеты в этом столетии. Обнародование сейчас в ведущих СМИ нашего твердого намерения решительно углублять интеграцию — не случайно. Это своего рода манифест, идущий от жизни.

Конечно, заявленные намерения предстоит последовательно и упорно реализовывать. Но ведь и в Библии сказано: «В начале было слово».

Теперь нужен безотлагательный переход к практическим действиям. Ведь за словом серьезного политика всегда следует дело. И я как президент Беларуси буду тесно взаимодействовать с руководством России и Казахстана, чтобы реализовать на практике эту правильную стратегию глубокой интеграции.

Интеграция не самоцель. Это инструмент достижения наивысшей цели — роста благосостояния и качества жизни наших людей.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 19 November 2011 by *Vesti v Subbotu (TV Channel Russia)*.

Source: <https://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=635932&cid=5>

Context: At the end of the summit of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus in Moscow, Alexander Lukashenko gave an interview to the program 'Vesti v Subbotu' ('Вести в субботу' trans. News on Saturday), where he expressed his vision of the prospects of the Eurasian Economic Union.

- Евразийский Союз - это будет государство или это будет союз государств?
- Это будет союз суверенных государств.
- С национальными органами, тем не менее.
- С наднациональными органами. Вот только в комиссию, которую мы создали, мы передадим порядка 175 функций.
- Впервые с советских времен.
- Впервые с советских времен. Страшно когда-то было говорить о наднациональных органах. Многие государства вообще от этого шарахались, в том числе и Казахстан. А сейчас прошло определенное время, и мы к этому пришли.
- Александр Григорьевич, рано сейчас приводить в пример Европейский Союз на фоне того, что происходит в Еврозоне. Европейцы не очень все

продумали, в том числе и то, что касается евро. У них в свое время была условная валюта. Но, тем не менее, для удобства.

- Общая валюта.

- Когда вы упомянули совместное ВВП России, Белоруссии и Казахстана, тем не менее, посчитали его в долларах. А это, наверное, все-таки странно, если мы в долларах будем продолжать рассчитываться внутри Евразийского Союза. Может быть, пришло время подумать о возврате к единой валюте? Может быть, не в форме евро, но в форме экю? Я имею в виду здесь, на этом пространстве.

- Вы хотели сказать, не в форме рубля даже, а в форме экю?

- Я хотел сказать российского рубля, но не сказал.

- Вы знаете, все возможно. Но вы очень правильно в начале сказали: спешка, непродуманность и непросчитанность вариантов могут привести к тому, что сегодня происходит в Европе. Вроде бы доброе дело сделали. Евро сыграло очень большую роль, особенно во времена предыдущего кризиса, и в то же время большие проблемы появились. И, как у нас говорят, не туда и не сюда. И не выбросишь Грецию и другие страны, потому что это будет означать признать свой провал. Цивилизованный Европейский Союз - и вдруг провалился. С точки зрения экономики нельзя его разваливать. И в то же время ситуация очень кризисная, поэтому все надо продумывать. Дом надо строить, как мы все договорились, с фундамента, а не с крыши.

- Но вы не исключаете такой вариант?

- Абсолютно. Мы сегодня говорили об экю. Мы не говорили о тенге, о белорусском рубле или российском. Я на этом давно уже настаиваю: давайте перейдем в наших расчетах на национальную валюту. Давайте на российский рубль. Почему мы, рассчитываясь с вами за энергоносители, за сырье, за прочее, что мы у вас покупаем, платим долларами? Давайте перейдем на российскую валюту. Ваш президент однозначно это поддержал, и президент Назарбаев говорит: давайте в национальных валютах будем торговать. Мы меньше будем использовать "американца" в своих расчетах. Почему бы расчетную единицу не ввести, как вы ее назвали, - экю? Так мы через это можем прийти, как пришли через Таможенный союз, к Единому экономическому пространству. Может быть, выруем и на российский рубль, если он будет для всех интересен. А у него очень много составляющих, чтобы представлять для всех интерес.

- Где будет штаб-квартира? Вам бы где хотелось?

- Штаб-квартира будет в Москве. Я никогда не ставил вопрос о том, чтобы штаб-квартира была в Минске. По большому счету для нас это безразлично. Это будет Москва. Мною было предложено вашему премьеру и президенту: у нас был хороший орган в социалистическом лагере - СЭФ. Есть очень хорошее здание. Это была международная организация. Давайте приведем в порядок это здание. Там все есть - и гостиница, и стоянки, рядом Дом правительства российского, есть связь, чтобы завтра зайти и работать. Давайте его приведем в порядок и разместим там наш этот первый орган. Отторжения никакого.

- Вы все продумали, Александр Григорьевич.

- Да.

- Наступило завтра. Союз создан. Наступил 2015 год.

- Подождите. Союз не создан. Это большая проблема. Мы были готовы подписать декларацию. Но наши казахские друзья, мягко говоря, попросили нас назвать декларацию "Евразийская интеграция". Экономическая интеграция. Хорошо, давайте в таком виде подпишем. Главное - суть. А суть осталась хорошая. Это наша перспектива. Там и о валюте мы сказали, и о том, что возможна и более тесная интеграция, переплетение экономик и так далее. Поэтому к Евразийскому Союзу мы договорились прийти к 2015 году. Потом мы подумали: почему до 2015 года, ведь основу мы сделали за полтора года?! Давайте закончим к концу 2013 года. И Дмитрий Медведев, и Нурсултан Назарбаев отметили, что мы вполне это

можем сделать. Так что, возможно, мы приблизим срок формирования Евразийского Союза.

- 13-е число будет счастливым?

- Да. Но я не могу вам гарантировать, что там будет единый паспортно-визовый режим, как это хотелось бы. Я не думаю, что нам удастся приблизить Казахстан к тому, что есть у Белоруссии, чтобы не было никаких пограничных переходов, границ и так далее.

- Но движение в ту сторону началось?

- Конечно. Главное - идти. В этом ценность сегодняшнего дня. Наверняка мы еще не все проработали подробно, но мы начали движение. А когда идет движение, есть определенная инерция, то выбранное направление можно считать правильным. Инерция положительная. Она не даст нам развернуться в обратную сторону. Мы все равно пойдем к лучшему.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 23 October 2011 by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

Source: <http://www.kp.md/online/news/1003616/>

Context: Vladimir Makei was a guest on the "Picture of the World" program hosted by Yuri Koziyatko on the RTR-Belarus channel. The head of the presidential administration commented on the article by Lukashenko, which he wrote about the Eurasian union for a Russian newspaper *Izvestia*.

- Если будет создан Союз, возникают две одинаковые аббревиатуры: ЕС (Европейский союз) и ЕС (Евразийский союз). Аббревиатуры одинаковы, а основы для создания - разные. Я нашел статью в немецкой газете *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, где написано, что «предпосылкой для успешной интеграции в Европе стали баланс между сильными странами и уважение к маленьким государствам Западной Европы. Ни то, ни другое никак не прослеживается в Евразийском союзе». А вы как считаете?

Владимир Макей: Вопрос принципиально важный. Если мы хотим, чтобы Евразийский союз был успешным начинанием, то мы должны исходить из закладывания в его фундамент правильных принципов. Например, если мы изначально будем закладывать какие-то голые экономические споры или претензии относительно того, чья экономика мощнее, или какой процент экономики одной страны составляет экономика другой страны, то тогда на такой интеграции можно поставить крест. Как говорит наш президент, «идти нужно всегда от жизни». Ведь помимо голых экономических расчетов наши экономики связаны миллиардами нитей. Если же мы будем действовать по праву сильного и ломать, грубо говоря, через колено слабых, то ничего из этого проекта не получится. Поэтому должны быть выработаны принципы, когда ни одно государство в данном интеграционном объединении не должно чувствовать себя в чем-то ущемленным.

Что касается данного высказывания газеты *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, то мне кажется, что западники сейчас очень настороженно воспринимают эту реальную идею создания Евразийского союза, они опасаются увидеть реального конкурента на внешних рынках, и отсюда понятно, что они будут стараться дискредитировать идею подобной интеграции.

Эксперты из Евросоюза по-разному оценивают перспективы создания Евразийского союза, но многие допускают, что Евразийский союз и Европейский, как пазлы, могут сложиться в одну картину. Может такое быть?

Владимир Макей: Я думаю: однозначно может быть. Конечно же, речь не идет ни о каком противостоянии, как некоторые пытаются это представить, между двумя интеграционными структурами. Если вы внимательно читали статью президента Беларуси, то там прозвучала совершенно новая формула: «интеграция

интеграций». Посмотрите, что происходит после развала Советского Союза, что мы видим сейчас: сплошные кризисы. Даже казавшиеся успешными страны, как Испания, Португалия, Италия, Греция, находятся на пороге кризиса. Даже в Соединенных Штатах и Великобритании - демонстрации, которые жестоко подавляются. В мире практически царит закон джунглей «каждый сам за себя», а это значит, что действует правило сильного, то есть, кто сильнее, тот и прав - и тот будет диктовать свою волю. Отсюда и ряд вооруженных конфликтов. Как в этой ситуации выжить, сохранить страну, приумножить ее богатство - это уже вопрос. Поэтому президент и заявил о том, что выход виден в «интеграции интеграций». Но должны быть четкое сотрудничество внутри интеграционной структуры и четкая взаимосвязь, если хотите - взаимопроникновение между различными интеграционными структурами. Только таким образом мы сможем обеспечить стабильность и спокойствие в мире.

Плюсы, очевидно, есть для всех, иначе не было бы этой идеи, никто Союз не строил бы. А если есть плюсы, то есть и минусы. Оппозиция уже говорит, что Беларусь сдается России, «подняла лапки вверх», «патроны закончились».

Владимир Макей: Я знаком с этими высказываниями в нашей оппозиционной прессе и хочу сказать, что заявляют как раз об этом те, кто незадолго до прошлогодних выборов ходил по официальным российским кабинетам с протянутой рукой и с клятвами, что они лучшие интеграторы, нежели Александр Лукашенко. Сейчас они говорят о том, что Александр Лукашенко чуть ли не сдает суверенитет Беларуси. Прочитайте внимательно статью. Ни в одной строчке, ни в одном слове там не содержится заявление о том, что мы отдаем на милость России или какого-то иного государства. Александру Лукашенко народ дал мандат на президентство и одновременно на сохранение суверенитета страны, - это аксиома. (...)

Идея создания Евразийского союза - проект, устремленный в будущее. Он закладывает сейчас основы для того, чтобы наша страна спокойно развивалась, работала над ростом благосостояния всего народа и каждого гражданина в отдельности. Еще раз повторюсь, почему оппозиция стонет по поводу этих заявлений президента: они видят, что в данной ситуации можно спокойно выжить, ориентируясь только на сотрудничество с Европейским союзом.

2012

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 9 October 2012 by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3js4cXj>

Context: Exclusive interview with Lukashenko by the interstate television and radio company *Mir*.

Накануне он дал эксклюзивное интервью телерадиокомпании «Мир»

Александр Григорьевич Лукашенко оказался «святое папы римского» в деле интеграции России, Белоруссии и Казахстана. «К 2015 году, если мы действительно добьемся реализации наших договоренностей по созданию Евразийского союза, это экономически будет одно государство. Там не будет никаких препон, я думаю, и никакой разницы между Россией, Беларусью и Казахстаном быть не должно. В противном случае не будет этого союза», – заявил 4 октября президент Белоруссии в эксклюзивном интервью межгосударственной телерадиокомпании «Мир». Полная версия интервью вышла в эфир вчера вечером. «После разрыва единого народнохозяйственного комплекса Советского Союза, – рассказал Лукашенко, – в постсоветских республиках было очень много проблем в экономике, даже в Беларуси и России, где была теснейшая интеграция. Появились «молочные», «конфетные», «карамельные» войны. Друг другу запрещали, не давали. Особенно этим пользовалась Россия, и это создавало большую проблему для нашей экспортно ориентированной экономики. Ведь у

Беларуси экспортируется больше 80% товаров. К примеру, «БелАЗ». Зачем он нужен был в Беларуси? Мы практически ни одной машины у себя в стране не оставляем, но в свое время в СССР эта продукция была востребована. Она и сегодня востребована на постсоветском пространстве. Поэтому, производя большегрузные автомобили, мы вынуждены прибегать к кооперации с Россией и другими государствами, то есть производить продукт из российского металла, прилагая наш ум и руки. И наш рынок лежит за пределами Беларуси, поэтому мы вообще не можем существовать без соседних и других рынков. И если возникают барьеры на поставку продукции, как это было с Россией и другими государствами, наша экономика несет ощутимый ущерб. Хотя были и положительные факторы: мы искали новые рынки и нашли их. Сегодня, кстати, в Евросоюз мы экспортируем больше, чем в Россию».

«Когда я стал президентом, – напомнил Лукашенко, – 85% мы экспортировали в Россию, и только 15% – в другие государства. Сегодня мы диверсифицировали экспорт. На это наложились вступление России в ВТО. Здесь мы еще, может быть, видим не все проблемы, но они есть и преодолимы. Но вот этих барьеров нет. Субъекты хозяйствования могут торговать на этом пространстве, за исключением каких-то моментов – гособоронзаказы и так далее. Хотя и этот вопрос мы урегулировали с Россией. Для бизнеса, предприятий появилась свобода, то есть экономика начинает работать как в одном государстве. Это дорогого стоит. И это Беларусь получила, так же как и Россия, и Казахстан».

«А как же Союзное государство России и Белоруссии? Не теряет ли оно актуальность в рамках создаваемого Евразийского союза?» – поинтересовался корреспондент.

«Нет, пока этот союз не теряет своей актуальности, – убежден Лукашенко. – В Союзном государстве мы продвинулись значительно дальше по большому спектру отношений между нашими государствами, чем в Едином экономическом пространстве (объединении, из которого и создается Евразийский союз. – Прим. КМ.RU). Здесь у нас решены не только экономические, но и политические, и военно-политические вопросы: у нас – единая система ПВО, единая военная коалиция, у нас функционируют Высший государственный совет, коллективный президент, союзный Совмин, парламент... Иными словами, есть зародыш общей власти, и он нормально функционирует. ЕЭП, будущий Евразийский союз – чисто экономическая организация и почти не затрагивает политических, военных вопросов. Правда, есть ОДКБ, и в него в том числе входят все три государства. Но эта структура значительно больше, и проблем там хватает. В союзе Беларусь – Россия эти межгосударственные проблемы решены – экономика, политика, военная стратегия, вооруженные силы. Кроме того, мы создали равные условия для наших граждан».

В этот момент корреспондент телеканала подтвердил, что только что ощутил это на себе лично: «Это – правда, я зарегистрировался на внутренний рейс Москва – Минск. Не международный, а внутренний». Так что завоевания Союзного государства России и Белоруссии налицо.

А вот что касается СНГ, 20-летний юбилей которого, собственно, и стал поводом для интервью, то Александр Лукашенко оценивает эту «альма-матер» всех дальнейших интеграционных (или дезинтеграционных?) процессов на постсоветском пространстве довольно противоречиво: «Не буду здесь юлить и хитрить. Все-таки в этом плане у меня лично, как и других, прежде всего есть некоторое разочарование, связанное с негативом в том плане, что нам не удалось сделать то, что мы могли. Мы сделали многое, но могли сделать и больше. Прежде всего заслуга заключается в том, что мы после распада СССР, не разбежавшись на этой большой площадке, поняли, в каком мире живем и что нам нужно делать дальше. Недолгий процесс барахтанья в СНГ вылился в определенное размежевание или же в бег на разной скорости. Таким образом, СНГ явилось

фундаментом, на котором были созданы все интеграционные структуры на постсоветском пространстве более тесного характера. Но первым появился союз Беларуси и России, и мы посчитали необходимым перейти ко второму этапу строительства Союзного государства. Затем появился ЕврАзЭС, на базе которого в последние годы благодаря прежде всего позиции РФ появилось такое интеграционное экономическое образование, как Евразийский союз. Сегодня это Единое экономическое пространство и Таможенный союз. То есть ЕврАзЭС, Таможенный союз, ЕЭП – и к 2015 году мы создадим Евразийский союз. В экономике мы в этом плане очень быстро продвинулись. Появился и военно-политический блок – Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности. В СНГ осталась площадка для обсуждения более серьезных взаимointересующих политических вопросов, поэтому значение СНГ весьма велико. В последнее время многие государства, в том числе и мощные постсоветские страны, в том числе Россия, Украина, Казахстан, посмотрев по сторонам, сделали вывод, что их особо нигде не ждут. Мир достаточно плотно поделен. И такая страна, как Украина, все больше является активным экономическим интегратором в СНГ в том плане, что она активно настаивала на создании зоны свободной торговли. Сегодня вокруг этого идут основные процессы в Содружестве. То есть и Украина поняла, что Евросоюз технологичен, хорош и так далее, но ее там не ждут, как и Беларусь, Россию и другие государства. Поэтому счастья нужно искать прежде всего у себя, внутри страны, может быть, рядом, за забором, и только потом уже смотреть на большее. СНГ – мощный отрезвляющий фактор для всех государств, который помогает разобраться, где мы живем и кому нужны».

Надеется Лукашенко и на возвращение в лоно СНГ Грузии, хотя бы в качестве ассоциированного члена: «Я – активный сторонник этого». Оценивая по просьбе телеканала только что состоявшиеся в Грузии выборы, президент Белоруссии сказал: «Там – практически равновесие. Небольшое преимущество «Грузинской мечты» Иванишвили. Но сегодня я послушал его интервью. Он ничего нового не сказал по сравнению с тем, что делал Михаил Саакашвили. Преимущественная ориентация – это евро-атлантические структуры. Первый визит после выборов, как он сказал, будет в Вашингтон, и так далее, и так далее. То есть все кричали, и тот же Саакашвили говорил, что это – российский ставленник. Народ чувствует, и грузины – тоже не дураки. Это – никакой не ставленник, а прогрузинский, как мне кажется, политик. Твердый политик, который будет защищать интересы Грузии. А интересы Грузии сегодня лежат и в направлении Российской Федерации, о чем он и говорит. Да, сохранится этот курс, но мы должны нормализовать отношения с Российской Федерацией. Абсолютно убежден, что так и будет, потому что и российское руководство прекрасно понимает, что грузины – люди не чужие. Да, был конфликт, были столкновения, неприятные для братских народов, но когда-то эту страницу надо переворачивать. Никуда от этого не денешься. Я убежден, что и Владимир Путин, и Дмитрий Медведев это прекрасно понимают, хотя они были участниками этого конфликта. И я практически убежден: если будут шаги со стороны Грузии навстречу России, они будут восприняты положительно, и мы станем свидетелями, наверное, в будущем году нормализации отношений между этими двумя братскими государствами».

Итак, президент Белоруссии довольно неожиданно выступил в роли едва ли не главного застрельщика евразийской интеграции. Он – и ярый сторонник Евразийского союза, который видит не иначе как экономически единым государством, и говорит, что не теряет (точнее, «пока» не теряет) своей актуальности Союзное государство, и при определенных условиях рад был бы видеть в ЕЭП Киргизию с Таджикистаном, и даже Грузию хочет вернуть в СНГ... Эдакий собиратель земель постсоветского пространства. А ведь при всем при этом Лукашенко остается прежде всего президентом Белоруссии, что он еще раз подтвердил в интервью.

«Наверное, это моя заслуга... Извините за нескромность, но я помню, что я обещал 15-18 лет назад своему народу. Я обещал чужого не брать, по рукам давать тому, кто берет чужое, – коррупционерам. Я обещал, что буду работать только в интересах Беларуси. Я обещал, что буду свято молиться на свой народ и блюсти интересы белорусского народа. Все то, что я обещал, в том числе и простому человеку, я делаю, даже если порой это расходится с тем, что происходит в мире. Вот меня в России «долбают»: «он приватизацию сдерживает», и так далее, и тому подобное. Но я ведь поступаю так, потому что другому народу не обещал! Я всегда говорил о том, что те объекты собственности, которые сейчас называют «народно-хозяйственный комплекс», созданы руками нашего народа, и не только нашего, но и всего советского народа. Ведь Беларусь стерли с лица земли после войны. Проводя свою политику, я говорил народу: «Собственность – это народное, созданное народом». По большому счету, мы не имеем права ею распоряжаться. Это народ должен распоряжаться. Я выстроил такую систему приватизации, где прежде чем приватизировать объект, идут в трудовой коллектив, к народу. Там – обсуждайте, доказывайте! Если народ согласится, проблем не будет. Но наш народ не хочет идти на приватизацию, видя, как она кое-где проходила. Так почему я должен проводить иную политику?

Я часто говорю, что помню те первые выборы, когда после распада СССР народ почувствовал, что мы летим в бездну. И тогда хромые, больные, которые годами лежали в постели и не поднимались, детям не доверяли, сами шли (некоторых несли на носилках) голосовать за Лукашенко. Я что, могу их подвести? Да кто я такой?! Против такой воли и чувств народа?! Я был бы подонком и идиотом, если бы изменил своему народу. Вот в чем мой талант и яркость. Я никогда не говорил того, чего не могу сделать», – раскрыл свое политическое «кредо» президент Белоруссии.

А это «кредо» означает, что каким бы ни был Александр Лукашенко поборником евразийской интеграции, своей главной ролью он всегда будет считать полномочия президента Белоруссии, и хотя бы поэтому никакого «второго издания СССР» в виде подлинно единого государства на постсоветских просторах пока не предвидится. Да, скорее всего, появится единое «экономическое государство» в лице Евразийского союза, сохранится Союзное государство России и Белоруссии – но не более того. Белоруссию Лукашенко никому никогда полностью не отдаст.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 8 February 2012 by *TUT.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2prdlYJ>

Беларусь получит выгоду от ЕЭП, но не скоро
Обеспечить "максимальную выгоду от вхождения в ЕЭП" требуют правительство и лично премьер-министр Михаил Мясникович. Тем временем промышленники и экономисты вполне обоснованно утверждают, что белорусским предприятиям в ЕЭП будет очень сложно конкурировать. Плюсы и минусы членства Беларуси в новом интеграционном образовании взвешивают эксперты "Завтра твоей страны".

На заседании Совмина Михаил Мясникович заявил, что "пока практически нет стоящих предложений, которые следует направить в Евразийскую экономическую комиссию (ЕЭК) как наднациональный орган Беларуси, России и Казахстана". Означает ли это, что белорусские власти вступали в ЕЭП, не сильно задумываясь, что оно из себя представляет, и не до конца понимая, как оно будет работать?

Чем выгодно ЕЭП рядовому белорусу

Руководитель Аналитического центра "Стратегия" Леонид Заико, утверждает, что теоретически любая интеграция выгодна, "неважно будет она африканской, азиатской или белорусской". По словам эксперта, эффект, который наблюдался в Евросоюзе, и может приниматься во внимание – это возможность прироста ВВП на 2%. Происходит это за счет синергии, структурирования международного разделения труда и рационализации факторов производства.

- Надо понимать, что это не кратковременный процесс, - подчеркивает Леонид Заико. - Интеграция полноценно заработает только к 2019-2020 годам. Никакого сиюминутного эффекта быть не может.

Простое установление свободного движения товаров не является интеграцией. Она состоит из трех компонентов: свободное движение товаров, свободное движение капитала и свободное движение рабочей силы. Именно их сложение и есть настоящая интеграция.

- Сегодня еще невозможно представить свободное движение капиталов, - отмечает экономист. – Вы представляете себе, чтобы какой-то белорусский бизнесмен самостоятельно и легально, не спрашивая разрешения у президента или других чиновников, перевел деньги за рубеж, например, в Казахстан или Россию, и вложил их хотя бы в Газпром? Возможно, будем наблюдать такую картинку лет через 5-7 или 8.

У процесса интеграции есть своя логика и динамика. Самое простое и реализуемое – это свободное движение рабочей силы.

- Вот и ответ на вопрос, чем выгодно ЕЭП простому жителю Беларуси, - считает Леонид Заико. – Он может просто собрать чемодан и уехать в Тюмень на зарплату в 5 тысяч долларов в месяц. Потом - вернуться в Беларусь с деньгами и купить себе дом. А на родине, он будет зарабатывать меньше, чем китайский рабочий. Вот и вся пока выгода.

Эксперт: Бестолковость приобретает масштабы бедствия

Леонид Заико уверен, что на данном этапе никакой выработанной, а тем более единой стратегии развития в рамках ЕЭП вообще нет, и никто не занимался этим вопросом.

- По приглашению российского правительства я участвовал в качестве независимого эксперта в одной из встреч по ЕЭП в Алма-Аты, - говорит эксперт. – Так вот, выяснилось, что казахстанские экономисты не делали никаких расчетов эффективности ЕЭП или разработки каких-то мер в его рамках, не проводили вообще никаких исследований. Ни в правительстве, ни на уровне специалистов или экспертного сообщества.

По информации эксперта, в России такую работу проводили. Однако финансировали ее представители бизнес-элит по отдельным группам товаров, чтобы выяснить определенные предпочтения и интересы.

- В Беларуси этого точно не делали, - отмечает Леонид Заико. - Более того, президент на встрече с учеными признался, что в рамках Таможенного союза и других интеграционных объединений мы, дескать, все изобретаем прямо по ходу

дела, а ученые ничем нам не помогают. Меня это крайне смущает. Эта бестолковость приобретает масштабы бедствия.

В ЕЭП все только начинается

Аналитик исследовательской группы BusinessForecast.by Александр Муха, отмечает, что у интеграционных проектов в рамках ЕЭП практически отсутствует информационное обеспечение.

- Всегда можно найти и плюсы, и минусы в любом процессе, - полагает эксперт. Беларусь не имеет собственных ресурсов, и с этой стороны участие в ЕЭП нам действительно выгодно. Можно будет развивать экспорт и зарабатывать валюту.

Так, за январь - ноябрь 2011 года белорусский экспорт в страны Таможенного союза вырос на 38,5% до 13,1 млрд долларов. По мнению аналитика, это очень серьезный показатель для такого небольшого срока.

- На самом деле нужно понимать, что гармонизация экономических систем - это гораздо более сложная работа, чем просто установление свободного перемещения товаров, услуг, капиталов, рабочей силы, - заявляет Александр Муха. - Придется выравнивать условия господдержки и работы на финансовых рынках, торговых площадках.

Неудивительно, что штат ЕЭК планируется увеличить с 600 человек с 1 июля до 1071 человека с 1 января 2013 года. Будет кому ломать голову над выравниванием условий.

- Беларусь отправила в ЕЭК таких сильных специалистов, как Сидорский, Корешков, Гошин. Все только начинается, - прогнозирует аналитик BusinessForecast.by.

Беларусь уже получила пользу от ЕЭП

Юрист коммерческой практики Revera Consulting Group Дмитрий Зикрацкий обращает внимание на то, что в отличие от Таможенного союза в ЕЭП создаются дополнительные предпосылки для обеспечения свободного движения не только товаров, но и капитала и рабочей силы. Таким образом, по самой своей сути эта интеграционная форма должна быть намного выгоднее как для государства, так и для населения.

- Впрочем, несмотря на вступление самих соглашений в силу, некоторые их положения вступают в силу позже (вплоть до 2017 года), другие требуют принятия внутригосударственных актов для их реализации, - отмечает Дмитрий Зикрацкий.

Стороны определили единые для всех обязательные количественные параметры экономического развития. Так, годовой дефицит госбюджета должен быть не выше 3% ВВП, госдолг - не выше 50% ВВП, уровень инфляции - не более чем на 5 процентных пунктов уровня инфляции страны - участницы ЕЭП с наименьшим ростом цен. Однако за их невыполнение не предусмотрено никакой ответственности.

Первые позитивные моменты для Беларуси от вступления в ЕЭП уже есть. По мнению Дмитрия Зикрацкого, это - стабилизационный кредит в 3 млрд долларов от Антикризисного фонда ЕврАзЭС.

Чем чревато "единство"

Среди плюсов для белорусских субъектов хозяйствования в результате создания ЕЭП юрист назвал равный доступ к рынкам России и Казахстана. Это предусмотрено соглашениями о единых принципах и правилах конкуренции, о торговле услугами и инвестициях в государствах-участниках ЕЭП, о единых принципах регулирования в сфере охраны и защиты прав интеллектуальной собственности.

Предусмотрены также единые условия деятельности в рамках естественных монополий в области энергоснабжения, транспортировки нефти, газа, доступа к услугам железнодорожного транспорта.

Работникам из Беларуси можно будет гораздо проще трудоустроиться в других странах ЕЭП и перевезти туда свои семьи. Планы по сближению законодательств трех стран позволят людям со временем лучше ориентироваться в законах.

Беларусь может улучшить свою инвестиционную привлекательность за счет создания равных условий функционирования экономических механизмов и установления количественных параметров, определяющих устойчивость экономического развития.

- Отрицательным моментом для отечественных субъектов хозяйствования станет снижение финансирования сельскохозяйственных предприятий, что, скорее всего, повлечет увеличение стоимости сельскохозяйственной продукции, и снижение ее конкурентоспособности на рынке участников ЕЭП, - считает Дмитрий Зикрацкий.

Кроме того, в процессе принятия технических стандартов не исключено, что требования, предъявляемые к производству отдельных товаров, ужесточатся, что повлечет необходимость осуществлять инвестиции в обновление производственной базы, и увеличивать себестоимость продукции. Возможно также, что соглашения в рамках ЕЭП нужно будет корректировать в связи со вступлением во Всемирную торговую организацию. Скорее всего, при вступлении в ВТО каждому из государств (либо всем вместе) будут поставлены определенные условия, которые могут не соответствовать принятым данными государствами на себя обязательствами в рамках соглашений по формированию ЕЭП, считает юрист.

- Необходимо также учитывать, что большинство соглашений требуют осуществления дальнейших мер для их реализации (принятия внутренних нормативных актов, координация действий сторон), в связи с чем, создание благоприятных условий для деятельности сторон во многом зависит от дальнейшей политической ситуации и желания руководства стран участников ЕЭП двигаться в направлении дальнейшей интеграции, - отмечает эксперт.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 7 February 2012 by *Government.by*.

Source: <http://www.government.by/ru/content/4250/print>

Беларусь вошла в 2012 год без макроэкономических дисбалансов -
М.Мясникович

Беларусь вошла в 2012 год без макроэкономических дисбалансов, заявил 7 февраля на заседании Совмина Премьер-министр Беларуси Михаил Мясникович.

"Фактически решена задача национальной безопасности,- подчеркнул Премьер-министр. - Бюджетно-финансовая система работает бездефицитно, приток валюты в страну превышает ее отток, замедлен рост цен, стабилен валютный и депозитный рынки". Эти тенденции нужно закрепить системно и сделать необратимыми, отметил Михаил Мясникович. База для этого Главой государства, Правительством и Национальным банком сформирована.

Руководитель Правительства напомнил, что Беларусь "имеет благоприятные цены на достаточный импорт энергоресурсов, что позволяет экономике работать в полную силу, без всяких ограничений". Созданы максимальные в истории Беларуси запасы золотовалютных резервов, сформирован бездефицитный бюджет на 2012 год. "Планы развития текущего года и заделы на 2013 год приняты на принципах жесткого лимитирования эмиссии и инфляции, таким образом решены задачи огромной государственной важности для функционирования экономики", - отметил Михаил Мясникович. По его словам, все усилия госорганов и предприятий сегодня необходимо сконцентрировать на главных направлениях. Основное из них - рост доходов населения. Это важнейший приоритет 2012 года. "Мы должны обеспечить его на качественной основе за счет создания новых и модернизации действующих рабочих мест, только в жесточайшей увязке с ростом производительности труда", - резюмировал Руководитель Правительства.

Руководитель Правительства подчеркнул, что никакой распродажи госсобственности в Беларуси нет и не будет. Беларусь будет продавать акции своих предприятий только на выгодных условиях. В ближайшее время Правительство представит Главе государства перечень планируемых к приватизации в нынешнем году организаций. "Мы спокойно и последовательно будем открывать свою экономику, создавать новые рабочие места и привлекать инвесторов для роста благосостояния наших людей",- заявил Премьер-министр.

Предприятия, включенные в перечень приватизации, будут продаваться только на взаимовыгодных для Беларуси и инвесторов условиях, добавил Михаил Мясникович. "Стоимость активов включенных в эти планы предприятий должна обеспечить в текущем году приток в страну не менее \$2,5 млрд.", - подчеркнул он.

По словам Премьер-министра, приватизация и структурные реформы - это каждодневная работа для Правительства. "Выполнять ее будем без гвалта и шума, эффективно, открыто и на правовой основе, - сказал он. - Не будет при этом никаких массовых сокращений, увольнений и прочих страхов, которые пытаются некоторые оппоненты породить в обществе. Рынок труда будет конкурентным".

По поручению Главы государства группой экспертов под руководством Минэкономики разрабатывается новая программа развития промышленности. Документ должен пройти самое широкое обсуждение в экспертном сообществе - у производителей, ученых, предпринимателей. "Концепцию с учетом предложений всех заинтересованных мы рассмотрим в Правительстве в конце февраля", - рассказал Михаил Мясникович. В связи с этим он поручил привлечь к обсуждению документа всех заинтересованных, кто имеет конструктивные предложения.

Эти и другие инициативы дополняют меры по налоговым и бюджетным стимулам. Всего в 2011 году в Беларуси было принято 20 декретов и указов Президента, 15 постановлений Правительства, которые заметно улучшили бизнес-климат, открыли новые возможности для предприятий всех форм собственности. Вместе с тем многое еще предстоит сделать, отметил Михаил Мясникович.

По его словам, главную ставку в новой промышленной политике Беларусь будет делать на крупные современные корпоративные структуры. Нормативные документы для создания и развития холдингов разработаны и представлены Главе государства. Такие объединения - реальные и привлекательные активы, в том числе для кооперации с транснациональными корпорациями. Главный эффект от реализации подобных проектов заключается в повышении конкурентоспособности и устойчивости крупных отечественных производств и предприятий.

Премьер-министр Михаил Мясникович отметил, что при отсутствии роста производительности труда руководители предприятий и госорганов в Беларуси не будут получать премии.

"Предлагаю записать наше решение: при отсутствии роста производительности труда премии и бонусы руководству предприятий, а также госорганов не выплачиваются ни при каких условиях", - сказал Премьер-министр. Он напомнил, что одной из главных задач, поставленных на текущий год, является рост доходов населения. Правительство должно обеспечить ее выполнение на качественной основе за счет создания новых и модернизации действующих рабочих мест и только в жесточайшей увязке с производительностью труда.

Михаил Мясникович напомнил, что в текущем году в Беларуси должна быть восстановлена покупательная способность населения, резко сократиться инфляция. Базовые условия для этого - эффективная монетарная и валютная политика. "Денежная масса должна соответствовать созданному валовому продукту, а валютный курс определяться спросом и предложением, - подчеркнул он. - Эти принципы в 2012 году и далее будут неукоснительно реализовываться. Всякое пожелание получить в течение года что-то, сверх предусмотренного и согласованного, исключается".

Для модернизации экономики нужны ресурсы и капитал, отметил Премьер-министр. "Внутри страны денег мало и они объективно дорогие. Мы подсчитали: при минимальной потребности инвестиций в 2012 году в \$15 млрд. наша банковская система способна обеспечить не более трети и под большие проценты, - констатировал он. - Собственных источников у предприятий и в бюджете также не хватает. Их совокупный объем на инвестиционные цели оценивается по году в \$8 млрд.". Внешние заимствования создадут проблемы в последующие годы, поэтому важнейшей задачей является привлечение в Беларусь прямых иностранных инвестиций.

По словам Премьер-министра в Беларуси подготовлен проект закона об инвестициях. "Разработан и представлен Президенту проект закона об инвестициях, - сказал Михаил Мясникович. - В нем собраны лучшие международные практики и отечественный опыт". Руководитель Правительства напомнил, что привлечение прямых иностранных инвестиций - важнейшая задача для Беларуси. "Это не модное увлечение, а жизненная необходимость для развития экономики", - подчеркнул он.

Защита в Правительстве министерствами и областями своих планов на 2012 год показала, что Минпром, Беллесбумпром, Белгоспищепром, Витебская и Гродненская области планируют долю кредитов в источниках более 35%, а коммунальные предприятия Брестской и Гомельской областей - более 50%. При этом доля прямых иностранных инвестиций - мизерная. "Мы обратили внимание руководителей, что это ошибочный подход, - сказал Михаил Мясникович. - При существующих процентных ставках и ликвидности банков делать главный расчет на внутренние кредитные ресурсы - нереально". В этой связи Премьер-министр поручил всем руководителям до 15 февраля еще раз сбалансировать инвестиционные портфели по источникам. При этом ориентироваться необходимо на документы, утвержденные Президентом, Правительством и Нацбанком. "Прирост требований банков к экономике в соответствии с денежно-кредитной политикой должен быть по году в пределах Br27-36 трлн., - добавил Михаил Мясникович. - Просим банковскую систему обеспечить экономику кредитными ресурсами, что называется по верхней планке прогноза на неэмиссионной основе".

Минфину поручено обеспечить жесткий контроль за соблюдением бюджетной дисциплины, исключить факты запуска проектов в общественном секторе без подтвержденных источников финансирования. Нарушения в этой области будут классифицироваться как вредительство. "Правительство будет признательно госконтролю за пресечение замораживания средств в незавершенном, неплановом, неэффективном строительстве, - отметил Михаил Мясникович. - Правительство утвердило объектные списки жилых домов, молочно-товарных ферм и других объектов, кредитуемых в централизованном порядке, на остальные объекты должны привлекаться исключительно коммерческие и собственные ресурсы".

"Мы должны планировать наше развитие с учетом стратегий наших партнеров. Нам надо активизировать работу и получить максимальную выгоду от работы ЕЭП, - подчеркнул Премьер-министр. - Пока практически нет стоящих предложений, которые следует направить в Евразийскую экономическую комиссию (ЕЭК) как наднациональный орган Беларуси, России и Казахстана".

Председательство Беларуси в ЕЭК в первый год функционирования комиссии должно пройти под знаком современных инициатив и инновационных предложений. "Мы должны креативно реализовывать свою экономическую стратегию, повышать конкурентоспособность страны, используя возможности интеграции, и не только за счет Единого экономического пространства", - сказал Михаил Мясникович. Он подчеркнул важность достижения запланированных показателей по росту экспорта и выходу на положительное внешнеторговое сальдо. Даже с учетом риска замедления мировой экономики выполнение заданных целевых показателей реально, уверен Руководитель Правительства. "Валообразующие экспортеры - Минпром и концерн "Белнефтехим" чувствуют уверенно экономику своих предприятий, а это больше половины экспорта страны", - отметил он.

Развитию экспорта в нынешнем году будут способствовать и дополнительные стимулы. "Для этого Правительство внесло Главе государства проект Указа, разрешающего экспортное кредитование нерезидентов в белорусских рублях, а также расширяющий ресурсную базу экспортных кредитов за счет валютных средств "Белэксимгаранта", - сказал Михаил Мясникович.

Вместе с этим Премьер-министр потребовал усилить ответственность заместителей председателей облисполкомов, Минского горисполкома, а также заместителей министров за конечный результат выполнения основных

"В 2012 году на основе базисных принципов стабилизации экономики, которые созданы в 2011 году, предстоит реализовать комплекс мер по модернизации экономики", - подчеркнул Премьер-министр. Он напомнил, что в прошлом году в Беларуси разработан и принят мощный пакет нормативно-правовых актов, которые формируют новые эффективные институты развития экономики. Помимо этого, намечены дополнительные меры по модернизации экономики. Среди них - индикативное трехлетнее программирование. Закон, закрепляющий эти принципы, внесен в парламент. "Мы рассматриваем трехлетку и это необходимо, чтобы отвечать на глобальные вызовы, с которыми сталкивается страна", - пояснил он. Нормы нового законопроекта призваны не только способствовать стабильному развитию экономики, но и обеспечить уверенность в обществе в целом.

"Это своего рода ответ оппозиции, которая голословно пытается посеять сомнения у людей по поводу деятельности Правительства, - добавил Премьер-министр. - У Совета Министров есть программа, есть позиции, мы знаем, как повышать доходы людей и укреплять экономику государства".

Руководитель Правительства также напомнил о разработке в Беларуси пакета антимонопольных мер. Они нацелены на борьбу со сговором и недобросовестным поведением на рынке. При подготовке документов эксперты заимствовали лучшие европейские принципы, а также учли собственный опыт антимонопольного контроля.

В увязке с этими мерами будут урегулированы закупки за счет собственных средств госорганизаций и организаций госсобственности. Недобросовестные посредники должны исчезнуть как класс и лучший рецепт для этого - прозрачность сделок, открытость результатов и конкурсных закупок, подчеркнул Михаил Мясникович. "Это реальный удар по откатам и коррупции", - резюмировал он.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 14 December 2012 on the official website of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus (government.by).

Source: <http://www.government.by/ru/content/4747>

Context: Prime Minister of the Republic of Belarus Mikhail Myasnikovich spoke at the opening of the International Forum of the Business Community, which was held in Minsk on December 14 as part of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Belarusian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Verbatim Report

Уважаемые дамы и господа, руководители торгово-промышленных палат и дипломатических представительств!

Приветствую на белорусской земле гостей и участников Международного форума делового сообщества! Он проходит в дни 60-летия Белорусской торгово-промышленной палаты. Я поздравляю весь ее коллектив, руководство, деловых партнеров с этим замечательным юбилеем!

БелТПП стала в нашей стране важной площадкой для диалога бизнеса и власти, эффективным институтом реализации торговой и промышленной политики. Для Беларуси именно они играют ключевую роль, потому что наша экономика открыта, а промышленный потенциал – это треть валового внутреннего продукта.

Внешнеторговая квота Беларуси – порядка 160% ВВП. В 2013 году мы

перешагнем планку в \$100 млрд экспорта и импорта товаров и услуг, который генерирует белорусская экономика. Причем при положительном сальдо внешней торговли. Высокие темпы экономического роста для нас эквивалентны высокой экспортной активности.

Беларусь торгует со 180 странами мира, активно продвигая свою продукцию на внешние рынки. Созданы и работают советы делового сотрудничества как с нашими традиционными партнерами в Европе и СНГ, так и с государствами Юго-Восточной Азии (Индия, Вьетнам, Мьянма, Бангладеш), Южной Америки, странами Залива. Я благодарю наших партнеров из Европейского Союза, России, Украины, стран СНГ и Балтии, Японии, Сербии, других государств, которые сегодня здесь в зале. 20 стран мира, 85 иностранных гостей, более полусотни дипломатов принимают участие в форуме. Ваше присутствие - лучшее свидетельство партнерского отношения и нацеленности на результат в нашем взаимовыгодном сотрудничестве.

Особо хочу отметить развитие конструктивного сотрудничества по линии деловых кругов Беларуси с европейскими партнерами. Деловой совет Беларусь-ЕС стал заметным институтом содействия торговле и инвестициям. В текущем году товарооборот Беларуси с Европейским союзом вырастет на 19%. Это рекорд за последние годы. По году мы сможем выйти на \$25 млрд. взаимной торговли. Активно развивается деловое сотрудничество по линии Беларусь-Германия и Беларусь-Польша. Торгово-промышленными палатами в 2012 году реализовано три десятка совместных проектов и мероприятий, наработана мощная договорная база. Беларусь благодарна активной позиции немецких партнеров по проведению Дней белорусской экономики в Берлине и Мюнхене. Я надеюсь, что пример бизнеса будет поучителен для политиков: у нас много общего и огромный потенциал взаимного сотрудничества на благо наших народов.

Серьезный вклад в поддержку взаимной торговли и инвестиций вносят международные финансовые организации: Всемирный банк, Европейский банк реконструкции и развития, Международная финансовая корпорация, инвестиционный портфель которых в Беларуси составляет около \$2 млрд. Это проекты реальной экономики, которые объединяют компании и открывают новые возможности для развития партнерства и делового взаимодействия.

ЕЭП – это геополитическая реальность, ядро стабильности и роста в Евразии. Европейский союз и Единое экономическое пространство имеют огромный потенциал партнерства на принципах свободы торговли, недискриминации, взаимного уважения. Практическим аспектом реализации этой идеи, инициатором которой выступил Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко, является работа по созданию зоны свободной торговли между ЕЭП и Европейской ассоциацией свободной торговли. Имплементация четырех базовых свобод: свобода движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы - категорический императив нашего совместного европейского ответа на глобальные вызовы современности. Правительство Беларуси работает над реализацией этой идеи. Совет торгово-промышленных палат стран ЕЭП и Таможенного союза также внесет свой вклад в развитие этой инициативы и укрепление взаимопонимания и сотрудничества

в

Европе.

В дополнение к нашему присутствию в традиционных для Беларуси странах (России, Казахстане, Украине, Азербайджане, других странах СНГ и в ЕС), мы открываем новые рынки, развиваем торговое, инвестиционное и научно-техническое партнерство по «дальней дуге». Это рынки Вьетнама, Индии,

Венесуэлы, Бангладеш, Мьянмы и других государств. Это очень непростая задача. Здесь мы конкурируем с глобальными корпорациями и мощными государствами в традиционных зонах их влияния.

В 2013 году Правительство Беларуси видит потенциал утроения нашего экспорта на новые и нетрадиционные рынки. За счет этого мы можем прирасти не менее чем на \$1 млрд. В решении этой задачи очень важна партнерская работа по линии торгово-промышленных палат, контактно-кооперационных бирж, совместных форумов и конференций. Мы предлагаем нашим партнерам не останавливаться на простой торговле, а развивать промышленную кооперацию, создавать современные компании и для этого готовы передавать свои технологии и ноу-хау, инвестировать в создание совместных производств.

Белорусское государство, используя современные инструменты с учетом норм и правил ВТО и ЕЭП о добросовестной конкуренции, поддержит амбициозные экспортные и инвестиционные стратегии нашего бизнеса. Для этого есть средства, и они заработаны экономикой. Чистая прибыль субъектов хозяйствования за 9 месяцев нынешнего года увеличилась в два раза по сравнению с аналогичным периодом прошлого года. Обеспечено улучшение качественных показателей и рост эффективности производства. Удельный вес инновационной продукции по итогам 11 месяцев нынешнего года составил 17,5%. Это значит, что экономика модернизируется.

Государство поможет экспортерам. Масштабное экспортное кредитование будет реализовано через механизм компенсации части процентов банкам-нерезидентам, кредитующим покупателей белорусской продукции. Эта схема хорошо себя зарекомендовала в России, особенно со Сбербанком. Она будет масштабирована на рынках других государств. При поддержке Банка развития и национальной банковской системы будем выходить на новые рынки. Объем экспортного кредитования через эти механизмы увеличится до полумиллиарда долларов, то есть утроится к факту 2012 года. На качественно новый уровень выйдет экспортный лизинг. Создание национального лизингового оператора, способного работать по всей линейке инвестиционного экспорта, который предлагают белорусские компании, является перспективной задачей. Она будет рассмотрена в Правительстве в ближайшее время с участием бизнеса и экспортеров БелТПП. Полагаю, что такие институты должны формироваться на принципах частно-государственного партнерства, консолидации финансового, торгового и промышленного капитала.

Реализация экспортной стратегии, выход на новые рынки увязаны с комплексной модернизацией экономики. Создавая равные условия игры для всех участников экономического процесса, Правительство обеспечит эффективное распределение ресурсов на конкурентных принципах. Все инструменты поддержки, развития и модернизации, предусмотренные на 2013 год, будут одинаково доступны для всех форм собственности - будь это крупный бизнес или малое предприятие, госкорпорация или частная компания.

Правительство активизирует начатую в 2011 году работу по системным преобразованиям в экономике.

Названные мною подходы – это далеко не полный перечень решаемых задач.

Белорусская торгово-промышленная палата объединяет всех вас. Ее главное преимущество – синергизм опыта, многоукладности и рациональности бизнеса. И это надо использовать, встраивая

национальную экономику в транснациональные отношения, участвуя в глобальной конкуренции и отвечая на турбулентность мирового рынка. Современный мир развивается динамично. Торгово-промышленная палата должна не только отстоять те позиции, на которых мы сегодня находимся, но и быть хотя бы чуть-чуть впереди новых вызовов и изменений. В этом суть современной конкуренции: быть первым и успеть поймать момент – это очень актуально. Нам есть чему учиться у наших партнеров, нам есть, что им рассказать. Я уверен в перспективности наших совместных проектов.

Уважаемые дамы и господа! В преддверии Рождества и Нового Года поздравляю всех с этими праздниками и желаю всем крепкого здоровья и успехов. Удачи и процветания в наступающем 2013 году.

Спасибо за внимание!

Vladimir Makei

Discussion published on 29 May 2012 by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

Source: <http://www.kp.ru/daily/25890/2851263/>

Context: The VII Belarus International Media Forum “Partnership for the Future: Models of a New Era” is being held in Minsk. Representatives of 500 mass media from 17 countries gathered in a plenary session at the National Library. The event was addressed by the head of the presidential administration Vladimir Makei. And he spoke not only about the media in the modern world, but also about integration.

- Интеграционные процессы являются неотъемлемой чертой новой эпохи, - сказал Владимир Макей. - Для Беларуси и других стран это позволяет менее болезненно преодолеть последствия кризиса и создает предпосылки для устойчивого развития всех участников объединений. (...) Но, интегрируясь друг с другом, постсоветские страны не должны замыкаться в себе: на Западе есть мощный сосед - Евросоюз, на востоке они граничат с динамично развивающимся Китаем. (...) Стратегия будущего состоит в том, чтобы интеграционные структуры не разъединяли Евразийский континент, а объединяли его.

Глава администрации президента напомнил о статьях Владимира Путина и Александра Лукашенко, которые были в прошлом году опубликованы в газете «Известия» и были посвящены Евразийскому экономическому союзу.

- Президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко в известной статье выдвинул идею интеграцию интеграций. Ее цель - создание общего экономического пространства от Лиссабона до Владивостока. Об этом, кстати, говорит и президент России Владимир Путин, - заметил Владимир Макей.

После выступления чиновника на медиафоруме стало понятно, какой реформы стоит ожидать белорусским СМИ. На основе крупных государственных СМИ будут созданы холдинги.

- Сейчас мы стоим на пороге проведения масштабной реформы медиарынка. (...) Вместо разрозненных редакций этот сегмент займут два медиахолдинга - общественно-политический и культурологический. (...) Результатом реформирования должно стать создание качественного продукта - не только печатного, но и в сети интернет, - сказал Владимир Макей. - Наши читатели, зрители, слушатели посетители интернет-сайтов должны четко понимать, что происходит в мире и на какие перспективы они могут рассчитывать в складывающейся ситуации.

2013

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 18 March 2013 by *RT (formerly Russia Today)*.

Source: <https://russian.rt.com/inotv/2013-03-18/Lukashenko-YA-poklyalsya-chto-ne>

Context: Alexander Lukashenko in an interview with Russia Today.

Александр Григорьевич, спасибо вам большое, что вы согласились дать интервью телеканалу Russia Today. Здравствуйте. Здесь, в Петербурге, сегодня вы с Владимиром Путиным обсуждали дальнейшую интеграцию России и Белоруссии. Ну, вот раньше то и дело было слышно: единая валюта, единый флаг, единый парламент. Ну и не прошло 20 лет, об этом уже никто не говорит. Как бы стало очевидно, что, скорее всего, это не произойдет. Почему ничего из этого не произошло? Что все-таки растаскивает наши страны в разные стороны?

Александр Лукашенко, президент Республики Беларусь: В свое время, мы выработали договор о строительстве союзного государства. Если вы откроете его и посмотрите, вы увидите, что там есть определенный план действий по строительству этого Союзного государства, которое мы замыслили, и основные составляющие этого Союзного государства. Ну, вообще, как положено: общие органы управления, валюта, какова она будет и как, ну, и порядок действий.

Мы должны были провести референдум, на котором принять своеобразную конституцию этого образования. Выработать, да и принять, а как иначе? Хотя договор определенные элементы конституции содержит. И план. Ну, мы этот референдум не провели и соответствующую конституцию не приняли.

Мы значительно продвинулись за эти годы вперед, хотя мы не нашли в себе сил для реализации тех функций и того строительства, который был предусмотрен договором. Но мы со временем пришли к тому, что, наверное, мы не созрели еще до этого. Но процесс Союзного государства, его строительство дал толчок очень интересному новому образованию: Таможенному союзу, а ныне Единому экономическому пространству, которые мы сейчас пытаемся преобразовать в Евразийский экономический союз.

Вы согласны с экспертами, которые говорят, что это некоторая попытка воссоздать мини Советский Союз?

Александр Лукашенко: Сравнить можно с Советским Союзом, можно с Европейским союзом, с любым другим. Но, когда мы с союзами сравниваем, мы говорим о том, что в мире вообще идет такой повсеместно процесс интеграции, образование союзов. Посмотрите, Азиатско-Тихоокеанский союз, потом МЕРКОСУР в Латинской Америке, вот недавно с Венесуэлы приехал, и так далее. Везде происходят вот эти вот образования, для того чтобы в этой конкурентной борьбе выживать. Почему мы не можем использовать опыт Советского Союза в выстраивании наших отношений?

Если сейчас чуть-чуть абстрагироваться от России, я хотела бы вам задать несколько вопросов. Вы очень близко дружили с Уго Чавесом. Это человек, который объединил вокруг себя лидеров, которые бросили вызов Западу, западному капиталу, корпорациям. Вот с его уходом, что будет с этой альтернативой?

Александр Лукашенко: Я бы не сказал, что там уж слишком объединил нас, очень тяжело объединить, очень тяжело. Я первый раз с этим столкнулся в Движении неприсоединения, где, просто, за эти страны идет борьба со стороны, там, других государств, Соединенных Штатов Америки, нацеленных на раскол. И Уго Чавес, и мне повезло, что и я с ним в этом контексте работал, на объединение развивающихся государств. Очень большой вклад внес в это.

Но мы так и не смогли преодолеть центробежные силы и движения, даже в этом Движении неприсоединения. Даже с точки зрения выгоды, по разным причинам. Поэтому, я бы не сказал, что уж мы в этом отношении, в том числе и Уго Чавес, продвинулись. Но то, что он встряхнул Латинскую Америку, то, что там практически все руководители сейчас-таки левого движения, они все прибыли на этот траурные мероприятия, на похороны Уго Чавеса, - это о многом говорит. Он очень много в этом отношении сделал. Но процесс запущен. Там есть уникальные, сильные руководители. Ну, возьмите, вот, допустим, Рафаэль Корреа в Эквадоре. Экономист, умница-человек, очень сильный. Возьмите женскую часть: в Бразилии

президент, потом президент Аргентины - женщины, тоже очень активные люди. То есть, этот процесс, я не скажу, что он уже абсолютно приобрел необратимый характер. Но он значительно повлияет и на развитие всей Латинской Америки, и на развитие всего мира. Это игнорировать нельзя.

Некоторые подобные процессы происходят и в Африке, в других местах, в Азии и так далее. Поэтому влияние, и в том числе Уго Чавеса, в этом отношении солидно, но его преувеличивать не надо, в том плане, что если нет Чавеса, значит, в мире вот этот вот процесс свободы, независимости, справедливости прекратится. Нет. Но роль его в этом была значительна.

Ну вот, в той же самой Венесуэле знали Чавеса, но при этом знали еще там одного или двух оппозиционеров. В случае Белоруссии знают только Лукашенко. Вот, правда, в остальном мире никого не знают, кроме вас. Я не говорю, что это сейчас должно произойти, но рано или поздно, как бы, вы должны кому-то передать власть. Вот как вам это представляется?

Александр Лукашенко: Нет, я такими категориями не мыслю, честно вам говорю, что я кому-то должен передать власть. Я поклялся, что я ни в коем случае не буду передавать власть своим родным, близким, родственникам или детям. Это исключено. Но самое главное, власть у нас после Лукашенко будет у того, кто ее выиграет на выборах. Честных, как я когда-то... в первый раз в первые президентские выборы выиграл, придя из оппозиции, я был оппозиционным кандидатом в президенты. И так, как я выигрывал все время эти последние выборы. Я вел себя честно в этом отношении, и я хочу, чтобы после Лукашенко пришли люди точно так, честным путем.

То есть, преемника вы себе не готовите?

Александр Лукашенко: Нет. Вы знаете, я даже скажу вам откровенно, задумываясь над этим вопросом, я пока для себя так и определил, что я даже и поддерживать публично никого не буду. Все должно быть честно. Народ должен избрать себе руководителя сам, когда придет к этому время.

Я помню, что еще летом, когда Чавес был жив, вы приехали к нему, и ваш младший сын Николай вас там сопровождал. И Чавес сказал: «Ой, у нас большой праздник, приехал президент Лукашенко, да еще и с сыном». И вы сказали, что вы правильно подметили, что я приехал с ребенком, потому что дело, которое мы начали, это большое дело, есть, кому продолжать, есть, кому передавать эстафету лет через 20-25.

Александр Лукашенко: Есть, кому продолжать. Эстафету я не говорил. Я это очень хорошо помню, и я ответственно это сказал. Будет, кому продолжать. Продолжать ведь не значит, что взял бразды правления и сел в кресло президента. Таких у нас, как младший сын Лукашенко, - миллион, а, может быть, и больше, и они будут продолжать то дело, которое Лукашенко когда-то начал. Что я начал и что сделал. Ладно, что я начал понятно. Что мы сделали. Беларусь стала суверенным и независимым государством. Главный результат нашей - Лукашенко и его коллег - работы, что мы впервые в истории уже два десятилетия живем в независимом государстве. Мы создали все атрибуты этого государства, все буквально. За исключением границы с Российской Федерацией, она нам сейчас пока и не нужна. Россия не претендует на наши земли, мы - на ее. У нас нет из-за этого проблем. Все остальное создано. И при этом выросли многие поколения, и вырастут такие, как там младший сын Лукашенко. И будет возможность, будут люди, которые будут продолжать это. Я не имел в виду, честно вам говорю, что вот младший сын, вот он, которому я передам власть. Ну, по нашей конституции, добавьте 30 лет, это мне должно быть под 90 лет.

Но если Коля в будущем захочет идти в политику, вы поддержите это?

Александр Лукашенко: Да ради Бога. Я не хотел бы этого, не хотел бы этого, чтобы он шел в политику. Он наелся уже в этом возрасте восьмилетнем этой политики - от отца он это увидел, у него даже такого желания в детстве не было и нет, что

вот у меня папа президент, я тоже буду президентом. Ни в коем случае. Я даже на эту тему дома не разговариваю. Это не детские вещи. Что касается взрослых сыновей, так они мне прямо говорят: «Папа, мы наелись твоего президентства». Наелись вот так. Поэтому у нас нет этих разговоров о передаче власти. Я и вообще не веду сегодня разговоры о том, что я кому-то должен власть передавать. Да господь с вами, я работаю пока еще, слава Богу. Жив-здоров.

Поправьте, если я ошибаюсь, я просто цитату вашу прочитаю, вот вы недавно сказали: «Страшно и опасно, что после меня пойдет с молотка все то, за что я цеплялся, чтоб сохранить для Беларуси, создавая это государство». Вот что это значит? Что если вас не будет, растаскают на куски Беларусь?

Александр Лукашенко: Я этого боюсь. Да, я этого боюсь.

Так что же получается, что система, которую вы создали, которая на вас держится, она хрупкая до такой степени, что после вас ничего не останется?

Александр Лукашенко: Вы знаете, я же не имел в виду, что Беларусь, существующая в нынешних границах, развалится. Я имел в виду ту собственность, ту экономическую базу, сельское хозяйство, которое мы модернизировали на сегодняшний день. Когда я стал президентом, мы не могли накормить собственный народ. У нас были пустые полки, как я грубо говорю, у нас было нечего жрать. Мы сегодня накормили свой народ, и цены у нас значительно ниже, чем в России и Украине, у Евросоюза, окружающих государств - значительно ниже. И мы сегодня 5 миллиардов в год продаем, этой продукции. Значит, мы туда вложили немало. Вот придут люди, вот надо поделить, как у нас раньше было, и отдать все это в частные руки, раздать. Что произойдет? Будет катастрофа, будет катастрофа. Вот я боюсь, чтоб это не сломали. Я не хочу, чтобы за бесценок распродали наши промышленные предприятия, другие предприятия. Вот я за это боюсь, потому что это основа жизни любого государства и любого народа.

Поэтому меня беспокоит, в чьи руки попадет это аккуратное, ухоженное, чистенькое, как многие журналисты приезжают к нам, говорят, Беларусь. Я хотел бы, чтобы у власти был человек, который шарахаться не будет, а будет продолжать это дело. Все должно соответствовать воли народа и тому жизненному укладу, который будет складываться на то время не только в Беларуси, но и во всем мире. А вот скажите, политические оппоненты, которых вы имеете, вы вообще их всерьез воспринимаете? Ну, например, те, которые с вами боролись на выборах в 2010 году, вы всерьез их воспринимаете?

Александр Лукашенко: Если честно говорить, исходя из тех выборов, конечно, не всерьез. Они показали, кто они есть. И, знаете, 10 альтернативных кандидатов. Сколько они там набрали, 1,5 или 2 процента. Вот их рейтинг. Ну ладно, их задавили и так далее, и так далее. 5 процентов. Ну, нормально. Поэтому как их всерьез воспринимать, если они выходят и несут такую ересь, что даже народ их не воспринимает. Притом, в открытом, прямом эфире. Мы же уже никого не закрывали. Даже когда они нарушения конституции... всех звали взять в руки кайло и вилы и идти ломать, крушить на площадь. Ну, пришло 800 человек. Из них 400 постоянных оппозиционеров. Вот и все. Правда, начали ломать и крушить Дом Правительства.

Ну, вы часто говорите, что «вот у нас в Белоруссии демократия ничем не хуже», чем, там, в Америке и в Европе...

Александр Лукашенко: Абсолютно. Абсолютно не хуже, поверьте. Хотите, я вам докажу, что у нас нет диктатуры? Просто одним тезисом. Я пытаюсь этим убедить своих западных партнеров. Для того чтобы быть диктатором и похожими на нашего с вашим прадедушку Сталина, надо иметь ресурс. Ресурс надо иметь, понимаете? Я же в обнимку с ядерными боеголовками не сплю? Нет. У меня углеводородного сырья не столько, сколько у Уго Чавеса в Венесуэле было? Нет. У меня природного газа не столько, как в Российской Федерации. Вообще, мы его не добываем. И так далее и тому подобное. У нас что, населения полтора

миллиарда, как в Китае? Чтобы диктовать, быть диктатором и диктовать, надо иметь в руках ресурсы: экономические, социальные, население, военные, боеголовки и прочее. У нас ничего этого нет. И я объективно оцениваю свою роль в связи с этим. И сейчас говорю о том, что мы не страдаем никаким глобализмом. Мы не собираемся решать глобальные проблемы всей планеты. У нас тоже для этого нет ресурсов. Мы хотим видеть, найти свое место под этим солнцем и жить, как нормальное цивилизованное средневропейское государство. Вот чего я хочу. Ну, собственно, вопрос в том, если все так, как вы рассказываете, как так получилось, что за девятнадцать лет в Белоруссии не появилась ни одна сильная альтернативная фигура вам?

Александр Лукашенко: Ну, наверное, пока действующая фигура сильная. Поэтому вы в тени ее не видите других фигур. Извините за нескромность. Но это вопрос не ко мне. Конечно, у нас есть политики оппозиционные так называемые. Я их пятой колонной называю, потому что они работают не на свою страну. И идеи у них тех, кто их финансирует в их пользу. Это что, нормально? Какой народ будет любить такую оппозицию? Но вы не волнуйтесь, придет время, появятся и лидеры.

Александр Григорьевич, вы прекрасно знаете весь перечень претензий, которые к вам имеет Евросоюз, я не буду сейчас их перечислять...

Александр Лукашенко: Ну, можете перечислять, я не обижусь, но я их знаю. Конечно, знаю.

Ну, вы же знаете, их все знают: нет плюрализма политического, свободы слова нет, ну, и много чего, список большой. Но мне хочется услышать от вас, в вашем понимании, и в ваших словах: почему вы — персона нон грата там?

Александр Лукашенко: Вы знаете, я недавно летел в Венесуэлу. У меня было время подумать. И я вот, оценивая и прочитав информацию, я задаю себе риторический вопрос, как будто дискутирую с американцами и западниками. Ну, хорошо, Лукашенко персона нон грата. Вы его никуда не пускаете. Но заодно вы не пускаете моего старшего сына, моего среднего, и моего малыша в список записали. Ну, он-то в чем виноват? Он что, фальсифицирует выборы? У меня дети вообще отстранены от всякой предвыборной кампании. Как можно всех агулом взять и записать их, не знаю, чем их обозвать, обругать можно и не пустить их на территорию Европейского союза? Ладно, они за права человека, но почему вы нарушаете права человека моих граждан? Ладно, Лукашенко неприемлем. Я могу сказать вам, по каким причинам основным я им неприемлем. Не потому, что авторитарный, это, может, действительно так. И не потому, что меня называют там диктатором, сейчас уже не говорят ни про авторитаризм, ни про диктатуру. Это когда-то говорили. С Америки прислали им эти тезисы, как меня обозвать.

Ну, так почему же?

Александр Лукашенко: Меня, вы хотите сказать, почему? Вы знаете, появилось такое новое независимое государство Беларусь. А места под солнцем все разобраны. А тут Лукашенко очень резко, так же как Грузия и другие, начали требовать себе место под солнцем. И заняли, кого-то, может, потеснив. Конечно, кому-то это не понравилось. Но это полбеда.

Дальше. Дальше – больше. Лукашенко слишком жестко придерживается курса независимости. И все хотят сегодня порвать Беларусь на клочья - в плане экономики. Тоже не нравится, ни там, ни там. Вот он такой, вот такой он весь сядкой.

Дальше. Вы это точно знаете, что мы не проводим курс, рыночного государства, основанного на рыночной собственности, где приоритет частной собственности, где государственное надо все порезать на куски, раздать, поделить. Мы такого курса не придерживаемся. У нас нет этой повальной приватизации. Кому-то не нравится. У нас социально ориентированное государство с очень мощной социальной политикой. Та политика, которую я провожу в экономике, социальная – она значительно отличается от того, что хотели бы видеть на Западе.

Дальше. У нас, действительно, жесткая система власти, где особенно не разгуляешься и в парламенте мордобоем заниматься не будешь. Понимаете, когда власть разобщена: полномочия парламента, полномочия правительства, у президента никаких полномочий – тогда легче сводить, разводиться, драться. А в результате народ будет страдать. Тогда можно легче прикарманить, приватизировать какое-то предприятие за бесценок. Им это не нравится. Им вот надо вот это. Что касается свободы слова, плюрализма и прочего, да бросьте вы! Разве можно? Мы окружены практически – в современном мире особенно – всеми средствами массовой информации, скажем так. Что, у нас Russia Today – это мой канал, где я влияю? А у нас его кто хочет, тот и смотрит.

А Интернет? У нас по нашим подсчетам 51% активного населения сидит в Интернете. Скажите, как я могу им рот заткнуть? Я самый ярый противник всяких запретов, выстраивания заборов и прочее. Если ты сильный человек, то ты в этой борьбе выиграешь. Если ты слабый, лучше не борись, потому что ты будешь сам себя и государство загонять в тупик с каждым разом. Простите за нескромность, второй раз говорю: я в себе чувствую силы для того, чтобы бороться и противостоять нападкам на себя лично, на мою семью, моих детей и на мое государство. Мое белорусское государство.

Вот про ваше белорусское государство вы два года назад сказали, что Германия и Польша стоят во главе заговора против Беларуси. Что это за заговор? Кто его готовит?

Александр Лукашенко: Да, перед выборами, это было перед выборами, когда ко мне приехал министр иностранных дел Германии. Известное посещение. И Польша...

Когда он обиделся на вас за ваше высказывание о его ориентации.

Александр Лукашенко: Да. О его гей-ориентации.. Ну а что обижаться?! Ну, если ты такой!

А вы знали, что он гей, когда давали интервью?

Александр Лукашенко: Не знал. Когда давал интервью, я этого не знал. Хотя мне соответствующие структуры это прописали. Я прочитал эти документы, но я в конце все это не дочитал.

А зачем вы эту тему подняли?

Александр Лукашенко: Они подняли, не я. Сикорский, поляк, поднял эту тему. Ну и я там начал отвечать. Он начал мне задавать уточняющие вопросы. А вот в Москве запретили гей-парад. А если бы у вас был, вот вы б запретили или нет? И я ему говорю: «Вы знаете, наверное, я б не запретил. Конечно, по центру города они бы не бродили. Ну, где-то на окраине пусть бы собрались, пусть бы народ подивился. Ну и высказал свою точку зрения. Ладно, женщинам лесбиянство я прощаю. Но голубизну мужикам - никогда в жизни. Почему нет? Да потому, что женщина лесбиянка, потому что мы мужики дрянные.

А что они сказали на это?

Александр Лукашенко: Они? Ничего мне не сказали. Просто слушали. Я даже внимания на их лица не обращал. А потом когда уехали, уже это все разразилось. Мне потом сразу после этого министр иностранных дел сказал: «Ну, лучше бы, Александр Григорьевич, вы эту тему не трогали». - «Почему же?» – «Так он же...» - «Почему ты мне об этом не сказал раньше?» – «Так я ж вам написал!» – «Да я ведь не дочитал просто это».

Это испортило отношения? Добавило керосина к огню?

Александр Лукашенко: Вопрос был не в этом. Они мне поставили – я уже потом говорил – практически ряд условий. Мы будем с вами дружить, у нас будут хорошие отношения, если вы первое, второе, третье, пятое сделаете. Я им сказал: «Вот это, это, это, это я сделаю». И я практически все сделал, что они требовали. Я так и называл это – «что они требовали». Но они не сделали ничего! Они после этого нашли повод. А повод был то, что мы разогнали вот эту толпу – 400 человек,

которые штурмовали Дом Правительства. Их было 800. 400 убежало, а 400 осталось, которые кайлом ломали двери. И это показывали по всем каналам. Как бы отреагировали другие? Но мы их не поливали водой в этот морозный день 19 декабря. Мы их не разгоняли слезоточивым газом. Мы не бомбили, не стреляли в них резиновыми пулями, как это делают в странах ЕС. Мы просто защитили государственное учреждение. Они использовали это как повод, чтобы не выполнить то, что мне обещали. Вот и все. Вот в чем суть.

В начале интервью вы сами несколько раз упомянули, что «вот про меня там раньше говорили, что я последний диктатор Европы». На самом деле, когда я готовилась к этому интервью, я читала очень много материалов и слушала. И практически 99% всех этих материалов, подводки – там, действительно, значит, есть формулировка «последний диктатор Европы». Даже вы во время интервью применили это на себя. Вы, я так понимаю, иронизировали.

Александр Лукашенко: Конечно! Когда вы встречаетесь со мной, я могу вам повторить, как я это применил. Вот приезжает из Запада журналист. Он только это и читал. Вот, о чем вы сказали - он только это и читал. Что Лукашенко диктатор, он чуть ли не ест людей, но женщин - так точно съедает. Вот они приходят ко мне, сидят напротив, как вы, и дают интервью. Потом по диктатуре там так скромно... Но я, наоборот, этот вопрос всегда, как электрические провода, оголял. Ну да, диктатором меня называют и так далее. Я им прямо говорю, да, я человек авторитарного стиля работы, поскольку система такая. Но вы никогда не задумывались, почему я провожу такую политику и такую систему создал? Наверное, для этого, видимо, есть какие-то объективные причины. —Никто ж не занимался этим поиском: почему такая сильная авторитарная под человека выстроена система. Она дает, по крайней мере, свои результаты. Что касается диктатуры – так вот радуйтесь, вы встречаетесь с последним диктатором Европы. Вы живьем его видите, завтра такого больше не будет. Вот какая была ирония. Скажите честно, вас не обижает это, вам абсолютно все равно, что про вас говорит Запад: Америка, Европа?

Александр Лукашенко: Вы знаете, нет. Ну что вы! Ну что вы!

Это же не только лично. Это же обязательно автоматически влияет на имидж страны.

Александр Лукашенко: Конечно, вы очень правильно начали отвечать на этот вопрос. Если бы это только в мой адрес – я бы лично обиделся и подумал: «Черт с вами!». Но это же обижают в какой-то степени народ, государство. Поэтому, конечно, мне это небезразлично. Но я уже так не страдаю и так не мучаюсь. Тот, кто говорит, если он искренен, то мне жаль, что он заблуждается и не знает реальной действительности, реального человека, о котором он говорит. Вот только сожаление вызывает.

А что случилось с известным лордом Беллом, которого вы в свое время наняли, для того чтобы он улучшил имидж Беларуси за границей?

Александр Лукашенко: Это не так, как это представляется. Лорда Белла – я не буду все об этом рассказывать – его рекомендовали... Кстати, я категорический противник этого. Хотя это все делают – по имиджу, пиарщики и прочее. Это был единственный – первый и последний раз – когда я согласился, чтобы приехал человек просто со мной поговорить, который где-то там что-то пишет. Я даже не вникал в эту суть. И потом: мы ему деньги не платили. Он от нас денег не требовал. «Вот я хочу поговорить и что-то написать и так далее». А то, что уже сказали и расписали, что имидж хочет – ну, наверно, или он сам или еще кто-то об этом сказал, что, вот, его пригласил президент Лукашенко, чтобы вывести страну на столбовую дорожку развития и исправить имидж.

То есть, он себе цену набивал?

Александр Лукашенко: Я не знаю, он или кто-то, стоящий за ним. Я в это вообще не верю, чтобы кто-то приехал и изменил имидж или еще что-то там сделал. Это

не происходит по мановению палочки и за один день, месяц, неделю или год. Это время, время и время, если менять имидж. И имидж надо менять не только благодаря тому, что о тебе скажут. Это важно. Но главное – это реальные дела. А они в один момент, в одно мгновение не делаются.

Знаете еще что писали, когда история с лордом Беллом всплыла – что вас с ним познакомил Березовский. Это правда?

АЛЕКСАНДР ЛУКАШЕНКО: Меня с ним Березовский не знакомил, он приехал один. Но правда в том, что и Березовский его рекомендовал тоже. Поэтому это только часть правды.

Буквально несколько дней назад директор национальной разведки США представил доклад и там говорится, что в 2013 году Беларусь может столкнуться с новым экономическим кризисом. Вы согласны с этим?

Александр Лукашенко: А Америка не может столкнуться? Я бы сказал так, что весь мир, в том числе Беларусь, может столкнуться с экономическим кризисом, если он будет в очередной раз исходить из его родины, из Соединенных Штатов Америки. А то, что сегодня Европа просела, провалилась экономически – провалилась Европа – факт. Там половина нашего экспорта. Что произойдет с нашей экономикой? Конечно, и она будет проседать. И в России мы немножко просели, хотя в России кризиса еще нет экономического. А тем более для Грузии, Беларуси, Украины, и прочее, где реальный сектор экономики, где практически нет углеводородов, цена на которые в мире еще высока, нечем подкрепиться – конечно, это всегда проблема, если весь мир проседает. Но у нас есть свои добрые заготовки. Если нам нужно, мы будем пользоваться нашими резервами. Мы выживем.

Ну, просто еще так получилось, что в результате прошлого кризиса, вы все-таки были вынуждены обратиться за поддержкой в МВФ. Вот, например, тот же самый Чавес, он разорвал все отношения с МВФ, с Мировым Банком.

Александр Лукашенко: Правильно сделал. У него резервов хватало. У него первые в мире запасы нефти. У него не счесть природных ресурсов. У него был резерв. Зачем ему какие-то кредиты, за которые надо потом платить.

Но он к китайцам обратился за помощью, кстати.

Александр Лукашенко: Он обратился к китайцам. Может быть, идеологически – это с этим было связано. Китайцы ему предложили эту помощь. Но китайцы же не бескорыстно предлагают. Китайцы у Чавеса, наверно, первое место по инвестициям занимают, по вложениям в те отрасли, которые им нужны, начиная от нефти и заканчивая золотом.

Для вас это был вынужденный шаг – обратиться за помощью в МВФ? Потому что они же все-таки диктуют политические условия для Беларуси, которых вы так не хотите.

Александр Лукашенко: Конечно. Нет, политические условия они нам не диктовали, тогда они нам продиктовали очень жесткие экономические условия – и мы их выдержали. Ну, они правы, ну что там говорить – жестковато, но они нам предложили то, что мы сами должны были сделать и начали делать. Если у тебя нет денег, то, что ж, социальные расходы увеличиваешь и так далее? Зачем содержишь неэффективные производства и так далее, и так далее. Но они предлагают раз в раз – взял и зарезал. Но там же люди, враз нельзя. Поэтому то, что они нам предлагают – это не ново, и мы это делаем, только мы делаем это спокойно, а от нас требовали «давай быстрее». Но когда мы у них брали кредиты – американцы, кстати, молодцы, они нас поддержали там. Американцы нас поддержали – без них МВФ не выдало бы эти кредиты. Мы выполнили все условия – вот мы им выплачиваем эти долги сейчас по кредитам. Это были самые дешевые кредиты. Поэтому ничего не могу в этом плане сказать. А Чавес отказался потому, что у него своих ресурсов было много, ну и кто-то ему давал ресурсы под будущие обязательства его более выгодные.

Господин президент, спасибо большое за интервью.

Александр Лукашенко: Господином я пока не стал. Надо для этого много денег.

Александр Григорьевич, спасибо вам большое за интервью.

Александр Лукашенко: Это вам спасибо за то, что вы приехали, что мы действительно с вами поговорили.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 24 December 2013 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2BkFgzE>

Context: President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko spoke to journalists following a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council.

24 декабря, Москва /Татьяна Полежай - БЕЛТА/. Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия полны решимости подписать договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе (ЕЭС) в определенные ранее сроки. Об этом заявил сегодня Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко журналистам по итогам заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА. "Если мы не добьемся того, чтобы Евразийский экономический союз заработал в определенные нами сроки - с 1 января 2015 года, - это будет позором для всех нас", - сказал глава белорусского государства. Он подчеркнул, что в этой связи страны "тройки" полны решимости за короткий промежуток времени создать и подписать договор о ЕЭС. Александр Лукашенко отметил, что сегодня состоялся конструктивный и полезный обмен мнениями не только по вопросам дальнейшего развития евразийской интеграции, но и по многим другим актуальным вопросам взаимодействия. Глава белорусского государства подчеркнул, что важнейшей задачей на данном этапе является подготовка Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе. "По нашему мнению, важнейшим вопросом, связанным с дальнейшим развитием интеграции, является создание нового объединения на базе Таможенного союза, в котором нет никаких изъятий и ограничений в торговле товарами между странами-участницами. Ведь именно в свободе движения товаров мы шагнули максимально далеко", - сказал белорусский лидер. "Полноценная свобода движения товаров должна стать примером для реализации остальных свобод в сферах услуг, капитала и рабочей силы, зафиксированных в базовых соглашениях ЕЭП", - считает Президент Беларуси. Именно такой подход, по мнению белорусской стороны, позволит в кратчайшие сроки решить амбициозную задачу по созданию Евразийского экономического союза. Александр Лукашенко отметил, что состоявшееся совместное обсуждение в очередной раз подтвердило готовность лидеров к продолжению интеграции. "Нам под силу прийти к консенсусу по всем, даже самым чувствительным вопросам, - считает белорусский лидер. - Существующие между странами доверительные партнерские отношения являются залогом дальнейшего развития взаимовыгодного сотрудничества". Сегодня на заседании президенты договорились, что будут сокращать изъятия с тем, чтобы, в конце концов, свести их к нулю. В свою очередь, Президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев отметил, что создание Евразийского экономического союза является инновационным проектом современности. По его словам, это не попытка воссоздания СССР и эта общая позиция всех стран-участниц. "Мы идем не назад, а вперед", - сказал он, добавив, что это интеграционное объединение не является и повторением других подобных союзов.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 12 June 2013 by *Interfax Ltd.*

Source: <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/312060>

Context: Mikhail Myasnikovich at a round-table meeting in the framework of the forum "Eurasian Economic Perspective" in Minsk.

"Это вопрос крайне сложный и непростой. В белорусском правительстве полагают, что договор о его создании (Евразийского союза - ИФ) должен состоять из двух частей - институциональной и кодифицированной", - сказал М.Мясникович в ходе заседания "круглого стола" в рамках форума "Евразийская экономическая перспектива" в среду в Минске.

"Попытка создания одного документа может обречь создание союза на провал", - отметил премьер. При этом он выразил сомнение относительно того, что к 1 января 2015 года стороны договорятся по всем принципиальным вопросам, так как есть разные подходы в вопросах глубины интеграции и сроков реализации тех или иных мероприятий.

Вместе с тем М.Мясникович подчеркнул, что "Беларусь рассматривает Союзное государство как матрицу, образец интеграционных блоков на евразийском пространстве".

Говоря о перспективах евразийской экономической интеграции, глава белорусского правительства отметил, что "наши страны должны объединить усилия в борьбе за рынки сбыта". "Ведь из-за несогласованности наших действий мы порой уступаем рынки сбыта другим странам", - сказал М.Мясникович. Так, продолжил он, "доли МАЗа и КАМАЗа за последние годы на рынках сбыта снизились в несколько раз".

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 13 June 2013 by *REGNUM News Agency*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1671234.html>

Context: Mikhail Myasnikovich at a round-table meeting in the framework of the forum "Eurasian Economic Perspective".

При создании Евразийского союза должно быть или два проекта договора, или один вариант договора должен состоять из институциональной и кодифицированной частей - иначе формирование интеграционного объединения России, Белоруссии и Казахстана будет сорвано. Об этом 12 июня в Минске заявил председатель Совмина Белоруссии Михаил Мясникович.

"Мы в правительстве полагаем, должно быть два проекта договора или хотя бы две его части: институциональная и кодифицированная. Иначе попытки сделать один договор обречены на провал", - заявил председатель правительства Белоруссии, выступая на круглом столе "Евразийская экономическая перспектива".

По словам Мясниковича, обсуждаемые сегодня подходы по дальнейшему объединению в рамках ЕЭП выявляют высокую рискованность и большие сомнения в том, что до 1 января 2015 года стороны договорятся по всем принципиальным вопросам, т.к. у России, Белоруссии и Казахстана имеются несовпадающие мнения по вопросам глубины интеграции, а также срокам реализации различных мероприятий - о создании единой железнодорожной корпорации, единой энергосистемы, единой миграционной политики и многих других.

"Поэтому полагаем, что надо идти на разработку договора о союзе, как с институциональным базовым документом, в котором будут порядок вступления, выхода, основные цели, вопросы собственности - союзная или исключительно национальная", - цитирует Мясниковича пресс-служба Совмина Белоруссии. По его мнению, в договоре о создании Евразийского союза нельзя ограничиваться кругом только экономических вопросов - должны быть прописаны равные права граждан и условия хозяйствования, вопросы обороны, оборонного заказа, вопросы полномочий наднациональных органов, приоритетных союзных и национальных решений.

"Масштабные программы модернизации производства дадут результат только в среднесрочной перспективе. И в этих условиях предлагается рассмотреть

вопрос о придании особого статуса товарам и услугам, произведенным на территории ЕЭП, то есть ввести понятие товара ЕЭП и критерии его определения", - сказал Мясникович, отметив, что такое решение обеспечит равный доступ к государственным закупкам и тендерным торгам.

Россия даст тройной ответ Америке на санкции

По мнению Мясниковича, вступление России во Всемирную торговую организацию подорвало позиции белорусских производителей на российском рынке и ослабило позиции российских производителей на их же собственном рынке. Он привел пример белорусского и российского производителей - ОАО "МАЗ" и ОАО "КамАЗ", которые на треть снизили свою долю на рынке автопрома к уровню пятилетней давности. Евразийская экономическая комиссия должна курировать переговоры стран Таможенного союза с ВТО, сказал Мясникович, отметив: "ЕЭК должна курировать этот вопрос очень жестко, но, как нам представляется, должного внимания к этим переговорам пока нет".

Необходимо установить единые цены на углеводороды на общем оптовом рынке и другие составляющие себестоимости этих услуг для создания равных условий хозяйствования, считает председатель правительства Белоруссии. Он отметил также: "Целесообразно создать единые органы управления функционированием и развитием межгосударственных объединений наших электроэнергетических систем, а также разработать стратегию и механизмы энергетического сотрудничества".

"Я думаю, что наднациональные органы Таможенного союза и ЕЭП окажут достаточно активное содействие в разработке дальнейших шагов в области единого аграрного рынка, трубопроводного транспорта", - отметил председатель правительства Белоруссии.

Мясникович предложил "разработать и принять модельный закон о научно-техническом и инновационном сотрудничестве сначала Союзного государства, а потом и, возможно, нашей "тройки"". Он также отметил, что "наряду с законом о защите конкуренции в ЕЭП целесообразно приступить и к разработке еще одного модельного закона о промышленной политике Союзного государства".

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 25 September 2013 by *RIA Novosti*.

Source: <https://ria.ru/20130925/965726354.html>

Context: Prime minister of Belarus Mikhail Myasnikovich giving a speech at a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Council at the level of heads of government in a narrow circle stating about difficulties in promoting the draft treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union.

"Что касается вопросов повестки дня, первое — это работа над проектом договора по Евразийскому экономическому союзу. Вынужден констатировать, и я думаю, что мы в этом плане будем вести дискуссию по повестке дня, что в целом процесс этот продвигается с трудом", — сказал премьер-министр Белоруссии Михаил Мясникович на заседании Высшего Евразийского совета на уровне глав правительств в узком составе.

"Хотя создано 12 рабочих групп коллегии ЕЭК (Евразийской экономической комиссии — наднациональный орган управления), но ясности пока нет по многим вопросам", — добавил Мясникович.

По его словам, в повестке дня Высшего Евразийского совета предлагается рассмотреть вопросы, связанные со структурой ЕАС.

"Сегодня (в среду) предлагается рассмотреть предложение казахстанской стороны — то, что касается особенно институциональной части. Предлагается новая структура Союза (ЕАС). Откровенно говоря, для нас, может быть, из-за недостатка информации, не совсем понятно, зачем это надо", — сказал белорусский премьер.

Евразийский экономический союз России, Белоруссии и Казахстана, который планируется создать к 2015 году, должен стать наиболее продвинутой формой экономической интеграции трех государств, которые уже сегодня имеют общую таможенную территорию и чей суммарный ВВП составляет 85% валового продукта СНГ.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 4 October 2013 by *Belapan.by*.

Source: <https://belapan.by/archive/2013/10/04/653800/>

Context: Prime Minister Mikhail Myasnikovich at a meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of Belarus on October 4 focused on the need to develop a clear position on the further development of Eurasian integration.

Как сообщает пресс-служба правительства, по словам Мясниковича, существует еще много неурегулированных вопросов в плане создания Евразийского экономического союза. При этом необходимо учитывать, что Россия уже является членом Всемирной торговой организации, Казахстан активно работает над членством в ней. Стать членом ВТО Казахстан намерен до 1 января 2015 года, то есть до перехода на работу в рамках Евразийского экономического союза.

Мясникович обратил внимание на важность для Беларуси вопроса евразийской интеграции: "Во многом это будет определять нашу экономическую политику и все вопросы, связанные с экономикой, регулировать многие виды деятельности нашей жизни". Обращаясь к участникам заседания, глава правительства напомнил требование президента о том, что договор о создании Евразийского экономического союза ни в коем случае не должен быть шагом назад.

Решение о создании к 1 января 2015 года Евразийского экономического союза — без изъятий и ограничений — было принято главами государств — участников Таможенного союза. 25 октября руководители трех стран — Беларуси, России и Казахстана — встретятся в Минске в рамках высшего Совета Евразийской экономической комиссии для того, чтобы заслушать отработанные подходы по базовым документам, в первую очередь по договору о Евразийском экономическом союзе. 25 сентября этот вопрос был рассмотрен на уровне глав правительств в Астане.

На заседании президиума Совмина были подробно рассмотрены вопросы об изъятиях, барьерах и ограничениях в движении товаров при создании общего рынка государств — участников Единого экономического пространства, ход работы над институциональной частью договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе, проблемные вопросы кодификации нормативной правовой базы Таможенного союза/Единого экономического пространства, а также принципы валютной политики в рамках Евразийского экономического союза.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 12 May 2013 by *OKO Planety (ОКО ПЛАНЕТЫ)*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2ZVCSJr>

Context: At the end of April, the first annual Eurasian Youth Forum "One Step Closer" was held in the capital of Armenia, Yerevan. Over 100 delegates from nine countries of the former Soviet Union took part in its work: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine. The head of the Belarusian delegation, executive secretary of the International Movement "International Russia" shared his impressions about how the forum was held and about its main results.

Юрий Владимирович, расскажите, пожалуйста, о значении этого форума, какие цели преследовали его участники?

– Сразу хотел бы отметить, что первый Евразийский молодежный форум «На шаг ближе» стал весьма знаковым мероприятием на постсоветском пространстве, т.к. впервые молодежь из большинства стран СНГ получила уникальную возможность собраться вместе и рассказать друг другу о том, что происходит в их странах, как развивается молодежное движение, какие задачи стоят перед отдельными организациями и – самое главное – как видится процесс евразийской интеграции молодежи не только в тех странах, которые уже участвуют в построении Евразийского союза, но и там, где только присматриваются к этой идее.

В этом плане Евразийский молодежный форум также был призван привлечь внимание представителей молодого поколения к текущим задачам, поставленным на политическом уровне стран постсоветского пространства, к объективным тенденциям развития сообщества дружественных стран.

Среди приоритетных задач мероприятия выделяется создание единого информационно-аналитического поля, находясь в котором молодое поколение приобретает мотивацию к принятию активного участия в процессах евразийской интеграции, созданию дружественной деловой среды и приложению усилий для получения высоких достижений.

– Каково было официальное представительство на форуме?

– Форум прошел при поддержке Администрации Президента России, министерств иностранных дел Беларуси, Казахстана и России, Евразийской экономической комиссии, Института стратегического развития. На открытии форума присутствовали послы в Республике Армения: Российской Федерации – В.Е. Коваленко, Республики Беларусь – С.Н. Сухоренко, Республики Казахстан – А.Е. Бозжигитов, были зачитаны приветственные слова от министров иностранных дел Беларуси и России.

Так, в своем послании участникам форума председатель Совета министров иностранных дел СНГ, глава белорусского внешнеполитического ведомства Владимир Макей высоко оценил инициативу Союза молодежи стран СНГ по проведению Евразийского молодежного форума. Он также отметил важную роль молодежных общественных организаций в поддержке интеграционных форм сотрудничества на пространстве СНГ.

Во второй день форума приветственное слово в адрес участников форума направил председатель Национального собрания Армении Овик Абрамян.

– Расскажите, хотя бы кратко, о программе форума.

– В рамках первого дня были обсуждены экономические, политические и культурные аспекты интеграционных процессов, а также внутренний взгляд стран на вхождение в формирующуюся наднациональную структуру.

Так, с докладом на тему «Перспективы интеграции образовательных систем стран-участниц Евразийского союза» выступил заместитель руководителя представительства Россотрудничества в Армении Михаил Калинин. О механизмах сотрудничества молодежных организаций стран СНГ в своем докладе рассказал исполнительный директор объединения юридических лиц «Конгресс молодежи Казахстана» Роллан Куспан.

Во второй половине дня состоялось заседание Союза молодежи стран СНГ, в результате которого было принято решение сформировать Евразийское национальное движение, которое сплотит и укрепит отношения представителей всех народов стран Содружества, углубив дальнейшую интеграцию на пространстве СНГ. Лидером нового движения был избран председатель правления Союза молодежи стран СНГ Андраник Никогосян.

Во второй день также была довольно насыщенная программа, в ходе которой в

рамках круглого стола «Кросскультурное взаимодействие на евразийском пространстве» было заслушано более 12 докладов. Так, с докладом «ТС и ЕЭП в обсуждении молодых лидеров СНГ. Оценка экономического эффекта присоединения Республики Таджикистан» выступил ведущий специалист аппарата руководства Нацбанка Таджикистана Наджимуддин Абдурахмонов. С докладом на тему «Новые медиа как инструмент освещения интеграционных процессов» выступила руководитель Центра молодых журналистов МОО Союза молодежи стран СНГ Луиза Гумроян.

Особый интерес участников форума привлекло выступление Сергея Баженова, президента Global Conventions Platform, который выступил с докладом-презентацией на тему «Презентация Евразийского информационного пространства» и представил довольно серьезный информационный мультимедийный продукт по поиску и систематизации информации в сети Интернет.

– Какова была культурная программа форума?

– Состоялось возложение цветов к памятнику геноцида армян 1915 года, обзорные экскурсии по Еревану, поездка к древнему монастырю Гарни-Гехард. Во второй день участников форума принял генеральный консул России в Гюмри Василий Корчмарь. Делегаты ознакомились с работой Генерального консульства, встретились с представителями местных органов власти, ответственными за работу с молодежью, с которыми состоялась беседа относительно возможностей дальнейшего сотрудничества.

Также участники форума «На шаг ближе» посетили военно-мемориальный комплекс «Холм чести». Представители местных органов власти, молодежных организаций после официальной церемонии возложения цветов на приеме в консульстве России рассказали гостям из стран Содружества о большой роли мемориала в воспитании подрастающего поколения.

В рамках форума была организована международная выставка «Экспо-2013» Единого экономического пространства, которая стала открытой площадкой для демонстрации технических и технологических достижений стран ЕЭП.

Также участники форума познакомились с активно реализующимся в Армении проектом «Дом русской книги» и посетили один из таких домов в Ереване.

Отдельные слова благодарности хотелось бы сказать в адрес организаторов мероприятия и особенно волонтеров, которые встречали делегации, сопровождали на форуме и в рамках культурных мероприятий. В этом плане можно сказать, что была проведена огромная работа и организаторам удалось создать атмосферу теплоты, уюта и доброжелательности. В организационном плане форум прошел на очень высоком уровне.

– Какие конкретные предложения по налаживанию сотрудничества, по работе отдельных проектов прозвучали на форуме?

– Могу сказать, что в этом плане было высказано достаточно много перспективных идей. Остановлюсь только на наиболее, на мой взгляд, интересных. Так, украинская делегация предложила создать на Украине постоянно действующую международную платформу по моделированию деятельности ЗСТ СНГ, ЕС, ТС, ЕврАзЭС, ОДКБ и других международных организаций с последующей выработкой практических рекомендаций для национальных правительств.

В качестве одного из масштабных проектов, который в ближайшее время может быть реализован на территории постсоветского пространства, был назван поиск

средневекового армянского монастыря в Киргизии, о котором свидетельствуют древние исторические источники. О намерении реализовать такой проект сообщил координатор центра Льва Гумилева в Киргизии Дмитрий Лужанский.

Еще один совместный проект родился прямо на форуме. Его представили участникам мероприятия руководитель проекта интеллектуальных игр «Экологика» Юлия Королькова и координатор центра Льва Гумилева (Кыргызстан) Д. Лужанский. Идея проекта заключается в том, чтобы создать фотоальбом единого культурного наследия стран СНГ. В рамках подготовки данного альбома планируется провести фотокросс, для участия в котором следует собрать группу молодых фотографов из представителей стран СНГ, которые бы запечатлели памятники истории, культуры, архитектуры, геоландшафты, памятники нематериальной культуры. Эти 16 человек, отобранные на конкурсной основе, не будут конкурировать друг с другом в процессе съемок, а составят единый организм. По итогам фотокросса будет создана выставка, которую провезут по всему евразийскому пространству, что даст народам стран СНГ возможность взаимно приобщиться к культуре друг друга.

Белорусская делегация в рамках молодежного сотрудничества представила несколько проектов, из которых я особо выделил бы международный проект «Я – евразиец».

– В чем суть этого проекта?

– На постсоветском пространстве стремительно происходят грандиозные интеграционные процессы, затрагивающие интересы порядка 170 миллионов человек на огромной территории. Речь идет о Таможенном союзе и Едином экономическом пространстве, созданных Россией, Беларусью и Казахстаном, а также о перспективах его преобразования в Евразийский союз в 2015 году.

Информационный поток, который должен сопровождать этот процесс, не успевает за событиями. Большинство людей живут в неведении, что происходит, как евразийская интеграция отразится на их жизни, какие перспективы ждут их в будущем. Проблема преодоления информационного вакуума, в котором оказалась подавляющая часть населения стран ТС и ЕЭП, является весьма острой. Реакция общества трех стран на происходящее неоднозначна.

Происходит нерегулируемое информационное брожение, зачастую негативно окрашенное иностранными СМИ и внутренними противниками интеграции. Такое положение дел пагубно влияет на дальнейший ход интеграционного строительства, и, если не предпринять экстренных мер, может серьезно его затруднить, что недопустимо.

Кроме того, имиджевая составляющая строящегося Евразийского союза, на наш взгляд, обязана сопровождаться мощной информационной кампанией, решающей одну из важных проблем преодоления негативного отношения к евразийским интеграционным процессам. Соответственно, мы предложили решить эту проблему с помощью проведения плановой информационно-пропагандистской кампании «Я – евразиец», рассчитанной на население трёх стран, с использованием социальной рекламы на телевидении, радио, размещением бигбордов, производством сувенирной продукции и пр.

Данный проект создан для реализации на территории всех стран СНГ и предназначен для повышения уровня знаний населения о происходящих процессах интеграции, а также формирования позитивного имиджа будущего Евразийского союза.

– Какую проблему лично вы вынесли на обсуждение участников форума?

– В своем выступлении я остановился на вопросах формирования идеологии Евразийского союза, необходимости создания общей системы ценностей, истории, т.к. одной экономической интеграции мало, надо создавать свой культурно-ценностный мир, свои идеалы, только в этом случае мы станем самодостаточными и независимыми в плане евразийской идентификации.

В Советском Союзе была создана такая система ценностей, что положительно сказывалось на воспитании подрастающего поколения, передаче традиций и норм культурной и общественной жизни. Потом произошел развал этой системы, плоды чего мы пожинаем до сих пор и еще долго будем пожинать. Соответственно, перед всеми нами стоит задача создать новую систему ценностей, основанную на идеалах гуманизма, добра, свободы, равенства и братства, которая бы воспитывала совсем иной тип людей, принципиально отличных от тех, кого мы видим сегодня на Западе, все более становящимся рассадником греховности, источником разложения общественных и семейных нравственных ценностей.

– Каковы дальнейшие планы организаторов и участников Евразийского молодежного форума?

– Председатель правления Союза молодежи стран СНГ А. Никогосян предложил провести второй Евразийский молодежный форум в столице Беларуси Минске в середине сентября этого года. Это предложение было горячо поддержано участниками мероприятия. Со своей стороны, мы, белорусская делегация, сделаем все возможное, чтобы донести эту идею до органов государственного управления, общественных организаций республики, спонсоров. Хотелось бы, чтобы в нашей республике идея проведения данного форума была поддержана так же горячо и доброжелательно, как и в Армении, и чтобы вторая встреча евразийской молодежи обязательно прошла в Минске.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 19 November 2013 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jw8AVe>

Context: Belarusian Foreign Minister Vladimir Makei believes that the countries of the Customs Union and the CSTO need to learn from the European Union to act with a single position on the international stage. He expressed this opinion, answering journalists' questions, following the results of a joint meeting of the boards of the Belarusian and Russian foreign ministries in Moscow.

Макей предлагает странам ТС и ОДКБ учиться у Евросоюза выступать с единой позицией на международной арене.

Министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей считает, что странам Таможенного союза и ОДКБ необходимо учиться у Евросоюза выступать с единой позицией на международной арене. Такое мнение он высказал, отвечая на вопросы журналистов, по итогам состоявшегося сегодня в Москве совместного заседания коллегий министерств иностранных дел Беларуси и России, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА.

"Страны Европейского союза на международной арене всегда выступают с единой позицией, хотя внутри ЕС могут быть различные взгляды, - сказал Владимир Макей. - Нам есть чему поучиться у Евросоюза, необходима большая координация совместных действий на международной арене не только в рамках Таможенного союза, но и в рамках ОДКБ".

В свою очередь глава МИД России Сергей Лавров отметил, что евразийская интеграция стала органичной частью жизни трех стран. Он отметил активную и заинтересованную позицию Беларуси по внешнеполитическому сопровождению процессов евразийской интеграции. По словам Сергея Лаврова, на заседании стороны договорились разъяснять суть евразийской интеграции на двусторонних

встречах с зарубежными партнерами, а также на многосторонних международных площадках.

Сергей Лавров высказал убеждение, что у создаваемого Евразийского экономического союза и Европейского союза есть все возможности для взаимодействия, а не выстраивания новых разделительных линий. "Только благодаря взаимодействию двух интеграционных структур можно говорить о создании единого экономического и гуманитарного пространства от Атлантики до Тихого океана", - сказал глава российского внешнеполитического ведомства.

2014

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 5 June 2014 by *TUT.by*.

Source: <https://news.tut.by/politics/402068.html>

Context : Alexander Lukashenko believes that the Eurasian Economic Union expects political and military integration in the future. He expressed this opinion at a meeting with the chairman of the Federation Council Valentina Matvienko and the heads of the Russian regions participating in the first Forum of the Regions of Belarus and Russia.

Александр Лукашенко считает, что Евразийский экономический союз в будущем ожидает политическая и военная интеграция. Такое мнение он высказал 5 июня на встрече с председателем Совета федерации Валентиной Матвиенко и главами российских регионов, участвующих в первом Форуме регионов Беларуси и России.

Касаясь темы создания Евразийского экономического союза, Александр Лукашенко выразил мнение, что это только начало интеграции. *"Я сказал (что насторожило очень Запад), что впереди нас ждет и политическая, и военная интеграция в рамках этого союза, потому что экономика – основа всему. Если есть экономика, если она сплавивает, объединяет людей, если это фундамент, то обязательно мы придем к защите этой экономики и интересов, прежде всего экономических, - сказал глава государства. - Думаю, что мы скоро придем к тому, что ОДКБ станет составляющей частью этого союза. Это будет наша военная организация"*.

Лукашенко обратил внимание на звучащие мнения о том, что отпала необходимость в дальнейшем построении Союзного государства Беларуси и России. Президент считает, что когда в ЕАЭС будет достигнут тот уровень интеграции, который существует в Союзном государстве, тогда встанет вопрос о дальнейшем существовании СГ. *"Но пока мы к этому не подошли"*, - констатировал глава белорусского государства.

"Нас часто критикуют, особенно в России: вот, Лукашенко чем-то недоволен, выторговывал и так далее. Да ничего я не выторговывал! Доволен - недоволен... Конечно, недоволен, потому что мы декларировали образование союза без всяких изъятий и ограничений. Как одно государство в экономическом плане, хотя бы. Но когда подошли к этим вопросам, оказалось, что некоторые проблемы стали неподъемными. Ну, и что там греха таить, прежде всего, для Российской Федерации", - отметил президент. Он напомнил, что многие договоренности с трехстороннего уровня были вынесены на двусторонний. *"Поэтому по некоторым позициям мы даже отступили от Таможенного союза. И мы, все три президента, это открыто признавали"*, - добавил Александр Лукашенко.

"Мы вынуждены были отсрочить решение многих вопросов аж до 2025 года. Я такую позицию критиковал. Вот в чем мое единственное недовольство. Мы ведь договорились, что не будет этих изъятий и ограничений, и вдруг они появляются, и существенные. Это потеря привлекательности, но мы твердо решили, что до

2025 года (это не значит в 2025-м, а как можно раньше) мы решим эти проблемы", - сказал глава государства.

29 мая президенты Беларуси, России и Казахстана подписали в Астане договор о создании Евразийского экономического союза. Национальные парламенты трех государств должны осуществить ратификацию договора до конца 2014 года и с 1 января 2015 года ЕАЭС начнет функционировать.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 5 March 2014 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/39iJTa2>

Context : Creation of the Eurasian Economic Union should be based on a full-fledged Customs Union without exemptions. The President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko said this at a meeting of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council at the level of heads of state, which takes place in the official residence of the President of Russia.

5 марта, Москва /Владимир Матвеев - БЕЛТА/. Создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий. Об этом Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко заявил сегодня на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета на уровне глав государств, которое проходит в официальной резиденции Президента России Ново-Огарево, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА. "Наша принципиальная позиция - создание Евразийского экономического союза должно базироваться на полномасштабном Таможенном союзе без изъятий, в том числе без пошлин, количественных ограничений или чего-то другого", - сказал Александр Лукашенко. Александр Лукашенко в своем выступлении отметил два принципиальных для Беларуси момента в плане создания Евразийского экономического союза. "Во-первых, в нашем интеграционном проекте мы должны выйти на конкретные результаты. Таким результатом является завершение создания Таможенного союза без каких-либо ограничений и изъятий. В этом вопросе стороны продвинулись дальше всего. Фактически остались изъятия лишь по некоторым, однако весьма чувствительным, товарам, включая алкоголь, табак, лекарства, нефть и газ. И нам необходимо принять по ним принципиальное решение", - сказал Президент Беларуси. Вместе с тем Александр Лукашенко констатировал, что появились подходы, когда отмену изъятий по товарам начали увязывать с отменой изъятий по услугам, капиталу и рабочей силе. "Свобода движения товаров должна стать примером для решения задачи по реализации остальных трех свобод. Без этого будущий экономический союз лишится прочного фундамента, - считает белорусский лидер. - Одновременно мы продолжаем целенаправленно работать над реализацией тех договоренностей, которые закреплены в базовых соглашениях ЕЭП". Что касается проекта договора, Александр Лукашенко отметил, что позиция белорусской стороны по отдельным положениям институциональной части этого документа была предложена в ходе предыдущей встречи глав государств в Москве. В настоящее время эксперты ведут работу по ее согласованию. Говоря о функциональной части документа, Президент Беларуси заметил, что, несмотря на активизацию работы, готовность проекта оценивается все теми же 70-80%, о которых речь шла на предыдущей встрече. Сближения по наиболее чувствительным позициям для каждой из сторон практически не произошло. "В том числе по формированию общего энергетического рынка, либерализации автомобильного транспортного рынка, доступу к газотранспортной системе, правилам субсидирования сельского хозяйства. Стороны постоянно выдвигают новые предложения, которые могут размыть уже имеющиеся договоренности", - отметил глава белорусского государства. В связи с этим Александр Лукашенко предложил в дальнейшей работе по проекту договора руководствоваться подходом, который заключается в

том, чтобы совершенствовать нормативно-правовую базу ЕЭП при согласии с предлагаемыми изменениями всех трех сторон. Если же кто-то против - включать в проект договора нормы соглашений ЕЭП в их неизменном состоянии, которые есть на сегодняшний день, чтобы не допустить хода назад. "Потому что по некоторым позициям эксперты нам говорят о том, что это уже происходит при обсуждении. В противном случае мы рискуем неоправданно затянуть процесс подготовки договора и, соответственно, начало работы Евразийского экономического союза", - сказал Александр Лукашенко.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 20 February 2014 by *Ritmeurasia*.

Source: <https://www.ritmeurasia.org/news--2014-02-20--a.lukashenko-podgotovka-dogovora-o-evrazijskom-sojuze-dolzha-byt-zavershena-v-srok-11453>

Context: The preparation of an agreement on the Eurasian Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan should be completed on time. This was announced at a meeting in Minsk with members of the EEC Council by Alexander Lukashenko.

Подготовка договора о Евразийском союзе России, Белоруссии и Казахстана должна быть завершена в срок. Об этом 19 февраля на совещании в Минске с членами Совета ЕЭК заявил Александр Лукашенко, сообщает корреспондент ИА REGNUM.

"В повестке дня нашей работы - договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе, - сказал Лукашенко, открывая заседание. - В общем-то, установлены конкретные сроки. Очень хотелось бы, чтобы эти сроки не нарушились. Это очень важно будет для нас, потому что в обществе и в наших государствах вообще в связи с формированием и работой над формированием Союза Белоруссии и России, тем более - СНГ, были в свое время завышенные ожидания, а может быть, и нормальные ожидания, но мы эти ожидания народов не удовлетворили. Поэтому у людей уже есть вот эта настороженность, чтобы мы этот проект не загубили. И если мы просрочим сроки, извините за тавтологию, провалим их, - у народа будет плохое настроение. Я убежден, это касается не только Белоруссии, но и России, и Казахстана. Поэтому хотелось бы просто поговорить на эту тему - пусть даже кратко".

"Главный вопрос я уже обозначил, он волнует нас всех - формирование Евразийского экономического союза и как идет этот процесс", - подчеркнул Лукашенко. Он напомнил, что руководители постсоветских республик договорились подготовить текст договора к 1 мая 2014 года, а с 1 января 2015 года новое союзное объединение должно стать реальностью.

Лукашенко поинтересовался у представителей Казахстана и России, есть ли у них претензии к официальному Минску по вопросам формирования Евразийского союза. Он отметил, что все проблемные вопросы будут изучены и подчеркнул, что вслед за экономической интеграцией "подтянутся" другие сферы сотрудничества и в военно-политической сфере Таможенный союз и ЕЭП уже опираются на ОДКБ. Председатель Коллегии Евразийской экономической комиссии Виктор Христенко, зампред правительства РФ Игорь Шувалов, а также представители Казахстана тоже выступили в ходе совещания и представили свои оценки на ход постсоветской евразийской интеграции.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 4 November 2014 by *REGNUM News Agency*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1862763.html>

Context: The Head of the Government of Lithuania, Algirdas Butkevicius, in the framework of the Lithuanian-Belarusian Economic Forum, held talks with the Prime Minister of Belarus Mikhail Myasnikovich, where he emphasized that the investment environment is very important for the further development of the business, and expressed hope that after that As Belarus joined the Eurasian Union, conditions for Lithuanian

business representatives will not worsen.

Глава правительства Литвы Альгирдас Буткявичюс сегодня, 4 ноября, в рамках Литовско-белорусского экономического форума, провёл переговоры с премьер-министром Белоруссии Михаилом Мясниковичем, где подчеркнул, что для дальнейшего развития бизнеса очень важна инвестиционная среда, и выразил надежду на то, что после того, как Белоруссия вступила в Евразийский союз, для представителей литовского бизнеса условия не ухудшатся, сообщили [ИА REGNUM](#) в правительстве Литвы.

«Торговый оборот Литвы и Белоруссии в прошлом году составил 7 млрд. литов (более 2 млрд евро — прим. [ИА REGNUM](#)). У нас есть хорошие примеры бизнеса, но хотелось бы, чтобы решались и проблемы, которые осложняют условия для литовских предпринимателей. Мы говорили о введенных в Белоруссии ограничениях на импортируемый из Литвы цемент, литовские изделия из стекла, макароны и кондитерские изделия, на ввоз пива. Одноразовые лицензии и квоты на литовские товары ухудшают условия для наших предпринимателей», — сказал премьер Литвы.

Премьер Белоруссии, отмечает пресс-служба правительства Литвы, заверил, что ограничения не будут продлены на количество и цену.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 15 April 2014.

Source: <http://government.ru/news/11720/>

М.Мясникович: Я думаю, что в ответе Дмитрия Анатольевича всё сказано. Но хотел бы ещё отметить, что не было ни одного вопроса или ни одной проблемы, которую бы мы не рассмотрели, чтобы, допустим, выделили и сказали, что вот это мы рассматривать не будем, отдадим на решение только президентам. Буквально все острые моменты были предметом обсуждения, и был поиск, как найти вариант, который бы устраивал стороны, – это и нефть, и газ, и услуги транспорта, и доступ к трубопроводным системам.

Безусловно, ожидания очень большие от Евразийского экономического союза. Но есть вещи, которые требуют определённого процесса, для того чтобы сформировать действительно полноценные отношения в рамках единого экономического пространства на принципах общего рынка. Поэтому все эти вопросы рассмотрены, выработаны подходы, которые будут предложены для принятия окончательного решения», – также прокомментировал глава белорусского правительства состоявшуюся 15 апреля в Москве встречу.

Andrei Kobayakov

Published on October 2014.

Source:

http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/documents/издания/eek%2020%20years.pdf

Двадцатилетний рубеж евразийской интеграции – хороший повод оглянуться назад, объективно оценить и проанализировать события тех дней. Глубокое осмысление происходивших процессов, безусловно, важно для использования накопленного опыта при развитии интеграции.

Надо признать, что после распада СССР объединительные процессы проходили очень непросто, с осложнениями. Поэтому скажу прежде всего об упущенных возможностях. Вспоминается период, когда было подготовлено соглашение по ЕЭП на четверых – с участием Украины.

В сентябре 2003 г. в Ялте состоялась встреча глав государств Беларуси, Казахстана, России и Украины, на которой президенты планировали подписать

подготовленное Группой высокого уровня (Н.Азаров, А.Кобяков, С.Мынбаев, В.Христенко) соглашение о формировании ЕЭП.

Тогда мне запомнились слова украинского вице-премьера Николая Азарова о том, что интеграционное будущее «четверки» зависит от того, как Леонид Кучма подпишет этот договор: если без замечаний, то в Украине судьба интеграции, вероятнее всего, решится на референдуме. В то время в Украине было много сторонников ЕЭП и ожидалось, что такое решение народ поддержит.

Однако жизнь распорядилась по-другому. Украина подписала соглашение с оговоркой. В результате перспективный документ оказался неработоспособным.

Еще один шанс полноценно включиться в работу ЕЭП был у Украины в сентябре 2004 г. в Астане, т.е. за несколько месяцев до «оранжевой революции». Каждый из президентов «четверки» выражал согласие участвовать в Таможенном союзе. Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия подтвердили свою решимость, в то время как украинский президент сказал, что его страна к этому еще не готова.

Это – два реальных исторических шанса, к сожалению, упущенных. А момент был весьма благоприятный. С 2003 по 2007 год как мировая, так и национальные экономики стран «четверки» находились на подъеме. Если бы тогда Украина полноценно включилась в интеграцию, синергетический эффект для объединения был бы значительно выше, чем мы наблюдали в «тройке».

Вместо этого наши украинские партнеры заняли позицию «выковыривания изюма из булки», т.е. принимали на себя лишь те обязательства, которые сулили им только абсолютные выгоды. А это привело к постепенному затуханию интеграции с участием Украины, вплоть до ее полного прекращения. И уже с августа 2006 г. Таможенный союз и ЕЭП создавался на троих. Но это уже другая история.

Тем не менее идея тесного межгосударственного взаимодействия нашла реализацию в других форматах. Тут положительных примеров, безусловно, много.

В первую очередь надо назвать Союзное государство Беларуси и России, которое стало своего рода локомотивом и успешным примером развития интеграционных процессов на пост-советском пространстве. Многие подходы и механизмы сперва получали путевку в жизнь, своего рода испытание и шлифовку в двустороннем формате, а затем переносились на более широкий круг участников. В частности, на Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство.

К примеру, таким образом была решена конкретная задача по переходу на взимание НДС по принципу страны назначения без таможенного администрирования. Хотя первоначально руководство экономического блока России выступало категорически против этого.

Но благодаря политической воле Минска и Москвы соответствующее соглашение было подписано. Дальнейшее развитие событий подтвердило правильность и целесообразность такого шага. И этот своего рода уникальный двусторонний опыт был в последующем перенесен на «тройку».

Еще одной чрезвычайно важной темой интеграционной работы стало согласование механизма распределения взысканных сумм ввозных таможенных пошлин в рамках интеграционных объединений.

Первоначально Беларусь и Россия договорились, что таможенные платежи будут поступать в бюджет той страны, где произведена таможенная очистка товара. Не имея еще достаточного опыта в решении подобных вопросов, мы не могли тогда до конца просчитать все плюсы и минусы этого подхода. А на практике зачастую получалось так, что товар подвергался таможенным процедурам в одной стране, а вовлекался в экономический оборот – в другой. Эта ситуация создавала почву для взаимных претензий. В результате в 2000 году российской стороной на нашей границе был восстановлен таможенный контроль за товарами, происходящими из третьих стран.

Вместе с тем приобретенный в этом вопросе двусторонний опыт, пусть даже и негативный, был опять же использован в рамках «тройки». Нынешний порядок распределения ввозных таможенных пошлин между Беларусью, Казахстаном и Россией предусматривает, что, где бы товар ни растаможивался, поступления средств в национальные бюджеты стран–участниц происходит в согласованных пропорциях. И это устраивает всех. Главное, чего мы добились: фискальные вопросы перестали довлеть над экономической целесообразностью и тем самым был снят тормоз в развитии интеграции.

Нацеленность наших стран работать конструктивно, максимально прислушиваясь к мнению друг друга, позволила в сжатые сроки выйти на финишную прямую по подготовке Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе. Пока он создается на троих, но открыт для присоединения других государств, разделяющих наши подходы и принципы.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 1 April 2014.

Source: <http://mfa.gov.by/press/smi/eda9f975df455f9c.html>

Сегодня Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия активно движутся в направлении образования Евразийского экономического союза. Как участие наших стран в евразийских интеграционных процессах влияет на динамику белорусско-российских отношений? Ответы на эти и другие вопросы для «Союз-Евразия» дал министр иностранных дел Республики Беларусь Владимир Макей.

— Сотрудничество Республики Беларусь и Российской Федерации в рамках Таможенного союза и Союзного государства носит взаимодополняемый характер. При этом Союзное государство представляет собой такую форму интеграции, которая, кроме вопросов экономического сотрудничества, охватывает взаимодействие в политической, военной и социальной сферах.

— Мы рассматриваем Союзное государство как локомотив интеграционных процессов на постсоветском пространстве. Ведь по целому ряду направлений, которые не включены в формат ЕЭП, в рамках Союзного государства имеются значительные наработки.

Так, центральными темами союзного строительства являются укрепление безопасности и обеспечение равенства прав наших граждан. белорусов и россиян практически одинаковые возможности для трудоустройства, выбора места жительства, получения образования, что является особенностью именно формата «двойки».

В экономической сфере перспективным направлением сотрудничества является реализация конкретных совместных программ и проектов, нацеленных, в первую очередь, на модернизацию и переход к инновационному пути развития наших экономик. В приоритетных сферах энергетика и энергоэффективность, информационные технологии, космос и медицина, развитие регионального сотрудничества. Наша задача — выйти на оптимальные формы промышленной и научно-технической интеграции, задействовать весь потенциал для производства высокотехнологичной и конкурентоспособной продукции.

Думаю, опыт и механизмы союзного строительства весьма востребованы в многостороннем формате. Важно, чтобы и далее Союзное государство и ЕЭП дополняли друг друга, гармонично работали на благо наших народов.

— У наших стран есть как общие позиции, так и расхождения по повестке дня: довольно сложно продвигается процесс интеграции промышленных активов и формирования единых корпораций. Данное направление по-прежнему в фокусе пристального внимания Москвы? Как учитывается белорусская точка зрения?

— В настоящее время ведется работа по пяти интеграционным промышленным проектам: автомобильный холдинг «РОСБЕЛАВТО» (ОАО «МАЗ» — ОАО «КАМАЗ»); ОАО «Интеграл» и ОАО «Российская

электроника» ГК «Ростехнологии»; ОАО «МЗКТ» и ГК «Ростехнологии»; ОАО «Пеленг» и Федеральное космическое агентство «Роскосмос»; ОАО «Гродно-Азот» и ОАО «МХК «ЕвроХим» либо ООО «Газпром Инвестпроект».

По каждому направлению созданы белорусско-российские рабочие группы из представителей предприятий, руководства Минпрома, Госкомвоенпрома Беларуси, концерна «Белнефтехим» и Минпромторга, Минобороны России, Федерального космического агентства «Роскосмос». Общий ход реализации проектов курируется на уровне заместителей глав правительств Беларуси и России.

Белорусская сторона твердо отстаивает свои подходы к условиям интеграции, основанные на необходимости обеспечения конкурентоспособности и успешного функционирования наших предприятий в средне- и долгосрочной перспективе. Особый расчет делается на обеспечение выхода совместной продукции на рынки третьих стран.

Импульс переговорному процессу по данным проектам придали договоренности глав двух государств в рамках заседания Высшего Госсовета Союзного государства 25 декабря прошлого года.

Следует отметить, что с обеих сторон в интеграции участвуют крупные предприятия, имеющие серьезное значение для национальных экономик. Скоропалительные решения здесь не проходят, необходимы тщательные расчеты на долгосрочную перспективу. Обе стороны заинтересованы в реализации данных интеграционных проектов. Успех напрямую зависит от качественного проведения подготовительной стадии. Такая работа нами уже ведется, и белорусская сторона считает, что она ведется в нормальном ритме.

Мы рассчитываем на то, что с созданием Евразийского экономического союза процесс интеграции промышленных активов и формирования единых корпораций ускорится.

Как вы знаете, наиболее экспортоориентированными в Беларуси являются химические и нефтеперерабатывающие производства, автотракторное машиностроение, предприятия пищевой промышленности, в Казахстане — производства энергоресурсов и металлов, химические предприятия, в России — предприятия топливно-энергетического комплекса, металлургические и химические компании.

На принципах кооперации можно объединить усилия химических предприятий Беларуси и Казахстана, предприятий по выпуску металлов Казахстана и России, а нефтедобывающие компании и нефтеперерабатывающие предприятия ТС интегрировать в единую систему.

Те отрасли, где взаимопроникновение возрастает, могут стать основой для создания совместных предприятий и промышленной кооперации. В Казахстане уже создан ряд СП по производству белорусской техники (тракторы, комбайны, карьерная техника, двигатели, лифты и др.). Аналогичные предприятия успешно работают и в РФ.

Мы предлагаем ускорить становление общего рынка стран — участниц ЕЭП, проведение скоординированной промышленной и сельскохозяйственной политики. Это позволит в более согласованном режиме работать с крупными инвестиционными проектами, включая и привлечение иностранных инвестиций, избежать создания дублирующих мощностей, чрезмерной внутренней конкуренции и неэффективного использования ресурсов.

— Владимир Владимирович, недавно Президент Беларуси обсуждал с генеральным секретарем ОДКБ вопросы военного сотрудничества в рамках организации. Может ли фактор «Афганистан после 2014 года» способствовать новому измерению безопасности евразийской интеграции?

— ОДКБ не является инструментом евразийской интеграции в чистом виде. Это самостоятельная международная региональная организация, со всеми

необходимыми атрибутами (устав, секретариат, рабочие органы). Целью организации является обеспечение безопасности государств-членов в зоне ответственности, координация и объединение усилий в борьбе с международным терроризмом, наркотрафиком, нелегальной миграцией и другими современными угрозами безопасности. Поскольку в ОДКБ входят и Россия, и Беларусь, и Казахстан, естественно, осуществляется тесное взаимодействие с ЕЭК.

Что же касается «фактора 2014 года», то хотел бы подчеркнуть, что ни для организации, ни для ее государств-членов афганская проблематика далеко не нова. Вызовы и угрозы, исходящие с территории Афганистана, тщательно и на регулярной основе анализируются нашими экспертами. Ежегодно проводятся совместные операции по предотвращению наркотрафика и нелегальной миграции «Канал» и «Нелегал», регулярно проходят заседания рабочей группы по Афганистану при Совете министров иностранных дел.

Естественно, что работы только прибавится. Ожидать резкого улучшения ситуации, связанной с наркотиками, транснациональной преступностью и терроризмом, не приходится. И в этом отдают себе отчет все государства — члены ОДКБ вне зависимости от географической удаленности от Афганистана. Беларусь, к примеру, первой откликнулась на обращение Таджикистана об оказании помощи в укреплении таджикско-афганской границы, понимая, что если не преградить наркотрафик на границах ОДКБ, то серьезные проблемы будут уже у себя дома. Так что ОДКБ обеспечивает для стран-участниц безопасность, тем самым косвенно позитивно влияя на интеграционные процессы в евразийском регионе.

— Довольно стремительно важнейшим пунктом повестки дня евразийской интеграции стал «украинский вопрос». Влияют ли происходящие события на работу интеграционных органов, переговорный процесс в ТС? Беларусь по-прежнему заинтересована в присоединении Украины к Таможенному союзу?

— Увеличение числа участников интеграционного объединения создает возможности для расширения внутреннего рынка ЕЭП, интеграции в мировое хозяйство и повышения интереса со стороны зарубежных инвесторов.

Вступление Украины в ТС также принесло бы украинским партнерам неоспоримые экономические дивиденды, в том числе в части формирования дополнительных условий для роста товарооборота, расширения инвестиционного и инновационного сотрудничества. Кроме того, участие в ЕЭП не ограничивает право его членов осуществлять многовекторную политику и углублять взаимодействие с другими государствами.

Но расширение Таможенного союза не самоцель и полностью зависит от суверенного выбора стран — возможных кандидатов. Мы полагаем, что украинский народ должен сам выбирать интеграционный вектор развития. Каким бы он ни был, мы продолжим развивать взаимовыгодное сотрудничество с Украиной по всем направлениям, представляющим взаимный интерес.

— Как Беларусь воспринимает предложения о присоединении к ТС государств, находящихся за пределами постсоветского пространства, в частности, Турции? Как вы смотрите на расширение формата евразийской интеграции?

— Мы приветствуем интерес зарубежных стран к Таможенному союзу. Считаем его закономерным, поскольку это одно из крупнейших в мире региональных интеграционных объединений с населением 170 млн человек. Интерес к ТС со стороны мощных государств говорит, как минимум, об экономической притягательности, состоятельности и конкурентоспособности Таможенного союза.

Вместе с тем, инициатива должна исходить от стран-кандидатов на присоединение к ТС/ЕЭП, быть их суверенным выбором. Насколько мне известно, Турецкая Республика пока не направляла обращений и не делала официальных заявлений по вопросу о присоединении к ЕЭП.

Расширение Таможенного союза отвечает интересам всех государств-

участников. Республика Беларусь неоднократно подчеркивала, что двери интеграционного объединения открыты для наших партнеров, разделяющих его цели и готовых присоединиться к договорно-правовой базе ТС/ЕЭП. Новые страны — это новые возможности. Их приход будет означать расширение рынка, новый уровень для сотрудничества и взаимовыгодной кооперации.

Mikhail Chigir

Published on 9 October 2014 by *Azattyq*.

Source: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/belarus-ratifikacia-eaes-s-zayavleniem/26628852.html>

Сенат парламента Казахстана ратифицировал договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе, а парламент Беларуси добавил отдельное условие.

В заявлении, включенном 9 октября парламентом Беларуси в договор о ЕАЭС, говорится, что Беларусь берет на себя обязательства по выполнению соглашения «при условии, что на трех- или двусторонней основе будут достигнуты конкретные договоренности о снятии барьеров, ограничений и изъятий в торговле отдельными видами товаров и в оказании отдельных видов услуг».

«РОССИЯ СОГЛАСИТСЯ, ЛИБО ЛУКАШЕНКО УЙДЕТ»

Эксперты в комментарии Белорусской редакции Азаттыка поясняют, что эти условия поставлены, чтобы получить из России нефть и газ по низким ценам и за счет этого сохранить три-пять миллиардов долларов в год в бюджете Беларуси.

- Говоря простым языком, Беларусь ратифицирует Евразийский союз, однако, если эти условия не будут выполнены, то это означает, что дальше договор действовать не будет, - говорит бывший министр труда и социальной безопасности Александр Соснов.

По его словам, если договор о Евразийском союзе будет ратифицирован без этих условий, то Беларусь может остаться ни с чем.

Бывший председатель совета министров Беларуси Михаил Чигирь говорит, что Минск, которому и прежде удавалось получать от России некоторые льготы, надеется еще на другие.

- То, что сейчас требует Беларусь, содержится в договоре о Евразийском союзе. Однако они предусмотрено лишь с 2025 года. Если Лукашенко удастся настоять на своей позиции, тогда в наш бюджет ежегодно дополнительно будут поступать три-четыре миллиарда долларов. Это, конечно, очень выгодно для нас, - говорит Чигирь.

Это предложение со стороны Беларуси высказывается с самого начала переговоров по соглашению о Евразийском экономическом союзе. Однако позиция России в связи с этим пока неизвестна. Бывший председатель правления Национального банка Беларуси Станислав Богданкевич говорит Азаттыку:

- Россия согласится с условиями Беларуси. Если не согласится, то Лукашенко снимут с поста и представят нового президента Беларуси.

«ГАРАНТИЯ НА ВЛАСТЬ»

Александр Лукашенко, один из президентов в постсоветских странах, которому удается оставаться у власти начиная с 1990-х годов, несколько раз подвергнув критике власти России, изменил риторику. Он несколько раз говорил, что интеграция с Россией не нанесет вреда интересам Беларуси. Было также заметно, что его критика особо не отягощает власти России. Считается, что Лукашенко не будет противоречить основному направлению политики Москвы.

Казахстан несколько раз призывал к тому, чтобы союз трех государств не политизировали. Общественное мнение в стране касательно договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе разделилось. После событий в Украине казахстанские гражданские активисты надеялись на то, что парламент страны отклонит договор о ЕАЭС.

Но 1 октября мажилис, а потом 9 октября сенат парламента одобрили договор о ЕАЭС. После подписания договора президентом Казахстана Нурсултаном Назарбаевым договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе со стороны Казахстана будет ратифицирован.

Казахстанский эксперт Талгат Мамырайымов, наблюдающий за процессом заключения договора о ЕАЭС, называет отдельные условия Беларуси политической торговлей. Говорит, что Казахстан тоже пытался таким образом «торговаться».

- Россия уже заявляла, что до 10 октября будущие ее союзники одновременно ратифицируют договор. Однако депутат мажилиса Маулен Ашимбаев как-то отметил, что договор, возможно, будет рассматриваться до 10 декабря. Похоже, Астана с помощью такого рода заявлений добилась удобных для себя условий. Возможно, эти условия были обговорены во время визита президента России Владимира Путина в Атырау, - говорит эксперт.

Талгат Мамырайымов предполагает, что условия Казахстана могут быть связаны с безопасностью личной власти президента Нурсултана Назарбаева.

- Нурсултан Назарбаев, как и Александр Лукашенко, долгое время находится у власти. И как бы то ни было, приближается время, когда нужно передать власть. С этой позиции, чтобы не укреплять силы политических оппонентов, он хочет получить гарантии от России. И за этим может скрываться одна из причин, почему договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе парламентом Казахстана был рассмотрен быстро, - говорит он.

Астана заявляет, что ЕАЭС является экономическим союзом и создаст для трех стран выгодное экономическое пространство со свободным оборотом капитала и товаров. Власти отрицают, что в будущем он может превратиться в политический союз.

26 сентября Российская Федерация первой среди трех стран-участниц ратифицировала договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе. Ожидается, что договор о его создании, подписанный в мае этого года, вступит в силу 1 января 2015 года.

2015

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 21 January 2015 by *Eurasiancommission*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/21-01-2015.aspx>

Республика Беларусь 1 января 2015 г. вступила в председательство в Высшем Евразийском экономическом совете, Евразийском межправительственном совете и Совете Евразийской экономической комиссии.

Наша страна рассматривает Евразийский экономический союз в качестве важнейшего интеграционного объединения, способствующего обеспечению экономической и социальной стабильности в регионе.

Председательство Республики Беларусь в Евразийском экономическом союзе будет направлено на дальнейшее укрепление добрососедства, развитие экономического сотрудничества, содействие продвижению четырех основополагающих экономических свобод Союза: свободы движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы.

Белорусская сторона на всех этапах подготовки Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе последовательно заявляла о необходимости максимальной либерализации условий экономической деятельности в рамках ЕАЭС. По-прежнему считаем, что фундаментом Евразийского экономического союза должна стать полная отмена изъятий и ограничений в движении товаров.

Предлагаем:

принять меры по скорейшему переходу к согласованной, а в перспективе — и к единой промышленной и агропромышленной политике;

ускорить разработку и принятие основных направлений промышленного сотрудничества в рамках Союза;

обеспечить безусловное начало функционирования с 1 января 2016 г. единых рынков лекарственных средств и медицинских изделий;

начать практическую реализацию положений Договора, предусматривающих совместные действия по развитию экспорта.

Придаем важное значение выработке концепций формирования общих рынков электроэнергии, газа, нефти и нефтепродуктов.

В период председательства Беларуси будут сделаны конкретные шаги по развитию интеграционных процессов в сфере услуг.

Актуальной является таможенно-тарифная и нетарифная защита единого таможенного пространства. В этой связи ожидаем от наших партнеров открытости в вопросах диалога с ВТО.

Предлагаем выработать действенные механизмы функционирования Евразийского экономического союза в условиях применения одним из государств-членов односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих государств. Особое внимание необходимо уделить вопросам координации взаимодействия в сфере санитарных, ветеринарных и фитосанитарных мер, защиты прав потребителей.

Выражаю надежду на поддержку со стороны государств — членов Евразийского экономического союза в практическом осуществлении белорусских инициатив.

Убежден, что наше тесное взаимодействие станет залогом максимально эффективной реализации намеченных планов и успешного становления Евразийского экономического союза в качестве самостоятельного центра устойчивого экономического развития.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 6 November 2015 by *EJ.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2OLFenO>

Лукашенко: Еще пять лет не будет никаких реформ

Президент воспротивился структурным реформам экономики, к которым его толкают и навязывают извне.

Вновь заступивший в должность президент подчеркнул, что никакой ломки не будет, «по крайней мере пять лет, пока я президент», передает tut.by.

«Уж слишком много сегодня говорят и пишут о структурных реформах, и никто не сказал, что это за реформы. Но если кто-то за реформы, то будьте честны и скажите, что надо сломать политический строй, государственный строй. Надо разделить, разрезать государственную собственность! И раздать! На эти нас толкают реформы. И за эти реформы кое-кто сегодня в мире готов много заплатить. Задайте себе вопрос: Нам нужны такие реформы?» — поинтересовался Лукашенко

Он напомнил, что многие вокруг провели подобные реформы, в том числе Россия, Украина. «Они вкусили этих реформ. И что? Что плохо в той системе, которую мы создали? Что мы сделали не так?» — задал президент риторический вопрос.

Он заявил, что не намерен заниматься дележкой и разбазариванием того, что веками накапливалось белорусским народом.

Глава государства напомнил, что за последние годы было построено жилье, спортивные арены, дворцы культуры, дороги, модернизировано множество предприятий, обеспечена продовольственная безопасность.

Реформы, уверен президент, это повышение пенсионного возраста, платная медицина и образование. "Если вы готовы и народ этого хочет, я готов на любые реформы, - повторил президент уже неоднократно озвученный аргумент. - Если вы готовы, это можно сделать за полгода. Ничего не ломая, сделаем за полгода".

«Народу вбрасывают различные идеи, заставляют думать, но ему нужна генеральная линия, чтобы его кто-то вел», — убежден президент.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 30 May 2015 by *Evrasesnews*.

Source: <http://evrasesnews.ru/index.php/news/article/view/13/19642/>

По словам премьер-министра Белоруссии Андрея Кобякова, высказанным на заседании Евразийского Межправительственного Совета 29 мая в поселке Бурабай (Казахстан) динамика товарооборота внутри Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) вызывает обоснованную озабоченность, информирует пресс-служба белорусского Правительства.

"В силу ряда как внутренних, так и внешних факторов динамика товарооборота внутри союза сегодня вызывает обоснованную озабоченность. Комиссией (Евразийской экономической комиссией – ред.) по поручению совета подготовлен подробный доклад по данному вопросу, в котором предложены комплексные меры по воплощению интеграционного потенциала в конкретные темпы роста взаимной торговли".

При этом он подчеркнул, что свобода движения товаров является той сферой, в которой евразийская интеграция продвинулась дальше всего.

"Вижу задачу, чтобы доклад был использован национальными правительствами для достижения реальных практических результатов".

По его словам, в этой связи актуальным является вопрос о дополнительных мерах по повышению эффективности и оперативности взаимодействия наших макроэкономических регуляторов – министерств экономики и центральных банков стран – членов союза.

"Есть чувствительные для всех сторон вопросы, по которым мы не готовы ускоряться и наметили переходные периоды, чтобы адаптировать наши экономики. Но давайте поручим ЕЭК подготовить некий компромиссный перечень, по которому все стороны уже сегодня будут согласны двигаться быстрее. Давайте соберем предложения государств-членов и выберем те пересекающиеся позиции, которым мы готовы придать ускорение".

Также Премьер-министр отметил, что не теряет актуальности вопрос промышленного сотрудничества. По словам Андрея Кобякова, в ЕАЭС удалось нащупать пути возможного взаимодействия. "Но на нашем пути появился новый тренд – импортозамещение. Здесь главный вопрос: замещение кого? Этот тренд ни в коем случае не должен повлечь за собой отход от цели формирования в союзе единой согласованной промышленной политики", – заявил глава белорусского правительства.

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"Вижу задачу, чтобы доклад был использован национальными правительствами для достижения реальных практических результатов", – констатировал Андрей Кобяков. По его словам, в этой связи актуальным является вопрос о дополнительных мерах по повышению эффективности и оперативности взаимодействия наших макроэкономических регуляторов – министерств экономики и центральных банков стран – членов союза.

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Andrei Kobayakov

Published on 29 May 2015.

Source: <http://government.ru/news/18293/>

Подписаны Соглашение о свободной торговле между ЕАЭС и Социалистической Республикой Вьетнам и ряд других документов.

Список глав делегаций, принимающих участие в заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета:

Главы делегаций, принимающих участие в заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета

Премьер-министр Республики Армения Овик Аргамович Абрамян

Премьер-министр Республики Беларусь Андрей Владимирович Кобяков

Премьер-министр Республики Казахстан Карим Кажимканович Масимов

Председатель Правительства Российской Федерации Дмитрий Анатольевич Медведев

Премьер-министр Киргизской Республики Темир Аргембаевич Сариев

Председатель Коллегии Евразийской экономической комиссии Виктор Борисович Христенко

Стенограмма заседания:

Заседание Евразийского межправительственного совета

К.Масимов: Уважаемые участники заседания межправсовета, хочу поприветствовать вас на казахстанской земле! Хотел бы отметить, что ровно год назад, 29 мая, президенты наших стран подписали в Астане договор о союзе. Отрадно, что наше заседание проходит именно в этот знаменательный день, ровно год с этого момента прошло. Также хотел поздравить наших киргизских друзей с подписанием протоколов об условиях присоединения, которые позволили Кыргызстану фактически стать полноправным членом нашего союза.

Уважаемые коллеги, сегодня у нас обширная повестка дня, затрагивающая различные вопросы интеграционного взаимодействия. Особое внимание, несомненно, будет уделено вопросам выработки основных направлений международной деятельности и подходов к развитию торгово-экономического сотрудничества с основными партнёрами союза на среднесрочную перспективу. Эти документы станут хорошей основой для налаживания тесных контактов с

другими государствами, региональными объединениями и международными организациями.

Важным событием сегодняшнего заседания станет подписание соглашения о зоне свободной торговли с Социалистической Республикой Вьетнам. Это первый шаг в истории развития торгово-экономических отношений нашего союза с другими государствами. Наш союз уже формируется как крупный игрок с определённым потенциалом, сотрудничество с которым предполагает большие выгоды. Считаю, что при выборе потенциальных партнёров нашего союза мы должны руководствоваться главным принципом – насколько это выгодно нашим государствам. Думаю, нам надо ориентироваться на сотрудничество с успешными, технологически развитыми, инвестиционно привлекательными и перспективными экономиками.

В заключение хочу пожелать всем нам плодотворной работы и передать слово председателю межправсовета Андрею Владимировичу Кобякову. Пожалуйста.

А.Кобяков: Спасибо, Карим Кажимканович. Уважаемые члены совета! Уважаемые коллеги! Сегодня мы проводим второе заседание межправительственного совета в текущем году. Примечательно, что эта встреча проходит в годовщину подписания нашего большого договора в городе Астане. В этой связи не могу не отметить неизменно великолепную организацию мероприятий и традиционное гостеприимство наших казахстанских коллег.

Порядок работы межправсовета предусматривает его проведение не реже двух раз в год, то есть мы выполнили установленный минимум уже в первом полугодии. Столь плотный график является хорошим знаком того, что вопросы евразийской интеграции остаются в поле зрения национальных правительств и не снижают своей актуальности для обеспечения устойчивого развития наших экономик. Подтверждением этому является и наша сегодняшняя насыщенная повестка.

В первую очередь мы должны дать оценку состоянию взаимной торговли. Свободное движение товаров – это как раз та сфера, в которой евразийская интеграция продвинулась дальше всего. Но в силу целого ряда как внешних так и внутренних факторов динамика товарооборота внутри союза сегодня вызывает у нас основную озабоченность. Комиссией ЕЭК по поручению совета ЕЭК подготовлен довольно подробный доклад по данному вопросу, в котором предложены комплексные меры по реализации интеграционного потенциала в конкретные темпы роста взаимной торговли. Призываю коллег к заинтересованному обсуждению вопросов и предложений комиссии.

Вижу нашу задачу в том, чтобы доклад был использован национальными правительствами для достижения реальных практических результатов. В этой связи актуальным также является вопрос о дополнительных мерах по повышению эффективности и оперативности взаимодействия наших макроэкономических регуляторов – министерств экономики и центральных банков стран – членов союза.

Одним из ключевых факторов нашего дальнейшего развития, которое нам также предстоит обсудить, несомненно, является устранение изъятий и ограничений во взаимной торговле. Как отмечено в аналитическом докладе Евразийской экономической комиссии, у нас есть список барьеров и изъятий. Некоторые активно прорабатываются на площадках комиссий, а по некоторым необходимо предпринимать более активные действия.

Мы понимаем, что есть чувствительные для всех сторон вопросы, по которым мы не готовы ускоряться и наметили переходные периоды, чтобы адаптировать наши экономики. Но давайте поручим нашей комиссии подготовить и некий компромиссный перечень, по которому все стороны уже сегодня будут согласны двигаться быстрее. Давайте соберём предложения государств-членов и выберем те пересекающиеся позиции, которым мы готовы придать некое ускорение.

Не снижает актуальности вопрос промышленного сотрудничества. Несмотря на все противоречия, нам удалось нащупать пути возможного взаимодействия, направления конкретного сотрудничества, но на нашем пути появился новый тренд – импортозамещение. Здесь главный вопрос: замещение кого? Этот тренд ни в коем случае не должен повлечь за собой отход от цели формирования в союзе единой согласованной промышленной политики.

Мы много говорили и об услугах. Предполагалось, что соответствующее решение будет принято Высшим советом 8 мая в городе Москве, а государствам-членам и комиссии будет поручено до 1 ноября 2015 года подготовить необходимые планы либерализации. Мы в силах практически за пять полновесных месяцев к следующему октябрьскому заседанию Высшего совета внести на рассмотрение глав государств не только перечни секторов услуг, но и сами планы их либерализации. В этом случае мы не потеряем время, а главы государств сразу примут конкретные решения. Предлагаю сегодня дать комиссии соответствующее поручение.

Уважаемые коллеги, в заключение хотел бы с удовлетворением отметить значимый вопрос нашей сегодняшней повестки – подписание первого соглашения союза и государств-членов о зоне свободной торговли со столь важным партнёром, как Социалистическая Республика Вьетнам. Это мероприятие наряду с принятым недавно в Москве решением глав государств о начале переговоров по соглашению о сотрудничестве с Китаем, несомненно, красноречивое свидетельство реального интереса в мире к Евразийскому экономическому союзу, его признания со стороны других государств.

Приглашаю всех к активной работе. Кто желает взять слово?

Пожалуйста, Дмитрий Анатольевич.

Д.Медведев: Уважаемый господин председатель! Уважаемые коллеги!

Ровно год назад был подписан главный документ о Евразийском экономическом союзе, который зафиксировал наши базовые договорённости. За этот год много чего произошло, в частности – и, наверное, это самое главное – состав участников евразийского интеграционного процесса расширился. С присоединением к союзу Армении и Кыргызстана сформировалась евразийская пятёрка государств, которые объединены общими интеграционными целями, и это уже совершенно новая реальность, к которой, кстати, мы все должны приспособиться, научиться принимать согласованные решения – вырабатывать их сначала, а потом принимать, то есть запустить все те механизмы, которые мы с вами создавали в эти годы.

В развитие договора до конца года нам предстоит принять несколько десятков документов, среди них и таможенный кодекс, и соглашение о порядке заключения международных договоров. Уже подготовлены проекты основных направлений экономического развития союза, основных направлений его международной деятельности. Речь идёт о долгосрочных ориентирах на период до 2030 года.

Условия, в которых мы начинаем работать, простыми не назовёшь. Это и неблагоприятная экономическая (прежде всего внешнеэкономическая) конъюнктура, и существенные колебания валютных курсов, цен на сырьевых рынках, что сказывается на наших экономиках, и целый ряд других причин. Это повлияло и на состояние взаимной торговли и инвестиционного сотрудничества. И мы задачи эти обязаны решать уже в рамках существующих интеграционных механизмов – не просто в режиме двусторонних отношений, а именно с учётом интересов всех, кто сегодня присутствует за этим круглым столом.

Основные усилия должны быть сконцентрированы на устранении барьеров, которые есть, для свободного движения товаров, услуг и капитала, для свободного движения рабочей силы, о чём коллеги только что говорили.

Часть этих ограничений мы с вами уже сняли, но и сейчас имеются проблемы, над которыми нужно работать. Это в общем-то нормально, потому что любое

интеграционное объединение, если это не слабая интеграция какая-то, а мы исходим из того, что наша интеграция как раз сильная... Количество таких ограничений с каждым годом становится всё меньше и меньше, что демонстрирует наглядно опыт других интеграционных структур, в частности того же самого Европейского союза, который, как известно, создавался не один десяток лет.

Меры по поддержке реального сектора, банковской сферы, которые принимаются на национальном уровне, будут влиять и на интеграционные процессы. Мы исходим из того, что такие меры поддержки должны с учётом нынешней ситуации приниматься не изолированно, а скоординированно. Важно, чтобы эта работа была организована на постоянной основе, чтобы финансовые, экономические ведомства наших стран, центральные банки наших стран оперативно проводили необходимые консультации и принимали, когда это требуется, согласованные решения. В этом формате можно было бы рассмотреть возможность и условия формирования в перспективе валютного союза. Мы этот вопрос готовы вместе с другими коллегами прорабатывать. Во всяком случае это тот ориентир, который мы в конечном счёте не должны упускать из внимания. Это не означает, конечно, что это первоочередная цель, но помнить об этом нужно.

За прошедший год мы серьёзно продвинулись в плане расширения сотрудничества с основными торговыми партнёрами. Как только что отметили мои коллеги, достаточно быстро удалось завершить переговоры о создании зоны свободной торговли с Социалистической Республикой Вьетнам. Это в известной степени прорывное решение – именно потому, что, по сути, это действительно наш первый преференциальный международный договор с третьей стороной. С одной стороны, эта третья сторона (в данном случае Вьетнам) получает дополнительные возможности на наших рынках, и мы исходим из того, что эти возможности не будут замыкаться только торговлей, но будут включать и инвестиционное сотрудничество, а с другой стороны, это действительно уже очень серьёзное признание наших усилий по созданию полноценного интеграционного объединения.

Мы знаем, что по чувствительным вопросам работа шла непросто, и хочу поблагодарить всех, кто принимал участие в этом процессе. Опыт, который приобрели наши эксперты, уже востребован для подготовки других международных договоров. Мы проводим переговоры с целым рядом партнёров, и, по всей вероятности, эти переговоры будут продолжены, они известны. Во всяком случае официально о своей заинтересованности – подчёркиваю, официально, – в формировании тех или иных торговых отношений разного уровня и разной интенсивности заявило более 40 стран и объединений (я имею в виду 40 стран и объединений, которые хотели бы установить такие отношения с Евразийским экономическим союзом). Поэтому нам нужно сконцентрироваться и на этом направлении, а также развивать дальнейшее сотрудничество по целому ряду направлений нашей внутренней деятельности – по производству качественных и конкурентоспособных товаров, оказанию работ и услуг. А во-вторых, нам, конечно, нужно заниматься перспективными технологиями, о чём мы тоже с вами договорились. Мы запускаем специальный механизм, который позволит объединить усилия государств, нашего научного сообщества, частных инвесторов, евро-азиатских технологических партнёров. Уже сформировано семь пилотных проектов в этой сфере, которые действительно в настоящий момент отражают основные научные и прикладные тренды в сфере высоких технологий. И, конечно, нам невозможно будет работать на рынках, которые сегодня весьма и весьма сложные, без эффективной поддержки со стороны государств, поэтому важно чётко сформировать и сориентировать механизмы наших национальных институтов развития, чтобы не создавать нашим экспортёрам дополнительных сложностей, определить приоритеты и договориться об объёмах гарантийной и страховой поддержки, без чего подобного рода работа не обходится.

Все эти вопросы отражены в сегодняшней повестке дня, поэтому предлагаю по ним обменяться впечатлениями, соображениями и принять решения, как это и положено. Действительно, также хотел бы отметить, что мы встречаемся уже второй раз в этом году, то есть мы взяли довольно высокий старт. И в принципе хотел бы с российской стороны подтвердить, что, если того будут требовать обстоятельства, особенно на начальном этапе наших отношений, было бы правильно нам не сбавлять темпов и встречаться просто по мере необходимости. У нас есть и другие механизмы, механизмы комиссии высокого уровня, естественно, все другие структуры, которые мы создавали с вами для совместной работы. Но, если потребуется, можем встречаться и на уровне межправительственной комиссии, на уровне глав правительств, для того чтобы оперативно решать вопросы. Спасибо.

А.Кобяков: Спасибо, Дмитрий Анатольевич. Овик Аргамович, Армения, пожалуйста.

О.Абраамян: Спасибо. Уважаемый председатель межправительственного совета! Уважаемые главы правительств! Начну со слов благодарности в адрес Карима Кажимкановича (*К.Масимова*) за приглашение в гостеприимный Казахстан, где ровно год тому назад состоялось подписание договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе, а сегодня созданы все условия для успешного проведения очередного заседания межправительственного совета.

Уважаемые коллеги! Ход реализации решений и договорённостей, достигнутых после вступления в силу договора о ЕЭАС, показал, что у участников Евразийского союза есть реальный настрой на укрепление интеграции. В этом контексте важным представляется продолжение работы по выявлению и устранению барьеров, которые всё ещё ограничивают наше взаимодействие по тому или иному направлению. В частности, среди мер, направленных на рост деловой активности, эффективных мер финансовой поддержки интеграционных процессов, выделили тематику совершенствования системы взимания налога на добавленную стоимость. Армянская сторона поддерживает соответствующее решение межправсовета равно как и все согласованные к сегодняшнему заседанию проекты документов.

Из предложенной повестки дня выделил бы два проекта, которые в последующем будут представлены на рассмотрение Высшего евразийского экономического совета. В частности, речь идёт об основных направлениях международной деятельности союза в 2015 году, о подходах к развитию торгово-экономического сотрудничества с основными партнёрами на среднесрочную перспективу. По подходам также хочу отметить следующее. Как мы докладывали, все государства-члены склонны к тому, что исследование целесообразности заключения в перспективе преференциального торгового соглашения с Ираном представляется актуальным. Это позволит государствам – членам союза получить выход на рынки и доступ к важнейшим транзитным маршрутам Среднего Востока. Естественно, что целесообразность заключения такого соглашения определяется возможностью достижения договорённостей, направленных на расширение областей торгово-экономического сотрудничества, а также урегулированием вопросов международных санкций, введённых по линии ООН. В этой связи хочу подтвердить готовность армянской стороны организовать такую встречу по линии ЕАЭС – Иран. Думаю, что тот опыт по вопросам торгово-экономического взаимодействия с Ираном, который Армения как единственная в ЕАЭС страна, имеющая с Ираном сухопутную границу, накопила за последнюю четверть века, будет также полезен нашим партнёрам. Кроме того, говоря о сотрудничестве с Ираном, следовало бы обратить внимание и на тему совместного продвижения и реализации проекта логистической увязки стран ЕАЭС через территорию Армении с Ираном и другими странами залива. Это может всем нам предоставить новые возможности по диверсификации транспортных возможностей, обеспечить

более либеральные условия для взаимодействия ЕАЭС с партнёрами, в том числе и с Вьетнамом, соответствующее соглашение с которым предстоит сегодня подписать. В этой связи мы подтверждаем свою готовность к активному взаимодействию со странами для выхода на проекты, соответствующие решениям, в сроки, обозначенные главами государств.

Армения готова к последовательному движению по пути реализации этих и других достигнутых в рамках ЕАЭС договорённостей. Спасибо.

А.Кобяков: Спасибо. Темир Аргембаевич, пожалуйста.

Т.Сариев: Спасибо. Уважаемые главы правительств! Уважаемые коллеги! Уважаемый Карим Кажимканович!

Позвольте мне высказать тёплые слова благодарности казахстанской стороне за традиционное гостеприимство, радушный приём и прекрасную организацию мероприятий – как СНГ, так и ЕАЭС.

Мне весьма приятно впервые в новом качестве принимать участие в заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета. Пользуясь случаем, от имени Правительства Кыргызстана хочу поблагодарить глав правительств государств – членов союза и руководство Евразийской экономической комиссии за проделанную огромную и кропотливую работу, за всестороннюю практическую помощь и поддержку по присоединению Кыргызстана к данному союзу.

Мы действительно подошли нестандартно и за короткий срок всё-таки сумели согласовать и подписать все документы. 8 мая в Москве президенты наших стран подписали весьма важные документы, те недостающие протоколы к договору, регламентирующие полноценное присоединение Киргизской Республики к Евразийскому экономическому союзу.

Уважаемые коллеги! С большим удовольствием информирую вас о том, что киргизская сторона первая завершила внутригосударственные процедуры по ратификации международного договора по присоединению Киргизской Республики к договору о Евразийском экономическом союзе от 29 мая 2014 года. Соответствующий закон Киргизской Республики был принят парламентом 20 мая и 21 мая подписан Президентом Алмазбеком Атамбаевым.

Учитывая договорённости последней встречи президентов, обращаюсь к вам с просьбой оказать содействие в завершении всех процедур по ратификации документов о присоединении Киргизской Республики к Евразийскому экономическому союзу до начала летних парламентских каникул.

Хотелось бы отметить, что в настоящее время киргизской стороной при поддержке российской стороны выполнена работа по оснащению первоочередных таможенных пунктов пропуска и организации информационного взаимодействия. Также ведётся активная работа по обеспечению системы санитарного, ветеринарного и фитосанитарного контроля на киргизском участке таможенной границы с учётом стандартов ЕАЭС.

Киргизская Республика намерена провести все необходимые мероприятия для снятия как таможенного, так и санитарно-ветеринарного и фитосанитарного контроля на киргизско-казахстанском участке границы к дате вступления в силу договора о присоединении Киргизской Республики к ЕАЭС. Хочу добавить, что создан оперативный штаб (его буду возглавлять я как Премьер-министр) для снятия всех вопросов, которые будут возникать при открытии границы.

Правительство Кыргызстана будет направлять все усилия на создание благоприятных условий для плодотворной работы в рамках Евразийского экономического союза, для формирования единого рынка товаров, услуг, капитала и, самое главное, для свободного передвижения трудовых ресурсов в рамках союза. Убеждён, что членство Киргизской Республики в ЕАЭС и достигнутые в ходе сегодняшнего заседания договорённости придадут дополнительный импульс поступательному развитию отношений между Киргизской Республикой и государствами – членами ЕАЭС. Спасибо за внимание.

<...>

Документы, подписанные по итогам заседания Евразийского межправительственного совета:

О причинах изменения динамики взаимной торговли государств – членов Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства в 2010 – 2014 годах и предложениях по наращиванию объёмов взаимного товарооборота государств – членов Евразийского экономического союза;

О работе по выявлению и устранению препятствующих функционированию внутреннего рынка Евразийского экономического союза барьеров для взаимного доступа, а также изъятий и ограничений в отношении движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы;

О проекте решения Высшего Евразийского экономического совета «Об Основных направлениях экономического развития Евразийского экономического союза»;

Об углублении сотрудничества государств-членов в сферах макроэкономической и валютно-финансовой политики;

О Соглашении о свободной торговле между Евразийским экономическим союзом и его государствами – членами с одной стороны и Социалистической Республикой Вьетнам с другой;

О плане мероприятий по развитию лёгкой промышленности государств – членов Евразийского экономического союза на 2015 – 2016 годы;

О создании условий для развития производства машин и оборудования для сельского хозяйства в государствах – членах Евразийского экономического союза.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 27 May 2015 by *Interfax*.

Source: https://interfax.by/news/policy/ekonomicheskaya_politika/1184687/

Министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей заявляет, что степень интеграции в рамках ЕАЭС пока не соответствует ожиданиям республики.

"Вы знаете, что с 1 января этого года был создан Евразийский экономический союз. Многие договоры, подготовленные в рамках Евразийского экономического союза, разрабатывались на примере договора о Союзном государстве. Мы намерены участвовать в этом образовании, потому что мы видим в перспективе, что это может принести дивиденды для Беларуси. Но, к сожалению, на данном этапе нельзя говорить, что степень интеграции в рамках этого союза соответствует нашим ожиданиям", – сказал В.Макей в интервью газете *The Washington Post*.

Вместе с тем он указал на то, что в рамках ЕАЭС партнеры достаточно настороженно относятся к идее дальнейшей политической или военной интеграции. "Мы рассматриваем это образование на данном этапе как экономическое образование, которое должно дать конкретные дивиденды для всех участников этого Союза", - подчеркнул глава белорусского МИД.

Говоря об отношениях с Россией, В.Макей отметил, что "степень интеграции между нами очень высокая".

Вместе с тем он обратил внимание на зависимость Беларуси от российских энергоресурсов. "Может быть, экономическая зависимость Беларуси от России иногда бывает чрезмерно высокая, в силу того, что мы зависим от поставок энергоресурсов из России", - сказал министр.

По его словам, Беларусь развивает сотрудничество во всех областях с Россией. "Но одновременно мы пытаемся и диверсифицировать наши рынки сбыта и наши

отношения с другими странами. Есть настоятельная необходимость диверсифицировать нашу внешнеэкономическую деятельность", - сказал В.Макей.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 8 June 2015.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30BDXoK>

Новости России. Единство перед лицом общих вызовов. О важности упрочнения стратегического партнёрства Беларуси и России говорили 8 июня в Москве министры иностранных дел двух стран, сообщили в программе Новости «24 часа» на СТВ.

Главы внешнеполитических ведомств обсудили ключевые направления развития белорусско-российских отношений, а также взаимодействие по дальнейшему продвижению интеграционных процессов в ЕАЭС и сотрудничество на международной арене.

Кроме того, Беларусь рассчитывает выйти на новый уровень взаимодействия с Шанхайской организацией сотрудничества и стать для неё своеобразным «западным коридором». Заявление сделано накануне будущего участия нашей страны в саммитах ШОС и БРИКС, которые пройдут в июле в Уфе.

Владимир Макей, министр иностранных дел Республики Беларусь: Мы заинтересованы в том, чтобы участие Беларуси было обеспечено на более высоком уровне. Поэтому мы надеемся, что нам удастся в ближайшее время обеспечить принятие политического решения о повышении статуса Беларуси в ШОС до наблюдателя и завершить необходимые правовые формальности. Беларусь готова стать «западным коридором» ШОС и внести свой вклад в развитие этой организации.

Сергей Лавров, министра иностранных дел Российской Федерации: Мы нацелились на продолжение совместных усилий по внешнеполитическому сопровождению евразийской интеграции. Рассчитываем, что на 70-ой сессии Генеральной ассамблеи ООН Евразийский экономический союз получит статус наблюдателя. Координируем с нашими белорусскими, казахстанскими, армянскими, киргизскими друзьями работу по продвижению в ООН соответствующего проекта резолюции.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 28 October 2015 by *Caravan*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/32FOYYO>

Министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей считает, вхождение Казахстана в Всемирную торговую организацию (ВТО) может замедлить евразийскую интеграцию, передает РИА Новости.

«Мы оставили в силе огромное количество изъятий и ограничений, которые не способствуют скорому созданию единого экономического пространства, а ведь это главная цель, к которой мы стремились. Более того, решение о его создании отложено до 2025 года, и действия некоторых партнеров приводят к тому, что эти сроки могут быть сдвинуты на более позднее время. Я имею в виду, в частности, вступление Казахстана в ВТО и принятие Казахстаном на себя обязательств, которые снижают уровень таможенной защиты в рамках ЕАЭС», — сказал Макей в интервью газете «Коммерсант».

«Естественно, мы видим для себя эти риски и будем принимать адекватные меры реагирования, выстраивая соответствующие уровни таможенной защиты с нашей стороны от тех товаров, которые могут поступить на рынок ЕАЭС через Казахстан. Кстати, здесь мы действуем вместе с нашими партнерами из России, Армении и Киргизии», — добавил он.

Протокол о присоединении Казахстана к Марракешскому соглашению об учреждении ВТО подписан в Женеве 27 июля 2015 года. Протокол и включенные

в него обязательства являются неотъемлемой частью соглашения ВТО. Парламент Казахстана уже ратифицировал этот документ, после чего соответствующий закон подписал президентом страны Нурсултаном Назарбаевым. Официально Казахстан станет 162 членом организации в конце 2015 года, после урегулирования всех процедурных формальностей. ЕАЭС — международное интеграционное экономическое объединение, созданное на базе Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства и функционирующее с первого января текущего года. Сейчас членами ЕАЭС являются Россия, Армения, Белоруссия, Казахстан и Киргизия.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on March 2015.

Source: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/problemy-integratsii-politicheskie-pravovye-ekonomicheskie-aspekty>

Современный мир меняется очень быстро, причем если отдельные изменения можно было бы спрогнозировать, то некоторые проявились по непредсказуемому сценарию и вызваны как совокупностью объективных факторов и обстоятельств, так и субъективными моментами. Конечно, констатировать проблемы больших сложностей не представляет. Главное при анализе - не декларация проблем и не техника анализа, а выводы по его результатам, которые позволяют выработать конструктивные предложения по минимизации негативных последствий и упреждению возможных экономических и социально-политических потерь в условиях нарастания экономической неопределенности и внешних вызовов и угроз.

.. Кроме того, был нанесен России и второй удар - санкции. Оба направления воздействия очень чувствительные не только для Российской Федерации, но и для Евразийского экономического союза в целом. В нынешней ситуации ученым, осуществляющим научные исследования в области экономической теории и экономической интеграции следовало бы объединить усилия в рамках Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) и на основе глубокого анализа генезиса современных потрясений предложить как краткосрочные меры, так и перспективные направления развития интеграционного объединения Армении, Беларуси, Казахстана и России.

Правительство и Национальный банк Беларуси представили российским коллегам серьезный набор конструктивных предложений, который может быть своего рода постановкой задачи для подготовки научного проекта, имеющего важное прикладное значение в российско-белорусских отношениях и в становлении ЕАЭС. Кстати, российская сторона, проявив к этим белорусским инициативам определенный интерес, пока практических шагов не продемонстрировала. Казахстанские коллеги свою позицию не обозначили вообще. Поэтому дополнительные аргументы ученых могли бы быть помощью правительствам в реализации совместных с партнерами по ЕАЭС мер по преодолению кризисных явлений и угроз национальной безопасности.

Антикризисные меры состоятельны в том случае, если они учитывают развитие политических и экономических тенденций. В нашем случае политическая воля Беларуси, Казахстана и России выражена Договором о ЕАЭС. Экономическая ситуация также проявляется весьма рельефно. Это и есть то, «что дано» для выработки научным сообществом системных антикризисных мер. А ситуация очень сложная и далека от того состояния, которое пафосно описывают некоторые министры Евразийской экономической комиссии в средствах массовой информации. Ожидания от ЕАЭС велики. Это понятно: усиливающаяся экономическая глобализация заставляет государства создавать единообразные правила регулирования экономических отношений, обеспечивающих свободное перемещение товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы. Внешние угрозы также

активизируют процессы глубокой интеграции. В связи с этим все более важное значение приобретает вопрос унификации законодательства. Но в Евразийском экономическом союзе парламентское измерение отсутствует. Единственным способом оперативного создания унифицированных норм является тесное сотрудничество государств, в том числе их парламентов.

Странам - участницам Договора о ЕАЭС надо договориться о механизме принятия национальных законопроектов, чтобы они не были дискриминационными по отношению к партнерам по ЕАЭС. Ключевую роль в реализации положений Договора играет Евразийская экономическая комиссия, с которой надо выстраивать понятную систему работы по этим вопросам. Особенно по промышленной политике, что важно для Беларуси как страны с высоким (26-29% по добавленной стоимости) удельным весом обрабатывающей промышленности в экономике. В то же время, в Договоре этот вид деятельности имеет самую слабую степень интеграции. Так и записано: государства-члены самостоятельно разрабатывают и реализуют национальные промышленные политики. Необходимы конкретные действия в этой сфере, вплоть до разработки и подписания отдельного договора. Промышленный комплекс является во многом определяющим в развитии экономик государств-членов Евразийского экономического союза. Здесь сконцентрировано около 20% рабочих мест, 30% валовой добавленной стоимости, более 80% экспорта в третьи страны и основной объем взаимной торговли государств-членов ЕАЭС. Научно-техническое и инновационное развитие, перспективу будущего Евразийского экономического союза также генерирует промышленность. Для Республики Беларусь единая промышленная политика, масштабная промышленная кооперация в ЕАЭС - это приоритет из приоритетов.

В едином экономическом пространстве России, Казахстана и Беларуси сконцентрированы стратегические экономические интересы Республики Беларусь. Да, надо активнее работать со странами Запада, Юго-Восточной Азии, но основные наши рынки - ЕАЭС. Следует понимать, что, безусловно, определяющую роль в Евразийском сообществе играет Российская Федерация, как страна с самой большой экономикой. Белорусское руководство воспринимает Россию как важнейшего экономического партнёра. Вместе с тем, следует отметить, что из-за кризиса в этой области имеются сложности. Так, в 2014 году экспорт Беларуси в Российскую Федерацию сократился по сравнению с 2013 годом на 1,5 млрд долларов (с 16,8 до 15,3 млрд долларов) в основном за счет сокращения экспорта инвестиционных товаров (на 0,86 млрд долларов), непродовольственных потребительских товаров (на 0,6 млрд долларов). Такое падение не представилось возможным компенсировать ростом белорусского экспорта в ЕС на 0,3 млрд долларов (с 10,7 до 11,0 млрд долларов), Азию, Африку и Америку на 0,36; 0,06 и 0,24 млрд долларов, соответственно. В результате сальдо внешней торговли товарами и услугами хотя и улучшилось по сравнению с 2013 годом на 2 млрд долларов, но составило минус 0,5% ВВП или 0,39 млрд долларов.

Евразийский экономический союз дает возможность реализовать новые проекты, что обеспечит формирование обновленной структуры объединенной экономики. Это могут быть международные компании с объединенным капиталом, в том числе и из третьих стран. Поэтому под общей промышленной, аграрной и иной политикой в экономической сфере в Беларуси понимают именно такой приоритетный принцип интеграции. Законодательно закрепленное понятие «товар ЕАЭС» позволит устранить пока постоянно присутствующие споры и разногласия «свой - чужой». Безусловно, не вся продукция может быть одновременно сертифицирована на соответствие «товар ЕАЭС», но к этому надо стремиться.

... Отсутствие незамедлительного эффекта от структурных реформ является сдерживающим фактором для их проведения. Между тем, в средне- и

долгосрочной перспективе страна получит значительные экономические выгоды. Правильный выбор мер экономической политики сегодня окажет позитивное влияние на долгосрочную траекторию развития экономики, предполагающую рост уровня жизни населения за счет создания более производительных и, следовательно, более высокооплачиваемых рабочих мест. Именно в этой связи необходимость и целесообразность комплексных и последовательных структурных реформ признана актуальной Правительством и Национальным банком.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on May 2017 by *Beldumka*

Source:http://beldumka.belta.by/isfiles/000167_116883.pdf

Современный этап развития мировой экономики характеризуется дальнейшим углублением международной интеграции и специализации стран, усложнением межгосударственных связей, усилением неравномерности развития отдельных государств и территорий. Очевидно, что страны Евразийского экономического союза, будучи интегрированными в глобальную экономику, не могут избежать негативного влияния экономических и политических процессов, происходящих за пределами единой таможенной территории Союза.

В этих непростых условиях, благодаря такому интеграционному объединению, как ЕАЭС, наши страны, их экономики и бизнес получают существенные преимущества.

Создание и функционирование Таможенного союза (2010), Единого экономического пространства (2012) и ЕАЭС (2015) позволило существенно сократить барьеры во взаимной торговле государств-членов.

Одним из важнейших и перспективных механизмов нового этапа евразийской интеграции стало промышленное и агропромышленное сотрудничество, направленное на проведение в этих секторах согласованной политики в рамках Союза для ускорения и повышения устойчивости экономического развития, роста конкурентоспособности реальных секторов государств-членов и их инновационной активности.

В 2016 году экономика Евразийского союза, находилась под влиянием последствий мирового финансового кризиса 2014 года. Продолжалось воздействие таких экономических факторов, как падение цен на нефть, снижение объемов инвестиций и мирового спроса на промышленные товары.

Однако по итогам января–декабря 2016 года в целом по Союзу наблюдалась положительная динамика промышленного производства и производства продукции сельского хозяйства. В числе факторов, положительно сказавшихся на работе реального сектора ЕАЭС, мы видим активное развитие практического сотрудничества государств-членов при координации Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК, Комиссия).

Перспективы согласованной промышленной политики

Для промышленного комплекса Союза 2016 год стал переломным: преодолен спад производства и обеспечен его прирост на 0,9 % по сравнению с предыдущим годом. По ряду важнейших товарных позиций обрабатывающей промышленности возросли объемы производства и экспорта в третьи страны. Положительные темпы прироста производства в ЕАЭС в 2016 году зафиксированы во многих промышленных отраслях: они составили от 2,2 до 5,2 % (рис. 1; 2).

Договором о Евразийском экономическом союзе от 29 мая 2014 года впервые в истории евразийской интеграции закреплены договоренности государств-членов в области промышленной политики и сотрудничества. Отправной точкой для интеграции в промышленности Союза стал разработанный в Комиссии стратегический документ – «Основные направления промышленного

сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС». Его положения были поддержаны главами правительств в сентябре 2015 года, а с начала 2016-го Комиссия и государства-члены приступили к его активной реализации. В сфере промышленности мы сформулировали перед нашими странами в Союзе серьезные задачи: углубление промышленной кооперации и развитие импортозамещения в базовых отраслях (автомобиле-, станко- и сельхозмашиностроении, ме-аллургии, легкой промышленности и др.), внедрение инноваций и создание новых высокотехнологичных отраслей, развитие финансовых инструментов для стимулирования совместных кооперационных проектов и устранение барьеров во взаимной торговле промышленными товарами государств-членов.

... В целях формирования нормальной среды для развития кооперации и эффективного промышленного взаимодействия субъектов хозяйствования сторон, Комиссия приступила к созданию Евразийской сети промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации. Она будет представлять собой общую сетевую площадку спроса и предложений промышленных товаров и услуг, поиска и взаимодействия промышленных предприятий. Такая сеть позволит представителям крупного бизнеса оперативно находить и встраивать в свои производственные цепочки эффективных партнеров малого и среднего бизнеса. Все это положительно скажется на кооперационном сотрудничестве, загрузке действующих производственных мощностей и взаимной торговле государств – членов ЕАЭС.

Важнейшим направлением работы Евразийской экономической комиссии и государств-членов является инновационное развитие промышленности ЕАЭС. Индустриально развитыми странами объявлена политика новой индустриализации: возвращение производств на свою территорию, активизация инновационного развития по высокотехнологичным видам деятельности, обеспечение конкурентоспособности за счет увеличения добычи энергоресурсов и выработки электроэнергии нетрадиционными способами (возобновляемых источников энергии), цифровая трансформация промышленности.

Для государств – членов ЕАЭС указанные тенденции означают значительное усиление качественной конкуренции на внешних рынках, трудности в наращивании несырьевого экспорта в третьи страны. Преодоление этих вызовов требует объединения усилий сторон по сокращению технологического отставания и развитию экспорта совместно произведенной продукции на рынки третьих стран и взаимодействия на этих рынках. Создание новых инновационных секторов промышленности и модернизация действующих в ЕАЭС производств – главное условие повышения технического уровня промышленных комплексов стран и их перехода к следующему технологическому укладу.

... Подводя итог, отмечу, что цели, ради достижения которых создавался ЕАЭС, уже находят свое реальное воплощение. Но настоящий эффект экономическая интеграция даст только при условии напряженной и согласованной работы сторон, выполнения и соблюдения всех договоренностей, заложенных в праве Евразийского экономического союза.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 2 November 2015.

Source: <https://www.sb.by/articles/eaes-pyaterka-za-integratsiyu.html>

Слово «интеграция» в последнее время звучит часто. С 1 января нынешнего года наша страна является одним из членов Евразийского экономического союза. Впрочем, жизнь в формате «пятерки» для нас стала не только легче, но и сложнее. Ведь теперь все сложности приходится делить на всех, а экономики стран блока оказались очень зависимыми друг от друга и в первую очередь от России. Что в реальности может дать нам евразийская интеграция и каких изменений в экономике нам стоит ожидать в ближайшее время?

Не дать пропасть поодиночке

Считается, что с первого дня своего функционирования Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС) столкнулся с серьезными вызовами. Хотя, может быть, в данном случае правильнее было бы не искать толерантные формулировки, а назвать проблемы по имени. Так уж получилось, что первые шаги наше экономическое объединение совершает в условиях глобального кризиса. Сложностей хоть отбавляй — санкции европейских государств, введенные против России, косвенно ударившие и по странам-партнерам, замедление роста национальных экономик, связанное с падением цен на энергоресурсы. Вместе с тем экономисты придерживаются мнения: если бы нынешние проблемы нашим странам пришлось переживать поодиночке вне формата ЕАЭС, то каждой из стран блока вряд ли можно было бы позавидовать. Вместе же выбраться из трясины экономического кризиса нам будет проще.

На минувшей неделе в Москве проходила крупная конференция «Евразийская экономическая интеграция», в ходе которой специалисты обсуждали главную злободневную тему — поиск путей возобновления экономического роста в ЕАЭС. Масштаб спада в экономике России и Беларуси в последнее время заметно увеличился, замедление роста в экономике Казахстана также стало крайне чувствительным. Исключение из общего негативного тренда — недавние «новобранцы» ЕАЭС Армения и Кыргызстан. Экономический рост в этих странах остается на относительно неплохом уровне.

Сергей Сидорский — министр, отвечающий в Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) за промышленный и агропромышленный сектор, — разделяет такое мнение, но напоминает: рассчитывать на экономический рост в условиях глобальной «заморозки» рынков не стоит.

— Мы двигаемся постепенно. У нас была создана евразийская интеграция, которая плавно перешла к Таможенному союзу, потом — к Евразийскому экономическому пространству, и в этом году мы пришли к более глубокому интеграционному объединению — Евразийскому экономическому союзу. Конечно, всем нам хотелось бы более активного движения и развития ЕАЭС, но надо учитывать, что в мире экономический кризис, введены необоснованные санкции в отношении России. А при планировании бюджетов и темпов развития союза изначально были совсем другие расчеты. К сожалению, все зависит не только от ЕАЭС, но и от внешнего мира, — объяснил он.

Сергей Сидорский напомнил: важным шагом в развитии союза стало формирование согласованных подходов и действий в важнейших секторах экономики. Комиссией уже разработаны основные направления развития сотрудничества в ключевых сферах взаимодействия союзных государств: в макроэкономике, промышленности, международной сфере, в области создания единой транспортной системы, единых рынков электроэнергии, нефти и газа, которые поддержаны правительствами.

— Сегодня нам необходимо совершить переход от экономики спроса, базирующейся на высоких ценах на нефть, к экономике предложения, где инвестиции в новые технологии и новое производство генерируют продукцию, способную потеснить импорт и получить новые ниши на мировом рынке, — обозначил главный секрет будущего успеха министр ЕЭК.

По удачному стечению обстоятельств первые шаги функционирования Таможенного союза, который стал стартовой площадкой для формирования ЕАЭС, у нас происходили в относительно благополучные годы. И статистика того периода говорит о том, что решение интегрироваться в единый экономический блок было правильным: за первые три года существования ТС взаимный товарооборот между Беларусью, Россией и Казахстаном увеличился вдвое.

— В первый же год создания Таможенного союза внутренняя торговля у нас начала развиваться быстрее, чем внешняя, она выросла втрое. А сейчас в трудные времена, внутренняя торговля падает не так сильно, как внешняя, да и структура ее у нас оказалась лучше — внутри стран ЕАЭС продается больше инновационной продукции и меньше сырьевых товаров, — поделился наблюдениями член коллегии (министр) по торговле ЕЭК Андрей Слепнев.

По его словам, такие тенденции очень на руку ЕАЭС, ведь в настоящее время уже в пору говорить о третьей волне мирового кризиса. Внутренние рынки сбыта не дадут нам пропасть.

— Понятно, что ни модель национального протекционизма, ни всеобщей глобализации не дадут устойчивой основы для развития торговли, производства, эффективной кооперации. Наши национальные кварталы стали тесны для современного очень коммуницированного мира. Ответ на вызов очевиден — это региональные многосторонние соглашения, которые могут обслуживать интеграционные цепочки, что складываются в рамках больших объединений, — выступил в пользу ЕАЭС международный чиновник.

Министр по экономике и финансовой политике ЕЭК Тимур Сулейменов ответил по своему блоку вопросов:

— В рамках Договора о ЕАЭС у нас сегодня проводится большая и планомерная работа по формированию общего финансового рынка государств-участников, ликвидации барьеров на пути свободного перемещения рабочей силы, повышению уровня жизни и условий занятости населения наших стран. А в сфере формирования единого рынка финансовых услуг подписано соглашение об обмене информацией, в том числе конфиденциальной, в финансовой сфере в целях создания условий для обеспечения свободного движения капитала.

То есть финансовый блок ЕАЭС может быть готов гораздо раньше остальных. Уже сегодня, как оказывается, страны ЕАЭС ведут работу над проектом соглашения о взаимодействии по обмену сведениями, входящими в состав кредитных историй. Это в перспективе очень упростит работу с «плохими» долгами. Хотя изначально документ направлен на создание недискриминационных условий для граждан и предпринимателей при обращении их в финансовые институты по вопросам кредитования и повышение защищенности кредитных организаций от кредитных рисков при увеличении объемов трансграничного кредитования в масштабах союза.

Экономисты считают, что одна из самых заметных для ЕАЭС проблем — это добавленная стоимость. К сожалению, если внимательно рассматривать весь экспорт стран ЕАЭС за свои пределы, то выяснится, что львиная доля — это по-прежнему сырьевые товары. Во многом из-за этого сегодня у нас и возникают сложности, ведь нефть и газ торгуются не так дорого, как еще год назад, да и остальные полезные ископаемые сбавили в цене.

— Странам ЕАЭС нужна коллективная промышленная политика, которую должна инициировать именно Российская Федерация, — считает научный руководитель Института экономики РАН Руслан Гринберг. — Определенная примитивность экономик стран ЕАЭС — это один из главных рисков для евразийской интеграции. Коллективная промышленная политика уменьшит риски и улучшит перспективы ЕАЭС. Мы сейчас должны сделать комплексную программу развития не на основе директивного, а на основе индикативного планирования.

К сожалению, многие пункты нашей взаимной интеграции в ЕАЭС реализуются очень медленно. Отдельные рынки объединить специалисты обещают только через 10 лет — к 2025 году. А вот в чем уже наше взаимное тяготение очевидно: это единый рынок услуг. Сегодня он функционирует уже в 43 секторах — это примерно 50 процентов объема производимых государствами — членами ЕАЭС услуг. На недавнем заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, которое прошло 16 октября с участием президентов стран «пятерки», был

утвержден перечень секторов услуг, по которым формирование единого рынка в рамках союза будет осуществлено в течение переходного периода в соответствии с планами либерализации. До 1 июля 2016 года предполагается подготовить и представить для рассмотрения «дорожные карты» с указанием даты перехода каждой конкретной услуги в состояние единого рынка.

Выгоден для Беларуси ЕАЭС или нет — лучше всего на этот вопрос ответил председатель правления Евразийского банка развития (ЕАБР) Дмитрий Панкин:

— Сегодня в мире насчитывается свыше 90 интеграционных объединений, однако не все они одинаково эффективны. Часть из них уже находятся в состоянии комы. Важными факторами для успешности интеграционных объединений являются реальный экономический рост и улучшение благосостояния населения государств-участников. При этом нужно ориентироваться на снижение бюрократических барьеров в объединении.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 29 October 2015 by *Ritmeurasia*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30FNRpp>

Таджикистан пока не изъявил желания вступить в Евразийский экономический Союз (ЕАЭС), но если он это сделает, его предложение будет рассмотрено, заявил РИА Новости министр по промышленности и агропромышленному комплексу Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) Сергей Сидорский.

"Руководство Таджикистана заявляет, что внимательно изучает этот вопрос", — сказал он на пресс-конференции по итогам заседания Десятой Международной конференции "Евразийская экономическая интеграция" Евразийского Банка развития (ЕБР), проходящей в Москве. Сидорский добавил, что если руководство Таджикистана изъявит желание вступить в ЕАЭС, то его предложение будет рассмотрено.

В свою очередь, касаясь кредитования Таджикистана, глава правления ЕБР Дмитрий Панкин отметил, что основным критерием проектов является надежность и уровень риска. "Риск кредитов, представляемых Таджикистану, является минимальным, так как выдаются по линии Евразийского фонда стабилизации и развития, сейчас мы рассматриваем проекты в области электроэнергетики и дорожного хозяйства", — сказал он.

По словам Панкина, приоритет данного банка — там, где есть совместный интерес нескольких стран и цепочка добавленной стоимости. "Мы открыты для рассмотрения возможности расширения состава акционеров", — сказал он.

ЕАЭС — международное интеграционное экономическое объединение, созданное на базе Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства и функционирующее с 1 января текущего года. Сейчас членами ЕАЭС являются Россия, Армения, Белоруссия, Казахстан и Киргизия.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 29 October 2015 by *24.kg*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/32NGkr8>

«Общий дефицит бюджетов стран ЕАЭС ожидается на уровне \$200 миллиардов», - заявил сегодня на X международной конференции «Евразийская экономическая интеграция» член коллегии Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) Сергей Сидорский.

По его словам, все хотят активного движения Евразийского экономического союза, но прежде чем говорить о его ускоренном развитии, надо посмотреть на общее экономическое состояние стран-участниц. Сегодня наблюдается экономический кризис, который во многом связан с введенными против России санкциями, отметил он.

«Прежде всего мы должны выполнять ряд запланированных экономических

показателей, которые заложены в бюджеты всех стран Евразийского экономического союза. У нас были иные мнения о развитии событий, но сейчас идет резкое падение цен на энергоносители, что отражается на общем дефиците бюджетов стран ЕАЭС», - отметил Сергей Сидорский.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 16 September 2015 by *Zviazda.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30C8nql>

Context: Article of Sergey Sidorsky, the EEC Minister in charge of Industry and Agroindustrial Complex, in the Respublika newspaper: "Industrial cooperation in the EAEU is a powerful driver of economic growth".

В Гродно 8 сентября состоялось очередное заседание Евразийского межправительственного совета, на котором был утвержден важный для государств — членов Евразийского экономического союза документ — Основные направления промышленного сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС. Документ такого масштаба и охвата впервые принят в истории евразийской интеграции на постсоветском пространстве. В чем же его суть? На решение каких проблем нацелен? И что даст странам — участницам Союза его реализация? В статье члена Коллегии (министра) по промышленности и агропромышленному комплексу Евразийской экономической комиссии С.С. Сидорского даются ответы на эти вопросы.

Создание и функционирование Таможенного союза Республики Беларусь, Республики Казахстан и Российской Федерации в 2010 году позволило существенно сократить барьеры во взаимной торговле государств-участников. Это положительно сказалось на объемах взаимной торговли: за 2010-2013 этот показатель увеличился на 37 % (с 47,1 до 64,5 млрд. долл. за 4 года).

Вместе с тем, как показывает время, потенциал торгового фактора интеграции исчерпаем. Это подтверждает сокращение роста взаимных поставок между нашими странами. Так, объем взаимной торговли в 2014 году составил 58,5 млрд. долларов, что на 9 % меньше, чем годом ранее.

Стало очевидным, что странам-партнерам необходимо углублять интеграцию, развивать новые механизмы сотрудничества для обеспечения дальнейшего экономического роста (см. Рис. 1).

Вывод взаимодействия сторон на следующую ступень интеграции состоялся 1 января 2015 года – с момента, когда со вступлением в силу Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе от 29 мая 2014 года стал функционировать Евразийский экономический союз.

Одним из важнейших и перспективных механизмов нового этапа интеграции наших стран является промышленное сотрудничество, направленное на проведение согласованной промышленной политики в Союзе в целях ускорения и повышения устойчивости промышленного развития, повышение конкурентоспособности промышленных комплексов государств-участников и их инновационной активности.

Основополагающие принципы и правила взаимодействия государств-участников в области промышленности установлены Договором о ЕАЭС.

Правовым фундаментом для такого сотрудничества станет документ Основные направления промышленного сотрудничества в рамках Евразийского экономического союза (далее – Основные направления, ОНПС), утвержденный главами правительств государств-членов Союза 8 сентября 2015 года на заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета в г. Гродно.

Документ разработан на площадке Евразийской экономической комиссии с привлечением экспертов сторон и ведущих ученых в области экономики стран-участниц ЕАЭС. В области промышленности документ такого масштаба в

интеграционном объединении на постсоветском пространстве подготовлен впервые и отражает стремление государств-членов Союза к глубокой промышленной интеграции с учетом кризисных явлений в экономиках Сторон и складывающейся мировой конъюнктуры.

Одним из международных экспертов выступила Организация объединенных наций по промышленному развитию (ЮНИДО). По итогам рассмотрения проекта Основных направлений промышленного сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС ЮНИДО дала положительную оценку документу и поддержала его цели, задачи, направленность и заложенные в нем инструменты и механизмы.

Основные направления будут выполнять базовую роль при формировании сторонами согласованной промышленной политики, для реализации целей которой предусматривается разработка ряда документов следующего этапа, определяющих порядок и формат взаимодействия Сторон по ключевым аспектам сотрудничества на наднациональном уровне.

Этот документ включает в себя в качестве приложений перечни приоритетных видов экономической деятельности и чувствительных товаров и определяет спектр важнейших направлений промышленного сотрудничества, каждое из которых имеет свою цель и свой перечень инструментов.

В документе одним из основных направлений определено углубление промышленной кооперации.

Углубление кооперации планируется осуществляться за счет разработки и реализации совместных проектов в приоритетных видах экономической деятельности, повышения локализации действующих сборочных производств, развития субконтрактации.

Сегодня между нашими странами уже созданы и действуют совместные производства.

Справочно: по итогам 2013 года на территории ЕАЭС действовало 10,1 тыс. совместных предприятий с участием партнеров из государств — членов ЕАЭС, из них на территории Республики Беларусь — 2840, Республики Казахстан — 3299, Российской Федерации — 3949 (данные статслужб государств — членов ЕАЭС, ЕЭК).

Объем накопленных взаимных инвестиций по итогам 2013 года в рамках ЕАЭС составил 23,98 млрд долл., из них поступило в Республику Армения — 2,21 млрд долл., Республику Беларусь — 7,93 млрд долл., Республику Казахстан — 9,33 млрд долл., Кыргызскую Республику — 1,15 млрд долл., Российскую Федерацию — 3,36 млрд долл. (данные ЕАБР).

Вместе с тем кооперационный потенциал сегодня используется не на полную мощь, не задействован весь его инструментарий.

Кооперационные связи должны строиться на системной, долгосрочной программной основе. Поэтому Основные направления предусматривают разработку и реализацию совместных проектов по производству конкурентоспособной продукции, востребованной как на внутреннем, так и на внешних рынках. Такие проекты будут нацелены на сокращение импорта промышленной продукции и наращивание ее экспорта.

Проблема импортозамещения сегодня остро стоит для большинства государств — членов Союза. Поэтому Основные направления сотрудничества по импортозамещению сформированы, исходя из нынешней ситуации.

Справочно: с 2000 г. импорт государств — членов ЕАЭС продукции обрабатывающей промышленности опережающими темпами рос по сравнению с экспортом. Импорт вырос в 10 раз.

Отрицательное сальдо внешней торговли этими товарами увеличилось с 7,5, до 210 млрд долл.

Это произошло за счет роста мировых цен на энергоресурсы, валютной выручки от их экспорта, что дало возможности для роста закупок товаров за рубежом (см. рис. 2).

Рис. 2

При этом на ряде отраслевых сегментов нашего общего рынка импорт из третьих стран доминирует (рис. 3). Это химическая продукция (52,1%), машины и оборудование (54,1%), электрооборудование, электронное и оптическое оборудование (55,2%), текстильные и швейные товары (58,9%), фармацевтическая продукция (71,8%), продукция из кожи и обувь (79,6%).

Рис. 3

Также следует обратить внимание на то, что взаимные поставки государств — членов ЕАЭС на общем рынке продукции обрабатывающей промышленности составляют всего 4,5%, в сегменте продукции машиностроения — 3,9%, а по фармацевтической продукции и вовсе 1,5%.

В документе и предусматривается приоритет импортозамещения как необходимость максимально рационального обеспечения своих потребностей за счет собственного производства. Обеспечить наши общие потребности можно, нарастив взаимные поставки, сформировав соответствующие возможности для производителей, устранив оставшиеся барьеры.

Достижение такого же эффекта ожидается и за счет повышения локализации сборочных производств, созданных на территории ЕАЭС при участии иностранных инвесторов. Целенаправленная работа по замещению узлов и компонентов, поставляемых на такие производства из-за рубежа, качественной продукцией, производимой в Союзе, создаст новые кооперационные цепочки, производства и рабочие места.

С целью продвижения совместно произведенной продукции на экспорт основными направлениями предусматривается создание механизма совместного выхода на рынки третьих стран.

Для этого предусматривается создание совместных дилерских и сервисных сетей, центров сертификации машинно-технической продукции и технической поддержки, специальных объединенных сбытовых компаний и консорциумов.

Евразийские производители аналогичной продукции, объединив свои усилия и опыт, смогут выстраивать согласованную маркетинговую политику на внешних рынках во избежание необоснованной конкуренции на них.

Разработка и внедрение на территории Союза порядков, определяющих правила применения прогрессивных финансовых продуктов по сопровождению экспорта совместно произведенной продукции, таких как лизинг, предэкспортное и экспортное финансирование, позволит усилить позиции наших производителей на рынках третьих стран.

Приоритетное использование международных и региональных технических стандартов, внедрение систем менеджмента качества должно стать обязательным условием при создании новых технологий и модернизации действующих.

В основных направлениях уделено внимание и внедрению такого кооперационного инструмента, как Евразийская сеть промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации.

Основой Евразийской сети промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации будут национальные сегменты (национальные сети) промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации, внедряемые в государствах — членах ЕАЭС. Основными задачами этой сети станут оптимизация производственных процессов путем размещения промышленными предприятиями заказов на разработку, производство и сервисное обслуживание промышленной продукции, а также выполнение технологических процессов у других промышленных предприятий.

Создание общей информационной системы поиска и организации заказов в промышленности (базы данных о предприятиях промышленности и выпускаемой

продукции, производственные мощности и имеющиеся ресурсы) позволит бизнесу из разных государств Союза быстрее подобрать наиболее эффективного партнера для построения кооперационных связей в рамках ЕАЭС, выстроить более эффективную организационную структуру производства, вовлечь малые и средние предприятия в производственные цепочки крупных производителей, оптимально загрузить производственные мощности.

Таким образом, углубление промышленной кооперации расширит связи между предприятиями промышленных комплексов государств — членов ЕАЭС, вовлечет в процесс интеграции большое количество малых и средних предприятий, создаст новые производственные цепочки, обеспечит возможность проведения общей взаимовыгодной сбытовой стратегии на рынках третьих стран (вместо необоснованной конкуренции).

Внедрение инноваций

Индустриально развитыми странами объявлена политика новой индустриализации: возвращение производств на свою территорию, активизация инновационного развития по высокотехнологичным видам деятельности, обеспечение конкурентоспособности за счет увеличения добычи энергоресурсов и выработки электроэнергии нетрадиционными способами (возобновляемых источников энергии).

Для государств — членов ЕАЭС указанные тенденции означают значительное усиление качественной конкуренции на внешних рынках, трудности в наращивании несырьевого экспорта в третьи страны.

Преодоление этого вызова требует объединения усилий сторон по сокращению технологического отставания, развитию экспорта совместно произведенной продукции на рынки третьих стран и взаимодействия на этих рынках.

Создание новых инновационных секторов промышленности и модернизация (техническое перевооружение) действующих в ЕАЭС производств — главное условие повышения технического уровня промышленных комплексов сторон и их перехода к следующему технологическому укладу.

Справочно: в государствах — членах ЕАЭС удельный вес высоко технологичного сектора в промышленном производстве составляет 2—4%, что почти в три раза ниже уровня стран ОЭСР и ведет к снижению конкурентоспособности их промышленности в целом.

В этих целях Основные направления предусматривают активное формирование государствами — членами ЕАЭС условия для формирования инновационной промышленности и развития объектов индустриально-инновационной инфраструктуры, таких как технологические платформы, сеть трансфера технологий.

Такие структуры обеспечивают поиск прогрессивных технологических цепочек в сфере научно-технической кооперации государств-членов, решение конкретных инновационных задач для производителей стран — участниц Евразийского экономического союза, выход на совместные кооперационные проекты по созданию новых технологий и конкурентоспособной продукции.

В настоящее время практически завершается работа по семи пилотным евразийским технологическим платформам «Суперкомпьютеры», «Фотоника», «Медицина будущего», «Светодиоды», «Биотехнологии», «Легкая промышленность», «Технологии пищевой и перерабатывающей промышленности АПК». В их рамках сформирован перечень совместных пилотных кооперационных и инфраструктурных проектов, для реализации которых необходимо принятие соответствующего документа.

Справочно: работа над Положением о формировании и функционировании евразийских технологических платформ практически завершается. Принятие этого документа позволит обеспечить четкий пошаговый алгоритм выстраивания взаимовыгодного сотрудничества сторон в инновационной сфере.

Дальнейшей совместной проработке подлежат специальные вопросы правового статуса ЕТП, разделения прав на совместную интеллектуальную собственность и участия в национальных и наднациональных финансовых инструментах поддержки инновационной деятельности.

Разработка и реализация межгосударственных инновационных программ, совместное проведение научно-исследовательских работ позволят объединить по приоритетным направлениям интеллектуальные и финансовые ресурсы государств-членов для внедрения в производство современных технологий и освоения конкурентоспособной продукции.

Эффективное использование имеющихся в заделах каждой из сторон инновационных наработок обеспечит взаимное дополнение научных исследований друг друга для освоения новой продукции и позволит исключить дублирование таких разработок и затраты средств государственных бюджетов на них.

Создание сети трансфера технологий предполагает формирование общей сетевой системы для поиска разработчиков технологий и заинтересованных в них предприятий, партнеров для выполнения совместных НИОКР. Это обеспечит более тесное и более широкое сотрудничество разработчиков новых технологий друг с другом и с заинтересованными предприятиями, генерацию предложений по совместным проектам с последующим выстраиванием общих кооперационных производственных цепочек инновационной продукции, трансфер новых идей и современных технологий в отечественное производство из-за рубежа.

Необходимость более глубокого встраивания промышленных комплексов государств — членов ЕАЭС в международное разделение труда и транснациональные корпорации привела к осознанию необходимости создания эффективной структуры по выработке технологических и управленческих решений в сфере машиностроения и их практическому внедрению на промышленных предприятиях сторон. Такой структурой должен стать Евразийский инжиниринговый центр — действенный мозговой штаб инновационной модернизации промышленных комплексов государств-членов.

Одной из основных задач Центра станет внедрение современных технологий мирового уровня в производственные процессы промышленных предприятий государств — участников Союза. При этом предполагается максимальное использование внутренних ресурсов станкоинструментальной отрасли государств — членов ЕАЭС с обеспечением качественного уровня внедряемых процессов на основе общих типовых технических решений и требований. Работа Центра будет базироваться на постоянном учете достижений науки, техники, инноваций в сфере промышленного инжиниринга и дизайна.

В современном промышленном производстве скорость проектирования новой продукции возросла, а время освоения новой модели в производстве должна уменьшиться до нескольких недель, что связано с риском копирования продукции.

Одним из основных трендов в мировом проектировании стал переход к модульным конструкциям изделий, когда компонент изделия привязывается к функции и через стандартный интерфейс все компоненты собираются в одно изделие. Использование модульных конструкций позволяет экономить трудозатраты и сократить время на тестирование и сертификацию конечного продукта.

Отставание во внедрении электронных систем управления процессами производства, применении модульного принципа проектирования, использовании быстро перенастраиваемых технологических линий ведет к утрате конкурентных преимуществ в промышленности. В этой связи Основные направления предполагают разработку Евразийской цифровой платформы развития стран ЕАЭС.

Реализация этого направления позволит сконцентрировать усилия на наиболее перспективных направлениях инновационного развития и внедрении современных технологий, включая цифровые.

Как комплексный стратегический документ Основные направления предусматривают также финансовые инструменты для реализации поставленных задач.

Привлечение инвестиций и повышение доступности финансовых ресурсов для промышленности будет обеспечиваться путем развития финансовых инструментов.

Основными направлениями предусматривается увеличение финансирования совместных проектов и программ в промышленности научно-технического и инновационного характера, в том числе за счет создания (при необходимости) общих фондов, а также развития венчурного инвестирования в инновационную сферу.

Ведущая роль в финансировании проектов с кооперационным эффектом в рамках промышленного сотрудничества государств — членов ЕАЭС отводится Основными направлениями Евразийскому банку развития (далее — ЕАБР). При этом доля таких проектов согласно стратегии банка должна постоянно увеличиваться.

Это могут быть краткосрочные проекты, по которым осуществляется поставка технологического оборудования для реализации инвестиционных проектов, в том числе с использованием лизинговых схем. Но более действенными для достижения поставленных целей станут долгосрочные инвестиционные программы, формирующие устойчивые связи между предприятиями государств — членов ЕАЭС.

Государства — члены ЕАЭС будут ежегодно при координирующей роли комиссии разрабатывать перечень направлений кооперационного сотрудничества для приоритетного финансирования банком и вынесения его на рассмотрение Совета банка.

Это позволит увеличить приток инвестиций в создание и развитие объектов промышленной и инновационной инфраструктуры.

Немаловажным для сторон является дальнейшее устранение барьеров во взаимной торговле промышленными товарами. В этих целях основные направления предусматривают проведение Евразийской экономической комиссией мониторинга состояния рынка промышленной продукции, а также барьеров (на пути движения промышленных товаров на общем рынке ЕАЭС и на рынки третьих стран, в том числе препятствующих развитию промышленного сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС) по спектру системообразующих предприятий.

Такая ежегодная работа будет завершаться подготовкой соответствующего доклада комиссии с предложениями по дальнейшему устранению барьеров.

ОНПС затрагивают также такую важную для промышленников тему, как чувствительные товары. Под такими товарами стороны понимают товары с высоким уровнем конкуренции между производителями из различных государств-членов.

В целях снижения негативного влияния решений по чувствительным товарам правительств одних стран-членов на работу отраслей промышленности других государств, Основными направлениями предусматривается осуществление регулярных консультаций государств-членов и взаимное информирование о планируемых национальных мерах промышленной политики в отношении таких товаров.

Также в документе заложены договоренности сторон о разработке положения по использованию механизма учета технологических операций для определения совместно произведенной продукции, в том числе в целях применения совместных

мер поддержки. Это направление будет отдельно прорабатываться сторонами в целях выработки единых принципов и правил.

Такой подход обеспечит равные конкурентные условия для осуществления хозяйственной деятельности субъектов государств-членов, а также будет стимулировать развитие кооперационных взаимоотношений между производителями разных сторон и содействовать более широкому формированию совместных производственных цепочек.

Стороны также договорились о разработке и внедрении совместного комплекса мер по защите рынка ЕАЭС. Это, прежде всего, касается контрафактной продукции, которая проникает на территорию ЕАЭС по «серым» каналам без проведения должных процедур оценки соответствия, уплаты таможенных платежей и недобросовестно конкурирует с аналогами, выпускаемыми производителями ЕАЭС, на рынке Союза.

Кроме того, Основными направлениями оговаривается, что при проработке вопроса о целесообразности заключения и подготовке проектов соглашений о свободной торговле между государствами — членами ЕАЭС с третьими странами учитываются положения Основных направлений промышленного сотрудничества и национальных программ развития промышленности. При этом предусмотрено участие представителей промышленного блока комиссии и государств-членов в таких переговорных процессах.

Таким образом, реализация Основных направлений позволит получить синергетический эффект от совместного развития промышленного производства стран — членов ЕАЭС, а именно — улучшить качественные и количественные показатели развития промышленности сторон, в том числе:

- ускорить темпы роста промышленного производства в государствах — членах ЕАЭС;
- сократить отставание уровня производительности труда в государствах-членах от промышленно развитых стран мира;
- нарастить объемы кооперационных поставок и взаимной торговли промышленной продукцией в целом;
- увеличить долю продукции стран — участниц ЕАЭС на общем рынке, повысить уровень локализации производимой продукции;
- увеличить удельный вес высокотехнологичных видов деятельности в промышленном производстве.

Важно также отметить, что документ прошел широкое публичное обсуждение в государствах-членах, в том числе в режиме открытого диалога с деловыми кругами и бизнес-сообществами сторон.

Справочно: проведена серия мероприятий по публичному обсуждению проекта в рамках Белорусского промышленного форума 13 мая в Минске, 27 мая на форуме в Астане, 8 июля на площадке Международного промышленного форума России «ИННОПРОМ» в Екатеринбурге, а также 21 июля в Ереване.

Итак, первый шаг сделан.

Принятые премьер-министрами наших государств Основные направления промышленного сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС призваны сделать согласованную промышленную политику государств-членов эффективным фактором экономического роста наших стран.

Теперь дело за сторонами, чтобы написанное воплотить в жизнь.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 29 October 2015 by *TUT.by*.

Source: <https://news.tut.by/economics/470545.html>

Движение от евразийских правил в рамках ЕврАзЭС к новым условиям Евразийского экономического союза идет в непростых условиях, что накладывает отпечаток на темпы интеграции, заявил член Коллегии (министр)

по промышленности и агропромышленному комплексу Евразийской экономической комиссии Сергей Сидорский на X международной конференции «Евразийская экономическая интеграция» в Москве.

«Всем бы хотелось более активного движения и развития, но надо учитывать, что в мире экономический кризис, введены необоснованные санкции в отношении России. При планировании бюджетов и темпов развития были совсем другие расчеты», — отметил он.

Сидорский, которого представили как «известного в нашем евразийском мире человека», рассказал, что по итогам 2014 года дефицит торгового баланса стран союза в обрабатывающей промышленности без энергоносителей составил более 200 млрд долларов, поэтому «задачи в этих сложных условиях стоят амбициозные».

Он подчеркнул, что Комиссия ЕАЭС уже определила главные направления сотрудничества. *«Но в один день объемные вопросы интеграции решить нельзя»,* — признал Сидорский. Министр пообещал, что до 2025 года будут наработаны соглашения, в том числе в сфере торговли энергоресурсами, которые «станут крепкой основой нашего Союза». *«Нас президенты подталкивают и ускоряют»,* — добавил он.

Сергей Сидорский признал, что в ЕАЭС есть проблемы с добавленной стоимостью: *«Основа экспорта за пределы стран ЕАЭС — продукция с невысокой добавленной стоимостью».* Он также анонсировал переход от экономики спроса к экономике предложения на основе высокотехнологического продукта.

Особым партнером для ЕАЭС Сидорский назвал Китай, в торговле с которым товарооборот стран ЕАЭС уже в этом году может достигнуть 100 млрд долларов, хотя при этом Союз все еще не стал основным торговым партнером Поднебесной. *«Времена меняются, и Китай признает, что важность ЕАЭС как торгового партнера растет»,* — подчеркнул он.

Член Коллегии (министр) по торговле Евразийской экономической комиссии Андрей Слепнев, в свою очередь, отметил, что ЕАЭС нет альтернативы: ни модель национального протекционизма, ни модель глобальной интеграции не работают: первое слишком узко, второе — слишком сложно. *«Ответ очевиден: региональные многосторонние объединения, которые будут обслуживать кооперационные цепочки»,* — уверен он.

Слепнев подчеркнул, что уже в первый год формирования Таможенного союза внутренняя торговля стала расти быстрее, чем внешняя, несмотря на то, что там доля энергоносителей меньше. *«Это в хорошие времена — а теперь мы знаем, что те времена были хорошими. В нынешние, тяжелые, времена внутренняя торговля падает медленнее, чем внешняя, и ее структура лучше — больше инновационной продукции, меньше сырья»,* — добавил он.

Ivan Antonovich

Published on 22 December 2015 by SD.by.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hpbkSA>

Для страны, так же как и для каждого конкретного человека, важно двигаться вперед. А для того чтобы яснее была перспектива, очень полезно оглянуться и соизмерить свои достижения с ходом остальных — как людей, так и государств. Тем более интересно услышать такую оценку от людей компетентных. На днях в Министерстве иностранных дел нашей страны состоялась встреча по случаю 95-летия со дня создания комиссариата по иностранным делам. В этой встрече участвовали все министры иностранных дел нашей страны со времен объявления независимости Беларуси. Мы воспользовались поводом, чтобы пригласить для беседы в студию интернет-телевидения «СБ» одного из представителей этой плеяды. Бывший министр иностранных дел, известный философ и социолог, продолжающий активно трудиться на научном поприще, доктор философских

наук Иван Иванович Антонович охотно согласился поразмышлять об истории и современных вызовах, стоящих перед дипломатией и нашей страной.

— Какие достижения национальной дипломатии можно назвать наиболее весомыми и заметными?

— Я начну с того, что внимательно наблюдал за недавней инаугурацией Президента Беларуси. И должен сказать, что такого лидера сегодня нет в Европе. Александр Лукашенко провел страну через трудности, через конфликты на протяжении 20 лет и не потерял доверия избирателей. Это была блистательная победа. Президент Лукашенко поступательно и активно создает непрерывность белорусской истории.

На своем дипломатическом пути современная Беларусь не сделала ни одной политической ошибки. На этом пути были определенные трудности. Чего мы только не пережили — изоляцию, консервацию, реставрацию и т.д. и т.п. Но Беларусь активно участвовала и в делах региона, и в мировых делах. На региональном уровне величайшее историческое достижение — это союз Беларуси и России. Я имею честь быть автором первого варианта договора Беларуси и России, который подписан президентами Александром Лукашенко и Борисом Ельциным. И знаю, какой яростной атаке подвергались они и справа и слева, от либералов до консерваторов, которые не хотели этого союза. И все-таки оба президента проявили волю, союз работает, и, как мы сегодня видим, он обеспечил благополучную часть европейского пространства. Здесь нет конфликтов, нет военной угрозы, но есть взаимовыручка.

Сегодня наступило время региональных союзов. Суверенные государства выходят на мировую арену регионами. С общностью интересов, с общностью экономик. Евросоюз дополняется вторым, еще гораздо более широким геополитическим образованием — Евразийским экономическим союзом. Это тоже успех белорусской дипломатии и дипломатии тех стран, которые присоединились к нему.

— Дает ли многовекторная политика нашей страны ту экономическую отдачу, на которую мы рассчитывали?

— Многовекторность в экономике существовала гораздо раньше многовекторности в политике. Но многовекторность в экономике гораздо более напряжена, она характеризуется взрывной взаимной конкуренцией. И в этом смысле дипломатические попытки сгладить существующие противоречия невероятно важны. Обратите внимание на недавний визит Президента во Вьетнам и Туркменистан. Я смотрю, что предлагает Беларусь: тракторы, самосвалы, специалистов для осваивания солевого рудника... И думаю, так же как и многие другие мои коллеги, что ни у одной страны СНГ нет такого потенциала произведенного товара. Без многовекторности политических и дипломатических отношений товар этот не продашь.

— Почему достижения Евразийского союза еще не дотягивают до того уровня, на который рассчитывали экономисты? Как вы оцениваете потенциал дальнейших интеграционных процессов на постсоветском пространстве?

— А скажите мне, какая из европейских стран может порадовать сейчас своих граждан экономическими успехами? Увы, Беларусь в этом смысле несвободна от всех турбуленций мировой экономической ситуации. И, конечно же, эта турбулентность проявляется в постсоветских странах гораздо болезненнее, чем в европейских, где многосторонние связи более устойчивы и долгосрочны. Но оценивая ситуацию, я считаю, что наш путь правильный, надо только выдержать вот эту общую линию падения. В мировой экономике, как на крутых горках, всегда происходит движение вниз-вверх. Сейчас фаза спада, и только Соединенные Штаты дают в этом году прирост ВВП 4%, а Китай 7%. Китай уменьшил, а Соединенные Штаты нарастили. Все остальные возле нуля. У Беларуси есть собственное производство и инновационные технологии, есть мощный научно-

технический корпус. Надо идти дальше. Мы иногда даже не представляем, сколь яростна мировая борьба за рынок, за каждый проданный трактор.

— Когда, по-вашему, произойдет выход из экономического кризиса?

— Хотелось бы завтра. Но завтра не выйдет. Поскольку не скоро выйдет из экономического кризиса Европа. Трудно выходит Россия. Но я скажу так. Мы выйдем из этого кризиса раньше России. И может быть, чуть-чуть раньше Евросоюза. Потому что ЕС получает свои отягчающие процессы, которые он не может контролировать. Вы спросите: мы можем быть лучше? Я этого не сказал. Мы просто будем работать. Будем работать — выйдем. Это я могу сказать точно.

— Внешняя политика является продолжением политики внутренней. На ваш взгляд, исходя из сегодняшнего состояния белорусской экономики, в чем белорусская внешняя политика могла бы быть более прагматичной?

— Вы знаете, очень важно все-таки нам всем заняться экономикой. А здесь есть одна важная вещь, которую я наблюдаю по всему постсоветскому пространству. Мы не понимаем всю мощь мелкого и среднего бизнеса. Все время идут разговоры освободить их от налогов, но экономика переживает сложности и поэтому не освобождаем или делаем это не так, как надо. А надо все-таки помочь самому мелкому и среднему бизнесу выйти на благоприятный уровень развития. Вы знаете, во всех великих странах, господствующих на мировом рынке, в США, Японии, — только одна треть всего промышленного потенциала создается транснациональными корпорациями, все остальное делается в мелком и среднем бизнесе. Вот такую систему экономической взаимозависимости надо создавать, но мы не умеем пока этого делать.

— Как мировым сообществом оценивается миротворческая деятельность Беларуси как в украинском конфликте, так и вообще в мире?

— Я регулярно читаю литературу на английском, французском, немецком, украинском, польском, чешском языках и знаю, что интернет и пресса взорвались удивлением — Why Minsk? Почему Минск? А потом удивление сменилось тихой благодарностью. Беларусь, ведя себя предельно тактично, не вмешиваясь в процессы, обеспечила все, чтобы встретились мировые лидеры в Минске. Мы аккуратно, не говоря о трудностях, которые есть, обеспечиваем работу контактной группы по Украине, где все непросто. Нам хватает нервов и выдержки. Поэтому реакция, которая сменила удивление, была намного сильнее удивления.

Мы не дипломатия «нет». Мы не дипломатия «да». А мы дипломатия посредничества. Причем наша страна не только стала посредником, пригласив эту контактную группу в Минск. Наш Президент полетел и встретился с украинским руководством. Он полетел в Москву и услышал позицию там. Он был тем челноком, который восстановил информационное поле и общение, какое бы оно ни было. Это было важной акцией, и она получила свое логическое продолжение. Я убежден, что логическое продолжение будет получать и посредническая роль Беларуси.

— Сегодня у нас идет оживленный диалог с Евросоюзом, и, очевидно, этой возможностью надо правильно воспользоваться. Что, на ваш взгляд, мы должны стремиться получить в таком диалоге?

— Вы знаете, пусть не обижаются на меня в Евросоюзе, но мы победили. Вот та несправедливость унижительных для нас экономических и иных санкций уходит. И я думаю, у них хватит разумности, проявленной сейчас, эту линию продолжить. И мы туда входим в качестве нормального суверенного члена — не Евросоюза, а члена европейского сообщества. Мы открыты к экономическому сотрудничеству, мы открыты к политическому диалогу. Я хотел бы сейчас больше усилить культурный и научный обмен. Пусть говорят люди. Пусть говорит инженер, техник, строитель, художник, музыкант. Пусть приезжают, смотрят, нам есть что показать миру, и миру есть что показать нам. Это сейчас важнее, чем экономика.

В экономике сейчас работают мощные менеджеры, которые все равно тихо делают свою работу, они не любят публичности.

— Каким вам видится будущее общеевропейского пространства?

— Есть евразийская тенденция. Есть европейская тенденция. Важно, чтобы они не столкнулись. Важно найти мосты, которые объединяют два региона. Это делается на линии развития двусторонних отношений. Надо брать страны, совместимые с нами как с востока, так и с запада, и целенаправленно вести нашу политику. Тогда мы будем полезными и в евразийском экономическом пространстве, и Евросоюз будет видеть в нас серьезного достойного партнера.

Великая историческая задача — слить в один мощный пояс взаимодействия Восточную и Западную Европу. Я помню, когда уже разваливался Союз, была последняя встреча канцлера Гельмута Коля с Горбачевым. Гельмут Коля сказал: давай ваши ресурсы, мои технологии, и мы делаем немецко–российское экономическое пространство. Блестящая идея. Индустриализацию России начали немцы. И хотя их недолюбливали наши и удивлялись, что немцам в выходной хватает одной бутылки пива, но взяли от них многие ноу–хау. И инженерная школа русская выросла на сотрудничестве с немецкими инженерами. Однако все было перехвачено. Англосаксы в этом смысле безжалостны. Гельмута Коля за это наказали. Объединителя Германии изгваздали в грязи за какие–то мелкие партийные деньги, якобы взятки. И точно так они изгваздали Жака Ширака за то, что он не поддержал их по Ираку.

— Мы видим, что многие правила и традиции, которые раньше были незыблемыми, сегодня подвергаются ломке. Что делать Беларуси? Остаться на консервативных своих устоях? Или все–таки изменяться вместе с миром и просто адаптироваться к тем изменениям, которые происходят? У вас есть работа под названием «Глобальный облик мира в XXI веке». Может быть, в ней вы дали ответы?

— Мы европейцы по ментальности. Мы европейцы по нашей жизненной структуре. По всей нашей истории. В конце концов, по христианской цивилизации. Так вот теперь христианская цивилизация находится под страшной угрозой. Это цивилизационная война. И в этом смысле европейская неподготовленность, европейская толерантность вместо уважения к собственным ценностям опасна. Они сделали собственной ценностью толерантность, а не традицию классическую. Они теряют ориентиры, и я боюсь за Европу. И потом есть еще такое понятие в истории — немезис. Возмездие. То, что сейчас происходит, когда сотни тысяч африканцев и выходцев из мусульманского мира ринулись сегодня в Евросоюз. Они пришли из тех мест, которые когда–то англичане, французы раскроили под линейку границами, разрубив по племенам и заложив зерна конфликта. Это великий исторический немезис. Пока из миллиардного мира бедных проникают маленькие капли. А представьте, когда поднимутся 2 миллиона беженцев. И через 20 лет эти люди рожают новое поколение...

Если говорить о наших устоях, то у нас сейчас страна с великой традицией крестьянской. И она же христианская цивилизация. Она не любит рисков. Она идет медленно, но ничего своего не сдаст. А облик у нас свой, особый. Беларусь сейчас одна из двух–трех по–настоящему суверенных стран в европейском пространстве. Консерватизм не то чтобы был нашей основополагающей идеологией, консерватизм — это наше охранительное настроение.

Я хочу сказать доброе слово о нас, белорусах. Мы составляем большинство населения, да. Но белорусская нация сложилась как гражданская нация. Она поставила рядом с собой все остальные этносы. Поэтому белорусская нация — гражданская нация, которая полиэтнична по своей природе. В этом основа нашей солидарности и человеческого взаимопонимания.

Беларусь на очень хорошем пути сейчас. Беларусь имеет активнейшего Президента, который пользуется исключительным авторитетом и на постсоветском пространстве, и во всей Европе. Мы трудности экономические переживем, они у нас не тяжелее, чем у других, а, наоборот, чуть–чуть легче. Поэтому, ей–богу, конец 2015 года белорусы имеют все основания встречать оптимистично. Да, тяжковато, але ж трэба перажыць. Перажывем — будзе лепш. — Спасибо за беседу!

2016

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 31 May 2016 by *Belarusian Embassy Official Press Release*.

Source: <http://www.embassybel.ru/news/eaunion/0b9becaef349.html>

ПРЕЗИДЕНТ БЕЛАРУСИ А.ЛУКАШЕНКО ПРИНЯЛ УЧАСТИЕ В ЗАСЕДАНИИ ВЕАЭС НА УРОВНЕ ГЛАВ ГОСУДАРСТВ

Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко принял участие в заседании Высшего евразийского экономического совета на уровне глав государств, которое прошло в Астане.

Кроме Главы белорусского государства в саммите принимали участие президенты Армении, Казахстана, Кыргызстана и России.

Заседание проходило сначала в узком, а затем в расширенном составах.

«Равные экономические условия для государств — участников ЕАЭС и безбарьерная среда до сих пор не созданы. Более того, после подписания договора о ЕАЭС внутренний торговый оборот союза только падает. В 2012 и 2013 годах он был на уровне \$65 млрд, в 2015 году — всего \$45 млрд. Видимо, не все позиции договора соответствуют современной ситуации в экономике и нашим ожиданиям», — заявил Глава белорусского государства в ходе заседания в расширенном составе.

«Следует избавиться от внутренних изъятий и ограничений во взаимной торговле. Как бы наше объединение ни эволюционировало (сначала Таможенный союз, затем Единое экономическое пространство и, наконец, Евразийский экономический союз), количество этих изъятий и ограничений не изменилось. Так и осталось на уровне шести сотен», — констатировал Президент Беларуси. Пока нереализованной остается инициатива о выработке механизма функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств — членом односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих стран.

Александр Лукашенко напомнил, что в сентябре прошлого года на заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета приняты Основные направления промышленного сотрудничества. Стороны определились с параметрами согласованных мер по поддержке национальных производителей, наметили ориентиры взаимодействия в развитии экспорта промышленной продукции. «Теперь необходимо активно приступить к практической реализации поставленных нами же задач», — сказал Президент Беларуси. Кроме того, в ЕАЭС сделаны первые шаги по интеграции в энергетической сфере. Выработана и утверждена концепция формирования общего рынка электроэнергии.

На нынешнем заседании в Астане стороны рассмотрели такие же планы по газу, нефти и нефтепродуктам. «Но от концепций до их воплощения в жизнь путь иногда бывает очень долгим. И причиной тому мы являемся сами. Поэтому Евразийской экономической комиссии необходимо усилить работу в этом направлении и принять исчерпывающие меры для реализации данных проектов», — считает Президент Беларуси. Наряду с этим, продолжил белорусский лидер, давно обсуждается вопрос о создании единого рынка лекарственных средств и медицинских изделий. «Однако и здесь дальше разговоров дело не пошло», — добавил он.

Президент Беларуси также отметил, что в повестке дня саммита в Астане многие вопросы связаны с определением места ЕАЭС в мировой экономической системе. Александр Лукашенко подчеркнул, что для уверенного диалога с внешними партнерами в ЕАЭС необходимо сформировать собственный высокоразвитый единый рынок. «Нам надо самим быть сильными, всячески укреплять свой союз. Тогда нам легче будет вести диалог и с Европейским союзом, и с КНР, и с другими. Тогда мы будем сильными и будем выступать с единых позиций. Пока этого нет. А без этого Евразийский экономический союз не сможет эффективно реализовывать как внутреннюю, так и внешнюю политику», — уверен Глава белорусского государства.

В своем выступлении Александр Лукашенко отметил, что за два года с момента подписания договора о ЕАЭС были приняты серьезные концептуальные решения. Заложены основы либерализации транспортных услуг, формирования единого рынка электроэнергии, экспортной политики. «К сожалению, не все развивается так, как мы планировали. Проблемы еще остаются. Самые острые из них мы сегодня обсудили. Прежде всего необходимо перевести теоретические наработки в практическую плоскость», — считает Президент Беларуси.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 19 February 2016 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hoQnXT>,

<https://www.rosbalt.ru/world/2016/02/19/1491598.html>

Самую слабую степень интеграции в Евразийском экономическом союзе (ЕАЭС) имеет промышленная политика. Об этом, как передает «Белта», заявил председатель Совета республики парламента Белоруссии Михаил Мясникович, выступая на заседании научно-консультативного совета по вопросам социально-экономического развития.

«Мировое сообщество наконец-то приходит к ясному пониманию, что промышленность — это основа экономики. У нас в ЕАЭС промышленная политика имеет самую слабую степень интеграции. Были бы, как говорится, хоть успехи, а ведь этого нет», — заметил спикер.

«Полагаю, не надо затягивать с принятием решения о единой промышленной политике ЕАЭС. Промкооперация в союзе должна, и главное, что она может быть выгодной», — отметил председатель Совета республики.

Спикер также коснулся деятельности суда ЕАЭС, отметив слабое желание субъектов хозяйствования обращаться в эту структуру. «Не секрет, что отдельные предприятия, компании, в том числе белорусские, не очень хотят обращаться в суд Евразийского экономического союза. Проще сослаться на так называемые объективные трудности в торговле, чтобы скрыть свою плохую работу и невысокую конкурентоспособность товаров. Такая порочная практика должна быть исключена», — считает председатель верхней палаты парламента.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 29 October 2016 by *Maiak.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2R8YaPf>

Лукашенко: интеграционные проекты должны приносить реальную пользу народам

В Минске 27-28 октября прошли заседания Евразийского межправительственного совета и Совета глав правительств СНГ. На заседаниях рассмотрены актуальные вопросы сотрудничества государств - членов ЕАЭС и СНГ.

На заседании Евразийского межправсовета обсуждены проект нового Таможенного кодекса ЕАЭС, проект бюджета ЕАЭС на 2017 год, ход работы по

международной деятельности Евразийской экономической комиссии, отдельные аспекты торговой политики.

На заседании Совета глав правительств СНГ рассмотрено более 20 проектов документов, касающихся дальнейшего развития сотрудничества по приоритетным направлениям деятельности Содружества.

Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко провел встречу с руководителями правительственных делегаций ЕАЭС и СНГ.

Лукашенко отмечает признание странами СНГ активной интеграционной политики Беларуси

Проведение в Минске заседаний глав правительств Евразийского экономического союза и Содружества Независимых Государства в Беларуси рассматривают как признание активной интеграционной политики страны. Об этом Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко заявил во время встречи с руководителями правительственных делегаций ЕАЭС и СНГ.

"Рассматриваем проведение этих мероприятий у нас как проявление уважения к Беларуси, признание ее активной интеграционной политики", - сказал Александр Лукашенко.

В современном мире обостряется политическая и экономическая турбулентность.

"Усилилась обоснованная критика в наших странах в связи с неудовлетворенностью как темпами, так и практическими результатами развития интеграции. Слышны тревожные сигналы от бизнеса, - отметил глава государства.

- Буду предельно откровенен: критическая масса накопившихся вопросов вызывает у нас, в Беларуси, тревожные настроения по поводу перспектив не только СНГ, но и ЕАЭС".

Президент подчеркнул, что необходимо повысить эффективность потенциала интеграции и ее конкурентные преимущества.

"Уверен, что минские встречи позволят найти пути разрешения имеющихся проблем, особенно в экономической сфере. Без экономики никуда, потому что это фундамент любых отношений", - добавил Александр Лукашенко.

Страны ЕАЭС не должны топтаться на месте при реализации достигнутых договоренностей - Лукашенко

Александр Лукашенко отметил, что, если попытаться разобраться с положением дел в ЕАЭС, то, конечно, на этапе экономического спада государства волей-неволей задействуют протекционистские меры. "Но ведь союз для того и создавался как более углубленная интеграционная форма, чтобы вместе преодолевать кризисы и застои в экономике, уважать интересы друг друга, сформировать общие рынки, - обратил внимание Президент. - Вообще, кризисы и различного рода неурядицы, столкновения должны сближать настоящих друзей и братьев".

Глава государства отметил, что страны определили четкие сроки реализации достигнутых договоренностей. И эти решения, как бы ни было сложно, нужно выполнять. "Если не будем выполнять договоренности, которые мы выстрадали (это было не так просто), перспектив не будет ни у какого союза. Пока ситуация не самая радужная. На многих направлениях отмечено значительное отставание. Часто мы слишком долго топчемся на одном месте. Типичный пример - устранение изъятий, барьеров и ограничений в торговле, которых насчитывается несколько сотен", - сказал Александр Лукашенко.

Лукашенко призывает страны ЕАЭС к проведению согласованной промышленной политики

"Беларусь регулярно ставит вопрос о проведении согласованной промышленной политики. Единственный путь для превращения ЕАЭС в центр экономической силы - это развитие мощной и современной производственной базы на основе

кооперации, - подчеркнул Александр Лукашенко. - Теоретически с этой идеей согласны все. Но практической реализации, к сожалению, нет".

Как отметил Президент, также необходимо урегулировать вопросы функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств - членом односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих стран.

"Нам нужен четкий механизм взаимодействия в таких ситуациях, в первую очередь для того, чтобы на равном месте не возникали трения между участниками союза", - уверен глава государства.

Александр Лукашенко добавил, что вопросы функционирования ЕАЭС также обсуждались на недавнем саммите ОДКБ в Армении. По словам Президента, это был жесткий и принципиальный разговор, но вместе с тем открытый и дружеский.

Беларусь не устраивают отдаленные сроки создания общих рынков энергоносителей в ЕАЭС - Лукашенко

"Нас не устраивают отдаленные сроки создания общих рынков энергоносителей, а также либерализации выполнения перевозчиками одного государства перевозок между пунктами, расположенными на территории другого государства", - сказал Александр Лукашенко.

Президент подчеркнул, что, даже если условно определены сроки создания единых рынков, не следует ждать до последнего с их запуском.

Лукашенко выступает против формализма в работе по совершенствованию договора о ЕАЭС

"Начата работа по совершенствованию положений договора о ЕАЭС. Самое важное - подойти к ней не формально, а использовать эту возможность для решения самых сложных вопросов интеграции", - подчеркнул Александр Лукашенко.

Президент отметил, что несогласованность действий уже привела к разбалансировке внутренних интеграционных процессов. "Поэтому я призывал бы глав правительств государств ЕАЭС нацелить своих экспертов на серьезную работу, - обратил внимание белорусский лидер. - Мы увидели, что надо сегодня актуализировать этот договор. Что не получилось - отбросить. Надо его усовершенствовать, провести ревизию по всем направлениям".

Но, беря на себя новые задачи, заметил глава государства, надо подумать и над продолжением решения долгоиграющих проблем, по которым достичь результата не удалось.

"Только преемственность, последовательность и системность в работе могут создать необходимые предпосылки для ускоренного продвижения к тем целям, которые мы поставили перед союзом", - уверен белорусский лидер.

"Подход Беларуси прозрачен - если сказали, что будем строить Евразийский экономический союз, то надо быть последовательными и решительно идти вперед,

как условились. Иначе интеграционные идеи не будут восприниматься серьезно ни нашими народами, ни за пределами союза", - резюмировал Президент.

В основе каждого нового решения стран СНГ должна быть окупаемость - Президент Беларуси

"В Бишкеке главы государств дали правительствам сигнал о необходимости поиска новых, современных импульсов развития СНГ, о повышении эффективности работы органов Содружества. Все ненужное и неэффективное необходимо оставить в прошлом", - подчеркнул Александр Лукашенко.

По его словам, в последние годы постоянно отмечаются проблемы с полной формированием бюджета органов СНГ. Президент Беларуси считает, что одной из причин этого является отсутствие инновационных идей и ярких результатов в сферах взаимодействия Содружества. "Отсюда и снижение интереса к финансированию СНГ", - выразил мнение глава государства.

Александр Лукашенко убежден, что нужны амбициозные задачи: "Необходимы общие точки экономического роста, основанные на принципах производственного, инвестиционного и научного взаимодействия".

Лукашенко: в современных условиях СНГ сохраняет востребованность как универсальная площадка согласования позиций

"В сентябре в Бишкеке мы предметно рассмотрели вопросы адаптации СНГ к современным условиям. Беларусь всегда выступала за сохранение Содружества как полноценной международной организации, нацеленной на развитие региональной интеграции, - отметил глава государства. - С удовлетворением отмечаю, что и в Беларуси у нас такое же мнение, и данный подход был поддержан всеми главами государств Содружества и нашел свое отражение в принятом решении об адаптации СНГ".

Президент обратил внимание на тот факт, что в основе Содружества лежит стратегия взаимовыгодного и равноправного сотрудничества, что позволяет каждому из государств-участников делать свободный выбор степени своего участия в интеграционном процессе, основываясь при этом на национальных интересах.

Он выразил убежденность, что СНГ полностью востребовано.

Лукашенко считает возможным крупный космический проект на основе объединения ресурсов стран СНГ

"Наши ученые в качестве одного из факторов развития научно-технического и инновационного потенциала стран Содружества видят сотрудничество в исследовании и использовании космоса в мирных целях, - подчеркнул глава государства. - Базисом такого взаимодействия мог бы стать крупный совместный космический проект, реализуемый на основе объединения ресурсов стран СНГ в целях получения весомых научных, практических и экономических результатов".

По его словам, важным направлением является обеспечение внутренних рынков стратегическими сырьевыми ресурсами, в том числе энергетическими.

"Необходимы актуализация и взаимная увязка национальных энергетических программ наших государств, энергетическая кооперация, внедрение новых технологий, увеличение доли альтернативной энергетики, - сказал Президент. - Сохраняет свою значимость продолжение сотрудничества в сфере продовольственной безопасности. Здесь уместна реализация совместных мер как по повышению конкурентоспособности наших агропромышленных комплексов на внешних рынках, так и по решению вопросов внутреннего обращения продовольствия".

По мнению главы государства, это касается гармонизации требований в области безопасности и качества сельскохозяйственных товаров, включая использование недискриминационных форм мониторинга и контроля, развитие системы обмена информацией о результатах лабораторного контроля, совместное выявление случаев нарушения ветеринарного благополучия территорий.

В СНГ требуется усиление координирующей роли органов отраслевого сотрудничества - Президент Беларуси

Как считает Президент Беларуси, деятельности органов отраслевого сотрудничества необходимо придать системность и программно-целевой характер. "Отдельные из них функционируют десятилетиями, но не вносят вклада в развитие Содружества, - заметил глава государства. - А ведь именно на этом уровне осуществляется экспертная деятельность по практическому наполнению политических решений, результаты такой работы формируют представление о пользе СНГ для конкретных граждан, организаций, предприятий, государств".

Александр Лукашенко подчеркнул, что все эти темы не новы и на них нужно просто посмотреть под другим углом, актуализировать с учетом современных реалий. "Это и будет лучшей адаптацией СНГ", - убежден Президент.

Лукашенко отмечает сложности в практической реализации Договора о зоне свободной торговли СНГ

Глава государства подчеркнул, что Договор о зоне свободной торговли является одним из ключевых элементов торгово-экономического сотрудничества внутри Содружества. "Сегодня в практической реализации договора есть сложности, вызванные обострением отношений между двумя нашими ключевыми партнерами. Остается только призвать к терпению и сдержанности в принятии решений", - отметил белорусский лидер.

По его словам, Содружество многое потеряло с выходом из его состава Грузии. "Дальнейшее движение по такому вектору существенно снижает экономический, да и политический потенциал СНГ, - считает Президент. - Тем более что в рамках Договора о зоне свободной торговли мы приступили к решению двух важных задач: построению единого рынка государственных закупок и формированию основ рынка свободной торговли услугами".

Глава государства обратил внимание на тот факт, что Беларусь крайне заинтересована в максимально широком составе участников этой работы.

"Сильными сторонами СНГ всегда были и остаются организация взаимодействия по самым различным направлениям, равноправие государств-участников,

гибкость форматов коллективного сотрудничества и механизмов принятия решений", - отметил Александр Лукашенко.

Он считает, что эти факторы позволят с достоинством решить насущные вопросы дальнейшего развития Содружества.

Лукашенко: Союз Беларуси и России - пример и образец глубокой интеграции

Александр Лукашенко отметил, что СНГ - хорошая площадка для общения и переговоров, решения тактических вопросов. Евразийский экономический союз предусматривает уже глубокую экономическую интеграцию. "Еще более глубокая интеграция в Союзе Беларуси и России. Он является примером и образцом", - подчеркнул Президент. Глава государства добавил, что при создании ЕврАзЭС страны опирались именно на многие белорусско-российские договоренности.

"Если кто-то готов перейти от экономического союза к тесному экономическому военно-политическому союзу в рамках Союза Беларуси и России, договор открыт", - обратил внимание Александр Лукашенко.

Страны ЕАЭС смогли в значительной мере продвинуться к стратегическим целям союза - Кобяков

Об этом заявил 27 октября премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков на заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета в расширенном составе.

"Текущий 2016 год чрезвычайно непростой и напряженный как в развитии наших экономик, так и в становлении Евразийского экономического союза, - сказал Андрей Кобяков. - Обнадёживает, что по ряду важных направлений в этих сложных условиях нам удалось либо добиться конкретных позитивных результатов, либо в значительной мере продвинуться к стратегическим целям функционирования союза, закрепленным в договоре о ЕАЭС от 29 мая 2014 года".

Андрей Кобяков выразил уверенность в том, что встреча глав правительств ЕАЭС в Минске внесет серьезный вклад в развитие евразийской экономической интеграции.

Странам СНГ еще многое предстоит сделать для укрепления Содружества - Кобяков

Об этом заявил 28 октября на заседании Совета глав правительств СНГ в узком составе премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков.

Руководитель белорусского правительства отметил, что странам СНГ необходимо уточнить сферы полномочий органов Содружества, оптимизировать и повысить результативность работы отраслевых структур, обеспечить экономию и эффективное использование финансовых ресурсов.

По словам Андрея Кобякова, каждое заседание в формате Содружества Независимых Государств является подтверждением его функционального

предназначения. "Это площадка для ведения многосторонних переговоров и принятия взаимовыгодных решений по всем вопросам", - подчеркнул он.

Минск всегда был и остается в центре интеграционных процессов СНГ - Кобяков

Об этом заявил премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков на расширенном заседании Совета глав правительств СНГ.

"Минск всегда был и вот уже 25 лет остается в центре интеграционных процессов, - подчеркнул премьер-министр. - Уверен, что и сегодняшнее заседание принесет новые вехи в развитие интеграции на пространстве Содружества".

Это первое заседание глав правительств СНГ после заседания глав государств в Бишкеке, где подтверждена общая готовность сохранить Содружество как полноценную региональную межгосударственную организацию. "Решением об адаптации СНГ к современным реалиям задан вектор дальнейшего развития Содружества. Теперь перед нами стоит задача по повышению эффективности работы уставных и иных органов СНГ, минимизации финансовых затрат на их функционирование", - отметил Андрей Кобяков.

Центральными для стран СНГ остаются вопросы экономического взаимодействия. "Нами разработаны стратегии экономического развития на период до 2020 года. Задачи поставлены серьезные. Документ охватывает более 20 направлений и насчитывает 290 практических мероприятий,- рассказал Андрей Кобяков. - Их реализация призвана создать реальные условия для устойчивого развития экономик наших стран, структурных преобразований в различных сферах деятельности. Уверен, что неукоснительная реализация стратегии придаст дополнительную динамику договору о зоне свободной торговли".

Сегодня главы правительств рассмотрели ход реализации положений договора о зоне свободной торговли от 18 октября 2011 года и позитивно оценили их выполнение. На сегодняшний день сторонами согласованы правила и процедуры регулирования государственных закупок, осуществляется подготовка документа, регламентирующего свободную торговлю услугами. Стороны выполняют взятые обязательства в части экспортных пошлин, соблюдают условия применения технических, санитарных и фитосанитарных мер во взаимной торговле. Предусмотренные договором механизмы разрешения торговых споров представляются наиболее эффективным путем достижения взаимовыгодных результатов, а устранение барьеров в торговле товарами и услугами способствует развитию взаимной торговли и экономическому росту его участников.

Следующее заседание Совета глав правительств СНГ пройдет 26 мая 2017 года в России

Об этом сообщил председатель Исполнительного комитета - исполнительный секретарь СНГ Сергей Лебедев на заседании Совета глав правительств СНГ в расширенном составе в Минске.

"По предложению Российской Федерации решено провести очередное заседание Совета глав правительств СНГ 26 мая 2017 года в России", - проинформировал Сергей Лебедев.

Председательство в СНГ в 2017 году переходит к России

"С 1 января председательство в СНГ принимает Российская Федерация. Сегодня члены делегации пожелали успехов представителям России, председателю правительства России Дмитрию Медведеву", - отметил Сергей Лебедев.

По его словам, страны СНГ выразили надежду, что председательство России в Содружестве придаст новый импульс для укрепления сотрудничества.

В 2016 году в СНГ председательствует Кыргызстан.

Страны СНГ подписали пакет документов о сотрудничестве

По итогам заседания в Минске Совета глав правительств СНГ подписан пакет документов в сфере экономики, энергетики, гуманитарного сотрудничества.

В частности, подписано соглашение о сотрудничестве государств - участников СНГ в горно-металлургической отрасли. Документ направлен на обеспечение скоординированной работы предприятий горно-металлургической отрасли, содействие формированию взаимовыгодных координационных связей, разработку и осуществление мероприятий по реализации совместных программ и проектов, выработку и принятие решений, способствующих созданию совместных предприятий, компаний для ведения поисково-разведочных работ и строительства горно-обогатительных комплексов.

Утверждена концепция формирования и развития рынка интеллектуальной собственности государств - участников СНГ и план мероприятий по ее реализации. Эти документы предусматривают совершенствование механизмов управления интеллектуальной собственностью, развитие инновационного предпринимательства, повышение конкурентоспособности товаропроизводителей в странах СНГ.

Подписи поставлены под соглашением о сотрудничестве в области карантина растений. Также утвержден план мероприятий по реализации стратегии развития гидрометеорологической деятельности стран СНГ (2016-2020 годы).

Кроме того, подписаны прогноз производства и потребления энергоресурсов государств СНГ на период до 2030 года, соглашение о сотрудничестве в автомобилестроении, соглашение о партнерстве в области правового просвещения потребителей. Также утверждено решение о проведении международных сопоставлений на основе паритета покупательной способности валют в Содружестве Независимых Государств, решение о финансировании в 2017 году плана мероприятий по реализации основных направлений дальнейшего развития медико-социальной помощи и повышения качества жизни ветеранов войн - участников локальных конфликтов и членов их семей в государствах СНГ на период до 2020 года.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 3 November 2016 by *Belarus.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2TEIYLb>

Кобяков: Беларусь поддерживает идею интеграции ЕАЭС и ШОС

3 ноября, Бишкек /Корр. БЕЛТА/. Беларусь поддерживает идею интеграции Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) и Шанхайской организации сотрудничества (ШОС). Об этом заявил сегодня в Бишкеке премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков на заседании Совета глав правительств стран ШОС, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА.

"В части экономического взаимодействия мы полностью разделяем идею российских партнеров по тесной интеграции ЕАЭС и ШОС", - сказал премьер-

министр. По его словам, такой подход поддерживается руководством Беларуси и созвучен с инициативой "интеграции интеграций".

"Со своей стороны мы поддерживаем намерения и конкретные планы китайских партнеров по участию наших стран в инициативе экономического пояса Шелкового пути, по созданию платформ сотрудничества в сфере промышленности, транспорта и коммуникаций, инновационного и финансового сотрудничества, информационных технологий", - добавил Андрей Кобяков. Беларусь обладает развитым научно-техническим потенциалом для внесения достойного вклада в реализацию совместных проектов в области промышленности, информационно-коммуникационных технологий, энергетики, сельского хозяйства и других отраслях.

Премьер-министр отметил, что Шанхайская организация сотрудничества отмечает свое пятнадцатилетие в непростых условиях. "Всем нашим странам приходится искать эффективные ответы на новые вызовы и угрозы, учитывать рост региональной напряженности, адаптироваться к усилению глобальной конкуренции на фоне сложностей в мировой экономике", - сказал он.

В этой связи взаимодействие в ШОС как в сфере безопасности, так и в экономике приобретает все более важное значение. "Сегодня объективно возрастает роль координации усилий по дальнейшему развитию ШОС", - подчеркнул Андрей Кобяков.

В 2016 году Беларусь в качестве наблюдателя при ШОС приняла активное участие в мероприятиях, предусмотренных планом деятельности организации. "Основываясь на договоренностях, зафиксированных в итоговых документах Ташкентского саммита организации, белорусская сторона готова к дальнейшему углублению сотрудничества с государствами-наблюдателями и партнерами по вопросам противодействия новым вызовам и угрозам, развитию торгово-экономических связей и культурных обменов", - добавил премьер-министр.

Заседание Совета глав правительств стран Шанхайской организации сотрудничества проходит в Бишкеке. Главы правительств рассмотрят ход реализации программы многостороннего торгово-экономического сотрудничества государств - членов ШОС, утвердят бюджет организации на 2017 год. Основное внимание во время переговоров будет уделено вопросам экономического взаимодействия в ШОС. По итогам планируется подписание около 10 документов.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 23 September 2016 by *UN news*.

Source: <https://news.un.org/ru/audio/2016/09/1035931> (recording)

Беларусь выступает за интеграцию интеграций – глава МИД В.В. Макей
На этой неделе в штаб-квартире ООН в Нью-Йорке открылась 71-я сессия Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН. В этом году ее предваряла встреча высокого уровня по вопросам беженцев и мигрантов. В ней принимал участие министр иностранных дел Республики Беларусь Владимир Владимирович Макей. Он также вручил Генеральному секретарю ООН документы о ратификации Беларусью Парижского соглашения по климату.

Несмотря на крайне напряженный рабочий график, Владимир Владимирович все же нашел время для интервью нашему радио.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 8 April 2016 by *Souzveche*.

Source: <http://souzveche.ru/news/30531/>

Владимир Макей: Союзное государство, Евразийский экономический союз, СНГ, ОДКБ – для нас важны все эти организации.

Глава белорусского МИД не стал выделять приоритетный вариант регионального сотрудничества

Беларусь готова развивать отношения с партнерами в рамках любых интеграционных объединений, в которых она принимает участие. Об этом в ходе пресс-конференции в Москве заявил министр иностранных дел республики Владимир Макей.

- Мы не хотели бы говорить, что для нас более приоритетно - Союзное государство, Евразийский экономический союз, СНГ или ОДКБ, - заявил дипломат. - Для нас важны все эти организации, и мы будем активно работать в них.

Глава внешнеполитического ведомства отметил, что, по его мнению, Союзное государство стало прообразом Евразийского экономического союза. Однако, Макей добавил, что пока ЕАЭС очень далек от того уровня интеграции, который есть в российско-белорусских отношениях. В частности, несмотря на стремление к максимально возможному экономическому сотрудничеству, в ЕАЭС пока существует немало проблем и ограничительных мер.

- Сейчас существуют пять отдельных экономических программ в ЕАЭС. Задача сделать так, чтобы создание единого экономического пространства завершилось как можно скорее, - уверен Владимир Макей.

При этом, министр иностранных дел поприветствовал стремление нескольких десятков государств создать зоны свободной торговли с ЕАЭС. Это направление деятельности Владимир Макей считает перспективным.

2017

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 14 April 2017.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2BnsuAt>

ЕАЭС надо сделать упор на решении внутренних проблем Союза. Об этом на заседании ВЕЭС в Бишкеке сказал президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко.

По его словам, внутри Союза много проблем.

«В 2016 году нам не удалось устранить причины снижения товарооборота. Это основная проблема, так как ЕАЭС — это в первую очередь экономический союз. Поддерживаю президента Атамбаева, который сказал, что нам необходимо сосредоточиться на решении внутренних проблем Союза. Считаю, что 2017 год мы должны сделать переломным в становлении нашей организации. Комплекс первоочередных мер: ввести мораторий на принятие новых правовых актов, которые дискриминируют участников ЕАЭС. Следить за этим должна ЕЭК. Необходимо заслушать на заседании доклад комиссии об изъятии барьеров и ограничений на внутреннем рынке. Этому вопросу необходимо уделить больше внимание», – сказал президент Беларуси.

Он отметил, что география Союза расширяется. И что построение единого экономического пространства находит понимание и отклик у других государств региона.

«Об этом говорит заявления президента Молдовы о предоставлении республике статуса наблюдателя в ЕАЭС и стремление государств создать

свободную экономическую зону с ЕАЭС. Но одно заключить соответствующее соглашение и совсем другое притворить в жизнь. Хочу отметить, что заключение соглашений о создании свободной торговли с третьими странами отвечает интересам Беларуси», – добавил Лукашенко.

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 21 April 2017 by *Azattyq*.

Source: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/28444197.html>

Президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко обрушился с косвенной критикой в адрес Москвы в своем ежегодном послании, обвинив Россию в стремлении доминировать в Евразийском экономическом союзе, в который входит несколько бывших советских республик.

Выступая в парламенте 21 апреля, Лукашенко заявил, что установить «равноправные, взаимоуважительные отношения» между членами ЕАЭС сложно. «Мы постоянно выясняем отношения», — сказал он, добавив, что участники союза упрекают друг друга в демпинге и «не могут поделить общий кредитный фонд». «Нам всем необходимо понять главное: рынок Евразийского экономического союза — это не рынок какой-либо одной или другой страны и примкнувших к ним союзников. Это наш общий, самодостаточный рынок, развивая который мы сможем справиться с любыми санкциями и выйти из этого экономического противостояния победителями», — заявил президент Беларуси.

Наблюдатели говорят, что президент России Владимир Путин стремится использовать ЕАЭС, в который входят Россия, Беларусь, Казахстан, Армения и Кыргызстан, чтобы усилить влияние Москвы на территории бывшего Советского Союза и противостоять Европейскому союзу.

В то же время Лукашенко заявил, что у Беларуси «стратегические» отношения с Россией и что они с президентом России «установили доверительные отношения».

Alexander Lukashenko

Published on 17 March 2017 by *Naviny*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30A3sGU>

Беларуси интересен опыт государственных преобразований в Казахстане, заявил Александр Лукашенко 17 марта на встрече с председателем Мажилиса (нижней палаты парламента) Казахстана Нурланом Нигматулиным, сообщает БелаПАН со ссылкой на пресс-службу президента.

«Очень часто наблюдаю, анализирую, пытаюсь изучить опыт деятельности, особенно последних месяцев, ваших высших органов власти, прежде всего президента. Мы действительно очень серьезно и внимательно изучаем ваш опыт. Думаю, что для Казахстана это очень важные шаги, которые вы предпринимаете во имя, прежде всего, сохранения стабильности и независимости вашего государства», — отметил Лукашенко.

«Вы пытаетесь всякие реформы, особенно по государственному устройству, изменению Конституции, обязательно подкреплять конкретными экономическими шагами. Это очень важно. Это хороший пример для других», — добавил он.

По мнению Лукашенко, само изменение Конституции и передача полномочий от президента правительству может вызывать недовольство людей. «А когда людям говоришь, во имя чего это делается, и подкрепляешь конкретными фактами и задачами на перспективу — это совсем другое. Вот это другое как раз характерно для вас. И вы молодцы, что в это сложное для всех время сохраняете единство страны», — заявил он.

Глава государства отметил, что «в регионах, где находятся как Беларусь, так и Казахстан, складывается непростая ситуация». «Вокруг происходят тяжелые события. Конечно же, спокойной жизни ни вам, ни нам никто не даст. Естественно,

что все волны так или иначе на нас накатывают. Мы тоже это понимаем и знаем, насколько непросто сейчас и Казахстану в том числе, особенно в то время, когда основной наш партнер переживает непростые времена. А еще здесь накладывается и предвыборная кампания в России (следующие президентские выборы в России должны состояться в 2018 году)», — сказал официальный лидер.

Он также отметил: «Мы очень переживаем за наше объединение (Евразийский экономический союз. — *БелаПАН.*), наши страны». «Даже в ближайшей перспективе. Я уже не говорю о стратегических каких-то вопросах», — добавил Лукашенко.

Белорусский официальный лидер также напомнил, что недавно обсуждал с президентом Казахстана Нурсултаном Назарбаевым вопросы взаимоотношений. «Если все нормально сложится, мы встретимся у вас на ШОС (саммит Шанхайской организации сотрудничества планируется в 2017 году в Казахстане. — *БелаПАН.*), на «Экспо», — сказал он.

Лукашенко заявил, что в Беларуси рады тому, что Казахстан участвует в урегулировании происходящих в мире конфликтов, становится площадкой для переговоров (по Сирии. — *БелаПАН.*).

«Работы много. Мы всегда с Нурсултаном Абишевичем [Назарбаевым] говорим о том, что как бы мы тут ни упирались, ни старались, товарооборот у нас и в Евразийском экономическом союзе, и между двумя странами, к сожалению, падает. Эти болевые точки определены. Надо по этим направлениям работать. Потому что экономика — это основа и фундамент отношений между государствами. Если нет торгово-экономических связей или, более того, они рушатся, это никуда не годно. Надо предпринимать самые серьезные усилия для того, чтобы их восстановить», — считает Лукашенко.

В свою очередь Нурлан Нигматулин поблагодарил белорусского президента за возможность встретиться. «Мы это рассматриваем как знак глубокого уважения не только к парламенту Казахстана, а прежде всего к нашему президенту и всему казахстанскому народу. Я вам передаю большой и теплый привет от Нурсултана Назарбаева, его искренние пожелания вам лично и всему белорусскому народу процветания и дальнейших больших успехов», — сказал он.

Нигматулин выразил уверенность, что официальный визит президента Казахстана в Минск, который запланирован на осень этого года, внесет вклад в развитие двусторонних отношений.

6 марта парламент Казахстана во втором чтении принял законопроект «О внесении изменений и дополнений в Конституцию Республики Казахстан», 10 марта подпись под ним поставил Назарбаев. Затем президент страны подписал отдельный указ, нацеленный на реализацию закона об изменении Конституции.

Суть конституционной реформы, о начале которой Назарбаев объявил в январе, заключается в перераспределении полномочий между органами власти. Как сообщил на пресс-конференции 20 февраля посол Казахстана в Беларуси Ергали Булегенов, в стране усилится контроль законодательной ветви власти над исполнительной, парламент будет наделен правом согласовывать с президентом структуру правительства, будет упрощен порядок выражения недоверия членам правительства со стороны парламентариев. Кроме того, парламент получит больше полномочий по контролю местных органов власти.

По словам дипломата, значительная часть полномочий президента в социально-экономической сфере будет передана правительству: «При формировании правительства решающее влияние будет иметь партия, победившая на парламентских выборах. Президент сохранит функции гаранта Конституции и стабильности, верховного арбитра в отношениях между ветвями власти, будет определять стратегию внешней и внутренней политики, обеспечивать безопасность и обороноспособность страны». Всего правительству и парламенту Казахстана передается около сорока полномочий президента.

«У каждого государства свой путь, надо смотреть, что получается, что — нет, в том числе для Беларуси», — отметил Булегенов.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 29 May 2017 by *Teleskop-by*.

Source: <http://teleskop-by.org/2017/05/29/kobyakov-predlozhil-razvivat-v-eaes-tsifrovuyu-ekonomiku/>

Беларусь рассчитывает на последовательное сокращение изъятий и ограничений в ЕАЭС. Об этом заявил премьер-министр Беларуси **Андрей Кобяков** на заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета в расширенном составе в Казани.

«Безусловно, стоит выделить обсуждение вопроса о ходе работы по устранению изъятий и ограничений на внутреннем рынке ЕАЭС. Рассчитываем на то, что на основе ежегодных планов мы будем последовательно продвигаться вперед и сокращать список изъятий и ограничений, в наибольшей степени препятствующих функционированию союза. Беларусь готова занимать максимально конструктивную позицию в этом вопросе».

На заседании также обсуждались основные направления реализации цифровой политики Евразийского экономического союза.

«Тема сложная, требующая вовлечения широкого круга участников. В этой связи считаем важным сфокусироваться на цифровой трансформации таких первостепенных направлений, как торговля, транспорт, промышленность, сельское хозяйство», — добавил глава белорусского правительства.

Одним из первых масштабных проектов единой цифровой экономики ЕАЭС может стать создание механизма прослеживаемости товаров. Обсуждение этой темы должно продолжиться на ближайшем заседании Евразийского межправсовета. По словам Андрея Кобякова, развитие цифровой экономики должно способствовать скорейшему устранению ограничений в ЕАЭС, всесторонней кооперации хозяйствующих субъектов при переходе на новые технологические и экономические уклады.

На заседаниях Евразийского межправсовета неоднократно обсуждалась необходимость повышения конкурентоспособности агропромышленной отрасли ЕАЭС за счет внедрения передовых технологий, создания инновационных производств. Главы правительств ЕАЭС вновь вернулись к этому вопросу.

«Мы посмотрели более широко на проблемы развития наших агропромышленных комплексов и договорились, что в ближайшее время будет создан соответствующий отраслевой совет министров сельского хозяйства Евразийского союза, в рамках которого будет активизирована работа по развитию АПК», — сказал Андрей Кобяков.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 8 March 2017.

Source: <http://bdg.by/news/politics/nepredskazuemaya-perspektiva-chto-budet-s-eaes>

По итогам заседания Евразийского межправительственного совета, который прошел в Бишкеке, подписано 10 документов. Но запомнится он прежде всего тикировкой Медведева и Кобякова. Эксперты говорят, что сегодня у ЕАЭС и отношений Беларуси и России непредсказуемая перспектива с негативным прогнозом.

Медведев пугает и угрожает

В случае выхода стран-членов из Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) для них значительно вырастут цены на российский газ и вообще на все. С таким угрозами на заседании Евразийского Межправительственного совета в Бишкеке выступил премьер-министр России Дмитрий Медведев.

По его подсчетам, это было бы порядка 200 долларов за тысячу кубометров.

«Об этом надо помнить, когда принимаются решения, которые блокируют или тормозят нашу интеграцию. В конце концов, здесь насильно никто никого не держит. Мы это с вами понимаем, мы добровольно все это создали», — заявил Медведев.

Как заявил он, участники ЕАЭС не должны позволять себе разменов за общий счет.

Кстати, российский премьер признал спад торговли внутри ЕАЭС и призвал сделать ряд выводов из сложившейся внутри объединения экономической ситуации. По его мнению, товарооборот внутри союза продолжает испытывать негативное воздействие извне: во всем виновато падение цен на сырьевых рынках и слабый рост мировой экономики, сообщает портал Союзного государства.

«Преодоление спада торговли — актуальная задача на этот год», — сказал российский премьер-министр, добавив, что в последние месяцы увеличилось производство в сфере сельского хозяйства, преодолен спад промышленного производства, а также наблюдается рост итоговых стоимостных характеристик взаимной торговли.

Справка БДГ

7 марта Бишкеке главы правительств обсудили состояние взаимной торговли в 2015-2016 годах, сферы экономики, обладающие интеграционным потенциалом, а также возможности устранения препятствий в развитии внутреннего рынка ЕАЭС. Стороны согласовали прогнозы развития АПК, обсудили меры по развитию экспорта на рынки третьих стран.

По итогам заседания Евразийского межправительственного совета подписано 10 документов.

Следующее заседание Евразийского межправительственного совета планируется провести в Казани.

Проблемы нарастают как снежный ком

Проблемы в отношениях с Россией влияют на участие Беларуси в интеграционных процессах в Евразийском экономическом союзе, заявил в ответ премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков.

«Мы вынуждены констатировать, что сегодня не исполняется двусторонняя нормативно-правовая база, которая была создана не в отрыве, а как раз в тесной взаимосвязи с многосторонними договоренностями в Евразийском экономическом союзе, — сказал Кобяков. — Причем проблемы в двусторонних отношениях фундаментально влияют на наше участие в многосторонних интеграционных процессах».

Он делает следующий вывод: «проблемы в двусторонних отношениях влияют искажающе на евразийскую интеграцию».

Премьер-министр отметил, что Беларусь выражает крайнюю озабоченность в связи с сохраняющейся неурегулированностью с российской стороны проблем в нефтегазовой сфере, несоблюдением двусторонних и многосторонних договоренностей по условиям поставок энергоносителей и бездействию на этом фоне Евразийской экономической комиссии.

Он напомнил, что Беларусь еще в 2014 году требовала, снятия «барьеров, ограничений и изъятий в торговле отдельными видами товаров и оказании отдельных видов услуг, в первую очередь в отношении энергоносителей, продукции сборочных производств и других чувствительных позиций».

По-настоящему прорывных, знаковых успехов евразийской интеграции пока нет, констатировал он. В частности, не разработан механизм функционирования Евразийского экономического союза в условиях применения одним из государств-членов односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении других государств — а попросту говоря, что делать, если 2,5 года назад Россия ввела санкции.

«В условиях действия ответных санкционных мер со стороны России в

течение более чем 2,5 лет мы так и не смогли договориться по транзиту товаров в третьи страны, а это прямые потери бюджета».

«Мы поставили задачу реализовать фундаментальность свободы движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы, являющихся базисом нашего экономического союза. Вынуждены констатировать, что создаются все новые препятствия и барьеры», — заявил Андрей Кобяков.

Он заявил, что разница в ценах на газ «между Беларусью и Российской Федерацией выросла с 38% в начале 2014 до 110% в 2016 году». «Почему после создания ЕАЭС вместо постепенного сокращения разница стала почти в три раза выше? Какая свобода движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы здесь может быть?» — спросил белорусский премьер.

Он напомнил, что при подписании договора о ЕАЭС стороны договорились об отдельных изъятиях, но при этом договорились и о их ликвидации в кратчайшие сроки. «Вместо этого всевозможные внутренние препятствия только нарастают как снежный ком», — подчеркнул Кобяков, назвав тренд эскалацией ограничений («национальные программы импортозамещения, в которых товары, произведенные в других странах ЕАЭС, почему-то оказываются чужеродными»).

Руководитель белорусского правительства отметил и позитивные моменты интеграции в ЕАЭС, среди которых расширение внешнеэкономических связей ее стран-участниц. Андрей Кобяков также подчеркнул, что он «является горячим сторонником интеграции».

Последовательная позиция Кремля

Пресс-секретарь президента России Дмитрий Песков прокомментировал перепалку Кобякова с Медведевым.

«Что касается так называемого газового спора, у России здесь весьма последовательная позиция, и на рабочем уровне, скажем так, достаточно последовательно доводится до наших белорусских коллег», — цитирует Пескова «Лента.ру».

«По-прежнему идет подготовка к проведению Высшего госсовета Союзного государства, дата пока не назначена, но по мере готовности эта дата так или иначе будет формализована», — сообщил Песков.

Это значит, что дата встречи Лукашенко и Путина до сих пор не согласована.

Негативный прогноз

«То что нынешнее состояние газовых отношений влияет на общее состояние отношений Беларуси и России — это очевидно. И это проявилось еще раз в Бишкеке. Реакция Медведева была довольно жесткой, и Кобяков не заискивал», — сказал БДГ политический обозреватель Роман Яковлевский.

Он напомнил, что далек от разрешения и газовый конфликт, долг за газ Беларуси достиг 600 млн долларов, встреча Лукашенко и Путина в Сочи так и не состоялась.

«Путин оказался в Алматы с Нурсултаном Назарбаевым. Эта встреча не анонсировалась. Позже Назарбаев звонил в Минск и выражал обеспокоенность конфликтом. На мой взгляд, это свидетельствует о том, что Путин мог обсуждать с Назарбаевым варианты обсуждения, но обсудили они только между собой, а не в присутствии Лукашенко. И кодекс ЕАЭС до сих пор не подписан», — пояснил эксперт.

«Это приводит нас к непредсказуемой перспективе с негативными последствиями как для инициаторов проекта евразийской интеграции, так и для белорусской стороны и в том числе для двусторонних отношений. Никакого оптимизма ситуация не вселяет», — заключил Роман Яковлевский.

Справка БДГ

Александр Лукашенко в декабре 2016 года отказался ехать на подписание Таможенного кодекса Евразийского экономического союза, что не помешало подписать документ остальным участникам интеграционного образования.

ЕАЭС критиковал не только сам Лукашенко, но и 26 декабря председатель Палаты представителей Беларуси Владимир Андрейченко. По словам Андрейченко, в двух странах много говорится об укреплении торгово-экономического сотрудничества, необходимости роста взаимного товарооборота, устранении барьеров в двусторонней торговле, создании равных условий для субъектов хозяйствования, совместных импортозамещающих производств, реализации согласованных сельскохозяйственной и промышленной политик.

Andrei Kobyakov

Published on 9 March 2017 by *Sputnik*.

Source: <https://sputnik.by/politics/20170309/1027785649/kobyakov-obyasnil-pochemu-lukashenko-ne-byl-na-dekabrskom-sammite-eaehs.html>

Президент принял решение не ехать на саммит из-за "веских причин" в отношениях с РФ и неисполнения как двусторонних, так и многосторонних договоренностей.

МИНСК, 9 мар — Sputnik. Премьер-министр Беларуси Андрей Кобяков, выступая на заседании межправительственного совета ЕАЭС в Бишкеке, объяснил, почему президент страны Александр Лукашенко отказался от участия во встрече глав государств Союза в декабре в Санкт-Петербурге.

По словам белорусского премьера, к тому были веские причины.

"Решение о неучастии в этой встрече не было спонтанным. На это есть веские причины, которые существуют у нас в двусторонних отношениях с Российской Федерацией. Мы вынуждены констатировать, что сегодня не исполняется двусторонняя нормативно-правовая база, которая была создана не в отрыве, а в тесной взаимосвязи с многосторонними договоренностями Евразийского экономического союза", — сказал Кобяков. Его слова приводит пресс-служба белорусского правительства.

Кобяков подчеркнул, что проблемы в двусторонних отношениях фундаментально влияют на наше участие в многосторонних интеграционных процессах.

"Мы не разделяем эти два трека, потому что проблемы в двусторонних отношениях влияют искажающе на Евразийскую интеграцию. Мы действительно выражаем крайнюю озабоченность в связи с сохраняющейся неурегулированностью проблем в нефте-газовой сфере, несоблюдением двусторонних и многосторонних договоренностей по условиям поставок энергоносителей, и бездействием на этом фоне Евразийской экономической комиссии". — отметил премьер-министр.

Цены на газ не сближаются, а расходятся все дальше

Он заметил, что Беларусь при подписании Договора о ЕАЭС обращала внимание, что будет добросовестно выполнять свои обязательства при условии, что на двусторонней и многосторонней основе будут достигнуты конкретные договоренности о снятии барьеров, ограничений и изъятий в торговле отдельными видами товаров и оказании отдельных видов услуг, в первую очередь, в отношении энергоносителей, продукции сборочных производств, и другие чувствительные позиции.

Однако, подчеркнул Кобяков, сейчас Беларусь вынуждена констатировать, что снятия барьеров не происходит. Напротив, создаются все новые препятствия и барьеры.

"Ладно, пусть будет пока разница в ценах на газ. Мы договорились при подписании договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе, что она будет постепенно ликвидирована к 2025 году. Но почему-то разница резко растет. Не

на один, не на пять и даже не на десять процентов, а разница в ценах между Беларусью и Российской Федерацией выросла с 38% в начале 2014 года до 110% в 2016 году", — сказал Кобяков.

"Почему после создания ЕАЭС вместо постепенного сокращения, разница стала почти в 3 раза выше? Какая свобода движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы здесь может быть?" — задал вопрос белорусский премьер.

Он заметил, что российские партнеры прекрасно осведомлены о том, что 96% электроэнергии в Беларуси вырабатывается из российского природного газа.

"Как в такой ситуации можно конкурировать на общем рынке? Беларусь готова двигаться вперед, но мы против того, что бы делать вид, что движемся вперед", — сказал он. Эскалация ограничений

Андрей Кобяков напомнил, что при подписании договора о ЕАЭС стороны договорились об отдельных изъятиях.

"Но при этом договорились, что мы их ликвидируем в кратчайшие сроки. Вместо этого всевозможные внутренние препятствия только нарастают, как снежный ком. Такая картина наблюдалась и в 2016 году, несмотря на неоднократные обсуждения вопроса на различных уровнях. Потеряли за счет препятствий. Вместо одних, которые прекращают действия, тут же вырастают другие", — сказал белорусский премьер.

Он назвал эту ситуацию "эскалацией ограничений" и заметил, что национальные программы импортозамещения построены таким образом, что товары, произведенные в других странах ЕАЭС, почему то оказываются чужеродными. При этом решение №73 Высшего Евразийского экономического совета практически полностью дезавуировано.

"Постоянно поднимая проблему ограничений и изъятий между странами ЕАЭС, мы постоянно натываемся на глухую стену, продвижение в этой сфере идет не вперед, а назад", — сказал Кобяков.

Проблема с транзитом товаров

Глава белорусского правительства также обратил внимание, что не реализована белорусская инициатива в выработке механизма функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств-членов односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении других государств.

"В условиях действия ответных санкционных мер со стороны России в течении более чем двух с половиной лет мы так и не смогли договориться по транзиту товаров в третьи страны. А это прямые потери бюджета. Мы зависим от экспорта и свободы транзита товаров для нас, и для других партнеров по союзу, весьма чувствительный вопрос", — сказал Кобяков.

По его словам, пока белорусская сторона теряет время на борьбу с изъятиями и ограничениями, в ЕАЭС упускают возможности в направлении согласованной промышленной политики. Премьер-министр также обратил внимание, что нельзя допустить разворота интеграции вспять.

"Нельзя допустить, чтобы узконациональные корпоративные и меркантильные интересы стали трендом в развитии союза", — подчеркнул он.

Реакция российской стороны

Премьер-министр РФ Дмитрий Медведев, выслушав белорусского коллегу, отметил, что участились случаи, когда проблемы двусторонних отношений стали переносить на многостороннюю площадку, что "с успехом продемонстрировала белорусская сторона".

"В отношении других членов эта ситуация сродни шантажу: "или вы повлияете, или мы не подпишем". Злоупотребление правом союза неприемлемо, интеграция имеет наднациональное значение. Мы рассматриваем вопросы, которые касаются абсолютно всех, а не две или три стороны", — отметил Медведев.

В свою очередь пресс-секретарь президента РФ Дмитрий Песков также прокомментировал вопрос о газовом споре, который возник между Россией

и Беларусью. По его словам, у России здесь весьма последовательная позиция, и на рабочем уровне, скажем так, достаточно последовательно доводится до белорусских коллег.

Кроме того, пресс-секретарь главы государства напомнил, что ранее Владимир Путин заявил о важности хороших взаимоотношений с Беларусью.

"Мы очень дорожим этими отношениями, и лучшим подтверждением этого является объем прямой и косвенной помощи, которую оказывает Российская Федерация нашей братской Беларуси", — констатировал Песков.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 5 June 2017 by *TUT.by*.

Source: <https://news.tut.by/economics/546043.html>

Министр напомнил, что в результате предпринятых усилий интерес к сотрудничеству с ЕАЭС проявили более 40 государств. «Однако не везде и не всеми наше интеграционное объединение воспринимается позитивно, — отметил Макей. — Так или иначе вынуждены отражать коллективные нападки на ЕАЭС, преодолевать предвзятое отношение Евросоюза к идее интеграции интеграций. Думаю, надо серьезно подойти к информационной поддержке международного авторитета ЕАЭС».

Макей отметил, что после распада СССР так и не произошло «реального сближения между Востоком и Западом, хотя шансы и возможности для этого были».

Министр назвал развертывание элементов ПРО в Европе и усиление восточного фланга НАТО «факторами, провоцирующими нарушение стратегического баланса сил и, по большому счету, новую гонку вооружений», сообщает ТАСС.

По его словам, аргументация таких действий известна и шлифуется альянсом от саммита к саммиту. «Но от этого она не выглядит более убедительной», — отметил Макей.

— Мягко говоря, НАТО не хочет сегодня видеть в России равноправного партнера. Это резко сужает варианты для сотрудничества, ведет к поддержанию высокого уровня напряженности в регионе.

Он также отметил, что опасения по поводу совместных учений РФ и Беларуси «Запад» абсурдны и неуместны.

— Приходится вновь упоминать абсурдные, неуместные опасения по поводу регулярных совместных учений «Запад». Они будут максимально транспарентными и открытыми для наблюдений.

Глава МИД России Сергей Лавров, в свою очередь, заявил, что решение НАТО о создании в Евроатлантике единого пространства мира, безопасности и стабильности напрямую затрагивают национальные интересы России и Беларуси. «Согласованные действия наших стран, в том числе по линии ОДКБ, где в нынешнем году председательствуют белорусские друзья, приобретают особое значение», — подчеркнул Лавров.

Главы МИД двух стран также открыли фотовыставку, посвященную 25-летию установления дипломатических отношений между Россией и Беларусью, в особняке МИД РФ.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 27 April 2017 by *Belapan*.

Source: <http://belapan.com/archive/2017/04/27/900605/>

Минск, 27 апреля. Основные цели Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) — создание условий для свободного перемещения товаров, услуг, капиталов и рабочей силы без изъятий и ограничений, реализация согласованной политики в ключевых секторах экономики — к настоящему времени не достигнуты,

констатирует министр иностранных дел Владимир Макей.

В статье, посвященной 25-летию внешней политики независимой Беларуси, которая опубликована в журнале "Беларуская думка", он, в частности, отмечает: "Не выработан механизм функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств — членом союза односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих государств, а с ним не решен и принципиальный вопрос обеспечения свободы транзитных перевозок грузов из третьих стран через государства — члены ЕАЭС".

По мнению автора, необходимо на практике обеспечить компаниям стран ЕАЭС равный доступ к госзакупкам в государствах-членах, а также вырабатывать, согласовывать и применять меры защиты внутреннего рынка. "Нужно двигаться шаг за шагом дальше и в других отраслях, на которые распространяется действие договора о ЕАЭС: проведение согласованной промышленной, агропромышленной, транспортной, валютной политики, либерализация торговли услугами в рамках союза, сотрудничество в сфере трудовой миграции", — пишет Макей.

Беларусь, подчеркивает он, последовательно выступает за формирование "устойчивых механизмов диалога и сотрудничества" между ЕАЭС и Евросоюзом, однако евразийская интеграция не должна ограничиваться только западным направлением. "Важнейшей задачей должно стать тесное взаимодействие с государствами и экономическими объединениями на Востоке, в том числе с Китаем, государствами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, другими партнерами", — говорится в статье.

По мнению главы белорусского МИД, существенную пользу в реализации торгово-экономических и инвестиционных интересов "могло бы принести сопряжение объединительных процессов в ЕАЭС с развитием интеграции в рамках ШОС, АСЕАН и других региональных союзов".

Vladimir Makei

Published on 5 June 2017 by *Belta*.

Source: <http://bdg.by/news/politics/makey-zayavil-o-predvzyatom-otnoshenii-es-k-aeas>

Евразийский экономический союз сталкивается с коллективными нападками, вынужден «преодолевать предвзятое отношение Евросоюза к идее интеграции интеграций».

Об этом заявил 5 июня в Москве на совместном заседании коллегий внешнеполитических ведомств Беларуси и России белорусский министр иностранных дел Владимир Макей, передает БелТА.

По его словам, ЕАЭС признан рядом интеграционных объединений, интерес к сотрудничеству с ним проявили более 40 государств. «Однако не везде и не всеми наше интеграционное объединение воспринимается позитивно», - отметил он.

В связи с этим глава МИД предложил «серьезно подойти к информационной поддержке международного авторитета ЕАЭС».

Белорусский министр также отметил, что после распада СССР не произошло реального сближения Востока и Запада, а количество международных проблем не только не уменьшилось, а напротив, возросло.

В свою очередь глава российского МИД Сергей Лавров заявил, что за 25 лет дипотношений сотрудничество Беларуси и России неизменно расширялось и углублялось.

Напомним, что несмотря на то, что 11 апреля белорусская сторона, медлившая с подписанием Таможенного кодекса ЕАЭС, все же приняла документ, проблем в организации остается еще много.

Так, Белорусский Госстандарт угрожает Федеральной таможенной службе России (ФТС) ответными мерами за то, что та нарушает договоренности, не принимая сертификаты об оценке соответствия продукции требованиям единых

техрегламентов Таможенного союза, выданные в других странах Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) - в Армении, Беларуси, Казахстане и Кыргызстане. А президент Беларуси Александр Лукашенко предложил ввести мораторий на принятие новых правовых актов, носящих дискриминационный характер по отношению к партнерам по союзу. По его словам, Евразийский межправсовет и ЕЭК должны уделять больше внимания устранению изъятий, барьеров и ограничений внутри ЕАЭС. Также он заявил о нереализованности белорусской инициативы о выработке механизма функционирования ЕАЭС, когда один из участников принимает односторонние меры по защите рынка в отношении третьих государств. По его словам, из-за этого, «как снежный ком, нарастают внутренние противоречия в союзе».

Vladimir Makei

Published on 5 June 2017 by *Ritmeurasia*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3eUglRv>

Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС) нуждается в серьезной информационной поддержке на международной арене. Об этом заявил министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей сегодня в Москве на совместном заседании коллегий внешнеполитических ведомств Беларуси и России.

"Интересы, которые преследуют страны - участницы этого интеграционного объединения, известны, - сказал Владимир Макей. - Минимум - повысить конкурентоспособность и инвестиционную привлекательность наших стран, максимум - расширить интеграционные перспективы, создать интеграционный потенциал нашего евразийского континента".

Министр напомнил, что в результате предпринятых усилий ЕАЭС признан рядом интеграционных объединений, интерес к сотрудничеству с ним проявили более 40 государств. "Однако не везде и не всеми наше интеграционное объединение воспринимается позитивно, - отметил Владимир Макей. - Так или иначе вынуждены отражать коллективные нападки на ЕАЭС, преодолевать предвзятое отношение Евросоюза к идее интеграции интеграций. Думаю, надо серьезно подойти к информационной поддержке международного авторитета ЕАЭС".

Vladimir Makei

Published on 14 February 2017 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WNuFF4>

14 февраля, Минск /Корр. БЕЛТА/. Беларусь остается активным сторонником более тесной интеграции в Евразийском регионе. Об этом заявил сегодня министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей на открытии в Минске первого заседания Комитета национальных координаторов Центрально-Европейской инициативы под эгидой белорусского председательства в ЦЕИ в 2017 году, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА.

"Председательство в ЦЕИ имеет особое значение для Беларуси. Как известно, наша страна всегда занимала лидирующие позиции в интеграционных процессах на постсоветском пространстве, стоя у истоков Содружества Независимых Государств, Союзного государства, а также Евразийского экономического союза. Несмотря на то что не все наши ожидания оправдались, мы остаемся активными сторонниками более тесной интеграции в регионе во имя нашего общего блага", - сказал Владимир Макей.

В заседании Комитета национальных координаторов ЦЕИ принимают участие представители 18 стран, генеральный секретарь ЦЕИ Джованни Караччоло ди Ветри и альтернативный генеральный секретарь ЦЕИ Маргот Клестиль-Леффлер. На заседании обсуждаются текущие вопросы деятельности организации, включая секторальное и проектное сотрудничество, взаимодействие с другими

международными и региональными структурами, пути дальнейшего реформирования ЦЕИ.

Vladimir Makei

Published on 27 April 2017 by *Sputnik*.

Source: <http://ru.sputnik-tj.com/world/20170427/1022171825/makey-osnovnyye-tseli-yeaes-poka-ne-dostignuty.html>

Не выработан механизм функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств-членов союза односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих государств

Основные цели создания Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) к настоящему времени не достигнуты, заявил министр иностранных дел Беларуси Владимир Макей.

"Приходится констатировать, что основные цели ЕАЭС: создание условий для свободного перемещения товаров, услуг, капиталов и рабочей силы без изъятий и ограничений, а также реализация согласованной политики в ключевых секторах экономики – к настоящему времени не достигнуты. На это постоянно обращает внимание партнеров по интеграции белорусская сторона", — заявил министр в своей статье, опубликованной в журнале "Беларуская думка". Ее текст размещен в четверг на сайте внешнеполитического ведомства.

Глава МИД подчеркнул, что "не выработан механизм функционирования ЕАЭС в условиях применения одним из государств-членов союза односторонних мер защиты рынка в отношении третьих государств, а с ним не решен и принципиальный вопрос обеспечения свободы транзитных перевозок грузов из третьих стран через государства-члены ЕАЭС".

"Необходимо на практике обеспечить компаниям стран "пятерки" равный доступ к госзакупкам в государствах-членах; выработать, согласовывать и применять меры защиты внутреннего рынка. Нужно двигаться шаг за шагом дальше и в других отраслях, на которые распространяется действие договора о ЕАЭС: проведение согласованной промышленной, агропромышленной, транспортной, валютной политики, либерализация торговли услугами в рамках Союза, сотрудничество в сфере трудовой миграции", — отметил он.

Макей также сообщил, что? "находясь на границах Евразийского экономического союза и Европейского союза, Беларусь последовательно выступает за формирование устойчивых механизмов диалога и сотрудничества между этими двумя крупнейшими объединениями". "Евразийская интеграция не должна ограничиваться только западным направлением – важнейшей задачей должно стать тесное взаимодействие с государствами и экономическими объединениями на Востоке, в том числе с Китаем, государствами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, другими партнерами", — заявил министр.

Существенную пользу в реализации наших торгово-экономических и инвестиционных интересов могло бы принести сопряжение объединительных процессов в ЕАЭС с развитием интеграции в рамках ШОС, АСЕАН и других региональных союзов, добавил Макей.

Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС) — международное интеграционное экономическое объединение, созданное на базе Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства и функционирующее с 1 января 2015 года. Сейчас членами ЕАЭС являются Россия, Армения, Беларусь, Казахстан и Кыргызстан.

Mikhail Myasnikovich

Published on 3 April 2017 by *SB.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3eJrSml>

Context: Выступление председателя Совета Республики Национального собрания Михаила Мясникова на открытии второй сессии Совета Республики шестого созыва на открытии второй сессии Совета Республики шестого созыва.

Совершенствование законодательства – важнейшее условие социально-экономического развития страны

Уважаемые члены Совета Республики и приглашенные!

На современном этапе своего развития Республике Беларусь приходится преодолевать очень серьезные трудности. Большинство из них сформировалось не у нас.

Наша, Совета Республики, задача – всемерно способствовать принятию необходимых законодательных решений, а также выработке новых инициатив, направленных на выполнение положений предвыборной программы Президента Республики Беларусь, уважаемого Александра Григорьевича Лукашенко, Программы социально-экономического развития Республики Беларусь на 2016–2020 годы и утвержденного Правительством комплекса мер по ее реализации.

Достичь данных целей возможно только ответственной и конкретной работой постоянных комиссий, президиума и Совета Республики в целом.

Постоянной комиссии по законодательству и государственному строительству (председатель – А.Н.Бодак) предстоит в установленном порядке усовершенствовать действующее законодательство, как это и предусмотрено Программой социально-экономического развития, в части оптимизации контрольной и надзорной деятельности, юридической ответственности хозяйствующих субъектов, создания более комфортных условий для бизнеса и занятости населения. Предложения Совета Республики по данному вопросу в Правительство направлены.

На системной основе надо конкретно и серьезно заниматься вопросами унификации и гармонизации законодательства в межгосударственных образованиях в рамках Союзного государства и ЕАЭС. Будем настойчиво добиваться снятия барьеров и сокращения количества изъятий, чтобы формировать эффективный общий рынок товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы.

Внимание Постоянной комиссии по экономике, бюджету и финансам (председатель – В.И.Пантюхов) необходимо сконцентрировать на корректировке законодательства в сфере инвестиций. Надо понимать инвестора – и своего, и иностранного. Очень им непросто, когда государственное регулирование в сфере инвестиций осуществляется более чем 40 госорганами. Инвестиционный режим будет эффективным, если будет определяться преимущественно законами, а не индивидуальными решениями многочисленных госорганов. Полагаем, что созданная Советом Министров правительственная комиссия по данному вопросу наконец-то заработает и примет рациональные предложения по совершенствованию инвестиционной деятельности, в том числе с учетом предложений Совета Республики, которые мы направили в Совет Министров еще в августе 2016 года. Инвестиции – это перспектива, и никакие меры финансовой стабилизации не улучшат положения дел, если страна не будет серьезно заниматься созданием новых предприятий и производств.

Предметом рассмотрения Постоянной комиссии по образованию, науке, культуре и социальному развитию (председатель – И.А.Старовойтова) должен стать проект нового Кодекса об образовании. Совет Республики определен в качестве государственного органа, ответственного за подготовку законопроекта «О внесении изменений и дополнений в Закон Республики Беларусь «Об авторском праве и смежных правах». Срок подготовки проекта закона – июнь 2017 года.

Постоянной комиссии по региональной политике и местному самоуправлению (председатель – А.А.Попков) предстоит активно работать над

совершенствованием законодательства в сфере жилищно-коммунального хозяйства и тарифной политики ЖКХ. Вопрос носит не только экономический, но и социальный характер. Немало законодательно неурегулированных вопросов в агропромышленном комплексе. Есть соответствующие указы Президента страны по реформированию проблемных сельскохозяйственных организаций. Возможно, в их развитие следует принять нормативные правовые акты на ведомственном и региональном уровне. МПА СНГ приняла модельный закон о перевозках, будем надеяться, что условия для дальнейшей интеграции автотранспортной системы Республики Беларусь в автотранспортные системы Евразийского экономического союза и Европейского союза станут более комфортными. Хотя надежды слабые, и без активной работы Александра Андреевича с российскими и казахстанскими коллегами должный результат получить сложно.

Постоянной комиссии по международным делам и национальной безопасности (председатель – С.К.Рахманов) необходимо наряду с плановой работой совместно с коллегами по ЕАЭС принять участие в выработке документов, уточняющих компетенцию Евразийского экономического союза и стран-партнеров. Эта тема была поднята мною в рамках мероприятий МПА СНГ в Санкт-Петербурге 27 марта 2017 года и в принципе поддержана.

Уважаемые коллеги!

Указом Президента Республики Беларусь от 31 декабря 2016 г. № 520 утвержден план подготовки законопроектов на 2017 год. В нем учтено более 10 предложений Совета Республики, направленных на создание стратегической и стабильной законодательной основы долгосрочного устойчивого социально-экономического развития нашего государства.

Всего в ходе второй сессии Совета Республики Национального собрания Республики Беларусь планируется рассмотреть более 30 законопроектов.

Уважаемые члены Совета Республики!

В 2018 году состоятся выборы депутатов местных Советов нового созыва. Каждому из нас следует уделить самое пристальное внимание этому мероприятию. Очень важно, чтобы в Советы пришли люди, имеющие жизненный опыт, способные отстаивать свою точку зрения, достойно представлять интересы регионов и населения, умеющие эффективно и с учетом современных требований организовать работу местных Советов. Это должны быть патриоты своей страны, способные быть проводниками государственной политики.

Деятельность Совета Республики в регионах, Совета по взаимодействию органов местного самоуправления при Совете Республики свидетельствует, что необходимо совершенствовать систему работы органов местного самоуправления.

Представляется целесообразным рассмотреть возможность подготовки проекта Концепции развития местного самоуправления в Республике Беларусь до 2030 года. Надо всесторонне изучить этот вопрос. Президент страны уже несколько раз обращал внимание на необходимость более ответственной работы депутатов всех уровней. Советы обязаны активно решать вопросы местного хозяйства и главное – работать с людьми: объяснять, убеждать, уметь повести за собой. Депутат – это фигура политическая.

Советы должны формировать новую повестку своей работы: вопросы занятости, раскрепощения деловой инициативы граждан – это далеко не полный перечень очень ответственных задач, которые надо решать и на местах, и в центре. Главное – инициативность, а не стремление спрятаться за чужую спину и уйти от ответственности.

В марте текущего года Минский городской Совет депутатов отметил 100-летие со дня образования. За историю Совета неоднократно менялись его форма, название, методы работы, но неизменными оставались основные направления деятельности – решение конкретных задач по развитию города и созданию благополучных условий жизни для горожан.

Поздравляя минчан с этой датой, отмечу, что данный период работы Совета был нелегким, но созидательным. Желаем Минскому горсовету конструктивной и ответственной работы.

Традиционно Национальным собранием Республики Беларусь уделяется большое внимание активизации деятельности на международном направлении. Совет Республики совместно с заинтересованными ведет активную подготовку к четвертому Форуму регионов Беларуси и России, который пройдет 29–30 июня в Москве.

Президенты Владимир Владимирович Путин и Александр Григорьевич Лукашенко дали согласие на участие в этом уже традиционном мероприятии.

Согласована тема форума – «Векторы интеграционного развития регионов России и Беларуси в сфере высоких технологий, инноваций и информационного общества». Для нас это актуально вдвойне: Год науки и совместная работа на перспективу со стратегическим партнером – Российской Федерацией.

31 марта 2017 года президенты Беларуси и Туркменистана торжественно открыли Гарлыкский калийный комбинат, спроектированный и построенный белорусскими организациями с участием туркменских партнеров. Это крупнейший в Центральной и Юго-Восточной Азии производитель минеральных удобрений.

Реализованный проект открывает огромные перспективы для белорусских организаций по созданию под ключ крупных комплексов за рубежом.

Большой вклад в создание и пуск комплекса в эксплуатацию внесли член Совета Республики Национального собрания Республики Беларусь Иван Иванович Головатый и присутствующий на сессии заместитель Премьер-министра Республики Беларусь Анатолий Николаевич Калинин.

Беларусь в 2017 году впервые приняла председательство в Центральноевропейской инициативе. Запланированы два мероприятия по линии парламентского измерения ЦЕИ – заседание Комитета межпарламентского сотрудничества, посвященное вопросам интеллектуализации экономики в регионе ЦЕИ, которое пройдет 30 мая, а осенью – ежегодная сессия Парламентской ассамблеи.

В Минске с 5 по 9 июля состоятся 26-я сессия ПА ОБСЕ и связанные с ней мероприятия. Основная нагрузка здесь приходится на Палату представителей Национального собрания. Но и члены Совета Республики должны быть активны как при подготовительной работе, так и при проведении самих мероприятий ПА ОБСЕ.

В межсессионный период нашу страну посетила парламентская делегация Исламской Республики Пакистан во главе с Председателем Сената Мианом Раза Раббани. Состоялся также официальный визит парламентской делегации Республики Беларусь в Исламскую Республику Иран.

Результаты этих визитов нашли отражение в трех подписанных документах, рекомендую их изучить и руководствоваться в своей работе.

16 апреля 2017 года Беларусь с визитом посетит Председатель Постоянного комитета Всекитайского собрания народных представителей Чжан Дэцзян. В ходе этого очень ответственного мероприятия предстоит обсудить вопросы углубления белорусско-китайского сотрудничества. Мы ни в коем случае не должны допустить снижения динамики в наших отношениях, в развитии стратегического партнерства с великим Китаем.

Благодарю за внимание.

Mikhail Myasnikov

Published on 3 April 2017 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hsJ0yx>

3 апреля, Минск /Корр. БЕЛТА/. Белорусские парламентарии будут настойчиво добиваться снятия барьеров для формирования общих рынков в ЕАЭС. Об этом сегодня на открытии второй сессии Совета Республики Национального собрания заявил председатель верхней палаты парламента Михаил Мясникович, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА.

По мнению спикера, необходимо на системной основе конкретно и серьезно заниматься вопросами унификации и гармонизации законодательства в межгосударственных образованиях в Союзном государстве и ЕАЭС. "Будем настойчиво добиваться снятия барьеров и сокращения количества изъятий, чтобы формировать эффективный общий рынок товаров, услуг, капитала, рабочей силы", - сказал он.

Михаил Мясникович поставил конкретные задачи перед постоянными комиссиями Совета Республики. Так, им предстоит совершенствовать действующее законодательство, как это предусмотрено программой социально-экономического развития, в части оптимизации контрольной и надзорной деятельности, юридической ответственности хозяйствующих субъектов, создания более комфортных условий для бизнеса и занятости населения. Предложения Совета Республики по этому вопросу в правительство направлены.

Сенаторам предстоит сконцентрировать свои усилия на корректировке законодательства в сфере инвестиций. "Надо понимать инвестора - и своего, и иностранного. Очень им непросто, когда государственное регулирование в сфере инвестиций осуществляется более чем 40 госорганами. Инвестиционный режим эффективен, если будет определяться преимущественно законами, а не индивидуальными решениями многочисленных госорганов, - отметил Михаил Мясникович. - Инвестиции - это перспектива, и никакие меры финансовой стабилизации не улучшат положения дел, если страна не будет серьезно заниматься созданием новых предприятий и производств".

Предметом рассмотрения сенаторов будет также проект нового Кодекса об образовании. Совет Республики определен в качестве государственного органа, ответственного за подготовку законопроекта "О внесении изменений и дополнений в Закон "Об авторском праве и смежных правах", срок подготовки которого - июнь 2017 года.

Члены Совета Республики будут также активно работать над совершенствованием законодательства в сфере жилищно-коммунального хозяйства и тарифной политики ЖКХ, совместно с коллегами по ЕАЭС примут участие в выработке документов, уточняющих компетенцию Евразийского экономического союза и стран-партнеров.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 26 June 2017 by *TUT.by*.

Source: <https://news.tut.by/economics/548480.html>

Сергей Сидорский — заметная фигура в белорусской власти. В современной Беларуси он больше других руководил правительством, работая премьер-министром с 2003 по 2010 год. С 2012 года Сидорский является членом Коллегии (министром) по промышленности и агропромышленному комплексу Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК). Это одни из ключевых сфер в Евразийском экономическом союзе (ЕАЭС), где интересы Беларуси очень велики. Однако периодически между членами ЕАЭС возникают разногласия. Сергей Сидорский согласился ответить на вопросы TUT.BY, ограничив лишь формат беседы своими должностными полномочиями

«Ситуация с либерализацией рынка товаров постоянно улучшается»

— Договор о ЕАЭС подписан в 2014 году. До этого был Таможенный союз. Однако, надо сказать откровенно, простому обывателю не особо видны достижения евразийской интеграции.

— Ключевой принцип, основа евразийской интеграции — это обеспечение четырех свобод: свободного движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы. В Таможенном союзе (с 1 января 2010 года) были предприняты попытки организации свободы передвижения только товаров на всей единой таможенной территории, где действовали бы единый механизм таможенного (единый таможенный тариф), внешнеторгового (единый Таможенный кодекс) и оговорен ряд вопросов технического регулирования. С созданием Евразийского экономического союза (с 1 января 2015 года) Договором о ЕАЭС четко прописаны подходы по реализации этих четырех свобод.

В результате у наших граждан, а это 182 млн человек, появилась возможность без квот и разрешений свободно жить, учиться и работать в любой стране Союза, без виз и таможенного контроля пересекать границы наших государств, получать пенсии за весь период трудовой деятельности в любом из государств, а также бесплатную скорую неотложную медицинскую помощь.

У бизнеса появился свободный доступ на рынки стран ЕАЭС, и это — большое преимущество, особенно для тех производителей, для которых масштаб рынка имеет ключевое значение. В условиях экономического союза предприниматели вправе выбирать для регистрации любое государство Союза, наиболее удобное для ведения бизнеса без дополнительных административных и бюрократических обременений.

Товары сегодня обращаются по всей территории союза, на внутренних границах ЕАЭС отменен таможенный контроль. Комиссией совместно с государствами существенно доработан Таможенный кодекс. В апреле этого года президенты наших стран приняли новую редакцию Таможенного кодекса ЕАЭС (ТК ЕАЭС). В новой редакции кодекса максимально унифицировано таможенное законодательство, обеспечено ускорение и упрощение таможенного оформления, снижение финансовой нагрузки, в первую очередь, на добросовестных участников внешнеторговой деятельности. Это — очень важный результат, который существенно сократил временные и ресурсные издержки как предпринимателей стран Союза, так и их бизнес-партнеров из третьих стран. Кроме того, ТК ЕАЭС предусмотрено использование автоматизации таможенных процессов, что весьма актуально в сегодняшних условиях цифровой трансформации экономики.

— Но принципы четырех свобод сейчас в большей степени носят декларативный характер. Взять, например, создание единого рынка товаров и услуг.

— Не скажите. Функционирует единый внутренний рынок, меры по защите которого осуществляются на наднациональном уровне ЕЭК. Товары на нем перемещаются свободно, за исключением, когда в Договоре о ЕАЭС странами зарезервированы по конкретным направлениям приоритеты национального законодательства, например в сфере государственных закупок.

Формирование единого рынка в транспортном и топливно-энергетическом секторах стороны в Договоре отнесли на 2020–2025 годы.

Единый рынок услуг заработал с 1 января 2015 г. по 22 секторам, включая строительные работы, услуги в инженерных областях, сельскохозяйственной сфере. Теперь, например, белорусские строители на основании выданных в Беларуси разрешительных документов на оказание строительных услуг уже могут самостоятельно работать (выступать в качестве подрядчиков) на территории, допустим, Казахстана без регистрации организации, получения казахстанских разрешительных документов, подтверждения профессиональной квалификации персонала и т.д.

Что касается сферы банковских, финансовых, транспортных услуг, то единый рынок в них будет создан по мере сближения законодательства государств-членов. Эти функции и взаимные договоренности страны Союза оставили на национальном уровне. Роль ЕЭК здесь состоит в том, чтобы активно содействовать организации переговорного процесса 5 стран.

— 2 года назад вы прогнозировали появление единой маркировки «товара ЕАЭС». На каком свете сейчас этот проект?

— В настоящее время страны Союза вместе с ЕЭК завершают разработку механизма учета технологических операций для определения совместно произведенной участниками ЕАЭС продукции. Это необходимо для выработки критериев отнесения продукции к «товару ЕАЭС». Данное понятие будет применяться в том числе и при согласовании Комиссией специфических субсидий. Вместе с тем следует отметить, что введение такой маркировки — это прерогатива стран Союза.

Но хочу сказать, что ситуация с либерализацией рынка товаров постоянно улучшается. И в подтверждение — свежий пример. С мая этого года национальные рынки лекарственных средств пяти государств объединились и начали работу как единый рынок. Производители стран Союза смогут регистрировать лекарства и выпускать их в обращение по единым процедурам, что позволит существенно снизить издержки производителей и повысить ценовую конкурентоспособность препаратов. Для обычного потребителя изменения на фармацевтическом рынке станут заметны позднее: это связано с тем, что от момента подачи досье лекарственного препарата на регистрацию до выпуска его в обращение и поступления в продажу проходит от семи до десяти месяцев. По аналогичным принципам в рамках ЕАЭС создан единый рынок обращения медицинских изделий.

«Без национальных изъятий интеграция шла бы быстрее и эффективнее»

— Да, но это лишь один из немногих примеров, которому придется доказать свою состоятельность на практике. Уже много копий сломано перевозчиками, газовиками, нефтяниками... В чем общая проблематика евразийской интеграции?

— Евразийский экономический союз, безусловно, имеет свои «проблемы роста». Природа их возникновения — это, прежде всего, несоблюдение сторонами права ЕАЭС, пробелы в нем либо нормы, позволяющие применять в одностороннем порядке национальное законодательство на временной основе (это так называемые изъятия, предусмотренные Договором о ЕАЭС).

Когда велась работа над Договором, мы старались максимально ограничить введение сторонами таких изъятий, а в случае их допущения — четко прописывать сроки их действия и ответственность сторон за их нарушение. Но при подписании отдельные государства были не готовы к сближению переговорных позиций и оставили в силе право применения национальных изъятий. Конечно, без этих проблем интеграция шла бы быстрее и эффективнее.

Что касается работы по формированию единых рынков в сферах естественных монополий, то хочу отметить, что во многом она базируется на белорусско-российском опыте взаимодействия в этих сферах. Например, наработки наших двух стран в области рынков энергоресурсов учитываются сторонами при гармонизации национальных соответствующих законодательств.

— ЕЭК недавно обнародовала «Белую книгу», в которой зафиксировало 60 согласованных 5 странами препятствий, существующих на внутренних рынках ЕАЭС. Но это согласованные барьеры, в реальности их больше?

— В начале работы ЕЭК весь реестр препятствий насчитывал более 600 барьеров, изъятий и ограничений в различных сферах, в том числе и в части промышленности. Выполняя поручение президентов Беларуси, Казахстана и России, большую часть из них (свыше 350) мы благополучно разрешили. Осталось порядка 240 препятствий, над которыми Комиссией ведется системная работа.

При формировании реестра препятствий в ЕАЭС мы столкнулись с рядом сложностей. Например, таких как необходимость выработки единых подходов государств — членом Союза к пониманию самой проблемы. Отмечу, что были ситуации, когда одна страна считала определенный вопрос барьером, а другая не видела в этом никаких проблем. Поэтому на данном этапе мы пришли к признанию

60 препятствий, которые включены в «Белую книгу», и по ним сформирована «Дорожная карта» — пакет мероприятий по их устранению с установленными сроками. Информация о них размещена на сайте Комиссии.

Еще порядка 180 потенциальных препятствий находятся в сферах государственных закупок, конкурентного права, финансовой политики, функционирования внутреннего рынка и ряд других. По ним ЕЭК принимаются всевозможные меры для согласования их статуса, проводятся консультации с уполномоченными органами государств — членов ЕАЭС для разработки вариантов нивелирования их действия и практических шагов по их устранению. Мы надеемся, что в ближайшее время заинтересованные стороны найдут компромиссное решение и по ним. Но это национальная компетенция, и эта работа — за странами.

Хочу подчеркнуть, что в целях более полного выявления барьеров в евразийском сотрудничестве с этого года промышленным блоком Комиссии проводится мониторинг более 3 тысяч системообразующих предприятий ЕАЭС путем их анкетирования. Это позволяет нам получать информацию о проблемах и препятствиях, с которыми сталкиваются основные производители наших стран, непосредственно из первых рук и оперативно реагировать для их разрешения.

«Необходима максимально возможная концентрация полномочий в одних руках» — В чем основная причина возникновения ограничений?

— Как я уже отмечал, основная причина, прежде всего, — использование сторонами ограничений, допустимых Договором о ЕАЭС на временной основе и обоснованных исключительностью ситуации, например в сфере государственных закупок.

Кроме того, есть сферы деятельности ЕАЭС, где полномочия на наднациональный уровень переданы ЕЭК не в полном объеме. Например, в техническом регулировании, принятие технических регламентов (то есть разработка и установление требований безопасности к конкретным видам продукции) — прерогатива Комиссии, а разработка и принятие стандартов, обеспечивающих выполнение техрегламентов, остались за пределами полномочий ЕЭК. Или в сфере применения санитарных, ветеринарных и фитосанитарных мер: разработка и принятие требований, перечней продукции — за Комиссией, а инструкций, методик, правил испытаний и т.п. — за национальными органами.

Таким образом, техрегламент в Союзе принят, а методик по его исполнению нет. В результате практическое внедрение требований таких регламентов неоправданно затягивается. Необходима максимально возможная концентрация полномочий в одних руках. Тогда будет обеспечен порядок.

— В последнее время значительное количество документов Евразийской экономической комиссии принимается в форме рекомендаций, то есть необязательными для исполнения. Безусловно, это вопрос предоставленных полномочий, но не приведет ли это к дальнейшему ослаблению позиций ЕЭК со стороны национальных правительств?

— Договором о ЕАЭС предусмотрено принятие документов ЕЭК в форме решений, распоряжений и рекомендаций. Решения имеют нормативно-правовой характер и являются обязательными для государств-членов, распоряжения имеют организационно-распорядительный характер. Рекомендации, будучи источником так называемого мягкого права, призваны сформировать единообразный подход для достижения общих целей и задач Евразийского союза и могут устанавливать определенные правовые рамки. Большое количество принимаемых Комиссией рекомендаций скорее свидетельствует об активной позиции и роли ЕЭК в формировании и достижении свобод, провозглашенных в рамках Союза.

Кроме того, принятие рекомендаций не исключает, при необходимости, возможность последующего вывода вопроса на уровень Межправсовета или Высшего Совета для принятия обязательных к исполнению решений.

С развитием нашего Союза правительства сторон будут поэтапно передавать необходимые полномочия на наднациональный уровень.

— Тогда считаете ли вы в полной мере эффективной работу Евразийской экономической комиссии в настоящее время?

— Да, полагаю, что работу ЕЭК можно оценить как эффективную в пределах тех полномочий, которые ей предоставлены. Но на мой взгляд, эта эффективность могла бы быть гораздо существенней, если бы полномочия ЕЭК были бы шире, а Договор о ЕАЭС не имел бы изъятий, допускающих принятие односторонних норм на национальном уровне. Это позволило бы максимально возможно выровнять условия конкуренции, углубить кооперацию в реальном секторе, увеличить объемы производства и нарастить взаимную торговлю. При разработке Договора мы закладывали основы единой промышленной и агропромышленной политики, но с подачи казахстанской стороны в итоге президенты закрепили в Договоре проведение согласованной (скоординированной) политики.

Однако и в пределах предоставленных нам полномочий мы выстроили системные интеграционные подходы, разработали в Комиссии, и стороны поддержали концептуальные согласованные стратегические документы на среднесрочную перспективу и в промышленности, и в сельском хозяйстве.

В рамках реализации права Союза и договоренностей со сторонами мы определили чувствительные для государств-членов товары (это продукция автомобиле-, сельхозмашиностроения, промышленности стройматериалов и легкой промышленности). В отношении таких товаров государства-члены перед принятием мер промышленной политики обеспечивают взаимное информирование и проводят консультации для взаимного учета позиций. Это стало важным шагом по сближению позиций сторон в отношении создания при участии государства так называемых дублирующих производств.

Кроме того, мы определились с приоритетными для промышленного и сельскохозяйственного сотрудничества отраслями в Союзе, и в них принимаем конструктивные решения, способствующие углублению кооперации, включая решение вопросов импортозамещения и повышения локализации производства. В целях создания условий по расширению кооперационных связей и формированию новых цепочек производства добавленной стоимости в Союзе создается Евразийская сеть промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации.

Большое внимание уделяется нами обеспечению эффективного взаимодействия в сфере научно-технического сотрудничества, внедрению механизмов, содействующих повышению инновационности экономик наших стран. Благодаря этой работе на интеграционном пространстве нами внедряются евразийские инновационные технологические платформы. На первом этапе их деятельности сформирован портфель предложений по перспективным кооперационным инновационным разработкам, которые будут совместно реализовываться на территории наших пяти государств. Также мы работаем над созданием Евразийской сети трансфера технологий, созданию евразийского центра компетенций в станкоинструментальной отрасли — Евразийского инжинирингового центра по станкостроению.

Постоянное внимание уделяется нами совершенствованию конкурентной среды общего рынка Союза. Выработаны и закреплены единые правила предоставления промышленных субсидий, которые стороны обязаны исполнять, а Комиссия — контролировать их соблюдение сторонами. Кроме того, в мае этого года премьер-министрами наших стран подписано Соглашение о добровольном согласовании с Комиссией специфических промышленных субсидий. Действие этого международного договора направлено на сокращение нарушений в этой сфере, улучшение конкурентных условий на общем рынке, развитие промышленной кооперации, освоение производства новых видов конкурентоспособной

продукции, а также позволит странам эффективнее стимулировать развитие промышленных комплексов в наших странах.

Как видите, в реальном секторе экономики Союза работа ведется очень большая и по многим направлениям. Так что и при имеющихся полномочиях можно эффективно решать ключевые задачи промышленной политики, активно углублять кооперацию, содействовать повышению конкурентоспособности и инновационной активности реального сектора экономик государств-членов.

— Недавно глава Россельхознадзора Сергей Данкверт косвенно обвинил вас в лоббировании интересов Беларуси. С другой стороны, Александр Лукашенко говорил, что белорусские министры недостаточно активно лоббируют интересы Беларуси в ЕЭК. Как вы для себя формируете баланс интересов? С одной стороны, быть беспристрастным в наднациональном органе ЕЭК, а другой — оставаться «нашим человеком».

— В соответствии с Договором о ЕАЭС члены Коллегии ЕЭК при осуществлении своих полномочий независимы от государственных органов и должностных лиц государств-членов и не могут запрашивать или получать указания от органов власти или официальных лиц государств-членов.

В ЕАЭС действует принцип субсидиарности, предусматривающий четкое распределением прав и обязанностей «по вертикали» с делегированием части полномочий на тот уровень, где они будут исполняться наиболее эффективно и результативно. Так что возможность чьего-либо личного влияния, лоббирования исключена.

Принятию любого решения или документа предшествует работа экспертов — представителей государств-членов и сотрудников ЕЭК, которые вырабатывают содержательное наполнение документа. Далее проект обсуждается на заседании Коллегии, затем, с учетом правок, внесенных членами Коллегии, — на заседании Совета Комиссии и так далее — для документов любого уровня. И это — гарантия контроля над решениями, принимаемыми в интересах всего Союза (а не отдельно взятой стороны), как со стороны государств-членов, так и должностных лиц ЕЭК. Такой подход позволяет обеспечить баланс интересов стран и Евразийского экономического союза в целом. В случае принципиальных разногласий спорный вопрос может быть передан для разрешения на более высокий уровень, например президентов стран. И поверьте, такая практика, когда стороны не смогли прийти к согласованному решению или достигнуть договоренностей — и вопросы разрешались президентами стран, уже имеет достаточный опыт в Союзе за эти годы работы. Конечно, жизнь подводит нас к тому, чтобы больше полномочий передавались на наднациональный уровень, что способствовало бы ускорению процедуры подготовки и принятия решений в ЕАЭС.

«Я не вижу рисков по присоединению Беларуси к ВТО»

— В России импортозамещение в настоящее время включено в число первоочередных задач государственной политики. Как вы считаете, насколько большую угрозу это несет для белорусской промышленности и сельского хозяйства? Поскольку белорусская продукция по факту может восприниматься как импортная.

— Прежде всего, хочу отметить, что в Беларуси политика сокращения импорта на основе импортозамещения осуществляется системно уже с десятков лет. В России упор на это сделан недавно на фоне обострения политических разногласий между мировыми державами, введения санкций, а также в связи с интересами экономической безопасности. Для господдержки импортозамещения в России приняты нормативно-правовые акты, которые, в частности, запрещают или ограничивают допуск импортных товаров к госзакупкам для удовлетворения потребностей в продукции машиностроения, легкой промышленности, оборонно-промышленного комплекса. При этом такие ограничения не должны

распространяться на продукцию, ввозимую из стран Евразийского экономического союза, однако, как показывает практика, это соблюдается не всегда

В то же время проведенный нами анализ национальных программных документов стран Союза в сфере промышленности показал, что действующие в государствах-членах программы по импортозамещению не учитывают в полной мере возможности евразийской интеграции, а государства-члены рассматривают внутренние рынки друг друга для импортозамещения собственной продукцией.

В этой связи становится особенно актуальным предложение президента России Владимира Путина об участии стран-партнеров по Союзу в российской программе импортозамещения, включая машино- и станкостроение, электронную и легкую промышленность, сельское хозяйство.

В целях реализации этой инициативы нами сформирован перечень промышленных производителей наших стран, готовых участвовать в данной программе. Перечень включает предложения в 17 отраслях, по более чем 60 конкретным импортозамещающим проектам. Наибольшее число проектов отмечено в легкой, химической, станкоинструментальной промышленности, в отрасли энергетического машиностроения. И по абсолютному большинству из них присутствуют белорусские производители.

Таким образом, полагаю, что участие белорусских производителей в российской программе импортозамещения будет способствовать развитию промышленного потенциала страны, повышению локализации производств, снижению негативного влияния иностранных компонентов на рост цен на продукцию, производимую в странах ЕАЭС.

Что касается импортозамещения сельхозпродукции, то хочу отметить, что доля Беларуси в общем объеме импорта сельскохозяйственных товаров РФ по-прежнему остается не только весьма значительной, но и увеличивается в последние несколько лет. Особенно это касается молока и молочной продукции, доля которой с 2014 г. по 2016 г. выросла с 49% до 75,5%, продуктов переработки мяса и рыбы, удельный вес которых составил 58%. Также вдвое увеличилась доля овощей, мяса и мясопродуктов. Фактически этими позициями замещается импорт в Россию из дальнего зарубежья.

В этой связи угрозы для Беларуси я не вижу. Вместе с правительствами мы предпринимаем совместные меры по наращиванию объемов производства и птицеводства, в том числе в области селекционно-генетических работ в животноводстве и биотехнологических инноваций.

— Еще работая в правительстве, вы проделали большой объем работы, чтобы Беларусь вступила во Всемирную торговую организацию. Все документы были подготовлены в полном объеме. Что мешает вступлению страны в ВТО? Или она нам, может, и не нужна? Как, по вашему мнению, может повлиять присоединение Беларуси к ВТО на систему общей защиты рынка ЕАЭС от третьих стран?

— С точки зрения ЕАЭС я не вижу рисков присоединения Беларуси к ВТО. Уже 2 страны (Россия и Казахстан), будучи членами ЕАЭС, присоединились к ВТО. Кыргызстан и Армения также члены ВТО.

В то же время надо учитывать, что, например, Казахстан в 2015 году присоединился к ВТО с отклонениями по ставкам таможенного тарифа по целому ряду товарных позиций единого таможенного тарифа. Однако в ходе непродолжительной и интенсивной работы ЕЭК совместно с государствами-членами выработали подходы по правовому разрешению данного вопроса. Комиссией ежегодно утверждается перечень товаров, в отношении которых Казахстан применяет более низкие ставки ввозных таможенных пошлин по сравнению с действующим Единым таможенным тарифом ЕАЭС только для внутреннего потребления на территории Казахстана. При этом главами государств подписан соответствующий протокол, которым определены обязательства

Казахстана по обеспечению мер по недопущению вывоза товаров за пределы страны без доплаты пошлин, общая схема обращения таких товаров, а также механизм администрирования и контроля за их оборотом.

Что касается защитных мер в отношении товаров из третьих стран — это наднациональная функция Комиссии. Решения принимаются ЕЭК коллегиально, и они обязательны для исполнения на территории всего Евразийского союза.

Особо следует отметить, что право ЕАЭС гармонизировано с правом ВТО, в том числе в области предоставления государственной поддержки сельскому хозяйству и субсидирования промышленности.

Таким образом, Беларусь уже давно работает в правовом поле ВТО, и рисков по присоединению страны к этой организации я не вижу. Наоборот, экспортно ориентированные производители Беларуси могут получить преимущества от присоединения, прежде всего в металлургии, химической промышленности, за счет снятия барьеров для доступа белорусских товаров на рынки членов ВТО.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 16 January 2017 by *Eurasia.Expert*.

Source: <http://eurasia.expert/sergey-sidorskiy-evraziyskie-tehnologicheskie-platformy/>

Context: In an exclusive interview for *Eurasia.Expert*, Sergei Sidorsky spoke about the tools for industrial development in the Eurasian Union.

Евразийский экономический союз изначально задумывался, в том числе как инструмент по модернизации промышленности государств-участников. В Евразийской экономической комиссии промышленность и агропромышленный комплекс курирует министр Сергей Сидорский – один из опытнейших специалистов по промышленной политике на евразийском пространстве, в прошлом – премьер-министр индустриального лидера ЕАЭС Беларуси.

В эксклюзивном интервью для «Евразия.Эксперт» Сергей Сидорский рассказал об инструментах развития промышленности в Евразийском союзе, познакомил с планами производства электромобилей в ЕАЭС, проанализировал первые результаты запуска зоны свободной торговли с Вьетнамом и раскрыл выводы экспертов об открытии рынков с Индией.

- Сергей Сергеевич, как развивается промышленная политика в рамках Евразийского экономического союза сегодня?

- Прежде всего, хочу отметить, что промышленный блок Евразийской экономической комиссии от этапа формирования права ЕАЭС в сфере промышленности и агропромышленного комплекса перешел к этапу практической реализации договоренностей глав государств и правительств наших стран о проведении в Союзе согласованной промышленной политики.

Пришло время реального сотрудничества, практического создания и внедрения закрепленных на бумаге планов и проектов.

Сегодня мы выходим на конкретные решения в приоритетных отраслях, формируем эффективные коммуникационные инструменты для промышленников, работаем над созданием Евразийского инжинирингового центра по станкостроению, запускаем работу евразийских технологических платформ.

Евразийские технологические платформы

- Одна из целей евразийских технологических платформ – создание перспективных коммерческих технологий, высокотехнологичной, инновационной продукции. Таковую же цель ставят перед собой существующие особые экономические зоны. Намечено ли между ними взаимодействие или, возможно, ряд платформ будет организован на базе ОЭЗ?

- Технологическая платформа и особая экономическая зона (ОЭЗ) – это два различных инструмента, используемых для решения задач промышленной политики на разных уровнях. Хотя их цели где-то и пересекаются.

ОЭЗ – территориальное образование, которое обладает особым юридическим статусом, где действуют льготные экономические условия осуществления хозяйственной деятельности для ее резидентов. Государства создают такие зоны для решения стратегических задач развития отдельной территории или региона, в том числе внешнеторговых, общеэкономических, социальных и научно-технических задач.

Технологическая платформа – более локальный инструмент, являющийся, прежде всего, объектом инновационной инфраструктуры. Он позволяет обеспечить интеграцию науки и бизнеса, сконцентрировать интеллектуальные и материальные ресурсы на приоритетных направлениях научно-технологического развития конкретной отрасли.

Техплатформа создается, в первую очередь, для вовлечения ученых, конструкторов, исследователей в процесс решения конкретных инновационных задач для отраслей, секторов промышленности и внедрения результатов их научной деятельности в реальное производство. То есть благодаря деятельности техплатформы, научно-техническое достижение (открытие, изобретение) становится инновацией.

При этом отдельные участники евразийских технологических платформ могут являться резидентами особых зон.

В октябре 2016 г. Совет Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) утвердил одиннадцать приоритетных евразийских технологических платформ (ЕТП).

Они включают в себя такие направления как космос, медицина, информационно-коммуникационные технологии, фотоника, добыча природных ресурсов, экология, сельское хозяйство и промышленные технологии.

Их задача – за счет коммерциализации результатов научных работ и исследований и формирования необходимой для этого инфраструктуры повышать инновационность промышленности в странах ЕАЭС, аккумулировать передовые национальные и мировые достижения научно-технического прогресса и обеспечивать их практическое использование для создания высокотехнологичных отраслей и производств в промышленности.

Все это будет способствовать инновационной трансформации промышленных комплексов государств Союза, их выводу на новый технологический уровень.

Евразийские технологические платформы являются элементом союзной инновационной инфраструктуры. Они позволяют встраивать науку в производственные цепочки для создания и внедрения инновационных технологий и освоения новой конкурентоспособной продукции.

ЕТП формируются путем организации сотрудничества между ведущими организациями бизнеса (отраслевые промышленные предприятия, государственные компании), науки (научно-исследовательские институты, университеты, иные образовательные учреждения), государства (институты развития, профильные государственные органы), общественными организациями (отраслевые ассоциации и объединения) стран ЕАЭС.

Сегодня указанные платформы объединяют большое количество ведущих национальных научных и промышленных организаций Союза, которые готовы к реализации совместных инновационных проектов в наиболее перспективных отраслях.

Евразийский центр станкостроения

- Как будут взаимодействовать евразийские технологические платформы с Евразийским инжиниринговым центром по станкостроению? Он будет головной или отдельной структурой?

- Концепцией создания Евразийского инжинирингового центра по станкостроению (ЕИЦС) предусмотрена совместная работа инжинирингового центра как интеграционного «мозгового» штаба технологического развития в сфере станкостроения. Технологические платформы, согласно Положению о

формировании и функционировании евразийских технологических платформ, могут создаваться в отрасли в качестве практических инструментов для претворения перспективных инновационных идей Центра по совершенствованию развития станкостроения.

Задача ЕИЦС – исследуя существующие и только возникающие рыночные ниши, стратегически направлять развитие станкостроения в Союзе, а также, учитывая возможности национальных отраслей и отраслевой науки, выходить на самообеспечение союзного машиностроения станочным оборудованием и новыми технологиями.

Евразийские техплатформы могут разрабатывать продукцию «будущего», в том числе в отраслях машиностроения, и предлагать к освоению высокие технологии, то есть решать конкретные технические и технологические задачи. Кроме того, технические требования к конечному продукту также могут разрабатываться техплатформами.

Взаимодействие Евразийского инжинирингового центра по станкостроению и отраслевых технологических платформ позволит решать задачи построения конкурентоспособного машиностроения в Союзе.

Координация промышленной политики

- Как будет решаться проблема конкуренции в промышленности? Ведь страны нередко стремятся к протекционизму.

- Необходимо подчеркнуть, что вопросы конкуренции рассматриваются и решаются в ЕЭК с разных аспектов.

Во-первых, Комиссия контролирует выполнение общих принципов и правил конкуренции в соответствии с Договором о ЕАЭС. Это направление деятельности курируется соответствующим членом Коллегии – Министром по конкуренции и антимонопольному регулированию. Работы в этой сфере выполняются Департаментом антимонопольного регулирования ЕЭК. В его задачи входит выявлять и пресекать антиконкурентные действия на территориях государств-членов, а также действия, оказывающие негативное влияние на конкуренцию на трансграничных рынках – на территории двух и более государств-членов.

Во-вторых, равные условия конкуренции обеспечиваются также за счет регулирования Комиссией сферы государственных (муниципальных) закупок, обеспечения предоставления государствами-членами друг другу национального режима в сфере закупок.

В-третьих, создание равных конкурентных условий в промышленности. Об этой работе нашего блока расскажу подробнее.

В целях совершенствования конкуренции между производителями из различных государств-членов в рамках Основных направлений промышленного сотрудничества Комиссия разработала совместно со странами Союза и утвердила перечень чувствительных товаров, приоритетных для промышленного сотрудничества государств ЕАЭС.

Действует порядок проведения консультаций и взаимного информирования о планируемых направлениях реализации национальной промышленной политики в отношении чувствительных товаров. При этом под чувствительными товарами понимаются товары с высоким уровнем конкуренции между производителями из различных союзных стран. Перечень чувствительных товаров не является закрытым и может быть дополнен по предложениям государств.

Страны Союза обеспечивают предварительное информирование, направляя в Комиссию проекты правовых актов, которые предусматривают меры промышленной политики в отношении чувствительных товаров.

Это касается, например, таких случаев, когда при поддержке государства планируется создание производства товара, успешно выпускаемого в другом государстве-члене Союза.

Комиссия обеспечивает направление таких проектов правовых актов другим странам ЕАЭС, изучает их реакцию по предложенным проектам и доводит до сведения государства-разработчика проекта акта имеющиеся замечания и предложения. При необходимости, по предложению любого из государств-членов, в отношении чувствительных товаров могут быть проведены консультации для взаимного учета позиций.

Кроме того, одним из важнейших инструментов согласованной промышленной политики являются единые правила предоставления промышленных субсидий в государствах Союза, соблюдение которых Сторонами контролируется Комиссией. Промышленные субсидии играют важную роль в обеспечении конкурентоспособности отраслей промышленности и стимулировании ее инновационного развития.

В связи с этим страны договорились об установлении и реализации единых правил предоставления промышленных субсидий в отношении промтоваров, а также при предоставлении или получении услуг, которые непосредственно связаны с производством, сбытом и потреблением таких товаров.

Согласно Договору о ЕАЭС, государства-члены самостоятельно определяют способы, формы и направления предоставления промышленных субсидий, то есть решение о предоставлении субсидий принимается на национальном уровне.

При этом запрещено предоставление субсидий, которые наносят ущерб отрасли национальной экономики любого другого государства-члена или приводят к серьезному ущемлению его интересов.

Для реализации этих договоренностей Договором о ЕАЭС установлены порядок проведения соответствующего расследования, а также меры, применяемые государствами-членами при нарушении указанных обязательств.

Соблюдение странами ЕАЭС единых правил создает условия для стабильного и эффективного развития их экономик, развития промышленного производства, взаимной торговли и добросовестной конкуренции между государствами-членами.

Сейчас взаимодействие государств-членов в сфере государственной поддержки промышленности основывается на взаимном информировании друг друга и Комиссии о планируемых и предоставленных промышленных субсидиях.

В 2017 г. у стран Союза появится возможность добровольного согласования с Комиссией специфических субсидий. Речь идет о тех случаях, когда субсидии предоставляются конкретной отрасли (или отраслям) промышленности или промышленному предприятию.

Кроме того, сторона сможет обратиться в Комиссию при необходимости проведения разбирательств или сравнительно-правового анализа в отношении предоставленных промышленных субсидий. Завершается работа над соответствующим проектом Соглашения, который по результатам внутригосударственного согласования поддержали все стороны.

Мы исходим из того, что промышленные субсидии, содействуя национальному промышленному развитию, должны обеспечивать условия для добросовестной конкуренции между участниками общего рынка ЕАЭС и не оказывать искажающего воздействия на внутреннюю торговлю и развитие промышленных отраслей в других государствах-партнерах по Союзу. Это одна из важнейших задач согласованной промышленной политики Союза.

Рост промышленного производства в ЕАЭС

- Какие из отраслей наиболее успешны и перспективны в каждой из стран ЕАЭС? Проводимый нами на постоянной основе анализ показывает, что в январе-сентябре 2016 г. в целом по ЕАЭС рост объемов производства зафиксирован в девяти отраслях обрабатывающей промышленности, в то время как по итогам 2015 г. таких отраслей было всего четыре.

Наибольшими темпами в январе-сентябре 2016 г. в целом по Союзу росли

объемы производства резиновых и пластмассовых изделий (на 5%), продукции текстильного и швейного производства (на 4,2%), машиностроения (на 4,1%).

В Армении наибольшими темпами увеличивались производство транспортных средств и оборудования (в 22 раза) и производство электронно-оптического оборудования (на 25%).

В Беларуси некоторый рост индекса промышленного производства отмечен в деревообработке, машиностроении и целлюлозно-бумажной промышленности. К важнейшим отраслям также следует отнести химическую и нефтехимическую отрасли.

В Казахстане положительная динамика объемов производства отмечается в деревообработке и металлургии (на 8% и 7% соответственно).

В Кыргызстане рост объемов производства отмечен, в первую очередь, в производстве нефтепродуктов (на 26,2%).

Также следует заметить, что в ряде отраслей обрабатывающей промышленности в текущем году наблюдается рост такого важного показателя конкурентоспособности промышленности, как объем экспорта промышленной продукции в рамках внешней торговли с третьими странами.

По итогам января-сентября 2016 г. в целом по Союзу произошло увеличение объемов экспорта в третьи страны строительных материалов (на 28%), резиновых и пластмассовых изделий (на 13,8%), деревянных изделий (на 5,8%), транспортных средств и оборудования (на 5,5%), пищевых продуктов, напитков и табака (на 1,9%), продукции текстильного и швейного производства (на 1,2%).

Проведенный нами в этом году анализ кооперационного потенциала государств ЕАЭС показал, что в отраслевом разрезе наибольшим кооперационным потенциалом в обрабатывающей промышленности ЕАЭС обладает продукция металлургического производства, химической промышленности, деревообработки.

При этом в названных отраслях есть потенциал для встраивания производителей наших стран в международные производственные цепочки.

В рамках Союза мы можем и должны активно кооперироваться в машиностроении, в том числе в производстве электрооборудования, электронного и оптического оборудования, а также в легкой промышленности.

Как уже отмечалось ранее, в основных направлениях промышленного сотрудничества в рамках ЕАЭС определены приоритетные для развития промышленного сотрудничества виды экономической деятельности, которые были заявлены в качестве таковых самими государствами-членами.

В соответствии с этими приоритетами и наличием заинтересованности союзных стран в развитии промышленного сотрудничества в качестве наиболее приоритетных на межгосударственном уровне можно назвать черную и цветную металлургию, сельскохозяйственное машиностроение, промышленность строительных материалов, а также фармацевтику.

Технологии в сфере экологии

- Сегодня вопросы промышленного развития тесно связаны с экологией. Какие наработки в этой сфере есть по итогам двух лет деятельности ЕАЭС?

- Следует отметить, что вопросы экологии в странах ЕАЭС сейчас решаются, в первую очередь, на национальном уровне.

Например, в России в последнее время приняты серьезные решения по улучшению экологических условий, запускается пилотный проект по строительству пяти объектов термической обработки отходов, в дальнейшем будут предотвращены выбросы значительных объемов вредных веществ.

Вместе с тем в Комиссии мы также уделяем внимание этому вопросу и считаем, что интеграционный потенциал государств Союза в этой сфере сможет оказать существенное влияние на решение отдельных проблем.

Так, на сегодняшний день в рамках деятельности ЕТП «Технологии экологического развития» у нас уже имеются результаты первичных лабораторных и экспериментальных исследований по совместному кооперационному проекту, целью которого является разработка технологического решения для борьбы с процессами опустынивания и деградации земель в аридных зонах.

Реализация этого проекта позволит улучшить физико-химические и биологические характеристики почв и растений в наших странах. Особенно эта тематика актуальна для Казахстана и России. Мы видим перспективы коммерциализации предложенной технологии не только на рынке ЕАЭС, но и в третьих странах.

Это подтверждается оценками экспертов: мировой рынок экологических товаров и услуг является одним из динамично растущих (ежегодный прирост более 5%, емкость оценивается в \$500 млрд). Предложенная технология может войти в одну из основных ниш рынка экологических товаров и услуг – экологического производства.

У экологов также имеется проект по разработке интернет-портала наилучших экологически эффективных, энерго-, ресурсосберегающих решений и технологий, как составной части общей концепции создания и функционирования евразийской сети трансфера технологий.

Кроме того, в части решения экологических проблем мы работаем над формированием условий для освоения в ЕАЭС производств по выпуску экологичных видов транспорта.

В прошлом году главы правительств утвердили разработанный промышленным блоком Комиссии план мероприятий по стимулированию производства и использования автомобилей с электродвигателями.

Реализация в государствах Союза этого плана позволит не только обеспечить развитие новых отраслей промышленности, создание рабочих мест и использование электротранспорта, но и, что не менее важно, снизить объемы загрязняющих выбросов, улучшить экологическую ситуацию.

Коллегия поддержала целый ряд наших предложений. Например, по испытательным лабораториям для апробации созданных образцов моторных транспортных средств с электрическими двигателями; упрощению порядка оформления разрешительной документации при строительстве объектов зарядной и сервисной инфраструктуры для электротранспорта; повышению информированности участников рынка электротранспорта, в частности, о преимуществах использования моторных транспортных средств с электрическими двигателями.

Теперь эти документы будут рассмотрены высшими органами Союза.

Рынки сбыта в Индии и Вьетнаме

- Как известно, для развития промышленности необходимо расширение рынков сбыта. Большие надежды возлагаются на Азию, много говорится про Китай. А насколько активно развиваются отношения ЕАЭС с другим «поднимающимся гигантом» Азии – Индией? Можно ли ожидать в ближайшее время подписания соглашения о ЗСТ с Индией?

- Индийская экономика является самой быстрорастущей экономикой в мире и, как ожидается в соответствии с прогнозами МВФ и Всемирного банка, останется таковой в ближайшие годы. Именно поэтому Индия – очень перспективный экономический партнер Евразийского экономического союза.

О нынешнем уровне товарооборота между ЕАЭС и Индией можно сказать, что он имеет большой потенциал для роста: товарооборот в 2015 г. составил \$8 млрд (снижение на 22% по сравнению с 2014 г.). В структуре товарооборота Союза с третьими странами доля Индии составляет 1,5%.

Государства ЕАЭС активно развивают отношения с Индией в области науки, технологий, инноваций, в большей степени в фармацевтической промышленности и биотехнологиях.

Что касается Соглашения о ЗСТ с Индией, то уже завершена работа совместной исследовательской группы. По ее итогам сделан вывод, что заключение такого Соглашения является выгодным как для Союза в целом, так и для каждого его члена в отдельности.

Свободный доступ на внутренние рынки открывает широкие возможности для расширения двусторонней торговли.

В Индии хорошо развита фармацевтическая промышленность. Индийские фармацевтические компании обладают большим опытом производства недорогих и качественных препаратов, поэтому данное направление имеет большой потенциал для развития в рамках Соглашения о ЗСТ с Индией.

Хотелось бы отметить, что для государств-членов основными товарами экспортного интереса в Индии являются химическая продукция, товары легкой промышленности, электрическая аппаратура, тракторная и автомобильная техника и др.

- В октябре вступило в силу Соглашение о зоне свободной торговли между ЕАЭС и Вьетнамом. Есть ли уже какие-то результаты?

- Соглашение о зоне свободной торговли с Вьетнамом вступило в силу 5 октября 2016 г. Три месяца – это очень небольшой срок, чтобы говорить о каких-то конкретных результатах. Вместе с тем ожидания бизнеса уже сейчас начинают оправдываться.

За девять месяцев 2016 г. товарооборот с Вьетнамом в сфере обрабатывающей промышленности увеличился на 25% по сравнению с аналогичным периодом прошлого года.

Экспорт из ЕАЭС во Вьетнам вырос на 47% (металлы – в девять раз, древесина – на 53%, автотранспортные средства – на 54%, одежда – на 45%). Импорт в ЕАЭС из Вьетнама увеличился на 19% (машины и оборудование – в 2 раза, готовые металлические изделия – на 38%, электронное оборудование – на 23%, кожа – на 19 %).

Но это не предел. Уверен, что мы достигнем позитивных результатов и в части доступа других товаров Союза на рынок Вьетнама. Это произойдет за счет снижения или отмены таможенных пошлин с вьетнамской стороны, благодаря чему повысится спрос на поставляемые в эту страну товары.

Улучшатся условия для увеличения поставок новой продукции, которая до снижения или отмены ввозных таможенных пошлин была недостаточно конкурентоспособна по цене.

С другой стороны, благодаря снижению или отмене таможенных пошлин со стороны ЕАЭС откроется доступ вьетнамских товаров на рынок Союза, что окажет позитивное влияние на снижение цен на потребительские товары из Вьетнама, такие как спортивные костюмы, куртки, спортивная обувь.

В качестве выгоды от реализации Соглашения экспортеры и производители стран ЕАЭС получают уникальную возможность эксклюзивных условий по доступу на вьетнамский рынок в отношении таких товаров, как калийные удобрения, бензин, изолированные провода, шины, грузовые автомобили, автобусы, легковые автомобили. Ставка таможенной пошлины по этим товарам будет снижена без переходного периода или с переходным периодом до нуля.

Действие на практике режима свободной торговли между Вьетнамом и ЕАЭС позволит сторонам не просто успешно торговать традиционными группами товаров, но и открывает перспективы для инвестиционного сотрудничества, в том числе и в автомобилестроении.

Ведь одновременно с началом действия Соглашения о ЗСТ вступает в силу российско-вьетнамский Межправительственный протокол о поддержке

производства моторных транспортных средств на территории Вьетнама. Авторизованные российские компании, которыми сейчас являются «Группа ГАЗ», «КамАЗ» и «Соллерс», создадут совместные предприятия с вьетнамскими партнерами по производству автобусов, грузовиков, спецтехники, легких коммерческих и легковых автомобилей.

Sergei Sidorsky

Published on 28 June 2017 by *TKS.ru*.

Source: <http://www.tks.ru/news/nearby/2017/06/28/0006>

Сидорский о проблематике ЕАЭС, импортозамещении в РФ и ВТО

Сергей Сидорский — заметная фигура в белорусской власти. В современной Беларуси он больше других руководил правительством, работая премьер-министром с 2003 по 2010 год. С 2012 года Сидорский является членом Коллегии (министром) по промышленности и агропромышленному комплексу Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК). Это одни из ключевых сфер в Евразийском экономическом союзе (ЕАЭС), где интересы Беларуси очень велики. Однако периодически между членами ЕАЭС возникают разногласия. Сергей Сидорский согласился ответить на вопросы TUT.BY, ограничив лишь формат беседы своими должностными полномочиями

«Ситуация с либерализацией рынка товаров постоянно улучшается»

— Договор о ЕАЭС подписан в 2014 году. До этого был Таможенный союз. Однако, надо сказать откровенно, простому обывателю не особо видны достижения евразийской интеграции.

— Ключевой принцип, основа евразийской интеграции — это обеспечение четырех свобод: свободного движения товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы. В Таможенном союзе (с 1 января 2010 года) были предприняты попытки организации свободы передвижения только товаров на всей единой таможенной территории, где действовали бы единый механизм таможенного (единый таможенный тариф), внешнеторгового (единый Таможенный кодекс) и оговорен ряд вопросов технического регулирования. С созданием Евразийского экономического союза (с 1 января 2015 года) Договором о ЕАЭС четко прописаны подходы по реализации этих четырех свобод.

В результате у наших граждан, а это 182 млн человек, появилась возможность без квот и разрешений свободно жить, учиться и работать в любой стране Союза, без виз и таможенного контроля пересекать границы наших государств, получать пенсии за весь период трудовой деятельности в любом из государств, а также бесплатную скорую неотложную медицинскую помощь.

У бизнеса появился свободный доступ на рынки стран ЕАЭС, и это — большое преимущество, особенно для тех производителей, для которых масштаб рынка имеет ключевое значение. В условиях экономического союза предприниматели вправе выбирать для регистрации любое государство Союза, наиболее удобное для

ведения бизнеса без дополнительных административных и бюрократических обременений.

Товары сегодня обращаются по всей территории союза, на внутренних границах ЕАЭС отменен таможенный контроль. Комиссией совместно с государствами существенно доработан Таможенный кодекс. В апреле этого года президенты наших стран приняли новую редакцию Таможенного кодекса ЕАЭС (ТК ЕАЭС). В новой редакции кодекса максимально унифицировано таможенное законодательство, обеспечено ускорение и упрощение таможенного оформления, снижение финансовой нагрузки, в первую очередь, на добросовестных участников внешнеторговой деятельности. Это — очень важный результат, который существенно сократил временные и ресурсные издержки как предпринимателей стран Союза, так и их бизнес-партнеров из третьих стран. Кроме того, ТК ЕАЭС предусмотрено использование автоматизации таможенных процессов, что весьма актуально в сегодняшних условиях цифровой трансформации экономики.

— Но принципы четырех свобод сейчас в большей степени носят декларативный характер. Взять, например, создание единого рынка товаров и услуг.

— Не скажите. Функционирует единый внутренний рынок, меры по защите которого осуществляются на наднациональном уровне ЕЭК. Товары на нем перемещаются свободно, за исключением, когда в Договоре о ЕАЭС странами зарезервированы по конкретным направлениям приоритеты национального законодательства, например в сфере государственных закупок.

Формирование единого рынка в транспортном и топливно-энергетическом секторах стороны в Договоре отнесли на 2020–2025 годы.

Единый рынок услуг заработал с 1 января 2015 г. по 22 секторам, включая строительные работы, услуги в инженерных областях, сельскохозяйственной сфере. Теперь, например, белорусские строители на основании выданных в Беларуси разрешительных документов на оказание строительных услуг уже могут самостоятельно работать (выступать в качестве подрядчиков) на территории, допустим, Казахстана без регистрации организации, получения казахстанских разрешительных документов, подтверждения профессиональной квалификации персонала и т.д.

Что касается сферы банковских, финансовых, транспортных услуг, то единый рынок в них будет создан по мере сближения законодательства государств-членов. Эти функции и взаимные договоренности страны Союза оставили на национальном уровне. Роль ЕЭК здесь состоит в том, чтобы активно содействовать организации переговорного процесса 5 стран.

— 2 года назад вы прогнозировали появление единой маркировки «товара ЕАЭС». На каком свете сейчас этот проект?

— В настоящее время страны Союза вместе с ЕЭК завершают разработку механизма учета технологических операций для определения совместно произведенной участниками ЕАЭС продукции. Это необходимо для выработки

критериев отнесения продукции к «товару ЕАЭС». Данное понятие будет применяться в том числе и при согласовании Комиссией специфических субсидий. Вместе с тем следует отметить, что введение такой маркировки — это прерогатива стран Союза.

Но хочу сказать, что ситуация с либерализацией рынка товаров постоянно улучшается. И в подтверждение — свежий пример. С мая этого года национальные рынки лекарственных средств пяти государств объединились и начали работу как единый рынок. Производители стран Союза смогут регистрировать лекарства и выпускать их в обращение по единым процедурам, что позволит существенно снизить издержки производителей и повысить ценовую конкурентоспособность препаратов. Для обычного потребителя изменения на фармацевтическом рынке станут заметны позднее: это связано с тем, что от момента подачи досье лекарственного препарата на регистрацию до выпуска его в обращение и поступления в продажу проходит от семи до десяти месяцев. По аналогичным принципам в рамках ЕАЭС создан единый рынок обращения медицинских изделий.

«Без национальных изъятий интеграция шла бы быстрее и эффективнее»

— Да, но это лишь один из немногих примеров, которому придется доказать свою состоятельность на практике. Уже много копий сломано перевозчиками, газовиками, нефтяниками... В чем общая проблематика евразийской интеграции?

— Евразийский экономический союз, безусловно, имеет свои «проблемы роста». Природа их возникновения — это, прежде всего, несоблюдение сторонами права ЕАЭС, пробелы в нем либо нормы, позволяющие применять в одностороннем порядке национальное законодательство на временной основе (это так называемые изъятия, предусмотренные Договором о ЕАЭС).

Когда велась работа над Договором, мы старались максимально ограничить введение сторонами таких изъятий, а в случае их допущения — четко прописывать сроки их действия и ответственность сторон за их нарушение. Но при подписании отдельные государства были не готовы к сближению переговорных позиций и оставили в силе право применения национальных изъятий. Конечно, без этих проблем интеграция шла бы быстрее и эффективнее.

Что касается работы по формированию единых рынков в сферах естественных монополий, то хочу отметить, что во многом она базируется на белорусско-российском опыте взаимодействия в этих сферах. Например, наработки наших двух стран в области рынков энергоресурсов учитываются сторонами при гармонизации национальных соответствующих законодательств.

— ЕЭК недавно обнародовала «Белую книгу», в которой зафиксировало 60 согласованных 5 странами препятствий, существующих на внутренних рынках ЕАЭС. Но это согласованные барьеры, в реальности их больше?

— В начале работы ЕЭК весь реестр препятствий насчитывал более 600 барьеров, изъятий и ограничений в различных сферах, в том числе и в части

промышленности. Выполняя поручение президентов Беларуси, Казахстана и России, большую часть из них (свыше 350) мы благополучно разрешили. Осталось порядка 240 препятствий, над которыми Комиссией ведется системная работа.

При формировании реестра препятствий в ЕАЭС мы столкнулись с рядом сложностей. Например, таких как необходимость выработки единых подходов государств — членов Союза к пониманию самой проблемы. Отмечу, что были ситуации, когда одна страна считала определенный вопрос барьером, а другая не видела в этом никаких проблем. Поэтому на данном этапе мы пришли к признанию 60 препятствий, которые включены в «Белую книгу», и по ним сформирована «Дорожная карта» — пакет мероприятий по их устранению с установленными сроками. Информация о них размещена на сайте Комиссии.

Еще порядка 180 потенциальных препятствий находятся в сферах государственных закупок, конкурентного права, финансовой политики, функционирования внутреннего рынка и ряд других. По ним ЕЭК принимаются всевозможные меры для согласования их статуса, проводятся консультации с уполномоченными органами государств — членов ЕАЭС для разработки вариантов нивелирования их действия и практических шагов по их устранению. Мы надеемся, что в ближайшее время заинтересованные стороны найдут компромиссное решение и по ним. Но это национальная компетенция, и эта работа — за странами.

Хочу подчеркнуть, что в целях более полного выявления барьеров в евразийском сотрудничестве с этого года промышленным блоком Комиссии проводится мониторинг более 3 тысяч системообразующих предприятий ЕАЭС путем их анкетирования. Это позволяет нам получать информацию о проблемах и препятствиях, с которыми сталкиваются основные производители наших стран, непосредственно из первых рук и оперативно реагировать для их разрешения.

«Необходима максимально возможная концентрация полномочий в одних руках»

— В чем основная причина возникновения ограничений?

— Как я уже отмечал, основная причина, прежде всего, — использование сторонами ограничений, допустимых Договором о ЕАЭС на временной основе и обоснованных исключительностью ситуации, например в сфере государственных закупок.

Кроме того, есть сферы деятельности ЕАЭС, где полномочия на наднациональный уровень переданы ЕЭК не в полном объеме. Например, в техническом регулировании, принятие технических регламентов (то есть разработка и установление требований безопасности к конкретным видам продукции) — прерогатива Комиссии, а разработка и принятие стандартов, обеспечивающих выполнение техрегламентов, остались за пределами полномочий ЕЭК. Или в сфере применения санитарных, ветеринарных и фитосанитарных мер: разработка и принятие требований, перечней продукции — за Комиссией, а инструкций, методик, правил испытаний и т.п. — за национальными органами.

Таким образом, техрегламент в Союзе принят, а методик по его исполнению нет. В результате практическое внедрение требований таких регламентов неоправданно затягивается. Необходима максимально возможная концентрация полномочий в одних руках. Тогда будет обеспечен порядок.

— В последнее время значительное количество документов Евразийской экономической комиссии принимается в форме рекомендаций, то есть необязательными для исполнения. Безусловно, это вопрос предоставленных полномочий, но не приведет ли это к дальнейшему ослаблению позиций ЕЭК со стороны национальных правительств?

— Договором о ЕАЭС предусмотрено принятие документов ЕЭК в форме решений, распоряжений и рекомендаций. Решения имеют нормативно-правовой характер и являются обязательными для государств-членов, распоряжения имеют организационно-распорядительный характер. Рекомендации, будучи источником так называемого мягкого права, призваны сформировать единообразный подход для достижения общих целей и задач Евразийского союза и могут устанавливать определенные правовые рамки. Большое количество принимаемых Комиссией рекомендаций скорее свидетельствует об активной позиции и роли ЕЭК в формировании и достижении свобод, провозглашенных в рамках Союза.

Кроме того, принятие рекомендаций не исключает, при необходимости, возможность последующего вывода вопроса на уровень Межправсовета или Высшего Совета для принятия обязательных к исполнению решений.

С развитием нашего Союза правительства сторон будут поэтапно передавать необходимые полномочия на наднациональный уровень.

— Тогда считаете ли вы в полной мере эффективной работу Евразийской экономической комиссии в настоящее время?

— Да, полагаю, что работу ЕЭК можно оценить как эффективную в пределах тех полномочий, которые ей предоставлены. Но на мой взгляд, эта эффективность могла бы быть гораздо существенней, если бы полномочия ЕЭК были бы шире, а Договор о ЕАЭС не имел бы изъятий, допускающих принятие односторонних норм на национальном уровне. Это позволило бы максимально возможно выровнять условия конкуренции, углубить кооперацию в реальном секторе, увеличить объемы производства и нарастить взаимную торговлю. При разработке Договора мы закладывали основы единой промышленной и агропромышленной политики, но с подачи казахстанской стороны в итоге президенты закрепили в Договоре проведение согласованной (скоординированной) политики.

Однако и в пределах предоставленных нам полномочий мы выстроили системные интеграционные подходы, разработали в Комиссии, и стороны поддержали концептуальные согласованные стратегические документы на среднесрочную перспективу и в промышленности, и в сельском хозяйстве.

В рамках реализации права Союза и договоренностей со сторонами мы определили чувствительные для государств-членов товары (это продукция

автомобиле-, сельхозмашиностроения, промышленности стройматериалов и легкой промышленности). В отношении таких товаров государства-члены перед принятием мер промышленной политики обеспечивают взаимное информирование и проводят консультации для взаимного учета позиций. Это стало важным шагом по сближению позиций сторон в отношении создания при участии государства так называемых дублирующих производств.

Кроме того, мы определились с приоритетными для промышленного и сельскохозяйственного сотрудничества отраслями в Союзе, и в них принимаем конструктивные решения, способствующие углублению кооперации, включая решение вопросов импортозамещения и повышения локализации производства. В целях создания условий по расширению кооперационных связей и формированию новых цепочек производства добавленной стоимости в Союзе создается Евразийская сеть промышленной кооперации и субконтрактации.

Большое внимание уделяется нами обеспечению эффективного взаимодействия в сфере научно-технического сотрудничества, внедрению механизмов, содействующих повышению инновационности экономик наших стран. Благодаря этой работе на интеграционном пространстве нами внедряются евразийские инновационные технологические платформы. На первом этапе их деятельности сформирован портфель предложений по перспективным кооперационным инновационным разработкам, которые будут совместно реализовываться на территории наших пяти государств. Также мы работаем над созданием Евразийской сети трансфера технологий, созданию евразийского центра компетенций в станкоинструментальной отрасли — Евразийского инжинирингового центра по станкостроению.

Постоянное внимание уделяется нами совершенствованию конкурентной среды общего рынка Союза. Выработаны и закреплены единые правила предоставления промышленных субсидий, которые стороны обязаны исполнять, а Комиссия — контролировать их соблюдение сторонами. Кроме того, в мае этого года премьер-министрами наших стран подписано Соглашение о добровольном согласовании с Комиссией специфических промышленных субсидий. Действие этого международного договора направлено на сокращение нарушений в этой сфере, улучшение конкурентных условий на общем рынке, развитие промышленной кооперации, освоение производства новых видов конкурентоспособной продукции, а также позволит странам эффективнее стимулировать развитие промышленных комплексов в наших странах.

Как видите, в реальном секторе экономики Союза работа ведется очень большая и по многим направлениям. Так что и при имеющихся полномочиях можно эффективно решать ключевые задачи промышленной политики, активно углублять кооперацию, содействовать повышению конкурентоспособности и инновационной активности реального сектора экономик государств-членов.

— Недавно глава Россельхознадзора Сергей Данкверт косвенно обвинил вас в лоббировании интересов Беларуси. С другой стороны, Александр Лукашенко говорил, что белорусские министры недостаточно активно лоббируют интересы Беларуси в ЕЭК. Как вы для себя формируете баланс интересов? С одной стороны,

быть беспристрастным в наднациональном органе ЕЭК, а другой — оставаться «нашим человеком».

— В соответствии с Договором о ЕАЭС члены Коллегии ЕЭК при осуществлении своих полномочий независимы от государственных органов и должностных лиц государств-членов и не могут запрашивать или получать указания от органов власти или официальных лиц государств-членов.

В ЕАЭС действует принцип subsidiarity, предусматривающий четкое распределением прав и обязанностей «по вертикали» с делегированием части полномочий на тот уровень, где они будут исполняться наиболее эффективно и результативно. Так что возможность чьего-либо личного влияния, лоббирования исключена.

Принятию любого решения или документа предшествует работа экспертов — представителей государств-членов и сотрудников ЕЭК, которые вырабатывают содержательное наполнение документа. Далее проект обсуждается на заседании Коллегии, затем, с учетом правок, внесенных членами Коллегии, — на заседании Совета Комиссии и так далее — для документов любого уровня. И это — гарантия контроля над решениями, принимаемыми в интересах всего Союза (а не отдельно взятой стороны), как со стороны государств-членов, так и должностных лиц ЕЭК. Такой подход позволяет обеспечить баланс интересов стран и Евразийского экономического союза в целом. В случае принципиальных разногласий спорный вопрос может быть передан для разрешения на более высокий уровень, например президентов стран. И поверьте, такая практика, когда стороны не смогли прийти к согласованному решению или достигнуть договоренностей — и вопросы разрешались президентами стран, уже имеет достаточный опыт в Союзе за эти годы работы. Конечно, жизнь подводит нас к тому, чтобы больше полномочий передавались на наднациональный уровень, что способствовало бы ускорению процедуры подготовки и принятия решений в ЕАЭС.

«Я не вижу рисков по присоединению Беларуси к ВТО»

— В России импортозамещение в настоящее время включено в число первоочередных задач государственной политики. Как вы считаете, насколько большую угрозу это несет для белорусской промышленности и сельского хозяйства? Поскольку белорусская продукция по факту может восприниматься как импортная.

— Прежде всего, хочу отметить, что в Беларуси политика сокращения импорта на основе импортозамещения осуществляется системно уже с десятков лет. В России упор на это сделан недавно на фоне обострения политических разногласий между мировыми державами, введения санкций, а также в связи с интересами экономической безопасности. Для господдержки импортозамещения в России приняты нормативно-правовые акты, которые, в частности, запрещают или ограничивают допуск импортных товаров к госзакупкам для удовлетворения потребностей в продукции машиностроения, легкой промышленности, оборонно-промышленного комплекса. При этом такие ограничения не должны

распространяться на продукцию, ввозимую из стран Евразийского экономического союза, однако, как показывает практика, это соблюдается не всегда

В то же время проведенный нами анализ национальных программных документов стран Союза в сфере промышленности показал, что действующие в государствах-членах программы по импортозамещению не учитывают в полной мере возможности евразийской интеграции, а государства-члены рассматривают внутренние рынки друг друга для импортозамещения собственной продукцией.

В этой связи становится особенно актуальным предложение президента России Владимира Путина об участии стран-партнеров по Союзу в российской программе импортозамещения, включая машино- и станкостроение, электронную и легкую промышленность, сельское хозяйство.

В целях реализации этой инициативы нами сформирован перечень промышленных производителей наших стран, готовых участвовать в данной программе. Перечень включает предложения в 17 отраслях, по более чем 60 конкретным импортозамещающим проектам. Наибольшее число проектов отмечено в легкой, химической, станкоинструментальной промышленности, в отрасли энергетического машиностроения. И по абсолютному большинству из них присутствуют белорусские производители.

Таким образом, полагаю, что участие белорусских производителей в российской программе импортозамещения будет способствовать развитию промышленного потенциала страны, повышению локализации производств, снижению негативного влияния иностранных компонентов на рост цен на продукцию, производимую в странах ЕАЭС.

Что касается импортозамещения сельхозпродукции, то хочу отметить, что доля Беларуси в общем объеме импорта сельскохозяйственных товаров РФ по-прежнему остается не только весьма значительной, но и увеличивается в последние несколько лет. Особенно это касается молока и молочной продукции, доля которой с 2014 г. по 2016 г. выросла с 49% до 75,5%, продуктов переработки мяса и рыбы, удельный вес которых составил 58%. Также вдвое увеличилась доля овощей, мяса и мясопродуктов. Фактически этими позициями замещается импорт в Россию из дальнего зарубежья.

В этой связи угрозы для Беларуси я не вижу. Вместе с правительствами мы предпринимаем совместные меры по наращиванию объемов производства и птицеводства, в том числе в области селекционно-генетических работ в животноводстве и биотехнологических инноваций.

— Еще работая в правительстве, вы проделали большой объем работы, чтобы Беларусь вступила во Всемирную торговую организацию. Все документы были подготовлены в полном объеме. Что мешает вступлению страны в ВТО? Или она нам, может, и не нужна? Как, по вашему мнению, может повлиять присоединение Беларуси к ВТО на систему общей защиты рынка ЕАЭС от третьих стран?

— С точки зрения ЕАЭС я не вижу рисков присоединения Беларуси к ВТО. Уже 2 страны (Россия и Казахстан), будучи членами ЕАЭС, присоединились к ВТО. Кыргызстан и Армения также члены ВТО.

В то же время надо учитывать, что, например, Казахстан в 2015 году присоединился к ВТО с отклонениями по ставкам таможенного тарифа по целому ряду товарных позиций единого таможенного тарифа. Однако в ходе непродолжительной и интенсивной работы ЕЭК совместно с государствами-членами выработали подходы по правовому разрешению данного вопроса. Комиссией ежегодно утверждается перечень товаров, в отношении которых Казахстан применяет более низкие ставки ввозных таможенных пошлин по сравнению с действующим Единым таможенным тарифом ЕАЭС только для внутреннего потребления на территории Казахстана. При этом главами государств подписан соответствующий протокол, которым определены обязательства Казахстана по обеспечению мер по недопущению вывоза товаров за пределы страны без доплаты пошлин, общая схема обращения таких товаров, а также механизм администрирования и контроля за их оборотом.

Что касается защитных мер в отношении товаров из третьих стран — это наднациональная функция Комиссии. Решения принимаются ЕЭК коллегиально, и они обязательны для исполнения на территории всего Евразийского союза.

Особо следует отметить, что право ЕАЭС гармонизировано с правом ВТО, в том числе в области предоставления государственной поддержки сельскому хозяйству и субсидирования промышленности.

Таким образом, Беларусь уже давно работает в правовом поле ВТО, и рисков по присоединению страны к этой организации я не вижу. Наоборот, экспортно ориентированные производители Беларуси могут получить преимущества от присоединения, прежде всего в металлургии, химической промышленности, за счет снятия барьеров для доступа белорусских товаров на рынки членов ВТО.

Table 2.2. Actors, speeches and statements examined for Armenia case.

2010

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 29 April 2010.

Source: <https://customsonline.ru/1013-erevan-prositsya-v-tamozhennyj-soyuz.html>

Армения намерена присоединиться к Таможенному союзу России, Белоруссии и Казахстана, с которыми у нее нет общих границ.

Речь идет о создании в Армении особой экономической зоны, где действовали бы особые правила транзита и таможенного досмотра, аналогичные тем, что есть в Калининградской области России.

Премьер-министр Армении Тигран Саргсян утверждает, что вопрос о Таможенном союзе в Ереване уже обсуждался с первым вице-премьером правительства России Игорем Шуваловым. По словам Саргсяна, механизмы участия Еревана в общем рынке прорабатываются на уровне совместных рабочих групп.

Сейчас армянские грузы идут в Россию по грузинской территории через пограничный пункт Верхний Ларс. Выхода к морю у Армении нет, а большая часть ее сухопутной границы закрыта.
Более того, Армения является членом ВТО. Ранее это уже стало причиной отказа Украины вступить в Таможенный союз, поскольку экономические принципы ВТО не позволяют это сделать. Россия, Белоруссия и Казахстан в ВТО не состоят. Таможенный союз РФ, Белоруссии и Казахстана, открытый для вступления других стран, предполагает применение единых ставок пошлин, общих принципов нетарифного регулирования и отсутствие торговых барьеров и таможенного досмотра между государствами-участниками с 1 июля 2010 года.

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 21 July 2010 by *News.am*.

Source: <https://news.am/rus/news/25641.html>

Весь мир твердит Турции о необходимости проявить волю и ратифицировать армяно-турецкие протоколы, однако Анкара как будто бы не слышит этого и сама призывает нас проявить политическую волю. Об этом на встрече с представителями молодежного движения «Вместе» и находящимися в Армении по проекту «Вернись домой» представителями Диаспоры заявил президент Армении Серж Саргсян.

Армения не отвергает протянутую ей руку дружбы, однако если этой руки нет, то и реакция соответствующая, отметил он, подчеркнув, что турецкая сторона искажает действительность.

Коснувшись вопроса об идентификации армян, президент Армении отметил: «Мы никогда не считали себя азиатами, но это не значит, что европейцы лучше азиатов. Мы себя всегда считали европейцами с азиатским акцентом. Сегодня мы выбрали путь европейской интеграции».

Eduard Nalbandyan

Published on 7 December 2010 by *News.am*.

Source: <https://news.am/rus/news/40724.html>

Министр иностранных дел Армении Эдвард Налбандян 6 декабря в Париже провел совещание с постоянными представителями и послами Армении, аккредитованными в европейских странах и международных организациях.

Как сообщили Новости Армении - NEWS.am в пресс-службе МИД Армении, в ходе совещания обсуждался процесс исполнения поручений президента Сержа Саргсяна в сфере внешней политики.

Налбандян представил главам дипломатических представительств Армении процесс сотрудничества с Евросоюзом, а также дал поручения относительно активизации вовлечения в европейские структуры и углубления взаимодействия с европейскими организациями. Состоялся обмен мнениями об 11-ом заседании Совета Армения - ЕС, которое состоится 7 декабря в Брюсселе.

На встрече были обсуждены также результаты саммита ОБСЕ, прошедшего 1-2 декабря в Астане. Послы и постоянные представители Армении представили процессы, происходящие в странах их аккредитации и международных структурах, а также перспективы развития отношений с Арменией. Высокопоставленные дипломаты детально обсудили ряд региональных и международных вопросов.

2012

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 23 November 2012.

Source: <https://inosmi.ru/sngbaltia/20121123/202530447.html>

Context: Интервью с премьер-министром Армении Тиграном Саркисяном. Анита Даукште (Anita Daukšte). 'Преимущество Армении – армянская община в мире'. *Neatkarigas Rita Avize (NRA)*.

Встреча с премьер-министром Армении Тиграном Саркисяном состоялась на прошлой неделе, когда в Армении гостила группа руководителей СМИ стран СНГ, Грузии и Латвии.

Каков взгляд Армении на происходящие в рамках СНГ интеграционные процессы и на Таможенный союз?

Стратегический партнер Армении – Россия, и мы заинтересованы в дальнейшем развитии отношений с нашим стратегическим партнером. Мы заинтересованы в интеграционных процессах стран СНГ, но нам нужно будет развивать специфические механизмы сотрудничества с Таможенным союзом, потому что у нас нет общей границы с входящими в Таможенный союз государствами.

Каким образом сейчас осуществляются взаимные контакты стран СНГ и формирование межгосударственных отношений? Складывается впечатление, что контакты между руководителями СНГ, Арменией с Азербайджаном больше осуществляются через Брюссель?

При формировании сотрудничества стран СНГ преимущество, конечно, отдается прямым контактам руководителей государств, а не посредничеству международных организаций.

С Азербайджаном мы контактируем не через Брюссель, а через Минскую группу, сопредседателями которой являются Россия, Франция и США. По инициативе России в рамках Минской группы состоялось несколько встреч с руководителями Азербайджана. Необходимо отметить также, что в целом в контексте развития стран СНГ это оказывает позитивное влияние, потому что ничто в политике не может заменить личные контакты между руководителями государств – они позволяют вести взаимоотношения без лишних предрассудков, позволяют сделать их более прогнозируемыми. Армения заинтересована в сотрудничестве в рамках СНГ.

Как вы оцениваете перспективы экономического развития Армении? Не секрет, что в экономике Армении очень большую роль играют инвестиции и вложения армянской диаспоры. Как в дальнейшем думаете формировать инвестиционную политику Армении?

Какова сейчас экономика Армении? ВВП на одного жителя – 3000 долларов, по паритету покупательской способности – около 5000 долларов на одного жителя. Важнейшее место в структуре экономики занимает сфера обслуживания – примерно 40%, промышленность – 16%, сельское хозяйство – 15%, строительство – 14%. Во время бума в сфере строительства и недвижимости строительство в структуре экономики играло важную роль – 28%, однако после того как пузырь лопнул, эта цифра уменьшилась наполовину. Спад в строительстве очень существенно повлиял на размер ВВП – в 2009 году ВВП сократился на 14%.

Сейчас наша главная экономическая задача – диверсификация экономики, мы возлагаем большие надежды на развитие IT-сектора, что в последние годы нам удавалось. Удельный вес IT-отрасли в структуре ВВП – около 5%. Главная экономическая задача – это модернизация экономики, прежде всего, модернизация сельского хозяйства, которое имеет значимый потенциал. Машиностроение, химическая промышленность, туризм, энергетика – это тоже важные отрасли. Правительство разработало и утвердило новую программу развития народного хозяйства. Ее лейтмотив такой: так как прошло 20 лет независимости, государство должно взять на себя определенную ответственность и функции по созданию

процветающей бизнес-среды. Мы отказались от либеральной модели, когда рынок сам себя регулирует и определяет, в какие отрасли надо вкладывать.

В программе регламентировано, что государство ответственно за создание структуры народного хозяйства, правительство должно быть проактивно в формировании структуры экономики, потому, что, как правило, в таких маленьких странах, как Армения, либеральные модели экономики себя не оправдывают, скорее, наоборот – создают различные стихийные процессы и ослабляют экономический потенциал. В маленьких странах инвестиции зачастую с высоким экономическим риском, потому что потенциальная прибыль на маленьких рынках не такая большая, чтобы покрыть объем инвестиций. Таким образом, правительство должно взять на себя определенную роль в уменьшении инвестиционных рисков и ответственность перед инвесторами. Мы определили 11 отраслей народного хозяйства, которые имеют приоритетное значение в сфере частного, публичного партнерства, и государство в эти проекты вкладывает свои средства наравне с инвесторами 50:50. Три таких договора с инвесторами уже подписаны, и мы думаем также в дальнейшем развивать такое сотрудничество. По рейтингу инвестиционной среды у Армении одно из самых высоких мест среди стран СНГ, и мы на 32-м месте в мире по рейтингу инвестиционной среды. Вышеупомянутый план правительства сыграл важную роль в такой позиции, потому что ранее Армения находилась в этом рейтинге только на 50-м месте в мире.

Главная проблема нашего народного хозяйства – это коррупция, образовавшиеся в некоторых местах олигополии, появлению которых способствовали либеральный подход к экономике и дикий капитализм. Сейчас правительство пытается эти ошибки исправить.

Конечно, негативно на экономические процессы в Армении повлияло то, что государство находится в экономической блокаде со стороны Турции и Азербайджана. Экономические санкции против Ирана существенно влияют на экономику Армении. В основном экономический транзит осуществляется через Грузию, через ее порты. Эта ситуация влияет и на другого рода связи и транзит через и в Армению.

Несомненным преимуществом экономики Армении является то, что мы живем в мире армянской общины. В Армении живет 3 миллиона армян, а во всем мире – около 10 миллионов армян. Армения и армяне за пределами нашего государства – это единый организм. Частные инвестиции армянской общины, денежные переводы на родину играют очень важную роль в нашей экономике. Частные денежные переводы армян – это словно кровеносные сосуды единого армянского организма. К примеру, во время российского дефолта сократились частные денежные переводы из России в Армению, но увеличились из Армении в Россию, потому что люди хотели помочь родственникам, у которых возникли трудности. В то же время в 10 раз увеличились частные денежные переводы из США в Армению. Единый организм армянской общины в мире функционирует так: деньги оттуда, где лучше, направляются туда, где хуже. Финансовые потоки, на которые рассчитывает государство и его жители, надо оценивать в контексте единого армянского организма. Мир армянской общины доминирует над республикой Армения в финансовом смысле – и бюджет армянского государства рассчитывает не только на рамки государства, но и армянской общины, потому что это огромные финансовые потоки. Армянская община в мире влияет и на туристическую отрасль в Армении – в этом году число туристов в стране было 700 тысяч. Мы хотим увеличить эту цифру до 3 миллионов человек в год. Здесь мы видим очень большой потенциал для развития, потому что 95%, относящихся к

армянской общине в мире, никогда не были в Армении.

Много ли таких инвесторов из других государств, которые, если можно так сказать, хотят купить Армению?

Нет, в действительности это не так. В 1990 году после обретения независимости нам казалось, что вот-вот сюда придут инвестиции, и все все скупают. В действительности этого не произошло, потому что логика инвесторов работает совсем иначе, купить что-то не самоцель для инвестора, главное – отдача от денег.

Как вы оцениваете отношения Армении с Европейским союзом и какой вы видите перспективу этих отношений в контексте экономики?

В последнее время в Армении очень активно дискутируют о том, какими должны быть экономические отношения между СНГ, Евразийским экономическим сообществом и Европейским союзом. Во время европейско-российского саммита президент России Владимир Путин подчеркнул, что процессы интеграции СНГ, Евразийского экономического сообщества и Европейского союза нельзя противопоставлять друг другу, их надо расценивать, как взаимодополняющие. У Армении аналогичная позиция – мы ценим и хотим развивать взаимовыгодные торговые и экономические контакты со странами ЕС. В феврале этого года мы начали официальный процесс переговоров с ЕС по подготовке договора о свободной торговле. Два раунда переговоров прошли, четыре еще впереди. Мы хотим подписать договор в 2013 году, хотя наши коллеги в ЕС думают, что мы могли бы это сделать в 2014 году. Мы хотели бы сделать это раньше, потому что снятие барьеров и свободная торговля с ЕС даст Армении большие возможности, позволит нашим товарам получить сертификаты качества ЕС, а ЕС получит право защиты интеллектуальной собственности на рынке Армении, и наоборот, это также позволит сотрудничать нашим правовым системам. Мы взяли на себя обязательства по введению стандартов ЕС в народном хозяйстве и в других упомянутых сферах, и от этого плана мы не отступим.

В течение последних лет на постсоветском пространстве произошел ряд революций - так называемая Оранжевая революция на Украине, Революция роз в Грузии.

Лейтмотивом всех их было указание на дефицит демократии в государстве. С учетом вашего жизненного опыта - вы учились и жили и в СССР, и в России, и в Европе, и в США – скажите, Армения демократическое государство?

Армения создает демократическое государство. В последние три года произошли важные и позитивные перемены в создании гражданского общества. Почему я это так уверенно говорю – потому, что об этом заявила сама оппозиция. Она сказала, что государственной власти придется при принятии своих решений считаться с гражданским обществом. Революции обычно происходят в тех странах, где у гражданского общества, оппозиции нет возможности повлиять на действия государственной власти легальными методами. Тогда выбирается такой путь - взять в руки различные предметы и отправиться штурмовать коридоры власти. В государстве со сложившимся гражданским обществом люди вовлечены в принятие решений государственной власти, и там необходимость в революциях отпадает.

Мы сделали очень много, чтобы у общества было большое влияние на решения правительства, и чтобы государственная власть работала по принципу прозрачности решений. В этой сфере нашим достижением является полная прозрачность использования средств государственного бюджета. Все бюджетные расходы в режиме online доступны в Интернете для каждого гражданина на сайте правительства, к тому же, с результатами конкурсов и обоснованиями.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 13 June 2012.

Source: <https://www.gov.am/ru/news/item/6280/>

Премьер-министр Республики Армения Тигран Саркисян в Посольстве Российской Федерации в Армении принял участие в приеме, организованном по случаю Дня России. Поздравляя с праздником, Премьер-министр пожелал братскому народу России мира, благоденствия и реализации намеченных программ.

«День России является молодым, но важным праздником, который связан с поворотным пунктом новейшей истории Российского государства, политической, экономической и духовной жизнью российского общества. В начале 1990-х годов нашими народами был сделан исторический выбор в пользу построения гражданского общества, развития демократических институтов и модернизации страны. Мы прошли нелегкий путь преобразований, однако этот путь открыл для нас новые возможности и перспективы более эффективного развития. Сегодня я с уверенностью и одновременно с удовлетворением хочу подчеркнуть, что в течение прошедших 20 лет мы сумели не только сохранить существующую между нашими народами многовековую дружбу, но и поднять ее на качественно новый уровень. Результатом этой дружбы стало стратегическое партнерство между Арменией и Россией.

Сегодня Россия играет ключевую роль в системе обеспечения безопасности Армении. Она также занимает передовые позиции в экономике нашей страны. Россия является основным инвестором в экономику Армении и одним из основных внешних торгово-экономических партнеров нашей страны. Мы заинтересованы в дальнейшем развитии этих отношений. Первоочередное значение для нас имеет, в частности, диверсификация экономических отношений между нашими странами. Мы уверены, что интенсивное сотрудничество в различных сферах станет новым стимулом для нашего двустороннего экономического сотрудничества. Это также позволит придать новый заряд стратегическому партнерству между Арменией и Россией.

Я рад, что на встрече с Дмитрием Медведевым мы обсудили широкий круг вопросов. У нас есть полное взаимопонимание по модернизации наших отношений на основе новой платформы диверсифицированной и инновационной экономики», - отметил Тигран Саркисян, пожелав братскому народу России счастья и процветания.

Hrant Bagratyan

Published on 15 August 2012 by *Iin.am*.

Source: <https://ru.1in.am/20653.html>

Власти Армении неоднократно заявляли о взятии курса на Евросоюз и процессах евроинтеграции. В то же время ППА – вторая по величине политическая сила Армении по итогам парламентских выборов инициировала Молодежный евразийский форум, который будет проведен 22-27 августа в Цахкадзоре под высоким покровительством лидера ППА Гагика Царукяна, и во время проведения которого будет обсуждена идея создания Евразийского союза.

В беседе с Первым Информационным экс-премьер Армении, ныне депутат парламента от Армянского национального конгресса Грант Багратян высказал точку зрения, что, по сути, между евроинтеграцией и членством в Евразийском союзе существует противоречие, и “если Евразийский союз понимать в виде Таможенного союза, то сомнительное противоречие до Таможенного союза (до Таможенного союза имеется соглашение о свободной торговле) после него становится конкретным разногласием с Европой по той простой причине, что таможенные пошлины, действующие с Евразийским союзом, являются таможенными пошлинами стран-экспортеров энергоносителей, которые резко

отличаются от таможенных пошлин стран-импортеров энергоносителей. А Армения является страной-импортером энергоносителей”.

“В этом плане, если мы входим в Евразийский союз, конкретно подпишем документ по таможенной территории, я полагаю, станет маловероятным, почти невероятным продолжение политики интеграции с Европой. Даже если это удастся, то и для Европы, и для Армении это будет чем-то вроде фарса, делом “для галочки”. Можно войти в Евразийский союз с нулевыми таможенными пошлинами, тогда противоречий не будет. Если бы Армении удалось ввести такие таможенные пошлины, а Россия, Казахстан и Беларусь изменили бы пошлины во имя Армении, то я бы считал это серьезным успехом внешней экономической политики Армении. Во всех остальных случаях Евразийский союз противоречит Евросоюзу, а Евросоюз противоречит Евразийскому союзу”, – сказал Г. Багратян.

По его мнению, в этом и состоит причина того, что пока существуют такие противоречия, нужно воздержаться от вхождения в Евразийский союз или в Евросоюз до выяснения вопроса о величинах таможенных пошлин. Г. Багратян напомнил, что именно по этой причине в 1990-х годах Армения уже однажды не смогла присоединиться к Таможенному союзу.

“Подписание конкретной бумаги будет означать исключение развития отношений с другой стороной”, – отметил Г. Багратян.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 4 April 2012 by *Kommersant*.

Source: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1908052>

После переговоров с главой МИД РФ Сергеем Лавровым премьер Армении ТИГРАН САРКИСЯН объяснил корреспонденту “Ъ” ЕЛЕНЕ ЧЕРНЕНКО, почему Армения не стремится в Таможенный союз РФ, Казахстана и Белоруссии, но готова обсуждать вопрос о строительстве на своей территории российской радиолокационной станции (РЛС) в качестве альтернативы Габалинской РЛС.

— О чем вы говорили с Сергеем Лавровым?

— Мы прошли по всей повестке армяно-российских отношений, по всем тем проектам, которые мы совместно реализуем сегодня. Обсудили вопросы, которыми занимается межправительственная комиссия. Это и строительство нового блока атомной электростанции; и работа таможенного пропускного пункта Верхний Ларс; и строительство новой скоростной автомобильной трассы Север—Юг; и сотрудничество в рамках ЕврАзЭС и СНГ; региональные проблемы; развитие событий в Иране и Сирии. В общем, весь круг вопросов, представляющий взаимный интерес.

— Обсуждали вы и ситуацию вокруг Нагорного Карабаха. Президент Дмитрий Медведев приложил немало усилий для решения нагорно-карабахского конфликта. По его инициативе состоялось десять трехсторонних встреч. Тем не менее существенного прогресса добиться не удалось. Почему?

— Это зависит от того, кто каких результатов ожидал от этого переговорного процесса. Такие конфликты быстро не решаются. Прежде всего необходимо было сформулировать платформу переговорного процесса. И в этом плане есть серьезное продвижение вперед. Встречи и переговоры, проходившие в таком (трехстороннем) формате были очень полезными. Появилось более глубокое

понимание проблематики — и в рамках Минской группы ОБСЕ, и в рамках того формата, который реализовывался по инициативе Дмитрия Анатольевича.

— Что вы в этом смысле ожидаете от Владимира Путина?

— Думаю, что диалог, который существует с 1994 года, когда было подписано соглашение о прекращении огня, должен продолжаться. Уверен, что Владимир Владимирович даст новый толчок переговорному процессу. Для этого создана достаточно серьезная база.

— Владимир Путин ассоциируется с Санкт-Петербургом. Вас тоже порой называют питерским (господин Саркисян учился в Ленинградском финансово-экономическом институте им. Н. А. Вознесенского — нынешнем Санкт-Петербургском госуниверситете экономики и финансов). Как вы к этому относитесь?

— Я горжусь тем, что семь лет учился в Петербурге. Это мой второй родной город. У меня там много друзей. Многие из них сегодня серьезно продвинулись. Они занимаются политикой, находятся на серьезных постах. Это говорит о том, что наша питерская экономическая школа была очень сильной.

— Поговорим о менее приятных вещах. Как может повлиять на безопасность Армении и Нагорного Карабаха воплощение в Иране сценария с применением силы?

— Не думаю, что события в Иране будут иметь прямое воздействие на Нагорный Карабах. Скорее всего, эти события повлияют на экономическую и социальную ситуацию в Армении. Иран — один из двух соседей, с которым у нас есть политические, экономические и культурные отношения. С Азербайджаном и Турцией у нас нет никаких отношений. Остаются только Иран и Грузия. Естественно, события, которые происходят в Иране, затрагивают и наши интересы.

Международные санкции в отношении Ирана препятствуют развитию его экономических связей с Арменией. Эти серьезные ограничения, конечно, не в наших интересах. Они ограничивают возможности диверсификации нашей экономики; повышают геополитические риски для Армении; задевают инвестиционную привлекательность.

— А вы готовитесь к тому, чтобы жить в отрыве от внешнего мира, если Иран в случае бомбардировок закроет границы?

— У нас есть четкая национальная доктрина. Это публичный документ, где мы обрисовываем все возможные риски и вызовы. С точки зрения обеспечения национальной безопасности мы должны быть готовыми к разным сценариям.

— То есть такая возможность тоже рассматривается?

— Все рискованные сценарии прописаны.

— Сергей Лавров в Ереване подчеркнул, что для Армении двери в интеграционные проекты на постсоветском пространстве всегда открыты. Готова ли Армения стать полноправным членом ЕврАзЭС, присоединиться к Таможенному союзу или даже войти в единое экономическое пространство? Где вы ставите себе барьер?

— Мы для себя барьеров с точки зрения интеграционных процессов с нашими партнерами и в рамках ЕврАзЭс, и в рамках СНГ не видим. Мы жизненно заинтересованы в том, чтобы эти интеграционные процессы продолжались, углублялись и усиливались. Армения — самый активный член СНГ, и даже прилагает усилия для развития ЕврАзЭс, хотя является (в этой организации.— “Ъ”) только наблюдателем.

Но в мировой практике нет такого примера, чтобы страна не имея границы, становилась членом Таможенного союза. Это было бы бессмысленным. Смысл Таможенного союза заключается в том, что обмен товарами осуществляется без таможенного досмотра. В нашем случае это невозможно, потому что мы должны проходить через территорию соседнего государства и дважды преодолевать растаможку. Это делает бессмысленной всю эту процедуру облегчения для хозяйствующих субъектов процесса растаможки. Взамен мы получили бы только проблемы, связанные с повышением таможенных пошлин и налогов. В экономическом смысле это нецелесообразно.

Наши российские коллеги с пониманием относятся к данной ситуации. Мы ищем формы сотрудничества без Таможенного союза. По-видимому, стоит подумать о какой-то новой платформе или особом статусе для Армении.

— В рамках этой организации или какой-то другой?

— Если каноны Таможенного союза обязательны для его участников, то для стран-партнеров должны быть отдельно зафиксированы особые каноны поведения. Это, видимо, должно быть нечто новое. Надо искать другие формы сотрудничества. Таможенный союз не предоставляет нам таких инструментов, которые были бы выгодными для хозяйствующих субъектов. А тогда он становится бессмысленным.

— На днях было официально объявлено о начале переговоров по созданию зоны свободной торговли между Арменией и Евросоюзом. Как это скажется на участии Армении в создании зоны свободной торговли в рамках СНГ? И какова конечная цель Армении в торгово-экономическом сближении с Евросоюзом. Украина, например, говорит, что для нее зона свободной торговли с ЕС — это шаг на пути к более глубокой интеграции.

— Мы такого не говорим. Для нас очень важным экономическим и политическим вопросом является освоение новых экономических территорий. Наши геополитические условия таковы, что мы должны расширять наше экономическое пространство. Это одно из условий дееспособности нашей экономики. Мы заинтересованы в сотрудничестве в рамках СНГ, но хотим, чтобы и европейский рынок был открытым для нас.

Для того чтобы экономика ЕС открылась для нас, мы должны внедрять определенные стандарты, соответствующие европейским требованиям. Это прежде всего стандарты, связанные с безопасностью в области пищевых продуктов. Речь идет о надзоре и системе контроля в этой области. Мы должны иметь лаборатории, которые были бы в состоянии осуществлять мониторинг этого поля. Европейские потребители должны быть уверены, что продукция из Армении соответствует европейским стандартам безопасности и качества. Это потребует от нас серьезной работы. На то, чтобы эти стандарты были проработаны на нормативном уровне, внедрены и реализованы, уйдет около трех лет. И тогда для нас откроется новый большой рынок.

— Еще один вопрос по взаимодействию Армении с ЕС. Из документов WikiLeaks следует, что программа ЕС «Восточное партнерство», членом которой является и Армения, направлена на ослабление влияния РФ на постсоветском пространстве. Почему Ереван — друг и союзник Москвы — участвует в проекте с антироссийским подтекстом?

— Я не согласен с тем, что программа направлена на ослабление позиций РФ. События последних лет доказывают обратное. Мы сотрудничаем и с НАТО, и с ЕС. Наша (Республиканская.— “Ե”) партия стала членом—наблюдателем Европейской народной партии (крупнейшей политической силы Европарламента.— “Ե”). Эти процессы не направлены против третьей стороны. Точно так же, как наши стратегические партнерские отношения с РФ не направлены против ЕС.

Все наши программы международного сотрудничества открыты для наших партнеров. Армения — маленькая страна. Она не может играть с дипломатией. Обо всех наших программах сотрудничества — будь то с ЕС, НАТО, США, Ираном, Китаем или Грузией — наш стратегический партнер Россия в курсе. Она с пониманием относится к тому, что мы делаем. Если на этот вопрос посмотреть с позиции Еревана, то станет очевидно, что у нас нет большого выбора для развития партнерских отношений — учитывая нашу геополитическую ситуацию и проблемы с соседями. Но мы ничего не скрываем от наших партнеров — и в этом наша сила.

— Последний вопрос тоже связан с Россией. Если Россия и Азербайджан не договорятся об условиях аренды Габалинской РЛС, есть ли шанс, что Армения даст добро на строительство подобной станции на своей территории?

— Почему нет?

— То есть все обсуждаемо?

— Конечно. Если наша территория представляет собой такой интерес, то мы готовы обсуждать этот вопрос.

— А что касается охвата...

— Думаю, что здесь даже могут быть преимущества, так как Армения — горная страна. Охват может быть шире.

2013

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 3 September 2013.

Source: <https://www.president.am/ru/press-release/item/2013/09/03/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-working-visit-to-Russian-Federation/>

Сегодня в Москве после окончания встречи Президента Сержа Саргсяна и Президента РФ Владимира Путина лидеры двух стран подписали совместные заявления, после чего подвели итоги переговоров на совместной пресс-конференции.

Речь Президента РА Сержа Саргсяна во время пресс-конференции по итогам переговоров с Президентом РФ Владимиром Путиным

Многоуважаемый Владимир Владимирович!

Уважаемые представители средств массовой информации!

Хочу начать со слов благодарности в адрес Владимира Владимировича Путина за открытую, доверительную атмосферу только что завершившихся переговоров и те договоренности, которые направлены на дальнейшее развитие армяно-российских отношений.

Как только что было сказано, мы с Президентом Российской Федерации, в присутствии для наших отношений конструктивном ключе, обсудили основные вопросы союзнического взаимодействия наших стран в политической, торгово-экономической, энергетической, военно-технической, гуманитарной и других сферах.

Говорили, естественно, о региональных делах и нагорно-карабахском урегулировании, в связи с чем мною еще раз была подтверждена готовность Армении к разрешению конфликта исключительно мирными средствами на основе составляющих единое целое принципов равноправия и права народов на самоопределение, неприменения силы или угрозы применения силы и территориальной целостности государств. Мною также была подтверждена готовность продолжить поиск путей выхода из кризиса на основе принципов и элементов урегулирования, отраженных в совместных заявлениях Президентов России, США и Франции.

Одной из основных тем наших сегодняшних переговоров была необходимость обеспечения инфраструктурных преобразований в Армении, модернизация и диверсификация нашей экономики, в которой Россия представлена большим количеством предприятий.

Подробно остановились на перспективных направлениях сотрудничества, которые расширяют горизонты нашего взаимодействия. Это и военно-техническое сотрудничество, это топливно-энергетический комплекс, включая вопросы взаимодействия в сфере ядерной энергетики, вопросы транспорта и коммуникаций.

Мы провели также обстоятельный обмен мнениями по вопросам Евразийской интеграции, и я подтвердил желание Армении вступить в Таможенный союз и включиться в процесс формирования Евразийского экономического союза.

20 лет назад Армения выстроила систему своей военной безопасности в формате Договора о коллективной безопасности в партнерстве с Россией и рядом других государств СНГ. За эти десятилетия система доказала свою жизнеспособность и эффективность. Сейчас наши партнеры по ОДКБ формируют новую платформу экономического взаимодействия. Я не раз говорил, что находясь в одной системе военной безопасности, невозможно и неэффективно изолироваться от соответствующего геоэкономического пространства.

Это рациональное решение, это решение исходит из национальных интересов Армении. Это решение не отказ от нашего диалога с европейскими структурами. За эти же годы Армения, при поддержке европейских партнеров провела ряд серьезных институциональных реформ. И Армения сегодняшняя, в этом смысле, гораздо более продуктивное и конкурентноспособное государство, чем годы назад. Мы намерены и в будущем продолжить эти реформы.

Дамы и господа!

Итоги наших переговоров отражены в совместных заявлениях, которые мы только что подписали с Владимиром Владимировичем. Уверен, что реализация всех наших договоренностей придаст новый импульс нашему стратегическому союзническому партнерству.

Спасибо, Владимир Владимирович, за теплый прием и за наши договоренности.

Hrant Bagratyan

Published on 30 July 2013 by *Armenianreport*.

24 июля Европейский Союз и Армения удачно завершили переговоры вокруг соглашения о зоне углубленной и всеобъемлющей свободной торговли, что составляет неотделимую часть Соглашения об ассоциировании. К чему может привести углубление отношений Армения-ЕС, и, в конце концов, что должна выбрать Армения: Европейский союз или только формируемый Евразийский союз. Об этом и других вопросах, связанных с этой темой, Tert.am побеседовал с депутатом от фракции «Армянский национальный конгресс», экс-премьером Армении Грантом Багратяном.

- Господин Багратян, не считаете ли Вы, что подведением итогов завершающего этапа переговоров вокруг создания зоны углубленной и всеобъемлющей свободной торговли Армения становится на шаг ближе к ЕС?

- Нет, ничего такого нет. Разговоров о ЕС пока не было, а договор о свободной торговле ЕС стремится подписать со всеми странами мира, которые имеют более или менее приемлемые экономические порядки.

- Как вы относитесь к тому, что документ о Соглашении об ассоциировании с ЕС не публикуется и общество, кажется, не имеет общего представления о том, что он из себя представляет.

- Я против этого. Я участвовал в переговорах в рамках Евранест, некоторые вещи мне известны, я против этого и считаю, что подобные документы должны ставить на референдум.

Европейский союз или только формируемый Евразийский союз? К какой структуре должна примкнуть Армения?

- На президентских выборах я единственный выступил, на мой взгляд, не только с экономическим, но и внешнеполитическим концептом. Сущность концепта была такова: подобные коренные вопросы ставьте на референдум и не решайте по мнению одного человека. Я могу представить свое личное мнение. На данный момент я бы посчитал предательством заявления тех лиц, которые говорят «порвем отношения с Россией или выйдем из ОДКБ».

- Мы должны помнить, что произошло в 1918 г. В итоге Ленин выдал оружие Ататюрку, а тот занял почти всю Армению. Можно с оговорками отнестись к военно-стратегической норме, подписанной с ОДКБ или Россией, но нарушать ее в одностороннем порядке, создать вражду нельзя. С другой стороны, по части Евразийского союза я не вижу нормальных условий. Этот союз не существует. Мы не знаем, хорошо это или плохо. На данный момент мы не должны громогласно заявлять, Европейский союз или Евразийский.

- Мы являемся свободным и суверенным государством и имеем право подписать с европейскими странами соглашение о создании зоны углубленной и всеобъемлющей свободной торговли, что ныне не мешает отношениям с Россией.

- На данный момент Вы склонны к варианту «и...и»?

- Варианта «и...и» не будет, однажды все углубится и они начнут друг другу противоречить, это мы также должны понимать. На данный момент мы не должны до решения «и...и» или «или...или». Во всяком случае, те нормы, которые я прочел в конце мая в Брюсселе, ныне ничему не мешают.

2014

Vahram Avanesyan

Published on 23 January 2014 by *Panarmenian*.

Source: <http://www.panarmenian.net/rus/news/175170/>

Правительство Армении на заседании в четверг утвердило график мероприятий по присоединению страны к Таможенному союзу и Единому экономическому пространству.

"Решением правительства утверждается график мероприятий, включающий 20 разделов, 262 мероприятия. Из них 150 должны быть осуществлены до вступления Армении в ТС", - заявил министр экономики Ваграм Аванесян.

В свою очередь премьер-министр Армении Тигран Саркисян призвал ведомства уделить особое внимание переводу документации.

"Важно, чтобы все переводы текстов были максимально корректными. Термины, зафиксированные в этих документах, мы примем за основу для дальнейшей работы", - отметил Т.Саркисян, сообщает Интерфакс.

В ходе правительственного совещания по вопросам членства в ТС 14 января премьер-министр Армении Тигран Саркисян потребовал строго придерживаться графика мероприятий по вступлению республики в Таможенный союз. Руководители рабочих групп, созданных по различным направлениям членства в Союзе, доложили в ходе совещания о проведенной работе и о дальнейших шагах, предусмотренных "дорожной картой" присоединения к ТС. Саркисян поручил руководителям министерств и ведомств продолжить работу, исключая какие-либо отклонения от установленного графика.

"Дорожная карта", утвержденная президентами Белоруссии, Казахстана, России и Армении на саммите в Москве 24 декабря, "предусматривает, что уже в мае у нас будет договор о присоединении Армении к ТС с приложениями, - сказал ранее Тигран Саркисян. - Это задача, которая поставлена перед 22 рабочими группами, состоящими из лучших специалистов и экспертов нашей страны", - отметил Саркисян. Глава кабинета министров при этом особо подчеркнул, что "партнеры по ТС высоко оценили работу нашей команды экспертов".

24 декабря 2013 года в Москве по итогам заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического совета на уровне глав государств были подписаны Решение и заявления о плане мероприятий ("дорожной карте") по присоединению Армении к Таможенному союзу и Единому экономическому пространству России, Белоруссии и Казахстана.

3 сентября 2013 года на встрече с президентом России Владимиром Путиным президент Армении Серж Саргсян подтвердил желание Армении вступить в Таможенный союз и включиться в процесс формирования Евразийского экономического союза. Это решение Армении вызвало критику со стороны европейских структур и экспертных кругов, которые заявили, что Армения практически прервала переговоры с Европой, что сделало невозможным парафирование Соглашения об Ассоциации с ЕС.

В рамках государственного визита в Армению президента России Владимира Путина армянская и российская стороны подписали 12 соглашений. Среди прочего, были подписаны соглашение о формировании цены на поставки российского газа Армении, о передаче оставшихся 20% уставного капитала ЗАО «АрмРосгазпром» российскому ОАО «Газпром», также было подписано соглашение о предоставлении российской стороной компенсации ЗАО «АрмРосгазпром», о сотрудничестве в сфере ядерной безопасности, контракт между ОАО "Газпром экспорт" и "АрмРосгазпромом" о поставках Армении в 2014-2018 годах до 2,5 миллиарда кубометров газа в год. Как заявил позже президент России Владимир Путин, цена за российский газ для Армении составит \$189 за тысячу кубометров вместо нынешних порядка \$270, также Россия применит ряд льгот для Армении до ее вступления в Таможенный союз. В частности, российская сторона отменит для Армении экспортную пошлину в размере 30% на нефть и нефтепродукты.

Таможенный или Евразийский союз?

В рамках цикла передач «Лицом к лицу» онлайн-газеты «Аравот» тему обсуждают экономисты Ваагн Хачатрян и Ашот Егиазарян

Арам Абрамян: – Если отложить в сторону политику, что означает Евразийский экономический союз, что означает Таможенный союз, и чем они отличаются друг от друга?

Ваагн Хачатрян: – Существуют разные уровни: свободная торговля, таможенный союз, экономический союз, валютный союз, и в конце уже бывает, когда страны просто объединяют свою общую экономическую политику. Второй уровень – таможенный, третий – Евразийский экономический союз. В рамках Таможенного союза мы просто договариваемся защищать границы высокими или более низкими таможенными пошлинами, а обычно высокими таможенными пошлинами; стимулировать в странах-членах таможенного союза нашу местную продукцию, чтобы выдерживать конкуренцию с импортируемыми товарами. Во время Евразийского экономического союза будет действовать уже не таможенная граница, а были опубликованы 4 важных фактора: свободное перемещение рабочей силы, свободное перемещение капитала, торговли и услуг, то есть, наши граждане, которые будут работать в Евразийском экономическом союзе, больше не будут иметь проблем – трудовые нормы, которые действуют в Армении, должны действовать и в России, Казахстане, Беларуси. Уже начинается сведение к общим правилам налогового законодательства.

Например, мы имеем определенные преимущества перед нашими будущими странами-партнерами, потому что наше налоговое поле мягче, чем российское и белорусское.

А.А.: – Но хозяйствующие субъекты не чувствуют, что оно мягче.

В.Х.: – Понятно, потому что наши хозяйствующие субъекты не понимают, какую экономическую политику мы проводим. Но в сравнении мы пытаемся понять наши преимущества, есть ли у нас такие преимущества, во многих случаях государственные чиновники даже и не скрывали, что вступив в Таможенный или Евразийский экономический союз, Армения будет иметь возможность, пользуясь этими своими преимуществами в налоговой и экономической сфере, обеспечить соотношение инвестиций сюда – это тоже из разряда сказок: на самом проблема Армении кроется не в экономической сфере.

А.А.: – Есть такая возможность, чтобы мы не вступали в Таможенный союз, но вошли в Евразийский союз?

Ашот Егиазарян: – Нет, это не совсем так, хотя вроде и складывается такое впечатление. Это разные уровни предполагаемого экономического проекта, обусловленные тем обстоятельством, что Россия также пытается заложить в его основу европейский опыт, который, согласно балансу, предполагал в том числе и пять уровней интеграции. Евразийский экономический союз считается более высоким уровнем, чем Таможенный союз. Но членство в Евразийском экономическом союзе уже означает, что ты принял также и правила таможенной игры, то есть, если на уровне ниже правила таможенной игры регулируют общую таможенную политику в рамках этого интегрированного пространства, то Евразийский экономический союз предполагает теперь согласование других политик в экономической сфере, кроме таможенной.

А.А.: – Об этом говорилось много и в этой студии, что предыдущее правительство вело переговоры, – тогда речь шла еще о Таможенном союзе, – о 800 ассортиментах товара, таможенные пошлины на которые здесь ниже, чем там.

Речь идет об исключениях для некоторых товаров. Что случилось с этими переговорами?

А.Е.: – Я, естественно, о переговорах не информирован, но я не думаю, что исключения, так сказать, будут иметь большие масштабы, в то же время, я пока не думаю, что этот процесс можно решить хотя бы в течение ближайших нескольких месяцев, и в техническом аспекте, и под влиянием многих других факторов, то есть, я не склонен к тому, что это произойдет очень быстро, именно в течение этого месяца. Надо иметь в виду, что даже тройка – Казахстан, Беларусь, Россия, имеют в своих рамках исключения, то есть, не совсем так, что они согласовывают таможенные ставки для всех групп товаров, есть и исключения, в том числе и относительно топливно-энергетического сектора, что, естественно, не исходит из интересов России. Но когда мы говорим об этом интеграционном проекте – Евразийском и Таможенном, то сегодня скорее всего речь может идти только о Таможенном, потому что реально существует только Таможенный союз.

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 19 June 2014 by *Regnum News*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1815787.html>

Решение о вступлении в Таможенный союз принято с целью развития Армении – Саргсян

Решение о вступлении Армении в Таможенный союз не является выбором между Европой и Евразией, это решение принято с целью развития Армении. Так прокомментировал президент Армении Серж Саргсян грузинским журналистам решение правительства Армении о присоединении страны к Таможенному союзу. Комментарий был сделан в Тбилиси в ходе визита делегации Армении в Грузию.

"Вступление в Таможенный союз не означает, что Армения сделала выбор между Европейским союзом и Таможенным союзом. Это решение принято, исходя из нужд экономики и военной безопасности Армении. Это не является выбором между двумя цивилизациями. Решение принято с целью развития Армении", - заявил Серж Саргсян.

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 24 August 2014 by *Regnum News*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1839665.html>

Серж Саргсян: Не все страны Таможенного союза рады присоединению Армении

Утверждения о том, что Армению заставляют в быстрых темпах и сломя голову войти в Таможенный союз России, Белоруссии и Казахстана (ТС) не соответствуют действительности, и не все страны ТС рады присоединению республики. Об этом заявил президент Армении Серж Саргсян на встрече с начинающими журналистами в городе Цахкадзор.

«Таможенный союз — не одна страна, и я, в некотором смысле, согласен с мнениями о том, что не все государства-члены рады присоединению Армении. Мы — маленькая страна с проблемами и, естественно, вступление в любое объединение создает некоторые проблемы также для стран-членов этого союза. Но, с другой стороны, не то, чтобы страны Таможенного союза не желали нашего присоединения. Если бы они не хотели этого, они просто наложили бы вето на этот вопрос, и никакого продолжения не было бы. Правильная оценка такова: утверждения о том, что Армению заставляют в быстрых темпах и сломя голову войти в Таможенный союз не соответствуют действительности. Я говорю это со всей искренностью, и эти темпы, по поводу которых некоторые нас обвиняют в поспешности, обусловлены нашим решением, а не желаниями или утверждениями

других», — заявил Саргсян, сообщили ИА REGNUM в пресс-службе главы армянского государства.

По оценке президента, процесс вступления Армении в ТС идет «нормальным ходом», и это важный период для развития страны. После вступления в ТС, по его словам, многое изменится в Армении, и естественно, что в обществе должны существовать разные мнения касательно данной перспективы.

«Я думаю, это нормально. У меня нет никаких проблем ни с людьми, которые жестко критикуют эту идею, ни с теми, кто яростно защищают ее. Время покажет, кто был прав», — подчеркнул армянский лидер. При этом президент отказался говорить о том, какие именно перемены нужно ожидать, поскольку переговорный процесс по членству в Таможенный союз пока не завершен.

Как ранее сообщало ИА REGNUM, президент Армении Серж Саргсян попросил установить срок для подписания Договора о присоединении страны к Договору о Евразийском экономическом союзе до 15 июня текущего года. В свою очередь, президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета 29 мая предложил Армении присоединиться к ЕАЭС в рамках границ, признанных Организацией Объединенных Наций. «Чтобы там одного еще нашего товарища не раздражать в Азербайджане, вы так вступали в ВТО, нужно и в Евразийский союз вступить в рамках зафиксированных в ООН границ», — заявил лидер Казахстана, отметив, что вопрос еще будет обсуждаться. Комментируя слова Назарбаева, ряд армянских должностных лиц, в том числе представители власти, заявили, что Армения и Карабах находятся на одной таможенной и экономической территории. С другой стороны, президент Серж Саргсян подчеркнул, что Армения не вступает в ТС вместе с Карабахом: «А кто сказал, что мы вступим в Таможенный союз вместе с Карабахом? Такого не было и не может быть, поскольку Карабах, хотя бы нашим законодательством, хотя бы в соответствии с нашими представлениями, не является сегодня частью Армении». Глава МИД России Сергей Лавров заявил, что нагорно-карабахский конфликт не будет препятствовать вступлению Армении в Таможенный союз.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 29 March 2014 by *Yerkramas.org*.

Source: <http://yerkramas.org/article/71912/tigran-sarkisyan-ot-vstupleniya-v-tamozhennyj-soyuz-uroven-zhizni-v-armenii-dolzhen-vyrasti>

Context : Statement by Tigran Sargsyan at the Second International Economic Forum of the ruling Republican Party of Armenia in Yerevan.

От вступления в Таможенный союз уровень жизни в Армении должен вырасти. Об этом заявил премьер-министр Армении Тигран Саркисян на Втором международном экономическом форуме правящей Республиканской партии Армении в Ереване 29 марта.

«Нужно признать, что в Таможенном союзе ВВП на душу населения в три раза превышает тот же показатель в Армении. А интеграционные процессы способствуют распространению благосостояния. Об этом свидетельствует международный опыт», - заявил премьер.

Кроме того, вступление в Таможенный союз и свободное перемещение рабочей силы на его пространстве может заметно снизить риски эмиграции: в людях появится уверенность, что надолго уезжая в другую страну, не нужно будет менять гражданство.

Hovik Abrahamyan

Published on 22 August 2014 by *NovostiNK*.

Source: <http://novostink.ru/armenia/80786-ovik-abramyan-vstuplenie-armenii-v-evraziyskiy-soyuz-nikak-ne-otrazitsya-na-ekonomicheskikh-otnosheniyah-s-gruziey.html>

Вступление Армении в Евразийский экономический союз никак не отразится на существующих с Грузией экономических отношениях. Об этом заявил премьер-министр Армении Овик Абрамян в ходе встречи с грузинским коллегой Ираклием Гарибашвили, прибывшим накануне в Ереван с официальным визитом.

Как сообщает пресс-служба правительства Армении, Абрамян, коснувшись интеграционных процессов, напомнил, что Армения предпринимает шаги в направлении вступления в Евразийский экономический союз. Премьер-министр одновременно отметил, что Армения продолжит активное сотрудничество с ЕС с целью придания новой силы процессу реформ в различных сферах. Овик Абрамян подчеркнул, что вступление в Евразийский экономический союз никак не отразится на существующих с Грузией экономических отношениях. По его словам, Армения и Грузия могут извлечь пользу из членства в разных интеграционных объединениях.

В свою очередь, Ираклий Гарибашвили выразил уверенность, что членство двух стран в разных интеграционных объединениях не станет каким-либо препятствием для армяно-грузинского экономического, политического и культурного сотрудничества. Премьер-министр Грузии отметил, что возможность членства в разных объединениях Армения и Грузия должны суметь использовать в интересах двух стран. По убеждению Ираклия Гарибашвили, это станет хорошим примером для международного сообщества.

Абрамян отметил, что отношения с Грузией имеют для Армении особое значение. «Дружба двух наших стран прошла испытание временем, и сегодня она является устойчивым фундаментом для укрепления и развития наших отношений в духе сотрудничества и взаимного доверия. Дальнейшее развитие отношений с Грузией является одним из основных приоритетов нашей политической повестки дня, и Правительство Армении приложит все усилия, чтобы наши двусторонние отношения еще больше укрепились», - отметил Овик Абрамян.

Ираклий Гарибашвили поблагодарил за приглашение и подчеркнул, что Грузия также заинтересована в углублении и расширении связей с Арменией. Премьер-министр Грузии отметил, что в первом полугодии текущего года торговый оборот между двумя странами по сравнению с тем же периодом прошлого года вырос на 42 процента. «Мы уверены, что существует большой потенциал для развития двусторонних экономических связей», - сказал Ираклий Гарибашвили.

Главы двух правительств договорились в ближайшее время организовать в Тбилиси армяно-грузинский бизнес-форум, который будет способствовать углублению и расширению сотрудничества между бизнесменами двух стран. Стороны договорились также придать новый размах работе армяно-грузинской межправительственной комиссии, последнее заседание которой состоялось в 2011 году.

Собеседники выразили удовлетворение уровнем сотрудничества соответствующих ведомств двух стран в сферах транспортного сообщения и энергетики. Коснувшись ликвидации последствий оползня на территории пропускного пункта Верхний Ларс, Премьер-министр выразил надежду, что в сжатый срок он будет задействован. Глава правительства Грузии заверил, что в течение ближайших 2-3 дней

последствия оползня, а также аварии на идущем в Армению газопроводе будут устранены, и все начнет действовать в нормальном режиме. Премьер-министры двух стран договорились также успешно продолжить работы по строительству и модернизации пунктов пропуска Баграташен, Бавра и Гогаван, а также строительству нового моста на пункте пропуска Баграташен-Садахло. Коснувшись армяно-грузинского сотрудничества в области энергетики, руководители данных сфер двух стран проинформировали, что достигнута договоренность построить линию электропередачи Армения-Грузия мощностью не 400, а 500 мегаватт, что создаст хорошие возможности для транзитных поставок и экспорта электроэнергии. В частности, после завершения первого этапа строительства линии электропередачи мощность передаваемой из Армении в Грузию электроэнергии вместо нынешних 200 мегаватт достигнет 300 мегаватт. Правительство Армении ведет переговоры с немецким банком KfW для завершения работ второго этапа в 2018 году, в результате чего мощность передаваемой электроэнергии достигнет 700 мегаватт. Собеседники обсудили также вопросы, касающиеся организации регулярных авиарейсов Ереван-Тбилиси и Ереван-Батуми, а также двустороннего сотрудничества в сфере культуры.

В конце встречи Ираклий Гарибашвили пригласил Овика Абрамяна в Грузию.

Robert Kocharyan

Published on 24 February 2014 by *Azatutyun*.

Source: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/25275069.html>

Второй президент Армении Роберт Кочарян прокомментировал порталу 2rd.am решение Армении вступить в Таможенный союз России, Беларуси и Казахстана. Ниже приводим полный текст комментария:

«Тема чрезвычайно важная, но для понимания ее сути необходимо провести сравнительный анализ подходов в таможенной политике, реализованной в России и Армении после развала СССР.

Начну с России.

Россия унаследовала от СССР мощный промышленный потенциал, охватывающий практически все отрасли экономики, с сильным акцентом на военно-промышленный комплекс. Но этот потенциал не был интегрирован в мировую экономику и своей подавляющей частью был замкнут на внутренний рынок и страны соцлагеря. Основную статью экспорта (65%) СССР составлял экспорт нефти и газа. Чтобы защитить свою промышленность от более конкурентного импорта, Россия применяла высокие таможенные пошлины, а объемы внутреннего рынка позволяли ее промышленности функционировать. Применением экспортных пошлин на энергоносители и квот на их экспорт правительство сохраняло низкие внутренние цены на них, что поддерживало относительную конкурентоспособность российской экономики. Это, кстати, позволило избежать того коллапса, который произошел с экономикой Армении в начале 90-х. Сейчас, вступив в ВТО, Россия поэтапно пересматривает правила внешней торговли для полноценной интеграции в мировую экономику. Это создаст определенные трудности в краткосрочной перспективе, но в долгосрочном плане страна, несомненно, выиграет.

Что произошло с Арменией?

Мы унаследовали серьезный промышленный потенциал, ориентированный на

рынок СССР, которого уже не было. Объем внутреннего рынка для этой промышленности был ничтожным а по многим позициям просто нулевым. Отсутствие общей границы и железнодорожного сообщения с Россией сводило на нет усилия по восстановлению прежней кооперации. Плачевное состояние ряда отраслей российской экономики в середине 90-х также не прибавляло оптимизма. С развалом СССР значительная часть промышленности Армении в одночасье стала экспортной при потере традиционного рынка сбыта и партнеров по технологической кооперации. По сути, кроме сельского хозяйства и переработки, защита многих отраслей промышленности таможенными пошлинами была бессмысленной. Протекционизм мог бы быть выражен применением совершенно других инструментов, но никак не таможенными барьерами. Прибавьте к этому блокаду Армении, приводящую к удорожанию транспортных расходов почти по всем товарам. Поэтому правительство РА в середине 90-х пошло на либерализацию внешней торговли, и Армения вступила в ВТО в 2003 году для ускорения процесса полноценной интеграции в мировую экономику.

Таким образом, Россия и Армения, в силу объективных обстоятельств, длительное время реализовывали разные подходы в таможенной политике, продиктованные реалиями собственных экономик, и эти подходы легли в основу таможенных кодексов наших стран. А поскольку в основе подходов ТС лежит таможенный кодекс РФ, возникает вопрос: а какую задачу для своей экономики решает Армения, повышая таможенные сборы до уровня российских, и удастся ли ей безболезненно реверсировать свои подходы?

Я не разделяю оптимизма наших должностных лиц по этому поводу, поскольку экономика инерционна и резкие развороты ей противопоказаны. Люди годами выстраивают бизнес в логике действующих правил, и нужно время для его перенастройки. Очевидно, что какие-то бизнесы улучшат свои позиции, какие-то пострадают, какие-то просто умрут. Нужен глубокий и открытый для бизнеса анализ рынков стран ТС по всем товарным группам для прогнозирования возможных последствий. Бизнесмены и фермеры должны знать, в каких отраслях их ждут проблемы, в каких, напротив, они могут наращивать свои возможности. Это также поможет банкам и кредитным организациям эффективнее и с меньшим риском управлять финансовыми ресурсами.

К тому же, вероятнее всего, ЕС пересмотрит систему преференций (GSP+) в торговле с Арменией, на что уже намекают послы стран ЕС. Возникнут вопросы и в рамках ВТО при изменении уже оговоренных таможенных пошлин, чего вряд ли удастся избежать. Это приведет к ответным мерам по отношению к нашим товарам. Как это повлияет на экономику Армении и ее долгосрочную инвестиционную привлекательность – оценить сложно.

Другая, уже озвученная проблема - подорожание цен на импорт из стран вне периметра ТС. С учетом доминирования таких товаров на потребительском рынке и уровня дефицита торгового баланса Армении, речь идет о весьма существенном объеме. Формула тут простая: поднимаешь таможенные сборы - растет цена товара на прилавках. Либо происходит замещение этих товаров аналогичными из стран членов ТС, если таковые там производятся. То есть, к примеру, мясомолочные продукты из Беларуси могут стать дешевле в Армении, а наше вино и коньяк – в Беларуси. Как справится с такой конкуренцией наше животноводство – покажет время. Значительная часть бытовой техники, электроники и автомобилей из других стран подорожают, если не будет соответствующих изъятий. Здесь все поддается расчету и прогнозу, и обществу эти расчеты должны быть доступны. Удержат ли существенный рост цен можно будет, лишь вводя очень

внушительный список изъятий, при синхронизации его с поэтапным снижением таможенных пошлин в рамках обязательств РФ перед ВТО. А это зависит от исходов рабочих переговоров со всеми странами ТС, которые будут выставлять встречные требования. Это трудоемкий процесс согласования интересов, и любая поспешность может привести к нежелательным последствиям.

Я сознательно не останавливаюсь на том, с какими репутационными потерями для Армении началось присоединение к ТС, озадачившее наших европейских партнеров. Этого уже не исправишь. Не стоило идти на подписание ассоциативного соглашения с ЕС в компании стран ГУАМ, да еще и с навязчивым PR-ом. Это придало процессу излишнюю геополитическую окраску. Реакция России была вполне предсказуемой.

Так или иначе – имеем то, что имеем. Хотелось бы, чтобы само вхождение в ТС прошло спокойно, с минимумом геополитики и с максимальным учетом долгосрочных интересов экономики страны. Любые просчеты негативно скажутся на всех жителях Армении.

P.S. Для тех, кто не может не высказываться по всякому поводу, предлагаю прочитать внимательнее, чтобы не получилось как всегда».

Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Published on 24 October 2014.

Source: <http://ru.1in.am/1066838.html>

Первый президент Армении, лидер Армянского национального конгресса Левон Тер-Петросян объявил, что честь главного выступления на сегодняшнем митинге предоставлена Гагику Царукяну, поэтому он ограничится только несколькими ремарками.

«Многолюдность первых двух митингов нового общенародного движения показывает, что в Армении стартовал мощный процесс по смене власти, имеющий серьезные перспективы», – сказал он и в качестве примера привел определенные политические силы, которые боролись за Независимость в 1991г, которые, по его словам, вроде как боролись за восстановление Независимости Армении, однако в 91-ом, после достижения Независимости, в течение мгновения сменили свою веру и выступили против Независимости, поскольку она достигалась не через них, а через других».

«На митинге 10-го октября я не говорил о факте подписания по вступлению в Евразийский экономический союз, поскольку оно произошло за несколько часов до начала митинга, а привычки такой у меня нет, чтобы впопыхах и сходу давать оценки», – сказал лидер АНК.

«Я отмечал, что членство Армении в ЕАЭС бесповоротно, это уже свершившийся факт или реальность. А это означает, что в обозримом будущем жизнь и жизнедеятельность нашей страны будет в рамках этой системы. Следовательно, в связи с такой реальностью любое дергание – бессмысленно, запоздало и вредно. Даже Запад с пониманием подходит к выбору Армении», – заявил Тер-Петросян и добавил, что в Армении «некоторые бездумно разжигают антироссийские настроения».

Левон Тер-Петросян затронул также украинский кризис. «Украина, с многочисленным населением, богатая природными ресурсами, однажды

поднимется после случившегося и займет свое место рядом с сильными государствами. Неужели так трудно понять, что в подобной ситуации наша страна просто исчезнет с карты мира?... Даже Запад с пониманием подходит к решению Армении, тогда как у нас группа людей пытается доказать обратное и подталкивать к антироссийскому движению, не понимая, что в Армении нет основы для этого. Если бы она была, то с сентября прошлого года пусть сделали бы что-нибудь».

Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Published on 21 July 2014 by *Azatutyun*.

Source: <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/25465179.html>

Лидер оппозиционной партии «Армянский национальный конгресс» (АНК), первый президент Армении Левон Тер-Петросян в интервью электронному изданию iLug.am высказал мнение, что причиной затягивания сроков вступления Армении в Евразийский экономический союз (ЕЭС) в данный момент являются не Россия, Казахстан и Беларусь, а Армения, которая пока не нашла ключа к решению вопроса об установлении пограничных таможенных пунктов на армяно-карабахской границе.

Лидер АНК убежден, что причиной перенесения сроков вступления Армении в этот инициированный Кремлем экономический союз являются «не технические проблемы, которые, по словам армянской стороны, давно решены, и не экономические соображения, поскольку незначительные объемы торгово-экономических отношений Армении и Карабаха (около 20-30 млн долларов) не смогут оказать ни положительного, ни отрицательного влияния на огромный рынок Евразийского союза». А следовательно, по мнению Левона Тер-Петросяна, ответ на этот вопрос необходимо искать в политической плоскости.

«Очевидно, что члены-учредители Евразийского союза поставили перед Арменией четкое условие – установить таможенные пункты по всему периметру армяно-карабахской границы, - считает оппозиционный лидер, при этом подчеркивая: - В связи с этим власти Армении стоят перед дилеммой выполнять или не выполнять это требование: они вынуждены взвесить серьезные последствия того или иного решения, а для того, чтобы их предугадать не требуется богатого воображения».

По словам Тер-Петросяна, в частности, в случае невыполнения этого условия, «уже подпортившая свои отношения с Западом Армения окажется в полном политическом и экономическом вакууме, а в случае выполнения – в Карабахе появится чувство брошенности, а также панические настроения, что чревато возникновением серьезного напряжения в отношениях между Арменией и Карабахом».

Усилившаяся в последнее время агрессия Азербайджана, по мнению Левона Тер-Петросяна, «в определенной степени связана, с одной стороны, с недоверием Запада к Армении после ее отказа от процесса ассоциации, а с другой стороны, с пока нечетким статусом Армении в рамках Евразийского союза».

Охарактеризовав противодействие армянской стороны военным посягательствам Азербайджана в приграничных районах как «довольно сдержанное и несоразмерное», первый президент отметил: «На мой взгляд, армянская сторона опасается давать адекватный ответ, учитывая, что в результате ситуация может выйти из-под контроля и перестрелки на границе могут привести если не к началу войны, то к боее опасному обострению ситуации. С другой стороны, в результате сдержанности армянской стороны Азербайджан еще более наглеет, стремясь обеспечить максимальную эскалацию на границе».

На эти заявления отреагировало Министерство обороны Армении, назвав оценку первого президента о несоразмерности противодействия армянской стороны

категорически неприемлемой. «Даже при элементарном мониторинге официальной информационной ленты можно увидеть реальную картину потерь конфликтующих сторон», - сказано в заявлении пресс-секретаря Минобороны Арцруна Ованнисяна.

В интервью iLur.am первый президент обратился и к внутривластной ситуации, заявив, что вместо того, чтобы как можно скорее заняться преодолением вызовов, «режим Саргсяна сегодня сконцентрирован исключительно на одной задаче – несвоевременной программе изменения действующей Конституции Армении, причем даже ценой окончательного уничтожения авторитета председателя Конституционного суда.

«Образно выражаясь, вместо того, чтобы тушить пожар в Армении и Карабахе, режим занят разложением основ Армянской государственности, это – вражеский акт, который Азербайджану не мог даже в голову прийти», - сказал Тер-Петросян, выразив убежденность в том, что все требующие неукоснительного решения проблемы Армении и Карабаха «подчинены единственной цели – увековечиванию авторитарного режима Саргсяна» посредством конституционных реформ.

Подчеркнув, что это делается таким циничным и грубым способом, что истинные мотивы Саргсяна уже ни у кого не оставляют сомнений, первый президент обратил внимание на то, что все серьезные политические силы выступили против этой злосчастной инициативы, «однако Серж Саргсян считает основным препятствием в достижении этой цели позицию партии «Прцветающая Армения», и если до сих пор он пытался преодолеть это препятствие посредством «пряника», то есть, проводя политику угождения и давая ей какие-то обещания, то теперь, согласно имеющейся у нас информации, задействовав всю правоохранительную машину, он намерен применить в отношении «Прцветающей Армении» кнут, то есть применить язык угроз и шантажа, чего не должны терпеть другие оппозиционные силы и все общество».

«Я уверен, что они более не позволят тирану, пришедшему к власти ценой крови десяти человек, вновь говорить со своими политическими оппонентами с позиций грубой силы», - заявил Тер-Петросян.

Подытоживая сказанное, первый президент отметил: «Если Серж Саргсян продолжит настаивать на попытке увековечивания собственной власти посредством конституционных реформ, то осенью под давлением серьезных политических процессов станет могильщиком собственной бандократической системы».

«Любой тиран, каким бы могущественным он ни был, с течением времени теряет бдительность и, в конце концов, совершает роковую ошибку. В случае Сержа этой роковой ошибкой однозначно станет провальная инициатива конституционных реформ», - резюмировал Левон Тер-Петросян.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Published on 21 July 2014.

Source: <http://www.1news.az/world/armenia/20140721044359088.html>

Бывший президент Армении Левон Тер-Петросян указал на главную причину, по которой Армения не может войти в Евразийский союз.

«Я думаю, что причиной переноса сроков соглашения о вступлении в Евразийский союз вовсе не являются технические проблемы, которые, по словам армянской стороны, давно решены», - уверен Левон Тер-Петросян, передают армянские СМИ.

По его словам, очевидно, что члены-основатели Евразийского союза поставили перед Арменией четкое условие – установить ТПП на границе с Нагорным Карабахом.

«Ну, а власти Армении стоят перед дилеммой - выполнять или нет это требование, они вынуждены оценить серьезные последствия того или иного решения, а для того чтобы их предугадать, не требуется богатого воображения. Если требование не будет выполнено, то уже подпортившая свои отношения с Западом Армения окажется в вакууме, в случае выполнения этого требования – в Нагорном Карабахе будут ощущать себя брошенными, повысятся панические настроения, что чревато серьезным напряжением в отношениях между Арменией и Нагорным Карабахом (сепаратистский режим - Ред.).

Иными словами, затягивают вступление в Евразийский союз не Россия, Казахстан и Беларусь, а Армения, которая пока не нашла ключ к решению вопроса об установлении ТПП».

Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Published on 12 May 2014 by *Armenianreport*.

Source: <http://armenianreport.com/pubs/83347>

Все реформы правящей власти призваны разрушить страну.

Об этом в ходе проходящего 10 мая съезда «Молодежного конгресса» партии «Армянский национальный конгресс» (АНК) в беседе с корреспондентом радиостанции «Свобода» заявил первый президент Армении, лидер АНК Левон Тер-Петросян, затрагивая нашумевшую тему конституционных реформ.

«Я не верю никаким реформам, инициированным правящим режимом. Чем больше они принимают реформ, тем больше рушится страна», - добавил политик. Говоря об инициативе присоединения Армении к Таможенному союзу, Тер-Петросян заметил: «Власть готовилась к евроассоциации. А сейчас, опозорившись, ринулась в Таможенный союз».

Оценивая активизацию гражданских движений в республике, первый президент отметил, что гражданское движение – необходимый элемент, но справиться с проблемами страны могут именно политические силы.

«Скажу и обратное. Политическим силам ничего не удастся без содействия гражданского движения», - заключил Тер-Петросян.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan

Published on 5 June 2014 by *Arminfo*.

Source: <http://www.arminfo.am/index.cfm?objectid=EEF04F30-EC97-11E3-BF080EB7C0D21663>

<Продвигающиеся> на протяжении последних четырех лет по пути <евроассоциации> власти Армении, вдруг за день стали поборниками евразийской интеграции, со столь же скоростью осуществляя шаги в направлении вступления в

Таможенный союз, как то делали ранее при ассоциации в европейскую семью, заметил в своей статье в *ilug.am* первый президент Армении, лидер Армянского национального конгресса Левон Тер-Петросян.

Сей факт он объяснил тем, что раньше власти Армении признание своей легитимности связывали с Западом, то теперь они связывают это исключительно с Россией. <Но хуже всего то, что Армения входит

в состав Таможенного союза не в качестве равноправного партнера, а на правах лишённого голоса слуги>,- заявил Тер-Петросян, заверив, что президент Армении Серж Саргсян на пути интеграции в ТС готов на любые уступки и унижения, свидетельством чему, по его мнению, является унижительная газовая сделка между Арменией и Россией, по которой компания АрмРосГазпром полностью перешла российской стороне.

В качестве примера дальнейшего унижения Армении Тер-Петросян привел заявление президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева в Астане во время заседания Высшей евразийской экономической комиссии о том, что

Армения должна войти в ТС без Нагорного Карабаха. <Это заявление застало Саргсяна врасплох, и он не сумел отпарировать, между тем он должен был быть готов к этому, поскольку данная позиция была озвучена Назарбаевым и президентом

Белоруссии Александром Лукашенко и ранее в Минске во время саммита ТС>,- заявил он, подчеркнув, что Саргсян поставил себя в смехотворное положение после

того, как, вернувшись из Астаны, в армянском Цахкадзоре ответил Назарбаеву, не сумев это сделать с глазу на глаз. <Пока Арменией правит преступный режим Тер-Петросяна, наша страна будет унижаться на международной арене>,- резюмировал Тер-Петросян.

Расширение состава участников ТС за счет Армении и Киргизии, а в дальнейшем формирование Евразийского экономического пространства может потребовать от производителей товаров прохождения процедуры сертификации с точки зрения технического регулирования и стандартизации.

Центр сертификации компании GlobalTest занимается сертификацией всевозможной продукции и выдачей различных разрешительных документов. Компания имеет собственную испытательскую лабораторию, что позитивно сказывается на ценах предоставляемых услуг.

Armen Darbinyan

Published on 12 December 2014 by *Yerkramas.org*.

Source: <http://www.yerkramas.org/article/84996/vstuplenie-armenii-v-eaes-pozvolit-priobshhitsya-k-rossijskim-technologiyam---gazeta>

Вступление Армении в Евразийский экономический союз позволит стране приобщиться к российским технологиям, сказал экс-премьер Армении, ректор Российско-армянского (Славянского) университета Армен Дарбинян, пишет газета «Чоррорд ишханутюн» (Четвертая власть).

«Я придаю важность присоединению Армении к ЕАЭС в качестве трансфера технологий. Нас нет на карте технической индустрии, а сейчас появился шанс стать хотя бы частью российских технологий, и мы должны использовать этот шанс», - приводит слова Дарбиняна газета.

В то же время он отметил, что категорию суверенитета в вопросе вступления в Союз нельзя рассматривать в своем абсолютном, так как в любых международных отношениях существует уступка суверенитета, в экономических, геополитических интересах.

«Если есть проблема, нужно ее решать, и для этого решения необходимо пожертвовать определенной частью суверенитета, значит, во многих случаях это желательно, так как многие европейские страны пожертвовали своей валютой, считающейся национальным достоянием», - подчеркнул Дарбинян.

Hrant Bagratyan

Published on 16 July 2014 by *Radio Azatutyun – Radio Liberty*.

Source: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/25459338.html>

Context: Interview with Radio Azatutyun – Radio Liberty.

Бывший премьер-министр Армении Грант Багратян в беседе с Радио Азатутюн выразил мнение, что если Армения вступит в Евразийский экономический союз на тех условиях, которые сегодня действуют между Россией, Беларусью и Казахстаном, то следует ожидать, что состояние нашей экономики ухудшится.

«Скажу откровенно, если мы вступим в Таможенный союз, то в краткосрочной перспективе улучшения в экономике я не вижу, потому что здесь также возникает вопрос: на каких условиях мы в него вступим. Позволят ли нам иметь исключения. Если вступим на тех условиях, которые содержатся в договоре, подписанном между тремя государствами ТС, то я ожидаю однозначного ухудшения экономики», - сказал Багратян, добавив, что Армении и этим государствам нечего дать друг другу.

«Экономика Армении составляет 0,4% ВВП стран-членов Таможенного союза. В торговле Армении с ТС преобладают лишь энергоносители из России и некоторый экспорт в Россию. Большая часть нашей и без того слабой внешней торговли не связана со странами-членами ТС», - подчеркнул экс-премьер.

Багратян убежден: если страны-члены Таможенного союза предоставят Армении некоторые таможенные льготы по линии примерно 1000 наименований товаров, то при разумном управлении можно будет добиться успехов и использовать территорию стран-членов ТС для увеличения экспортного потенциала Армении.

«Повторяю, это маловероятно. Нас сегодня не принимают даже как обычного партнера, я уже не говорю о том, чтобы принимали, да еще и предоставили льготы по линии 1000 наименований товаров», - отметил он.

Хотя с конца прошлого года власти Армении вели переговоры с целью вступления в Таможенный союз, а затем и Евразийский союз такими ускоренными темпами, что это удивило даже официальную Москву, однако до сих пор не только не известно, когда будет подписан договор о вступлении нашей страны в Евразийский союз (хотя президент Армении Серж Саргсян и попросил установить срок подписания договора до 15 июня), но и до сих пор власти Армении официально не обнародовали список тех товаров, по линии которых в Евразийском союзе для нас будут сделаны исключения и будет установлена низкая таможенная ставка. Здесь также можно вспомнить слова президента Саргсяна на известном саммите в Астане о том, что остались лишь 2-3 технических вопроса.

По словам Багратяна, сегодня можно с уверенностью сказать, что Армения – нежеланный гость в Евразийском союзе. «Если Армения станет четвертым членом Евразийского союза, естественно, она будет голосовать так, как скажет Россия. А сегодня там есть три голоса, причем Беларусь и Казахстан совместно во многих вопросах в состоянии сдерживать Россию. К примеру, из договора о Евразийском союзе они исключили все политические пункты. Это говорит о том, что Армения не столь уж желанный гость в Евразийском союзе. Можно сказать, что для Евросоюза Армения, возможно, была более желанным гостем... хотя я не сторонник ни того, ни другого. Почему?.. Потому что с Евросоюзом у нас дорога через Турцию. А для Евразийского союза Армения вообще в каком-то роде анклав».

По мнению нашего собеседника, дополнительным препятствием в отношениях Армения-Евразийский союз становится подписание Грузией Соглашения об ассоциации с Евросоюзом и создание зоны свободной торговли с ЕС.

«Правила транзита могут измениться, и не только с грузинской стороны, но и по требованию Евросоюза и Евразийского союза. Поэтому чем позже мы подпишем

[договор о вступлении] или вообще не вступим в союз, тем, на мой взгляд, лучше для Армении», - заключил Багратян.

Vazgen Manukyan

Published on 6 October 2014 by *lin.am Armenian News & Analyses*.

Source: <http://ru.lin.am/1049249.html>

– Господин Манукян, Вы также были министром обороны Армении. Мы оказались перед серьезнейшей проблемой, с одной стороны, Астана, а вчера еще в результате выстрелов снайперов, мы потеряли двух контрактных военнослужащих, и в интернете, в общественных кругах снова появилась тревога. И все это параллельно с теми процессами, которые происходят также в вопросе урегулирования Карабахского конфликта, после заявлений, когда министр иностранных дел Швейцарии, действующий председатель ОБСЕ обещали новый этап в процессе урегулирования, который начнется во время встречи с президентами...

– Давайте отделим друг от друга две вещи. Когда у тебя есть рана, если ты не будешь трогать ее, она постепенно затянется, закроется, и исчезнет. Если ты хочешь, чтобы рана не закрывалась, ты должен постоянно чесать ее. Сейчас ситуация перемирия выгодна для армянской стороны, а не для азербайджанской. Для азербайджанской стороны было важно, потому что она проигрывала. Если режим прекращения огня будет нарушен, то опять проиграет. Но азербайджанская сторона понимает, что с помощью переговоров можно решить вопрос только в том случае, если она признает независимость Карабаха. В таком случае могут начаться серьезные переговоры относительно территорий, относительно аргументов.

– Но не может быть вокруг Карабаха.

– Вокруг Карабаха не могут идти переговоры. Следовательно, единственным способом вернуть Карабах, является война, то есть, народ постоянно нужно держать в напряжении, чтобы люди были готовы к войне, потому что, если рана затянется, уже невозможно будет развязать войну. Получится так, как, если мы вспомним, что монголы нападали на Армению и начнем войну против монголов. Это уже давно затянувшаяся рана, старая рана. Поэтому Азербайджану выгодно таким путем постоянно чесать рану. Это нам не выгодно.

– И, кажется, выгодно, чтобы не было войны, была такая действующая...

– Он хочет начать войну тогда, когда будет готов к войне. Сейчас не время для этого. Поэтому, независимо от наших политических процессов, независимо от наших отношений с Европой и с Россией, или с другими, это произойдет, это неизбежно, потому что такова политика Азербайджана, пока не наступит момент, и он решит, что это бессмысленно, и откажется от Карабаха. В таком случае все вопросы будут решены.

Что касается Астаны, это уже более серьезный разговор, потому что нужно сделать анализ. Я бы начал издалека, потому что многие мои друзья тоже считают, что с самого начала, учитывая вопрос Карабаха, учитывая, что еще в начале 1990-ых годов у нас был договор с Россией относительно военной базы, и защиты границ, лучше не ассоциироваться с ЕС, ни стать членом евразийского союза, то есть, сохранять нейтралитет, и обеим сторонам объяснить, почему так произошло. Если обе стороны примут это, я считаю, что это будет наилучшим вариантом для нас.

– Если бы нас не было там, возможно другая сторона приняла бы...

– Давайте возьмем первый вариант – не присоединимся ни к одной стороне, объяснив обеим сторонам. В конце концов, наш бывший подход к процессам Евросоюза Россия принимала хорошо до определенного момента. Некоторые люди, которые больше участвовали в переговорах, сказали мне, что это невозможно было сделать, не знаю, но, если бы это можно было сделать, я бы посчитал, это правильным в данный момент.

– Хотя бы события в Украине показывают, что действительно невозможно, Европа утверждала...

– Мы уже приступаем к следующему шагу, когда уже решили, где мы будем – там, или здесь. Это немножко неестественно. Если ты вопрос безопасности, стратегического партнерства уже решил с одной страной, то экономическую часть вопроса можешь подписать с другой страной только в том случае, если эти обе страны находятся в очень близких отношениях. Между Россией и Евросоюзом возникли естественные противоречия. И в этом случае, если должен был выбирать, то должен был выбрать там. И поэтому, этот шаг в ту сторону, я принимаю. Я только против способа осуществления этого шага. Сейчас мы имеем дело с теми решениями, которые повлияют не только на нас, но и на наши будущие поколения, на наши национальные мечты, и так далее. И это решать в одиночку, будь то президент, или партия, невозможно. Есть вопросы, которые неправильно обсуждать всем обществом, потому что существуют конфиденциальные элементы. Я считаю, что президент несколько раз должен был созвать расширенное заседание совета безопасности, на который должен был пригласить всех бывших президентов Армении, премьер-министров, министров внутренних дел и министров обороны, руководителей крупных оппозиционных партий, хотя бы представленных в парламенте. Я считаю, что все люди, которые прошли этот путь, чувствуют такую ответственность за страну, что не использовали бы это, чтобы потом выйти и рассказать журналистам какие-то вещи, чтобы набрать очки. В этом случае, за этим решением уже стояло бы общество, если не вся общественность, то, хотя бы сила, ведущая общество. Это, во-первых.

А во-вторых, когда мы решили вступить в Таможенный союз, не знаю, как это на самом деле произошло, но я считаю, что было бы правильно с самого начала объяснить Евросоюзу, что мы хотим сделать такой шаг, а потом, мы должны были поговорить не только с Россией, но и с Беларусью и Казахстаном, что мы сами хотим вступить в их союз, в их компанию, а не по принуждению России. То есть, процесс мог затянуться, но мы должны были поговорить также и с Беларусью и Казахстаном. Я считаю роль России очень важной, но я не переоцениваю ее так, как это делают некоторые люди. Причем, у людей существует также ошибочное представление, что карабахский конфликт можно решить с помощью русских. Для меня удивительно. Армяне так привыкли к тому, что не победят, что...

– Даже эту реальную победу приписывают...

– Реально они победили, а не русские, не русские солдаты, и не российское оружие, напротив, Азербайджан получал в 10 раз больше оружия, чем Армения, и это привело к тому, что в отношении армян возникло большое уважение у русских, и даже в Турции. Я говорил с некоторыми турецкими чиновниками, они всегда с уважением относятся к победителям. И, исходя из этих позиций, и насколько бы важной не была для нас Россия, я считаю, что эти процессы можно было бы вести более спокойно. Астана, в каком-то смысле стала следствием этого. С одной

стороны. Заявление Назарбаева было неожиданным, потому что его речи, кажется, были нападки, причем, возможно, не только на Армению, но также и на Россию.

– И даже то, что мы нежелательны для них.

– Ответил бы Серж Саргсян, не ответил бы, но, наверно, правильнее было бы ответить, но Вы сказали, что мы оказались в том лагере, где мы нежелательны. Причем, я хочу еще сказать то, что очень спорно. Я не считаю, что Евразийский союз просуществует долго, или будет эффективным союзом. Почему? Как возникают союзы, из истории могу сказать, что, когда одна страна захватывает другие страны, не превращает их в свои территории, а превращает в союз. Это способ, который здесь отсутствует. Россия не захватила Казахстан.

Второй способ – идеологический. Советский Союз был крайне идеологизированным, вокруг идеологии объединились какие-то народы. Правда, Россия была доминантной, но была идея. Евросоюз образовался вокруг торговли, но это тоже идеологический союз. В этом союзе идея свободы, идея демократии и прав человека, и многие ценности христианства, христианство само по себе в этом союзе не является доминантным, но некоторые ценности христианства были взяты. И мы имеем дело с идеологической силой, в котором есть двойные стандарты, есть все, но вокруг идеи.

Сейчас здесь объединились три государства, все трое со своим эгоизмом. Беларусь хочет извлечь выгоду из российского рынка, Казахстан не только хочет извлечь выгоду, но хочет, присоединив к этому союзу Азербайджан и Турцию, притеснить Россию.

– Плюс еще и то, что немножко боится после событий в Украине.

– Нет, в Казахстане не произойдут такие события. Казахстан очень стабильное государство с этой точки зрения, ни одна политическая сила не может вмешаться в Казахстане...

– Но Назарбаев не вечен.

– Но никто не понимает, что он не вечен. Все думают, что они вечно будут жить. Речь идет о другом. Назарбаев сам первым продвинул эту идею в 1990-ых годах, он считал, что в этом есть необходимость. В данном случае, он захочет воспользоваться Россией, и с другой стороны, присоединив своих друзей к этому союзу, сможет стать ограничительной силой для России. С этой точки зрения, Армения ему совершенно не нужна.

– Да, потому что мы будем с русскими.

– Рано, или поздно будет одно государство, один голос. Во время голосования уже не будут иметь значения размеры Армении. Зачем давать голос России, потому что Армения воспринимается, как партнер России, а не общий партнер, что очень опасно для нас.

– Какие опасности могут быть здесь в плане Карабаха?

– Эти проблемы изначально предусмотрены. У Армении есть несколько вариантов. Сейчас не хочу обсуждать эти варианты, но, в конце концов, я считаю, что наша экономика в таком состоянии, что ни европейский. Ни российский рынок нам не помогут. Прежде всего, мы должны решить наши внутренние вопросы. Не

то, что наши рынки переполнены, у нас перепроизводство, и мы сейчас ищем рынки извне, и так далее. Мы не находимся в таком состоянии, мы достаточно свободны, самостоятельны, мы можем обидеться, быть гордыми, у нас достаточный для этого уровень свободы. Существует множество способов «нажать на тормоза», куда нам спешим.

– То есть, подождать, и посмотреть, что произойдет.

Alexander Arzumanyan

Published on 26 September 2014 by *Radio Azatutyun – Radio Liberty*

Source: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/26607675.html>

Context: interview with Radio Azatutyun.

По мнению бывшего министра иностранных дел Армении, депутата Национального Собрания Армении Александра Арзуманяна, представился очень подходящий повод для того, чтобы под предлогом установки таможенного пункта между Арменией и Нагорным Карабахом власти отложили вступление страны в Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС).

Об этом Арзуманян сказал в беседе с Радио Азатутюн, касаясь проекта договора о вступлении Армении в ЕАЭС, который был опубликован вчера по требованию общественной организации «Объединение информированных граждан» и из которого следует, что в случае завершения процесс вступления между Арменией и Нагорным Карабахом будет установлен таможенный пункт.

Вновь выразив свою убежденность в том, что Евразийский экономический союз не состоится и останется действующим лишь на бумаге, Арзуманян заявил, что в сегодняшних условиях вступить в этот союз означает подпасть под санкции.

«На данный момент мы своими ногами идем в союз, локомотивом которого является страна, отвергаемая международным сообществом, находящаяся под санкциями... То есть, мы сами идем, чтобы подпасть под санкции. Давайте вернемся к этому вопросу через год. А спустя год, кто знает, какой будет ситуация? Уверен, что за этот год вновь произойдут очень большие геополитические изменения, - сказал экс-глава МИД и добавил: - Вообще, Россия сегодня имеет столько проблем, что было бы лучше, если бы она занималась своими проблемами и оставила нас в покое, чтобы и мы занимались своими заботами».

По словам депутата, до тех пор, пока три страны-члена Таможенного союза не сказали, что у них нет никаких проблем с границами Армении и что вопросы, связанные с границами Армении, должны решать Армения и ее соседи, официальный Ереван не имеет права подписывать этот документ о вступлении: «Потому что, действительно, первый шаг - это таможенный пункт, второй шаг - это пограничный пункт, третий шаг – размещение там российских войск, что опять приведет к опасности геноцида в отношении народа Карабаха. Так что, я считаю, что важно, чтобы [вокруг этого вопроса] была развернута дискуссия в обществе». Обращаясь к заявлению замминистра финансов Вахтанга Мирумьяна о том, что «планов по установке таможенного пункта у нас пока нет», Арзуманян подчеркнул, что после заявления президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева о том, что Армения должна присоединиться к ЕАЭС в своих международно признанных границах, стало ясно, что речь идет о таможенном пункте между Арменией и Нагорным Карабахом.

«Это называется оговорка по Фрейду, когда [Мирумьян] сказал «пока», потому что в подсознании уже есть, что подобные вопросы будут обсуждаться, и это ясно», - сказал Александр Арзуманян.

«В этом договоре есть приложения, которые очень важны и являются для меня новостью. Я должен их изучать. Там есть много спорных моментов», - добавил бывший министр иностранных дел.

Alexander Arzumanyan

Published on 3 September 2014 by *Armenianreport*.

Source: <http://www.armenianreport.com/pubs/90110>

Развитию экономики будет способствовать только Евросоюз, - убежден Арзуманян.

Депутат Национального Собрания Армении Александр Арзуманян продолжает утверждать, что Армения ни в коем случае не должна вступать в Таможенный союз, тем более что в отношении России применяются санкции.

Об этом оппозиционный депутат заявил на встрече с журналистами 3 сентября.

«После заявления о вступлении Армении в Таможенный союз прошел год. В этот период сложилась совершенно иная политическая ситуация, и возникает вопрос: правильно ли вступать в союз, в отношении которого ЕС и США применяют санкции? Мир за этот период совершенно изменился, и я думаю, что Армения может маневрировать», - сказал Александр Арзуманян.

По его словам, развитию экономики будет способствовать только Евросоюз, поэтому нужно отказаться от вступления в Евразийский экономический союз.

«Евразийский экономический союз – это силовая структура, в которой рулит олигарх. Армения в данных обстоятельствах должна маневрировать, нужно разработать новую политику, чтобы действовал принцип «и... и». Мы должны быть надежным партнером – нам этого достаточно. Конечно, договор будет подписан, но не будет действовать, как нет СНГ – эта структура не состоялась».

Напомним, что президент Армении Серж Саргсян после встречи с президентом России Владимиром Путиным 3 сентября 2013 года заявил о намерении Армении вступить в Таможенный союз. В данный момент обсуждается вопрос присоединения Армении к Евразийскому экономическому союзу.

Vahan Papazian

Published on 13 February 2014 by *Regnum*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1766723.html>

Context: Statement of Vahan Papazian during a discussion in Yerevan on topical issues of the foreign policy of Armenia.

"Вступление Армении в Таможенный союз нельзя считать необратимым процессом и не стоит именовать создавшуюся ситуацию "возвращением в прошлое". В конце 1980-х гг. была совершенно другая геополитическая ситуация. Это разные процессы", - заявил в ходе обсуждения в Ереване 13 февраля на тему актуальных вопросов внешней политики Армении экс-министр иностранных дел Армении Ваан Папазян (1993-1996 гг.), передает корреспондент ИА REGNUM.

В обсуждении помимо Папазяна участвовали и два других бывших глав МИД Армении - Вардан Осканян, который ныне является депутатом фракции оппозиционной партии "Прорывающая Армения" (вторая по величине политическая сила в Армении) и Александр Арзуманян (1996-1998 гг.) - ныне депутат от фракции оппозиционной партии "Наследие". Спикеры, обсуждая актуальные проблемы и вызовы внешней политике страны, четко не сформулировали ответ на вопрос - "что делать в создавшейся ситуации?", который неоднократно задавал ведущий обсуждения. Он повторял вопрос в разных контекстах с учетом специфики положения Армении в регионе, блокады, интеграционных процессов, неразрешенности нагорно-карабахской проблемы и пр.

Довольно долго оперируя общими и аморфными фразами о том, что Армения должна стать действительно суверенным государством и вспоминая историю обретения независимости после развала СССР, спикеры в целом сошлись во мнении, что ресурс развития Армении в "демократии". По их мнению, многие вопросы внешней и внутренней политики можно решить посредством строительства демократического государства.

Началось обсуждение с темы вступления Армении в Таможенный союз, что участники обсуждения считают политическим образованием, а решение Еревана присоединиться к нему - ошибочным. Александр Арзуманян придерживался позиции о том, что Ереван не должен был оказаться от подписания Ассоциативного соглашения с ЕС в пользу вступления в Таможенный союз. "История независимости Армении - попытка бегства от России. Это было заложено в Декларации независимости, принимая которое мы констатировали, что желаем жить за пределами СССР", - подчеркнул Арзуманян, добавив, что соседняя Армения Грузия уже прошла этот путь, но ценой потери территорий. "Готова ли к этому Армения?", - задался вопросом политик, размывая свои позиции.

Примечательно, что именно в период правления в Армении политической команды экс-президента Левона Тер-Петросяна (активным членом указанной команды был и Александр Арзуманян), Армения вступила в состав курируемой РФ СНГ и ОДКБ. По просьбе Еревана Россия дислоцировала в армянском Гюмри 102-ю военную базу, а российские пограничники начали патрулировать армяно-турецкую и армяно-иранскую границы. Более того именно тогда между Россией и Арменией было подписано Соглашение о союзничестве и дружбе, стороны также стали активно сотрудничать в военной сфере.

С позицией Арзуманяна по поводу Грузии не согласился его коллега Вардан Осканян, руководивший внешнеполитическим ведомством страны в 1998-2008 гг. "Мы пугаем себя примером Грузии, что совершенно неприменимо в нашем случае. Грузия изначально поставила цель вступить в НАТО и ЕС, чего Армения не делала. Грузия совершила ошибку и потеряла территории. Мы же смогли сделать так, чтобы, не вступая в Таможенный союз, сохранить с Россией хорошие отношения", - подчеркнул Осканян, добавив, что никто Армению "не тащил" в ТС, Ереван сам там оказался в результате допущенных до этого ошибок. "Проблема в том, что до этого наши с Россией отношения не находились на должном уровне. Ереван оказался в неловком положении и попытался выйти из него путем вступления в ТС", - сказал экс-министр.

Осканян в качестве решения многих внешних и внутренних проблем страны предложил "формулу демократического государства, без политической монополии". По его мнению, вступления в ТС можно было избежать в случае наличия внутри государства эффективных механизмов политических сдержек и противовесов. "На самом деле вопрос в политической монополии. Если бы в Армении не было бы политической монополии, и существовали бы механизмы противовесов, мы бы смогли посредством консенсуса внутри страны, несмотря на то, что нам предложили в Москве, найти эффективный выход из ситуации. В конце концов, мы бы могли заблокировать вопрос в парламенте. На самом деле проблема в строительстве демократического государства. Армения должна строить демократию. Это может решить многие ее проблемы. Это единственный ресурс развития Армении", - считает Осканян.

Тезис Осканяна оспорил Александр Арзуманян, подчеркнув, что с 1992 года в Армении действует "однопартийная система", при которой все остальные политические силы были маргинализированы. "Если сейчас на политической арене действуют две крупные политические силы (речь идет о правящей Республиканской партии Армении и "Процветающей Армении" - ред.) - это результат решения власти делить ресурс на две части", - подчеркнул Арзуманян.

Между тем спикеры вновь сошлись во мнении, что демократия может также стать своеобразным решением даже для нагорно-карабахской проблемы. "Когда-нибудь мы должны пойти на уступки в решении карабахской проблемы. Эти уступки общественность примет, если власть будет легитимной. На данный момент, если даже власти на подносе представят решение карабахской проблемы обществу, оно его не примет", - заявил Осканян.

Vahan Papazian

Published on 13 February 2014 by *Armenia Today*.

Source : <https://bit.ly/2v9jOdL>

Context : Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia Vahan Papazyan at the discussions organized by the Civilitas Foundation.

Инициаторы создания Таможенного Союза и сами не слишком хорошо представляют, как будет развиваться это объединение в дальнейшем. Об этом сегодня на организованных фондом «Civilitas» обсуждениях заявил экс-министр иностранных дел Армении Ваан Папазян.

По оценкам Папазяна, если ТС и состоится, то это будет не экономическим объединением, как об этом говорят сегодня, а политическим. Говоря о том, следствием чего стало то обстоятельство, что Армения, фактически, была вынуждена начать процесс по вступлению в ТС, Папазян отметил, что основной причиной тут являются нелегитимные власти. «У Сержа Саргсяна не было иной альтернативы, он не мог не дать этого обещания в ходе своего визита в Москву», - заявил экс-министр. По его оценкам, как Россия, так и Запад поддержали Сержа Саргсяна после выборов в 2008 году, и следствием этой поддержки стала полная зависимость от внешних сил. Из-за действующей власти у Армении нет ресурсов для ведения самостоятельной политики и принятия самостоятельных решений. И это касается не только вопроса вступления в Таможенный Союз, но и также иных внешнеполитических вопросов, таких как армяно-турецкий процесс или же карабахское урегулирование. Армения, считает он, сможет вести самостоятельную политику только тогда, когда станет полноценным государством, сейчас же в стране подобных процессов не наблюдается. «В свое время мы приложили усилия и добились участия Карабаха в переговорах. Потом Карабах был из этого процесса изолирован. Я боюсь, что в один из дней мы столкнемся с тем, что и Ереван будет выдворен из-за стола переговоров. Нам просто скажут: «Вот решение и вы должны его принять»», - заявил Папазян. Еще одной причиной сложившейся ситуации экс-глава МИД считает мышление действующих властей. «Действующие власти, говоря о государственности, понимают в том числе и подобные процессы», - заявил он, под «подобными процессами» имея в виду вступление в ТС. Вместе с тем, Папазян отметил, что вовсе не считает нынешние процессы «необратимыми» или не «подлежащими внесению поправок», отметив, что для этого необходимо восстановить собственную государственность.

Ashot Yeghiazaryan

Published on 11 October 2014.

Source: <https://news.am/rus/news/233624.html>

Евразийский экономический союз удостоится той же судьбы, что и его предшественники на постсоветском пространстве. Об этом заявил журналистам 11 октября экономист Ашот Егиазарян.

«По сути, Евразийский экономический союз как интеграционное объединение потерпел крах еще 29 мая», - отметил экономист. По его словам, заседание Высшего евразийского экономического совета 10 октября в Минске свидетельствует об этом.

«Армения углубила ту фактическую изоляцию, в которой оказалась 3 сентября 2013 г, когда приняла решение вступить в Таможенный союз. Ждать экономического развития, не имея альтернативы, нельзя», - заявил он.

«Армения не только зарегистрировала экономический регресс, но и, что самое важное, лишилась альтернативы. Мы потеряли возможности сотрудничества с другими странами», - заявил он.

2015

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 19 October 2015 by *Regnum*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/1994155.html>

Новость о том, что коллегия Евразийской экономической комиссии с 1 февраля 2016 года возглавит бывший премьер-министр Армении Тигран Саркисян временно отодвинула на второй план обсуждения конституционного референдума в Армении.

О назначении Саркисяна, который в настоящий момент является послом Армении в США, было заявлено на состоявшемся 16 октября в Казахстане саммите ЕАЭС, в котором приняли участие главы пяти стран-членов организации.

«Мы приняли решение о том, кто будет с 1 февраля после РФ, после Виктора Христенко возглавлять нашу комиссию, — сообщил президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета и обратился к президенту Армении Сержу Саргсяну: — Скажите, пожалуйста, имя и фамилию представителя Армении».

«Саркисян Тигран Суменович, бывший премьер-министр Республики Армения», — ответил Серж Саргсян.

Лукашенко подчеркнул, что кандидатура Тиграна Саркисяна на посту главы комиссии ЕАЭС одобрена президентом России Владимиром Путиным.

«Он поддержан президентом РФ, он с ним работал, говорят, очень опытный, продвинутый специалист», — отметил президент Белоруссии.

Как уже писало ИА REGNUM, еще в 2012 году, когда Армения в рамках программы «Восточное партнерство» активными темпами двигалась к ассоциации с Евросоюзом, Тигран Саркисян возражал против членства Армении в Таможенном союзе, аргументируя это отсутствием у страны общих границ с Россией, Казахстаном и Белоруссией. Однако риторика армянского премьера изменилась летом 2013 года, в сентябре того же года президент Армении объявил о намерении республики присоединиться к ЕАЭС.

Тигран Саркисян был назначен послом Армении в США после отставки с поста премьер-министра. Последние годы его премьерства ознаменовались последовательной критикой проектов вступления Армении в Таможенный союз России, Белоруссии и Казахстана и Евразийский экономический союз. Тигран Саркисян считал, что Армения должна развивать приоритетные отношения с Европейским союзом.

В апреле 2012 года после встречи с министром иностранных дел Сергеем Лавровым в Москве Саркисян дал большое интервью «Коммерсанту», в котором заявил: «В мировой практике нет такого примера, чтобы страна не имея границы,

становилась членом таможенного союза. Это было бы бессмысленным. Смысл таможенного союза заключается в том, что обмен товарами осуществляется без таможенного досмотра. В нашем случае это невозможно, потому что мы должны проходить через территорию соседнего государства и дважды преодолевать растаможку. Это делает бессмысленной всю эту процедуру облегчения для хозяйствующих субъектов процесса растаможки. Взамен мы получили бы только проблемы, связанные с повышением таможенных пошлин и налогов. В экономическом смысле это нецелесообразно. Наши российские коллеги с пониманием относятся к данной ситуации. Мы ищем формы сотрудничества без Таможенного союза. По-видимому, стоит подумать о какой-то новой платформе или особом статусе для Армении». Бывший армянский премьер также добавил, что надо искать другие формы сотрудничества. «Таможенный союз не предоставляет нам таких инструментов, которые были бы выгодными для хозяйствующих субъектов. А тогда он становится бессмысленным», — отметил Саркисян.

После того как стало ясно, что Армения все-таки вступит в Таможенный союз, Саркисян по идее должен был подать в отставку, однако, он с таким же энтузиазмом стал продвигать идеи Таможенного союза. «От вступления в Таможенный союз уровень жизни в Армении должен вырасти. Нужно признать, что в Таможенном союзе ВВП на душу населения в три раза превышает тот же показатель в Армении. А интеграционные процессы способствуют распространению благосостояния. Об этом свидетельствует международный опыт», — заявил Саркисян в марте 2013 года.

Более того, резко сменивший свою позицию Саркисян заявил, что за решением о вступлении в Таможенный Союз «с одной стороны стоит исторический опыт, а с другой — холодный расчет, направленный на создание таких условий, которые полностью соответствует национальным интересам Армении». При этом он добавил, что интеграционные объединения должны формироваться «не для политических, а для экономических целей».

Армянская пресса сразу же констатировала беспринципность Саркисяна, поскольку он «стал одним из главных глашатаев присоединения к Таможенному союзу». Сегодня армянские аналитики задаются другим вопросом, почему выбор остановился именно на Тигране Саркисяне.

Некоторые эксперты считают, что Саркисян, возможно, займется внедрением единой валюты. «Тигран Саркисян, который имел огромный вклад в деле внедрения армянской национальной валюты и становления одной из эффективных на постсоветском пространстве банковских систем Армении, станет «отцом основателем» единой евразийской валюты — «Алтына», — отмечает ереванская газета «Айкакан жаманак».

Еще в бытность главой правительства Саркисян отмечал, что Таможенный союз «очень близок к единой валюте». «Я думаю, что Таможенный союз очень близок к единой валюте. Нужно всего лет пять согласованной денежно-кредитной и бюджетной политики. Это выгодно и для России, и для Казахстана, и для Белоруссии. Есть убежденность, что уровни развития этих стран схожи, они не собираются жить за счет других. Единая валюта удобна и для хозяйствующих субъектов, и для граждан. Какой смысл иметь национальную валюту и терять деньги во время трансфертов?», — сказал Саркисян.

Депутат парламента Армении Теван Погосян считает, что напротив, личность человека, который будет избран главой коллегии ЕЭК, сама по себе не будет иметь значения, поскольку основной задачей должно стать представление интересов Армении в ЕАЭС. «Среди причин назначения Тиграна Саркисяна на должность указываются его тесные контакты и связи в различных международных структурах, однако они не будут работать, если у этих структур не будет соответствующих политических интересов», — сказал Погосян.

Однопартиец Саркисяна по Республиканской партии Армении, депутат парламента Левон Мартиросян, более известный широкой публике как брат шоумена Гарика Мартиросяна и вовсе отмечает, что Тигран Саркисян является лучшим кандидатом на пост главы правительства Евразийского экономического союза. По словам Мартиросяна, Тигран Саркисян является носителем европейских ценностей, получил российское образование и владеет ситуацией на постсоветском пространстве.

Недостатка в комментариях по поводу назначения Саркисяна в ближайшее время однозначно не будет. Но факт, который отмечают практически все наблюдатели, заключается в том, что после офшорного скандала, в котором был замешен бывший премьер и внезапного увольнения с должности, возвратиться в большую политику Тиграну Саркисяну будет крайне сложно, даже несмотря на ожидаемые в Армении политические процессы.

Hrant Bagratyan

Published on 24 March 2015 by *Tert.am*.

Source: <http://www.tert.am/ru/news/2015/03/24/hrant-bagratyan/1626278>

Context: In an interview with *Tert.am*, the ex-Prime Minister of Armenia Hrant Bagratyan, referring to the fact that after the accession to the Eurasian Economic Union there has been a decrease in export volumes by about a quarter, noted that from the very beginning it was obvious that joining the EAEU never could stimulate economic growth.

По его мнению, хорошо, что Армении не предлагают стать членом-сооснователем фонда единой валюты ЕАЭС: «Думаю, в позиции России относительно того, чтобы пока отказаться от приглашения туда Армении, есть понимание этого». Грант Багратян считает, что в случае создания единой валюты ЕАЭС Армения также может иметь свою валюту, как некоторые страны-участницы ЕС.

«Не будучи поклонником ЕАЭС, я могу аргументировать, что сейчас нельзя точно сказать: виновен ли в нынешней ситуации ЕАЭС, или это наши экономические упущения. Моя задача на данный момент, как я считаю, заключается в том, чтобы указывать на те шаги экономической политики, которые, по моему мнению, правильные. А что касается ЕАЭС, то, прежде всего, насколько я понял, оттуда нереально выйти, поскольку в договоре не указан механизм выхода, мне кажется, единственным решением является то, что раз уж попали сюда – нужно выкручиваться», - сказал он.

По мнению Гранта Багратяна, назначенные представители ЕАЭС должны суметь решить проблемы Армении. Но одно, по его словам однозначно – вступление в ЕАЭС никогда не могло стимулировать экономический рост.

Касаясь своих прогнозов на данный момент и того, существуют ли угрозы для экономики РА, экономист сказал: «Поскольку валютный союз создается между странами, где доминантами являются Россия и Казахстан, то я не вижу каких-либо шансов...Прежде всего, нас не хотят считать членом-сооснователем этого Союза. Это неплохо для нас, поскольку если бы мы были сооснователями,

то они могли бы требовать от нас такие же социальные стандарты, как у них. Если мы представим, что однажды все же вступим в эту валютную зону, мы окажемся, примерно, в такой же ситуации, как страны Южной Европы в ЕС, поскольку курс этой валюты не может быть выгодным для нас. Не может это быть выгодно одновременно странам, экспортирующим нефть и энергию, и странам, импортирующим эти товары. И думаю, что в этой позиции России – пока что воздержаться от приглашения в эту структуру Армении, есть понимание данной ситуации.

Говоря о том, как это будет выглядеть, если остальные страны-участницы ЕАЭС перейдут на эту валюту, а мы нет, Грант Багратян сказал: «Очень просто, а как это существуют страны-участницы ЕС, к примеру Варшава, у которых есть своя собственная валюта».

Alexander Arzumanyan

Published on 16 June 2015 by *Armenianreport*.

Source: <http://www.armenianreport.com/pubs/108852/>

Context: pro-Western opposition deputy Alexander Arzumanyan stated in the Armenian parliament on June 15.

Не нужно звать Кыргызстан в разваливающийся Евразийский экономический союз.

Об этом заявил в парламенте Армении 15 июня прозападный оппозиционный депутат Александр Арзуманян.

«Если киргизские товарищи ждут, чтобы стать нашими товарищами по судьбе, то вы могли бы начать обсуждение в мае. Если Правительство никуда не спешило, куда же спешить нам? Мы и сами попали впросак с этим Евразийским союзом, а сейчас ведем туда Киргизию. Мои слова вы вспомните, когда Евразийский союз развалится, а случится это очень скоро», – сказал депутат.

Отметим, что к Договору о присоединении Кыргызстана к ЕАЭС от 23 декабря 2014 года Армения присоединяется отдельным протоколом, учитывая, что он был подписан после того, как сам Ереван подписал документ о присоединении (10 октября 2014 года), но прежде, чем он вступил в силу (2 января 2015 года).

Ashot Yeghiazaryan

Published on 16 November 2015 by *the First Information Agency*.

Source: <http://ru.1in.am/1123513.html>

«Евразийский союз» ограничивает экономический потенциал Армении: Ашот Егиазарян

«Мы выбрали Евразийский экономический союз и в начале были защищены благодаря установленным общим таможенными положениям – таможенному союзу. Вступив в ЕАЭС, мы нас же лишили альтернативной возможности развития», – в беседе с Первым Информационным сказал экономист Ашот Егиазарян.

По словам А. Егиазаряна, ЕАЭС, как экономический союз, не состоялся, у Москвы есть амбиции, желание показать, что она является силовым центром, имеет отдельную цивилизацию, а для того, чтобы в современном мире иметь отдельную цивилизацию нужен очень большой потенциал, тогда как у России такой возможности нет.

По словам экономиста, Россия для того, чтобы удерживать Армению под своим геополитическим влиянием, приобрела наши основные инфраструктуры,

зависимость Армении от России проявляется и посредством перевода частных трансфертов. Для нас с самого начала было запрещено развитие отношений.

«Мы могли по Соглашению об Ассоциации стать частью европейской цивилизации, интегрироваться в эту систему, приняв новые правила игры и по всем аспектам изменить наше общество, наше государство», - подчеркнул Ашот Егиазарян.

Ashot Yeghiazaryan

Published on 18 April 2015 by *Iragir.am*.

Source: <https://www.Iragir.am/ru/2015/04/18/41757/>

Context: To establish new relations with the EU, Armenia should withdraw from the Eurasian Union. Economist Ashot Yeghiazaryan said this in an interview with Iragir.am, commenting on the likelihood of signing a new document regulating relations between Armenia and the EU.

Для установления новых отношений с ЕС Армении следует выйти из Евразийского союза. Об этом в беседе с нами сказал экономист Ашот Егиазарян, комментируя вероятность подписания нового документа, регламентирующего отношения Армении и ЕС.

Замминистра иностранных дел Армении Карен Назарян заявил вчера, что в будущем документе с ЕС будет и экономический раздел. Ашот Егиазарян в сложившихся условиях не считает возможным подписание документа об экономическом сотрудничестве.

«Это противоречит философии Евразийского экономического союза. Это означает идти против течения, чего мы не можем себе позволить. Единственный выход – выход из Евразийского союза», сказал он.

По словам экономиста, Армения без ЕАЭС не может ничего предпринять, ЕАЭС вынуждает не предпринимать ничего, помимо политики этого союза.

По словам экономиста, на начальном этапе говорилось только об общей торговой политике в рамках Таможенного союза. Но в Евразийском союзе общей должна быть экономическая политика вообще.

«Тут имеется большой вопрос – на территории ЕАЭС нет состоявшегося общего рынка, нет структур для осуществления единой политики. То есть, пока нет этого уровня интеграции. Но союз называется ЕАЭС, есть подписанный договор. В любой момент нам могут заявить, что у нас общая политика, и какие-то шаги ей противоречат. То есть, места для маневров нет», отметил он.

По словам Ашота Егиазаряна, договорная, так сказать, институциональная база Евразийского союза на данный момент крайне скудна, нет четких ограничений, потому что нет общего рынка, общих структур.

«Но эту пустоту Москва может в любой момент заполнить, достаточно только сделать заявление. Не думаю, что наши власти попытаются воспользоваться правовыми брешами и проводить собственную политику. Не думаю, что они могут сказать – мы будем учитывать только общие таможенные ставки, а в остальном будем решать сами», сказал он.

«Вот теперь открывается иранский рынок, есть перспектива открытия инфраструктур. То есть, мы получим великолепную перспективу для развития. Глобальные развития также складываются для нас крайне благоприятно. Кроме того, выяснилось, что инфраструктурное, системное, инвестиционное развитие Армении пережила благодаря содействию западных структур», отметил экономист.

Ашот Егиазарян напомнил, что 4 месяца пребывания Армении в ЕАЭС доказали, что для нас это смерти подобно. «ЕАЭС следует рассматривать не только с экономической точки зрения, это имитация. ЕАЭС в итоге должна стать

государством, то есть, это означает смерть армянского государства», отметил экономист.

Ситуация усугубляется, если учесть нынешнюю ситуацию в России и ужесточение международной политики по ее изоляции. «Если раньше вопрос физического существования не ставился, то сейчас он стоит весьма остро. ЕАЭС не может помочь Армении ни по одному вопросу, даже физически выжить – как в экономическом и политическом, так и плане безопасности», отметил Ашот Егиазарян.

Eduard Nalbandyan

Published on 15 September 2015 by *Golos Armenii*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/36aiO5M>

Эдуард Налбандян: Готовы по максимуму развивать отношения с ЕС
Мы являемся членами ЕАЭС, и мы готовы сотрудничать с ЕС во всевозможных областях. Об этом заявил министр иностранных дел Армении Эдвард Налбандян в интервью *Русской службе Би-би-си*. На вопрос журналиста о том, как Армения определяет свой дальнейший путь - Запад или Россия, глава МИД Армении ответил: "С точки зрения отношений Армении и Евросоюза - мы никогда не меняли нашу позицию: мы являемся членами Евразийского союза, и мы готовы сотрудничать с ЕС во всевозможных областях, но с учетом обязательств Армении в других интеграционных процессах. Армения заинтересована быть и в других интеграционных процессах. То, что не противоречит интересам Армении в этих рамках, в рамках работы в Евразийском союзе, мы готовы по максимуму развивать отношения с Европейским союзом".

На вопрос о том, на первом месте какие отношения, Эдвард Налбандян ответил: "А разве идет речь о членстве в Европейском союзе? Нет. Значит, мы, как члены Евразийского союза, с учетом этих обязательств, будем развивать отношения уже с другими. Я должен сказать, что с каждой из 28 стран Евросоюза у нас и так теснейшие дружеские, а порой и братские отношения. Во многих этих странах живут армянские общины, которые являются связующим звеном между этими странами и Арменией. Вообще две трети нашего народа живет в 100 странах мира. Потому Армения - это не только маленькая страна в этом географическом расположении, это еще и 100 маленьких и больших Армений, разбросанных по всему миру. Это одно из наших преимуществ".

Hovik Abrahamyan

Published on 8 September 2015 by *NTV.RU*.

Source: <http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1509138/>

Премьер Армении предложил торговать внутри ЕАЭС за рубли
В белорусском Гродно стартовало заседание Евразийского межправительственного совета. Премьер-министры стран ЕАЭС обсуждают вопросы обеспечения макроэкономической и финансовой стабильности и формирования единого рынка услуг. Премьер-министр Армении Овик Абрамян на встрече с коллегами по ЕАЭС предложил отказаться от привязки к доллару в торговле стратегическими товарами внутри союза и перейти на расчеты в рублях.

Премьер-министр Армении Овик Абрамян на встрече с коллегами по ЕАЭС предложил отказаться от привязки к доллару в торговле стратегическими товарами внутри союза и перейти на расчеты в рублях.

2016

Robert Kocharyan

Published on 18 February 2016.

Source: <https://news.am/rus/news/312392.html>

<https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/27625889.html>

Context: Interview of ex-President of Armenia Robert Kocharian to the "Russia and

Me” project of “Liberty” radio station. The interview was recorded in September 2015, published on 18 February 2016.

Robert Kocharian was elected twice as president of the country in 1998 and 2003. Prior to that, his political career was connected with Nagorno-Karabakh: the first prime minister (1992–1994), then the first president (1994–1997) of the unrecognized republic of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Анна Соусь: Господин президент, проект Радио Свобода называется «Россия и я». Правда, участник проекта, первый президент независимой Латвии Гунтис Улманис сказал, что ему больше нравится название «Я и Россия». Тем не менее, какая она ваша Россия, Россия второго президента независимой Армении, Россия первого президента Нагорно-Карабахской республики?

Роберт Кочарян: Образование у меня русское и воспитание - микс армянских традиций и русской культуры, искусства, литературы. Поэтому Россия для меня нечто большее, чем просто страна-сосед, страна, с которой у нас очень продвинутые отношения. Ассоциируется Россия в первую очередь именно с российской культурой.

Анна Соусь: А если говорить про персоналии, могли бы вы назвать три имени людей, которые для вас олицетворяют Россию?

Роберт Кочарян: Я никогда не персонифицировал... Россия - это ландшафты, культура, искусство. Я не стал бы фокусировать своё отношение к России отношением к персонам, тем более к политикам.

Анна Соусь: Какой день вы бы назвали самым лучшим в отношениях с Россией? И какой самый неудачный, самый плохой?

Роберт Кочарян: Самый плохой точно вспомнить не могу. Значит не было такого дня, который бы запомнился как негативный... Двусторонние отношения - это кропотливая ежедневная работа, бывают взлёты, бывают кульминации, подписание каких-то важных соглашений, например, дни культуры Армении в России и России в Армении. Какой-то специальной калькуляции, буду откровенен, я не проводил. Сложно выделять какие-то дни.

Анна Соусь: А период?

Роберт Кочарян: У нас реально были достаточно ровные отношения, шли по нарастающей. Самая сложная тема с Россией - это переговоры по цене газа. Это касается всех, но здесь мы находили взаимоприемлемые решения, и никогда этот вопрос у нас не выплёскивался в публичную плоскость. Компромисс всегда находили, и в этом плане в моём личном восприятии прошедшего пути и сотрудничества с Россией это устойчивый, позитивный, причём по нарастающей процесс.

Анна Соусь: Во время вашего президентства Армения вступила в Совет Европы и Всемирную торговую организацию. Вы заявляли, что в перспективе видите Армению страной, построенной на европейских ценностях и по европейской модели государственного устройства. В то же время Россия вышла на первое место по объёму инвестиций в Армению, российские компании владеют крупными предприятиями, энергетическими, банковскими, страховыми компаниями Армении. История не имеет сослагательного наклонения, но если можно было бы повернуть время вспять, чтобы вы поменяли в отношениях с Россией? Я имею в

виду в данном случае российско-армянские экономические соглашения. Например, право собственности на Электрические сети Армении или цену на газ? Не так давно вы призывали пересмотреть цены на российский газ...

Роберт Кочарян: Не стал бы я ничего менять, тем более что из контекста вопроса у меня представление такое, что вы не совсем правильно оцениваете реальную ситуацию. Первая волна приватизации в Армении - это были наиболее привлекательные объекты. На приватизацию были выставлены армянский «Телеком», концессия аэропорта, Каджаранский медно-молибденовый комбинат, гостиница «Армения» и Ереванский коньячный завод. Ни один из них не был купен российской компанией, ни один. Коньячный завод купили французы, «Телеком» - греки, аэропорт - аргентинцы, гостиницу «Армения» - американцы, что там ещё остаётся... В общем, первая волна... Не было российских компаний. Банк HSBC вошёл в армянский рынок гораздо раньше первого российского банка. То есть каких-то специальных преференций для вхождения в армянский рынок мы не давали никому. То есть логика была бизнес-ориентирована, компании приобретали те иностранные компании, которые предлагали лучший вариант, лучшие перспективы развития. Вот собственно и всё. К энергетике у российских компаний позже появился интерес. Некий аппетит. «Газпром» я просто «затаскивал» сюда на создание совместного предприятия, используя договорённости с российским президентом и так далее... Представление о том, что российские компании рвались на этот рынок, чтоб захватить его, не соответствуют действительности. Электрические сети Армении были куплены, приватизированы британской компанией, не российской, хотя я пытался уговорить РАО ЕЭС участвовать в приватизации. Они сказали, что объём рынка им не интересен. Спустя два года после приватизации британской компанией, они купили уже у британцев Электрические сети Армении, но вдвое дороже. Вот так всё это происходило. Позже уже российские компании увидели в энергетическом секторе некую перспективу, хотя по возврату вложенных средств, я думаю, что ни одна западная компания на таких условиях не вошла бы в наш энергетический сектор. Объём рынка небольшой, транзитной составляющей нету. Для нас работала только бизнес-логика.

Анна Соусь: Сейчас требования национализации Электрических сетей Армении. Насколько это реально?

Роберт Кочарян: Тогда компания была государственная. Это было самым слабым звеном в энергетике Армении, и мы приложили большие усилия чтобы, во-первых, найти партнёров, которые бы приватизировали, естественно, на определённых условиях. И мы помогли этим партнёрам навести порядок в этой кампании, то есть создать нормальную функционирующую компанию. И она с 2002 года работала с прибылью, с устойчивой тарифной политикой вплоть до 2009 года. Да, на эмоциональной волне, когда меняются тарифы, меняется цена на газ, люди готовы обвинить кого угодно. Но я думаю, что здесь несколько отсутствует объективный взгляд на реальную ситуацию, как в энергетическом секторе, так и в самой компании.

Анна Соусь: Какой вам видится перспектива завершения этих протестов в связи с повышением цен на электроэнергию? Чем они закончатся?

Роберт Кочарян: Не буду я гадать. Не знаю. Если растёт цена на газ, совершенно очевидно, что должна расти и цена на электроэнергию. Вопрос получил острое звучание в связи с общей экономической ситуацией в Армении. Если общая ситуация не очень хорошая, то, естественно, даже небольшое повышение тарифа сильно влияет на бюджет каждого гражданина, люди в этом плане справедливо возмущаются. Но причина этого может быть как в действии регулятора, так и в

неэффективности компании, так и в целом в тех изменениях, которые происходят на рынке энергоносителей. Но эмоциональное восприятие людей, которым надо каждый месяц платить по счетам за электроэнергию, вполне мне понятно. Нужно объяснять, а не переводить стрелки. Вот собственно и всё.
Анна Соусь: Армения - единственная страна в регионе, где находится российская военная база. Скажите, пожалуйста, какие преимущества даёт Армении база в Гюмри, 102-я российская военная база, и какие опасности это несёт?

Роберт Кочарян: Давайте мы от обратного пойдём. Представим, что нет этой базы. Какие опасности эта ситуация в себе таит с учётом наших взаимоотношений с Турцией, которые обременены историческими проблемами. И сегодня очень недружественные действия Турции, это закрытые границы, это достаточно жёсткое реагирование на все, что делает Армения в плане Карабахского урегулирования и в целом в плане оценки наших подходов. Это неурегулированность конфликта вокруг Нагорного Карабаха. Это же не регион, где некая идиллия, все друг другу рады, все ходят друг к другу в гости, это регион с достаточно сложной этнической, религиозной конфигурацией. И я полагаю, что присутствие российской военной базы здесь всё-таки придаёт если не саму стабильность, то ощущение этой стабильности. Но я думаю, и саму стабильность тоже. Это нечто, что всё-таки стабилизирует ситуацию. Так что, от обратного... Логика подписания в своё время соответствующих документов о создании российской базы, о дислокации её в Гюмри более понятна.

Анна Соусь: Если говорить о негативных последствиях нахождения этой базы, то какая ваша оценка волнений в Армении после того, как российский солдат убил армянскую семью? Та ли эта ситуация, когда убийца не имеет национальности, и как этот инцидент может повлиять на армяно-российские отношения?

Роберт Кочарян: Инцидент, действительно, имел очень сильную эмоциональную составляющую. Сам характер преступления просто не вообразим. Я не думаю, что это может иметь негативные долгосрочные последствия в плане российско-армянских отношений именно в этом контексте. Протесты не носили бы столь масштабный и длительный характер, если бы были приняты своевременные и правильные меры. Требования людей были справедливы, преступление не имело ничего общего с воинским преступлением, оно было совершено за пределами воинской части на территории города. И естественно армянские правоохранительные органы должны были взять это в свои руки, вести это дело, и в этом случае я просто не сомневаюсь, что волна эта была бы гораздо слабее, она была бы эмоциональна, но не носила бы политического оттенка.

Анна Соусь: Существующие договорённости между Арменией и Россией позволяют Армении отказаться от нахождения этой базы?

Роберт Кочарян: В любом случае нет договоров, которые невозможно переигрывать. Но я думаю, что эта база играет, я повторю, стабилизирующую роль. Такие случаи бывают везде. Если попытаться проанализировать ситуацию с размещением иностранных баз, такие случаи реально происходят время от времени. Просто реагировать нужно быстро и правильно. И я думаю, что не помешало бы, чтобы наши власти потребовали в тот момент большего уважения к собственному суверенитету. Компромисс в целом был найден, и я думаю, что ситуация отрегулирована. Если б раньше это было бы сделано, то, повторюсь, не было бы этой растянутой во времени очень неприятной волны, неприятного процесса.

Анна Соусь: В данном случае у убийцы нет национальности?

Роберт Кочарян: Несомненно. Я не думаю, что здесь был некий другой мотив. По крайней мере и ход следствия, и та информация, которой я сегодня владею, не говорят о том, что здесь есть некий иной контекст.

Анна Соусь: Мы не первый раз уже используем слово «протесты». В Армении развит институт массовых протестов. 1965 год, первые демонстрации по случаю 50-летия геноцида, демонстрации, связанные с Нагорным Карабахом и борьбой за независимость Армении. Много самых разных протестов было в истории современной Армении. А в чём, на ваш взгляд, особенность армянских протестов и могут ли они иметь антироссийскую составляющую?

Роберт Кочарян: Я бы эти протесты всё-таки разделил на две группы: первая - это протесты, связанные с Нагорным Карабахом, протесты, связанные с национальными ожиданиями. Я бы отделил их от тех протестов, которые связаны с социально-экономической ситуацией, с уровнем коррупции, с разным восприятием итогов выборов, проигравшей и выигравшей стороны. Если их разделить, то мы увидим, что протесты такие же, как и везде. И мотивы этих протестов - такие же. Это, в первую очередь, тяжёлые социально-экономические условия, вопросы тарифной политики, что-то дорожает - люди протестуют, это коррупция, ну и так далее. Поэтому некоего армянского начала в этой группе протестов, в этом сегменте я не вижу. И тем более, чтобы они стали носить антироссийский характер... Почему Россию мы должны обвинять, имея в виду ухудшение социально-экономических условий, тарифную политику, коррупцию или что-то другое? Что касается первой группы, то это было национально-освободительное движение, оно объединило всех людей, которые друг друга любят, не любят, уважают, не уважают, придерживаются тех же или противоположных взглядов относительно совершенно разных вопросов. Там был стержень, который выводил на улицы миллионы людей и который объединил нацию. Там волна была совершенно другая, причём всё это происходило на фоне развала Советского Союза, на фоне тектонических геополитических процессов. Некая электрификация, так скажем, происходила на всём постсоветском пространстве.

Анна Соусь: Сейчас в прессе часто сравнивают протесты, которые были этим летом в Ереване в связи с повышением тарифов на электроэнергию, с началом Майдана в Киеве. Насколько корректным вам кажется такое сравнение?

Роберт Кочарян: Я думаю, что ничего общего в этом нету. То, что произошло в Киеве, там была сильная политическая составляющая, власти выставили на аукцион внешнеполитический вектор развития страны. И к этому прибавился просто неуёмный аппетит чиновников, что создало всю эту ситуацию. Степень недовольства там была достаточно высокая и прибавилась к этому сильно чувствительная политическая составляющая в стране, часть которой в плане внешнеполитических приоритетов пути развития думает совершенно по-разному - западная и восточная Украина. Здесь произошёл некий микс социально-экономических вопросов и вопросов политической ориентации страны. А у нас митинги, связанные с повышением тарифов -- это совершенно другое. Не думаю, что здесь есть хоть какая-то перспектива политизации этого процесса с оттенком проросийской или антиросийской ориентации.

Анна Соусь: Изменился ли сейчас геополитический контекст Нагорного Карабаха после аннексии Крыма Россией?

Роберт Кочарян: Не думаю, что что-то в этом плане изменилось. Хотя бы потому, что прецедентов было очень много и очень разных за последние 10-15 лет, и я не думаю, что ситуация с Крымом внесла некий новый геополитический элемент.

Анна Соусь: А Крым чей?

Роберт Кочарян: Сейчас? Сейчас де факто он в России. Украина будет ещё долгое время считать его частью Украины. Россия де факто включила его в состав Российской Федерации, я думаю, это будет продолжаться очень долго. Мы имеем Карабах, и опыт Карабаха говорит, что такие ситуации быстро не решаются. Сменяются поколения. Если не найдут какую-то формулу назвать Крым общим домом для Украины и для России... есть и такие идеи, я знаю, что экспертное сообщество предлагает идеи создать ситуацию кондоминиума, при которой фактическое пребывание Крыма где-то не имело бы столь большой важности. Создать условия, при которых и украинцы будут чувствовать себя комфортно в Крыму. Говорить об этом слишком рано, я думаю, что это может быть серьёзной темой лишь тогда, когда не будут стрелять на Востоке Украины, и когда ситуация нормализуется настолько, чтобы такие идеи не считались бы крамольными ни в Киеве, ни в Москве. Всё должно успокоиться, и после этого, возможно, будущие политики найдут решение. Но не думаю, что это будет в ближайшее время.

Анна Соусь: Вы говорили про опыт разрешения конфликтов. Существует с 1995 года минская группа ОБСЕ как площадка для переговоров по ситуации вокруг Нагорного Карабаха. Год назад появилось такое понятие, как «минские договорённости». Беларусь и в том и в другом случае предоставила свою столицу как площадку для переговоров. Если говорить про минскую группу ОБСЕ, то некоторые аналитики говорят, что ее эффективность состоит только в том, что эта площадка для переговоров существует, и больше ничего. Как вы оцениваете перспективу минских переговоров для разрешения конфликтов на Востоке Украины? Можно ли будет провести такие параллели по их эффективности с минской группой ОБСЕ?

Роберт Кочарян: Можно обвинять минскую группу, но я всегда относился к этому несколько по-другому. Это роль посредников, чтобы найти формулы решения конфликта, помочь конфликтующим сторонам в принятии решения. Таков формат этого процесса, формат минской группы по урегулированию карабахского конфликта и переговоров в Минске по урегулированию конфликта на Востоке Украины. Это не формат принуждения. И в данном случае обвинять посредников в том, почему они не решают вопрос, бессмысленно. В конце-то концов к взаимоприемлимому решению должны прийти стороны конфликта. Если говорить об эффективности, то, конечно, нужна площадка. Это гораздо лучше, чем не иметь ничего. Чем больше будет переговоров, тем меньше будут стрелять, тем меньше людей будет гибнуть. Так что смотреть на это надо очень прагматично, понимать, что без этого плохо, может это не самое лучшее, но без этого будет ещё хуже. Но я не верю, что такого рода конфликты решаются быстро, не бывает такого. Ведь пролилась кровь, была довольно крупномасштабная война, были десятки тысяч погибших, раненых, разрушения. Нужно, что всё это остыло. В первую очередь всё, к чему надо приложить усилия, чтобы не стреляли, чтобы развести стороны и попытаться уже не на эмоциональной основе, на чисто прагматичной основе найти какое-то решение.

Анна Соусь: Одним из первых на Майдане в Киеве погиб Сергей Нигоян, армянин по национальности и гражданин Украины. Вы уже начали давать оценку военному конфликту Украины и России, который последовал за Майданом. Скажите пожалуйста, если сейчас бы вы были во главе Армении, как бы вы строили отношения с Россией, с учётом того, что происходит на Востоке Украины?

Роберт Кочарян: Я верну вас тогда в 1992-1994 год, когда у нас была острая фаза конфликта вокруг Нагорного Карабаха, в который была вовлечена и Армения, и как себя вели Россия и Украина. Они строили отношения с Азербайджаном и с Арменией, пытаюсь обходить острые чувствительные стороны. Точно так же надо делать Армении. Всегда есть конфликт. Но есть Россия, есть Украина, с которыми мы строили отношения и должны продолжать строить эти отношения и попытаться не вмешиваться, это в первую очередь, избегать тех чувствительных вопросов, которые могут раздражать ту или иную сторону. Я думаю, это самая прагматичная политика была бы для маленькой Армении, которая сама имеет сложные конфликты.

Анна Соусь: Какой совет вы могли бы дать европейским политикам, как строить отношения с Россией, исходя из вашего личного опыта, прагматичного опыта?

Роберт Кочарян: Можно санкциями ослабить Россию, но я не думаю, что санкциями можно заставить поменять какие-то решения, которые в России воспринимаются как принципиальные. Насколько я понимаю, выбор сделан в пользу санкций. Я не верю, что Россию с её традициями, с её историей, с восприятием собственной идентичности, собственной роли в мировых делах, в мировой культуре, в мировых процессах можно санкциями заставить изменить эти принципиальные решения. Поэтому было бы полезнее найти более поощрительную, скажем, не меру наказания, а некую поощрительную формулу вовлечения России в этот процесс. В случае с Россией это сыграло бы более позитивную роль. С Ираном, посмотрите, сколько лет санкции? Сколько лет ушло. Иран - это тоже страна, которая имеет непрерывающуюся историю государственности в течение нескольких тысячелетий. И их восприятие своей идентичности, своей роли, это не те случаи, когда такими действиями можно быстро разрешить вопрос или по крайней мере в среднесрочной перспективе решить вопрос.

Анна Соусь: Вы недавно говорили о том, что серьёзные инвестиции из России в Армению сейчас маловероятны как раз в связи с этими санкциями, которые введены против России, и что для западных компаний Армения теперь потеряла привлекательность из-за того, что вступила в Евразийский экономический союз. Как вам видится, насколько это перспективный союз для Армении, станет ли эта организация чем-то вроде СНГ и в каких международных союзах, блоках, организациях вам видится успешное будущее вашей страны?

Роберт Кочарян: Видимо, время даст окончательную оценку принятому решению о вхождении в Таможенный союз. Моё восприятие ситуации - всё-таки это решение надо было лучше просчитать с возможными последствиями, плюсами-минусами. У меня складывается впечатление, что оно было эмоциональным решением без достаточной проработки. Но сложно в этой ситуации давать оценки, потому что это решение наложилось на резкое падение цен на нефть, на изменение цен на энергоносители вообще, и на те санкции, которые наложены на Россию. И поэтому всё вместе это сложно оценить. Если представить теоретически

ситуацию, что цены на нефть остались на уровне 110 долларов за баррель, плюс нет никаких санкций, то это огромный российский рынок и возможность вхождения Армении на этот рынок, привлечение российских инвестиций, ситуация была бы совершенно другой. Поэтому здесь та же история с сослагательным наклонением. Просто когда принималось решение о вхождении в Таможенный союз, уже были видны эти проблемы и было видно, что эти проблемы будут нарастать. Поэтому моя оценка вхождения в Таможенный союз связана именно с историческим отрезком времени. Сейчас всё это наложилось. Негативы наложились, и мы оказались, вольно или невольно, под неким воздействием этих негативов.

Анна Соусь: Евросоюз не отказался от идеи европейского будущего Армении. Как вы смотрите на европейское будущее Армении?

Роберт Кочарян: То, что сейчас предлагается, или, по крайней мере то, о чём говорится, это слишком урезанный вариант и вряд ли его можно даже с натяжкой назвать ассоциацией. Я бы не стал привязывать это к форме государственного устройства, привязывать это к участию в каких-то блоках. Мы действительно реализовывали реформы по европейской модели, мы учились у европейцев. Мы пытались посмотреть, как успешные страны, соизмеримые с Арменией по населению, по другим меркам (в Европе много таких стран) к этому пришли. И мы реализовывали свои реформы в сфере государственного строительства, экономики в этом контексте. Это не взаимоисключающие процессы. Если мы строим по европейской модели нашу государственность, то это не обязательно значит, что мы должны иметь натянутые отношения с Россией. Мы можем строить именно в этом контексте и продолжать иметь стратегическое партнёрство, союзнические отношения с Россией. Есть страны в Европе, которые не являются членами Европейского Союза, но по уровню развития, по доходам на душу населения, по технологической продвинутости ничем не уступают другим странам Европейского Союза. Да, для Армении, с учётом целого ряда факторов, я убеждён, эта модель государственного устройства наиболее перспективная и наиболее интересная. И при этой модели государственного устройства мы можем иметь союзнические, очень продвинутые отношения с Россией, то есть не привязывать себя к каким-то блокам.

Анна Соусь: Мы записываем это интервью в офисе экс-президента, тут на стенах много фотографий с мировыми лидерами - с Борисом Ельциным, с Владимиром Путиным, с Папой Римским и с Биллом Клинтонем. А как вы видите взаимоотношения Армении и Соединённых Штатов Америки?

Роберт Кочарян: Мы всегда стремились к развитию этих отношений, и я считаю, что они всегда были равными и также развивались по нарастающей. Просто напомним, что по уровню материальной помощи на душу населения США уступали только Израилю. Но вместе с этим мы находились в достаточно сложном регионе, и нам чрезвычайно были важны отношения с Ираном, это наш очень важный торговый партнёр и сосед. Поэтому отношения с Соединёнными Штатами мы реально развивали. Мы продвигали эти отношения. Мы тогда объявили о политике комплементарности, и суть этой политики заключалась в том, что пытаться иметь выгоду не игрой на противоречиях крупных стран или блоков, а пытаться выиграть там, где эти противоречия сглаживаются. И меня всегда спрашивали, как мы умудряемся иметь хорошие отношения с Россией, с Ираном и с Соединёнными Штатами и с Европейским Союзом? Ну так вот умудрялись. Мы не переходили черту, за которой кто-либо из очень важных этих партнёров принимал бы наши действия как угрозу собственной безопасности или угрозу собственным

интересам. Это искусство. Можно, конечно, сломя голову попытаться выстроить стопроцентные отношения с Соединёнными Штатами и нулевые с Ираном, к примеру. Но я не думаю, что от этого мы выиграли бы. Поэтому мы пытались найти формулу, при которой сумма этих взаимоотношений была бы максимальной.

Анна Соусь: В Армении два бывших президента. У вас много коллег президентов-долгожителей, которые больше 20 лет у власти. Что бы вы могли им посоветовать, почему не надо бояться уходить? Почему хорошо быть бывшим президентом? Что можно успеть сделать?

Роберт Кочарян: Президенты - люди многоопытные, и не думаю, что они нуждаются в моих советах, тем более по этой тематике.

Анна Соусь: А вам как президенту почему хорошо быть бывшим?

Роберт Кочарян: Что касается конкретно моего выбора, это в первую очередь Конституция, которая предполагала не более двух сроков подряд, и второе - это персональное ощущение личной свободы и возможности совмещения этой личной свободы с занимаемой должностью. То есть границы этого сочетания. Но это всё слишком лично, слишком персонально, и каждый политик, наверно, сам решает как ему быть. История знает примеры как очень удачного длительного пребывания у власти, так и крайне катастрофического пребывания у власти, то есть оценивать всё надо уже по результатам.

Анна Соусь: Вы стали больше слушать джаз, больше книг читать, больше спортом заниматься? Я немножко про личное...

Роберт Кочарян: В принципе да. Больше путешествовать и так далее.

Анна Соусь: Я хотела у вас спросить про диверсификационный холдинг «Система». Вы являетесь его независимым директором. Расскажите пожалуйста про работу в этом российском холдинге, и насколько она связана с интересами Армении в России?

Роберт Кочарян: Никак не связана. Это компания частная. Я не думаю, что это входит в формат этого интервью. Я был приглашён основным акционером этой компании, мы были знакомы до этого, и с учётом управленческого опыта, который я имею, в компании посчитали, что я могу быть полезен этой компании. Занимаюсь активно в рамках тех задач, которые возлагаются на независимых директоров. Мне нравится, компания диверсифицирована, очень много разных направлений, это стимулирует тебя всё время работать над собой и не ограничивает степень твоей свободы. Мне кажется, интересная такая конфигурация для экс-президента.

Анна Соусь: Этот вопрос я задаю каждому экс-президенту. Насколько я знаю, закон о бывшем президенте в Армении был принят по образцу подобных законов Евросоюза. Что имеет в Армении бывший президент?

Роберт Кочарян: Офис, охрана, дом...

Анна Соусь: Это вы принимали этот закон?

Роберт Кочарян: Нет. Закон был принят до меня, я к нему ничего не добавил,

Роберт Кочарян: Смотрю. Смотрю основные российские каналы. Глобальные новости - CNN, BBC, российские - это Первый канал, Россия-24 новостные блоки. Я всё-таки больше смотрю не телевизор, а на мобильных устройствах. Всегда с тобой наушники, едешь, чем-то занимаешься и параллельно смотришь. Классическое сидение перед телевизором в 7 часов или 8 часов - это бывает крайне редко. Мир изменился, информационные потоки совершенно по-другому сегодня функционируют, поэтому в том классическом понимании сидения перед экраном нет.

Анна Соусь: Вы много раз встречались с Александром Лукашенко, когда были президентом, несколько раз он приезжал в Армению уже когда вы были бывшим президентом, встречались с ним. Как вы оцениваете роль Александра Лукашенко в истории Беларуси?

Роберт Кочарян: Роль президента пусть оценивает собственный народ, собственная политическая элита, партии. Я не стал бы входить в эту сферу чисто из этических соображений. Для меня это президент, с которым были очень хорошие личные отношения, президент, с которым мы договаривались, и он, как правило, держал своё слово. Все наши договорённости реализовывались, двухсторонние отношения стабильно развивались. После президентства у нас отличные контакты. Нечастые, но личные контакты остались. В личном плане у меня остался только позитив. Всё остальное - это тема другая...

Анна Соусь: Вы можете позвонить ему или он может вам позвонить?

Роберт Кочарян: Таких специальных контактов нет, но, когда он приезжает в Армению, обязательно инициирует эту встречу. Я был в Беларуси несколько лет назад. Есть контакты у нас, общие знакомые. В целом это человек, с которым можно договориться, пожать руки и быть уверенным, что все договорённости будут реализованы. Вот. Это в нём есть. В личном плане, я повторяюсь, мне грех жаловаться на эти отношения, я их ценю.

Анна Соусь: И последний вопрос, который меня попросили задать. Я была недавно в Америке и познакомилась с армянской семьёй, которая переехала из Армении в США ещё во времена Советского Союза. Они все хорошо интегрировались в американскую жизнь. Они узнали о том, что я буду в Армении и буду говорить с вами, и попросили задать такой вопрос. Им хотелось бы узнать, что нужно сделать, чтобы люди не уезжали из Армении? Возможно ли такое, что не будет эмиграции из Армении? Как бы вы ответили?

Роберт Кочарян: Чтобы в Армении было интересно жить, чтобы в Армении можно было бы работать, зарабатывать, кормить семью и видеть будущее своих детей. Здесь, в этой стране, это, конечно, возможно. По опыту собственного президентства могу сказать, что у нас был несколько лет положительный баланс миграции - в 2005, 2006, 2007 годах гораздо больше людей приезжало в Армению, чем уезжало. То есть надо разумно, рационально проводить экономическую политику, сокращать бедность, создавать рабочие места, есть стандартный набор решений, который в условиях Армении очень часто нужно достигать нестандартными методами.

Анна Соусь: И с другой стороны наличие диаспоры - это большой плюс для Армении.

Роберт Кочарян: Реально, это большой плюс, но вместе с этим это готовая инфраструктура для миграционной активности. Это реально ресурс, который может работать на экономику Армении, но при ухудшении ситуации, это инфраструктура, куда люди могут уезжать. Поэтому тут двоякая вещь, и очень многое зависит от того, какова ситуация в самой Армении. Если здесь ситуация хорошая, создаются новые рабочие места, экономика на подъеме - потенциал диаспоры реально может работать на мультипликацию всего этого процесса. Люди должны понимать, что Армения не просто историческая родина, которой надо умиляться, приезжать раз в году абрикосов поесть. Это не только место для эмоционального умиления, но страна, куда можно приехать, где можно найти работу, проинвестировать, где можно заработать, где справедливая конкурентная среда в экономике, где нет коррупции или по крайней мере уровень её настолько ничтожен, что она не мешает делать бизнес - вот это была бы ситуация, при которой потенциал диаспоры реально работал бы и в разы множил возможности Армении.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 14 December 2016 by *Vedomosti*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/14-12-2016-1.aspx>

Context: Theses of the speech by Tigran Sargsyan at the Eurasian Development Bank conference published in the newspaper *Vedomosti*: “overcoming underintegration”.

Я считаю, что есть огромный потенциал для экономического роста в евразийском пространстве, который еще не задействован. И я думаю, что основным инструментом, который мог бы сильно стимулировать экономический рост в наших странах, может являться именно этот наднациональный институт, который сегодня создан. Потому что основная наша миссия заключается в том, что мы должны суметь обобщить наилучшие практики, которые накоплены в странах, и исходя также из международного опыта, из опыта Европейского союза внедрять эти новые наднациональные институты, которые должны стимулировать экономический рост в наших странах. Аксиоматика, которая лежит в основе нашего Союзного договора, заключается в следующем: если мы создадим единое экономическое пространство, снимем барьеры и ограничения, изъятия, создадим условия для свободного перемещения товаров, услуг, капитала, рабочей силы, то это само уже по себе содержит очень серьезный потенциал для экономического роста.

Гармонизировать институты

Поэтому первое направление нашей деятельности – это снятие всех барьеров, изъятие ограничений, которые на сегодняшний день существуют. Как мы это будем делать? На сегодняшний день мы разрабатываем «Белую книгу», в которой подробно излагаем, какие сегодня существуют пока еще барьеры в торговле между нашими странами. Это очень важный документ, проект которого мы разослали всем правительствам и ждем от них реакции. Потому что наша задача – сделать график работ, как можно быстрее снять все эти барьеры, ограничения и изъятия. Второе направление деятельности – это внедрение новых стандартов. Как мы оцениваем потенциал экономических преобразований, которые существуют сегодня в Евразийском экономическом союзе? Прежде всего, мы учитываем опыт Европейского союза, какие инструменты они использовали для оценки потенциала этих экономических преобразований. Существует набор показателей, которые выявляют расхождения, существующие в наших моделях, в наших странах, в институтах, которые мы должны создавать, общие единые институты. Оценивается глубина разрыва и вырабатываются меры, как все это сгладить. И в этом плане существует потенциал для роста.

Поменять поведение людей

Теперь относительно того, как реализовать этот потенциал, по каким каналам мы должны стимулировать экономический рост. Прежде всего я хочу выдвинуть следующую гипотезу. Что означает осуществлять экономические преобразования или институциональные преобразования? Прежде всего, это означает, что мы должны поменять поведение людей. Поведение конкретного человека, поведение группы людей, поведение общества. И как мы должны осуществлять эти изменения? Команда, которая занимается реализацией наших целей, должна суметь четко определить приоритеты для себя, в каких направлениях мы должны прежде всего осуществить эти изменения. Потенциал интеллектуальный для осуществления реформ ограничен, и поэтому мы должны этот ресурс использовать правильно, и мы должны суметь найти приоритетные направления, где мы должны осуществить эти изменения. Прежде всего, у нас в голове должна быть четкая картина, в голове тех людей, которые принимают решения. Это первая важная задача: мы должны четко определиться, что хотим менять, как хотим менять. Второе – мы должны на этой базе создавать нормативные документы, которые регламентируют, как эти изменения должны произойти, какое новое поведение мы должны внедрять. Третье – это навыки, т. е. это означает, что должен быть диалог с реальным сектором, они должны видеть, что мы делаем, как мы делаем, что мы меняем и как они сами должны меняться в этих условиях.

Следуя Союзному договору

Что заложено в Союзном договоре? Первое направление – мы должны создавать единое пространство, единые каноны. Второе направление – мы должны создавать общие рынки. Третье направление – что мы должны координировать. Четвертое направление – гармонизация. Эти направления определены в Союзном договоре, и по всем этим направлениям у нас должны быть инструменты, как мы все это реализуем.

Я приведу конкретный пример, чтобы было понятно, как все это работает. Переход к инфляционному таргетированию. Армения первая из стран Евразийского экономического союза осуществила этот переход. Как он осуществлялся? Прежде всего, команда Центрального банка приходит к пониманию необходимости перехода к этой новой системе. То есть эта команда начинает набирать знания, навыки, как это можно сделать, после чего создаются соответствующие документы, проходят обучение люди, которые должны это реализовать, в самом Центральном банке. Каноны определяются, принимаются решения.

Второй этап – это диалог уже с коммерческими банками, основными игроками этого рынка. Как работают новые каноны инфляционного таргетирования? Как работает Центральный банк с обществом, с бизнесом? Какие меседжи дает Центральный банк? Какими инструментами Центральный банк формирует ожидания? Как благодаря игре с этими ожиданиями мы работаем с процентными ставками и определяем вообще, как мы будем добиваться тех целей по инфляции, которые у нас есть. Это означает, что меняется поведение Центрального банка, меняются каноны поведения, нормативные документы. Одновременно диалог с частным бизнесом, который должен понять логику действий Центрального банка, и исходя из этого они тоже должны поменять свои навыки. То есть это означает, что специалисты коммерческих банков тоже должны пройти обучение, для них должны быть понятны меседжи, которые в установленном формате и логике все время Центральный банк направляет им. Они должны грамотно реагировать на эти меседжи.

У нас пять стран и разные этапы внедрения инфляционного таргетирования: Армения, Россия, Казахстан, Киргизия уже далеко продвинулись в этом плане, пока еще Белоруссия отстает. Задача, которая стоит перед нами, –

создать единое поле и гармонизировать все это, потому что для нас принципиально важное значение имеет также и макроэкономическая общая ситуация, условия торговли. Так как очевидно, что, если у нас разные уровни инфляции, разный обменный курс, это и формирует условия торговли внутри союза. И это мешает формированию единого экономического пространства, единого рынка.

Внешний контур

Наконец, еще одно направление нашей деятельности – внешний контур, где мы тоже имеем наднациональные полномочия: нам делегировали национальные правительства эти полномочия. И мы создаем новые институты, которые бы позволяли сводить позиции пяти стран воедино, когда мы ведем переговоры с Китайской Народной Республикой по «Шелковому пути» или когда мы ведем переговоры с Ираном, с Индией, с Египтом, с Израилем, позволяли учитывать интересы экспортеров, учитывать потенциал, который есть в наших странах. А для этого нужен определенный набор инструментов, как мы это все сводим воедино. Плюс мы должны придумать институт уполномоченных людей, которые от каждой стороны имеют право принимать решения в переговорном процессе. Это первое. И второе – как мы организуем уже от имени всех пяти стран переговоры с вышеперечисленными нашими партнерами. Здесь тоже есть определенный набор инструментов, который должен повысить эффект от нашей деятельности. То есть направлений деятельности очень много, и логика, как мы должны осуществлять эти изменения, тоже нам понятна.

Оцифровка общего пространства

У нас в комиссии есть убежденность, что существует очень серьезный потенциал и для интеграции, и для экономического роста в оцифровке нашего единого экономического пространства. Мы хотим продвигаться быстрыми темпами вперед, логика понятна: как мы можем выстроить единое информационное цифровое пространство, какими нормативными документами мы должны регулировать эти отношения, какой диалог должен быть с частным сектором и как частный сектор должен реагировать.

Есть одна особенность, которая присуща современному этапу развития в мировом масштабе. Эта особенность заключается в том, что наши страны, наше политическое руководство, экономическое руководство работает сейчас в режиме реагирования на кризисные ситуации, – это такое ручное управление, и в большей степени нацелено на решение тактических задач. В то время как, скажем, в IT-секторе, когда мы общаемся с людьми, то видим, что они в отличие от нас думают в более долгосрочной перспективе. То есть мы заняты решением тактических задач, они заняты решением стратегических задач, и у них более глобальное видение будущего, потому что для них очень важно выявить глобальные тренды, чтобы выбрать правильную бизнес-концепцию развития. И такая интересная сейчас складывается ситуация и диалог с бизнесом, который именно нас подталкивает на принятие более стратегических решений. И я считаю, что этот диалог имеет принципиально важное значение для выявления потенциала экономического роста в наших странах. И я уверен, что есть огромный потенциал, пока еще не задействованный, и нам необходимо преодолевать эту недоинтеграцию.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 1 November 2016 by *Eurasian Commission*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/01-11-2016-4.aspx>

Context: Interview of Sargsyan on the development of the Eurasian economic union and Kyrgyzstan in it with an analytical resource “Business Eurasia”.

Председатель ЕЭК: Нужно создавать в странах ЕАЭС мощные современные кластеры

В августе 2016 года Кыргызстан отметил первую годовщину присоединения к Евразийскому экономическому союзу. Новый для Евразии альянс призван объединить экономики стран-участниц, увеличить экономический потенциал региона. О развитии союза и Кыргызстана в нем «Деловая Евразия» беседует с председателем Евразийской экономической комиссии Тиграном Саркисяном.

– Тигран Суренович, благодарим Вас за возможность встречи. В феврале Вы вступили в должность председателя коллегии Евразийской экономической комиссии. Евразийский экономический союз существует уже полтора года. Срок небольшой, но первые итоги подвести можно. Каковы, на ваш взгляд, важнейшие из них?

– Прежде всего хотел бы сказать, что за это время Евразийская экономическая комиссия совместно со странами Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) делала все возможное для достижения главной цели – обеспечения условий стабильного развития экономик государств – членов Союза в интересах повышения жизненного уровня населения.

В 2015 году, одновременно с образованием Евразийского экономического союза, стартовал единый рынок услуг. Сейчас в него входит 43 сектора, в совокупности составляющих более 25 процентов ВВП каждого из государств-членов. Идет работа над либерализацией еще 21-го сектора. В рамках единого рынка услуг их поставщикам предоставлен максимальный уровень свободы.

В прошлом году в ЕАЭС заработал общий рынок труда. Благодаря этому жители государств Союза имеют равные права при трудоустройстве в любой из стран и платят подоходный налог по той же ставке, что и резиденты. Люди получили право на социальное и медицинское обеспечение в любой стране Союза. Единое законодательство обеспечивает взаимное признание дипломов по абсолютному большинству специальностей. Это значительно повышает мобильность высококвалифицированных специалистов.

В нынешнем году страны также вплотную подошли к принятию единого пенсионного законодательства. После подписания Договора о пенсионном обеспечении граждане стран ЕАЭС смогут получать пенсии за период своей трудовой деятельности от государства Союза, где они трудились.

Мы разработали десятки современных, отвечающих международным требованиям нормативных актов, которые необходимы для запуска общих рынков лекарств и медицинских изделий. Надеемся, что в полном формате они начнут работать уже в конце этого года. Кроме того, ведется работа по созданию общего электроэнергетического рынка, рынков нефти, нефтепродуктов и газа.

– В 2016 году постсоветское пространство отмечает 25-летие образования большого объединения – Содружества Независимых Государств. Конечно, это больше политическая, чем экономическая формация. Политологи отмечают, что Содружество как институт не состоялось. И главная причина в разнонаправленности политических систем стран СНГ. Как вы считаете, может ли ЕАЭС постичь та же участь?

– Я бы не стал давать таких оценок СНГ. Это во-первых. Во-вторых, Евразийский союз – это прежде всего экономическая формация, созданная на основе взаимного экономического интереса стран – участниц Союза. Поэтому предметом обсуждения для нас являются прежде всего вопросы, лежащие в плоскости экономики. А тут интересы у всех примерно одинаковые – достойный уровень жизни населения и здоровая экономика. При этом необходимо понимать, что для решения чисто экономических вопросов тоже нужны политические

решения. Но мы не должны мешать экономике с политикой. В конечном счете, я не вижу предпосылок к тому, чтобы Евразийский союз не состоялся.

– Кыргызстан в этом году отметил первую годовщину своего вступления в Евразийский экономический союз. На саммите глав государств в Сочи результаты развития нашей страны называли высокими. Поясните, с чем это связано?

– Это связано прежде всего с тем, что мы видим – проделанная нами работа действительно дает реальные результаты. Приведу лишь несколько примеров. Во-первых, открытие таможенных границ существенно сократило время доставки товаров на рынки других стран Союза. Это позволило производителям существенно нарастить экспорт продукции. Свою роль играет и то, что в ЕАЭС успешно реализуется упрощенный порядок таможенного декларирования транспортных средств, зарегистрированных в государствах-членах.

ЕАЭС создает благоприятные условия для развития отраслей торговли и агропромышленного комплекса Кыргызстана. По данным ЕЭК, в январе–июне 2016 года по сравнению с тем же периодом 2015 года в Кыргызской Республике на 2,9 процента выросло производство продукции сельского хозяйства.

Большая часть населения, скорее всего, ощутит эти результаты позже. Пока же их видят экономисты, евразийские руководители и предприниматели. Я не совсем согласен с вашим утверждением, что рядовые граждане Кыргызстана не ощущают положительных эффектов интеграции в ЕАЭС.

Новые условия принципиально изменили правовой статус трудовых мигрантов из Кыргызстана. Теперь граждане республики имеют равные с резидентами других государств-членов права при трудоустройстве; нет квот при заключении соглашения с работодателями. Не надо получать дополнительные разрешительные документы. Например, в России гражданам республики не нужно сдавать экзамены на знание русского языка, истории и основ правового устройства Российской Федерации.

Важным является и то, что граждане Кыргызстана, приезжающие в страны Союза на работу, освобождаются от обязанности регистрироваться в госорганах в течение 30 суток с даты въезда. Им в дальнейшем нужно будет лишь встать на учет на срок действия трудового договора. Таким образом, нет прежней необходимости периодически выезжать из страны трудоустройства и потом снова въезжать для продления срока пребывания.

Сейчас работающие, например, в России граждане Кыргызстана платят подоходный налог с первого дня работы по той же ставке, что и резиденты: 13 процентов вместо 30. Их дети имеют право на посещение дошкольных учреждений и получение образования в соответствии с российским законодательством.

Новые положительные экономические эффекты Кыргызстан получит и от интеграционных проектов, которые будут запущены в ближайшее время. В частности, в этом году планируется принять Таможенный кодекс ЕАЭС. Предприниматели обретут единый свод правил. Документ предполагает ряд новшеств, которые значительно сэкономят ресурсы бизнеса: будут упрощены таможенные формальности, сократится время на прохождение таможенных процедур, минимизируется общение с чиновниками, а значит в целом улучшится бизнес-климат.

– Кыргызстан, по словам партнеров по интеграции, оправдал их ожидания. Но вместе с тем у нашей страны пока сохраняется много проблем. Скептики высказывают мнение, что они связаны с присоединением к ЕАЭС. Это транзит сельхозпродуктов, отток рабочей силы из швейной отрасли, засилье продукции производства стран-членов ЕАЭС. Как долго, по вашему мнению, может продолжаться такой период?

– Вообще спор со скептиками – чаще всего дело неблагоприятное. Что касается проблем, то они есть во всех странах Евразийского экономического

союза. Более того, во всем мире. Это связано с процессами и тенденциями в мировой экономике. При этом в странах ЕАЭС в первом полугодии 2016 года отмечена положительная динамика отдельных макроэкономических показателей. Например, производство продукции сельского хозяйства за первое полугодие увеличилось на 2,7 процента, грузооборот возрос на 1,2 процента.

По итогам прошлого года рынок труда характеризовался снижением уровня безработицы по Союзу до 5,7%, что лучше показателя ЕС (9,4 %) и сопоставимо с показателем США (5,3 %). По сути, это означает, что интеграция способствовала смягчению экономического кризиса в странах Евразийского экономического союза, нивелировала неблагоприятную внешнюю конъюнктуру и внешние шоки мировой экономики.

– Президент Кыргызской Республики и его команда много сделали как для развития Кыргызстана в рамках евразийской интеграции, так и для вклада нашей страны в развитие самого ЕАЭС. В ЕЭК Кыргызстан представлен двумя министрами – по таможенному сотрудничеству, по энергетике и инфраструктуре. Скажите, пожалуйста, эти позиции закреплены за министрами из Кыргызстана в силу каких-то особенностей национальной экономики нашей страны?

– Назначения на ключевые посты в Евразийской экономической комиссии происходят по согласованию между странами с учетом предложений правительств. Министры, представляющие в Комиссии Кыргызстан, занимают ключевые позиции: Адамкул Жунусов курирует сферу энергетики и инфраструктуры, Мукай Кадыркулов – таможенное сотрудничество.

– В период присоединения Кыргызстана к ЕАЭС обсуждался вопрос специализации стран ЕАЭС по производству продукции. Эксперты отмечали, что выгодой будет не унификация экономики, а ее узкая направленность. К примеру, Кыргызстану рекомендовалось ориентироваться на швейное производство и туризм. Как вы считаете, насколько реально такое выстраивание будущих рынков, ведь у стран ЕАЭС разный уровень экономического развития?

– Экономики действительно неравнозначны, но это отнюдь не мешает тому, чтобы в каждой стране какая-то из отраслей развивалась особенно успешно. Определенная специализация в ЕАЭС неизбежна, хотя бы исходя из географии и имеющихся ресурсов. Ни одна страна, даже самая большая и развитая, не может быть на высоком уровне конкурентоспособной сразу во всех сферах. К тому же унификация мало плодотворна. Как увеличивать объемы взаимной торговли, если во всех союзных странах будет производиться одна и та же продукция? При этом речь не идет, например, об основных продуктах питания – каждая страна Союза думает о собственной продовольственной безопасности. Государства ЕАЭС прежде всего не должны конкурировать между собой в развитии наиболее передовых инновационных отраслей, цифровых технологий, требующих огромных финансовых и материальных затрат. Вот где наиболее разумно объединить усилия. На мой взгляд, правильнее создавать в каждой из стран с помощью других членов Союза мощные современные кластеры, отрасли и предприятия, которые будут способны конкурировать с товарами и услугами третьих стран и занять свою нишу на глобальном мировом рынке.

– Тигран Суренович, евразийскую интеграцию зачастую видят, как попытку возродить СССР. За 25 лет своей независимой истории каждая страна – член Союза прошла свой собственный путь и сформировала свой уклад. И все же не последует ли вслед за экономической и политической интеграцией, которая приведет к объединению стран в единое государство?

– Важно понимать, что Евразийский экономический союз не является неоимперским проектом. Очевидно из-за того, что это было бы явно притянато за уши. Тезис о том, что каждая из стран Союза на постсоветском пространстве прошла свой собственный путь, не ставится под сомнение. Каждая из них будет и дальше идти своим собственным политическим путем. Являясь при этом членом

Евразийского экономического союза. Речь идет об экономической интеграции, не более того.

– Некоторые ученые в свое время писали о создании целого евразийского государства. В этой связи хотел бы спросить, как вы видите будущее евразийской интеграции и роль Кыргызстана в ней?

– Ключевые вопросы интеграции между странами Евразийского экономического союза регулируются с января 2015 года Договором о ЕАЭС. В этом документе обозначены три главных цели Союза: создание условий для стабильного развития экономик государств-членов в интересах повышения жизненного уровня населения; формирование и развитие единого рынка товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы; всесторонняя модернизация, кооперация и повышение конкурентоспособности национальных экономик.

К 2019 году в соответствии с Договором о ЕАЭС будет запущен общий электроэнергетический рынок, к 2025 – рынок газа, нефти и нефтепродуктов. Также в 2025 году на евразийском пространстве будет создан общий финансовый рынок. Интеграция в Союзе укрепляется по всем направлениям. И роль Кыргызстана в ней можно, безусловно, оценить как высокую. Это роль равноправного, уважаемого партнера.

– И последний вопрос. В честь 25-летия независимости, которую и Армения, и Кыргызстан отмечают в 2016 году, что бы вы пожелали народам этих двух евразийских государств?

– 25 лет назад независимость обрели не только Армения и Кыргызстан, но и другие государства Евразийского экономического союза – Беларусь, Казахстан. Да и Россия, по сути, стала новой страной с кардинально изменившимися государственными приоритетами и задачами. Для каждой из наших стран четверть века независимости – большой праздник. Искренне хочу пожелать нашим прекрасным, трудолюбивым, талантливым народам дальнейшего процветания!

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 30 December 2016 by *Armenian newspaper Noah's Ark*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/30-12-2016-2.aspx>

Context: Interview of Tigran Sargsyan to Armenian newspaper “Noah Ark” on removing barriers and facilitation of customs procedures simplify business. He spoke about the priorities of the Eurasian Economic Commission, the development of integration and economic preferences of the EAEU members, overcoming external challenges, interacting with other international economic structures, the benefits of Eurasian Cooperation for Armenian business.

Тигран Суренович, в начале 2016 года Вы возглавили Коллегию Евразийской экономической комиссии – один из руководящих органов ЕАЭС. Какие задачи она решает?

– Прежде всего хочу поздравить читателей газеты «Ноев Ковчег» с наступающим Новым годом и пожелать благополучия и процветания.

Что касается вашего вопроса, то, если очень коротко, Евразийская экономическая комиссия – это постоянно действующий регулирующий орган Евразийского экономического союза.

Деятельность Комиссии направлена на достижение основных целей ЕАЭС: создание условий для стабильного развития экономик государств-членов в интересах повышения жизненного уровня их населения; формирование единого рынка товаров, услуг, капитала и трудовых ресурсов в рамках Союза; всесторонняя модернизация, кооперация и повышение конкурентоспособности национальных экономик в условиях глобальной экономики.

Комиссии передан ряд полномочий – с национального на наднациональный уровень. В частности, таможенное и техническое регулирование,

антимонопольное регулирование в сфере трансграничных рынков, антидемпинговые расследования, введение компенсационных и специальных защитных мер, переговоры по соглашениям о зонах свободной торговли и т.д.

Кроме того, ЕЭК работает в соответствии с приоритетами, определяемыми президентами стран ЕАЭС. Например, в 2016 году таким приоритетом является углубление отношений с третьими странами и интеграционными объединениями – в соответствии с инициативой президента Казахстана Н.А.Назарбаева.

– Сразу возникает вопрос: каким был 2016 год с точки зрения углубления отношений с третьими странами?

– Год был достаточно динамичным. В этом году вступило в силу соглашение о ЗСТ с Вьетнамом. Также начался активный процесс переговоров по заключению соглашений о зонах свободной торговли с Ираном, Израилем, Индией, Южной Кореей, Сингапуром и Египтом. Интерес к Евразийскому союзу большой – в целом около 40 стран и объединений высказались за углубление сотрудничества с нами.

Важным треком внешней деятельности Союза является работа, направленная на сопряжение ЕАЭС и китайского проекта «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути». В мае 2015 года президенты стран Евразийского экономического союза приняли решение о начале переговоров с Китаем по заключению соглашения о торгово-экономическом сотрудничестве.

Это важный этап в развитии экономического сотрудничества, упорядочивающий всю структуру отношений и создающий базу для дальнейшего движения в области упрощения торговли и ликвидации нетарифных барьеров, ограничивающих взаимный доступ на рынки. Важнейшим элементом сопряжения должно стать соглашение о торгово-экономическом сотрудничестве между Евразийским союзом и Китаем. Цель соглашения – обеспечение комплексного взаимодействия Союза в качестве субъекта мировой экономики с КНР по вопросам торгового регулирования, упрощение торговли для содействия кооперационному сотрудничеству, обеспечение функционирования развитых институтов взаимодействия по торговым вопросам.

Соглашение призвано обеспечить стабильные в долгосрочном плане условия экономического сотрудничества, кооперационных, деловых связей для предпринимателей и инвесторов. Это особенно важно в условиях современного состояния мировой экономики и обострения рисков в глобальной торговле. Кроме того, именно соглашение может сформировать практический переход к сопряжению инициатив регионального сотрудничества – евразийского интеграционного проекта и «Экономического пояса Шелкового пути».

Для нас выход на торгово-экономическое соглашение с КНР очень важен, тем более в условиях, когда китайская экономика переходит к новой модели роста – за счет увеличения внутреннего потребления. В этой ситуации вход на китайский рынок именно сейчас – большое преимущество для наших экспортеров.

– Каковы, по Вашему мнению, основные составляющие макроэкономического эффекта для стран – участниц ЕАЭС?

– Сначала мы должны отметить, что активный период интеграции начался с 2010 года – с момента образования Таможенного союза между Беларусью, Казахстаном и Россией. То есть положительный эффект надо выводить именно с 2010 года. А тогда отмена таможенных границ между странами, унификация таможенного законодательства, включая принятие Единого таможенного тарифа и Таможенного кодекса Таможенного союза, привели к моментальному росту взаимных потоков товаров, обмену инвестициями, налаживанию активных контактов в производственной сфере. Кроме того, экономическому росту способствовали внешние факторы: завершение посткризисного восстановления мировой экономики, рост цен на сырьевые товары, доступность долгосрочного финансирования.

Углубление интеграции и образование Единого экономического пространства и в дальнейшем Евразийского экономического союза, к которому присоединились в 2015 году Республика Армения и Кыргызская Республика, также способствовало качественным изменениям. Последовательное снятие барьеров для формирования общего рынка Союза придало новый импульс развитию производственной кооперации и диверсификации структуры взаимной торговли. Несмотря на количественное преобладание сырьевых товаров во взаимном товарообороте, увеличился спрос на промышленную продукцию государств-членов с высокой добавленной стоимостью. Кроме того, возросла доля услуг в торговом обороте (11% в 2010 году, 13,9% в 2015 году).

Конечно, в 2015-2016 гг. внешние факторы оказали негативное влияние на устойчивость экономик наших стран. Прежде всего это падение мировых цен на углеводороды, которые занимают существенную долю (около 50%, по данным 2015 года) в экспорте товаров Союза. В результате если в 2014 году мы могли фиксировать опережающий среднемировой показатель рост ВВП ЕАЭС, то по результатам 2015 года мы стали несколько отставать от мировых темпов развития.

Однако меры, которые предприняли государства-члены, и частично координация их действий в рамках Союза позволяют констатировать, что волну отрицательных тенденций удалось преодолеть. На текущий момент ситуация стабилизировалась, и в 2017-2018 гг. мы ожидаем увеличение деловой активности и положительные темпы роста ВВП государств-членов. Международные агентства также пересматривают свои оценки развития наших стран. Например, в сентябре 2016 года S&P изменил прогноз России с негативного на стабильный. Организация экономического сотрудничества и развития прогнозирует восстановление, рейтинговое агентство Moody's – рост российской экономики уже в 2017 году. Я привожу данные по России потому, что крупнейшей экономикой Евразийского союза является именно российская, и поэтому ее положительная динамика будет иметь очевидно положительный эффект для других стран Союза.

– Возможно ли Евразийскому экономическому союзу стать «связкой» между Европой и динамичным Азиатско-Тихоокеанским регионом?

– То, что пространство Евразийского экономического союза, по крайней мере с географической точки зрения, является мостом между Европой и Азиатско-Тихоокеанским регионом (АТР) – факт. Однако для того, чтобы этот естественный мост стал, как вы говорите, «связкой», мы свое положение должны в большей степени институционализировать. Под «институционализацией» мы должны понимать целый комплекс мер. Во-первых, это углубление сотрудничества с государствами АТР путем подписания торгово-экономических соглашений и соглашений о ЗСТ.

Во-вторых, это модернизация наших экономик, рост их конкурентных преимуществ, с тем чтобы мы не стали просто транзитной территорией, а получили бы доступ к добавленной стоимости, формируемой благодаря развитию трансрегиональной торговли.

В-третьих, мы должны пойти путем создания максимально выгодных условий для притока внутренних и внешних инвестиций в сферу логистики. Речь в данном случае идет не только о дорогах или железнодорожных узлах, которые, естественно, требуют развития и модернизации. Под логистикой мы обязаны понимать также и целый комплекс услуг информационно-цифрового характера. Порой железнодорожный состав медленно переходит через границу не потому, что железная дорога плохая, а потому, что нет развитой автоматизированной системы учета и регистрации, проверки и составления отчетности, слишком высока роль человеческого фактора и т.д. Таким образом, для повышения своих конкурентных преимуществ мы обязаны пойти на резкое повышение роли информационных и цифровых технологий в сфере торговли, транспортировки и логистики. ЕЭК сегодня активно работает над формированием цифровой повестки

Евразийского союза, которая и должна дать толчок развитию в том числе и сферы логистики на нашем пространстве.

Так что, превращение Евразийского союза в «связку» зависит как от внешнего, так и от внутреннего трека. Могу сказать, что как комиссия, так и государства-члены это осознают и шаги, которые мы предпринимаем и планируем, адекватны ситуации.

– Вы неоднократно подчеркивали, что именно бизнес является ключевым бенефициаром экономической интеграции и либерализации торговли ЕАЭС с третьими странами. Как армянский бизнес ощущает на себе преимущества этих процессов?

– Членство в Евразийском союзе дало возможность армянским предпринимателям существенно снизить операционные расходы внешней торговли и смягчить региональные экономические шоки. Интеграция расширила доступ армянских производителей на рынки стран Союза, в первую очередь – России. Отмечу, что только за 9 месяцев 2016 года Армения увеличила экспорт в страны ЕАЭС более чем на 55% по сравнению с аналогичным периодом предыдущего года. Кроме того, открытие таможенных границ в рамках ЕАЭС позволило компаниям существенно сократить время доставки товаров на рынки стран Союза: например, среднее время прохождения пункта пропуска физическими и юридическими лицами из Республики Армения на границе Российской Федерации и Республики Грузия до присоединения Армении к Союзу составляло 3 часа. После присоединения среднее время прохождения пункта пропуска уменьшилось в три раза и составляет 1 час.

Снятие барьеров и облегчение таможенных процедур упрощает бизнесу возможность открывать для себя новые рынки. А новые рынки означают привлечение инвестиций, увеличение объемов, снижение себестоимости и так далее. Но надо понимать, что бизнесу нужно время для большей адаптации к новым условиям, для лучшей оценки рисков и возможностей, и поэтому мы уверены, что в будущем мы будем наблюдать увеличение деловой активности как в случае с Арменией, так и с другими странами Союза.

– Можно ли говорить о возрастающей роли евразийского экономического сотрудничества в контексте санкций со стороны Запада?

– Евразийская интеграция – интеграция экономическая. Что касается санкций, то они хотя и экономические по форме, но политические по сути. Евразийская же комиссия никогда не вмешивалась в политические вопросы, более того, президенты государств-членов всегда подчеркивали, что мы строим экономическое объединение, а не политическое.

Так что, с формальной точки зрения, санкции и ЕЭК никак друг с другом не связаны.

К большому сожалению, часть наших западных партнеров видят в нас или хотят видеть в нас политический союз. Такое не вполне адекватное восприятие Евразийского союза является основным камнем преткновения на пути установления диалога между нами и Европейским союзом. Но я уверен, что со временем отношение к нам будет меняться по мере углубления нашей интеграции. А говоря в целом о международной конкурентоспособности Евразийского экономического союза – по основным авторитетным международным рейтингам («Ведение бизнеса», «Рейтинг глобальной конкурентоспособности», «Рейтинг человеческого развития», «Рейтинг глобализации»), – Союз в целом относится к группе с уровнем выше среднего. Но есть четкая тенденция на улучшение позиции: с 2010 года – момента, когда начиналась история евразийской интеграции – установилась позитивная динамика изменения позиций в большинстве международных рейтингов. Среди позитивных изменений в ЕАЭС, на которые повлияли меры наднационального регулирования, следует отметить: рост свободы внешней торговли (Всемирный индекс экономической свободы

Института Фрейзера); рост интенсивности внутренней конкуренции, что говорит о влиянии мер по устранению барьеров (Индекс глобальной конкурентоспособности ВЭФ); рост эффективности антимонопольной политики (Индекс глобальной конкурентоспособности ВЭФ); сокращение издержек, связанных с таможенными процедурами (Индекс глобальной конкурентоспособности ВЭФ).

В целом я считаю, что рост нашей конкурентоспособности прямо зависит от того, как быстро мы сможем ликвидировать оставшиеся в рамках Союза барьеры и ограничения. Это стратегическая задача, для решения которой ЕЭК приложит максимальные усилия.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 14 November 2016 by *Eurasiancommission*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/14-11-2016.aspx>

Context : Speech of Tigran Sargsyan at closing the program dedicated to the priorities and instruments of Eurasian economic integration. "EAEU: integration for everyone. Effects and Prospects until 2025".

11 ноября в Москве завершила работу «Осенняя школа» для молодых экспертов, ученых и журналистов стран Евразийского экономического союза, профессионально изучающих проблематику евразийской интеграции. На закрытии выступили председатель Коллегии Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) Тигран Саркисян и генеральный директор Российского совета по международным делам (РСМД) Андрей Кortunov.

Программа была организована ЕЭК и РСМД и посвящена приоритетам и инструментам евразийской экономической интеграции. «ЕАЭС: интеграция для каждого. Эффекты и перспективы до 2025 года» – тема обучения «школы» в 2016 году.

Тигран Саркисян подчеркнул, что миссия школы – помочь молодым экспертам, ученым и журналистам понять логику, лежащую в основе интеграционного объединения.

По словам председателя Коллегии ЕЭК, в индустриальном обществе существует конкуренция производства товаров. Ее суть заключается в том, что компании, борясь за потребителя, производят качественный товар с более низкой себестоимостью. Основной фактор в постиндустриальном обществе – фактор масштаба. Сегодня глобальный рынок делят крупные транснациональные корпорации, и конкуренция в этом случае приводит к тому, что у глобальных игроков продукция становится идентичной.

«Мы выпали из конкурентной борьбы, когда шел процесс индустриализации. Но если мы хотим быть современными, конкурентоспособными, нам нужно понять глобальный тренд, – заявил Тигран Саркисян. – В индустриальном обществе это был процесс производства товаров, в постиндустриальном в приоритете – формирование интеллектуального и кадрового потенциала».

Одним из преимуществ стран Союза Тигран Саркисян назвал значительный интеллектуальный потенциал и хорошую школу математики: «Мы должны понимать, в каких сферах у нас есть конкурентные преимущества в мировом масштабе, где мы специализируемся и какой тренд можем выстроить. У Евразийского экономического союза может быть будущее только в том случае, если мы сможем конкурировать в производстве знаний. Речь идет о нашем научном и интеллектуальном потенциале».

Евразийская экономическая комиссия развивает новое направление деятельности – оцифровку евразийского экономического пространства, и задача первостепенной важности – сформировать для этого все необходимые условия. Оцифровка будет проводиться по единым стандартам.

Следующим шагом должно стать создание единой торговой платформы Союза, которая позволит связать производителей, поставщиков, покупателей и продавцов. «В целом это означает модернизацию всего нашего евразийского пространства. Мы разрабатываем концепцию и хотели бы, чтобы ее поддержали страны Союза. Это может стать прорывным направлением нашей деятельности, которое помогло бы нам сделать скачок из индустриального в постиндустриальное общество», – подчеркнул председатель Коллегии ЕЭК.

Генеральный директор РСМД Андрей Картунов также поблагодарил участников школы и руководство ЕЭК, отметив практическую пользу мероприятия, итоги которого призваны способствовать успешному развитию интеграционных процессов на евразийском пространстве. «Школа предоставляет участникам не только знания и практический опыт, но и позволяет посмотреть на происходящие процессы глазами настоящих экспертов», – подвел итог работы школы Андрей Картунов.

Первая «Осенняя школа» была организована ЕЭК и РСМД в 2015 году. Ее темой была «Евразийская экономическая интеграция: приоритеты, перспективы, инструменты».

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 25 August 2016 by TASS News Agency.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/en/nae/news/Pages/25-08-2016-1.aspx>

Context: Exclusive interview with TASS News Agency. Chairman of the Board of the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC) Tigran Sargsyan told TASS about the course of the negotiation process with China about trade and economic cooperation, as well as the prospects for further integration of the EAEU member countries.

- *Тигран Суренович, расскажите о целях Вашего визита в КНР.*

- Во-первых, начну с истории вопроса. Чуть более года назад в мае 2015 года Высшим Евразийским экономическим советом принято решение о начале переговоров с КНР по заключению соглашения о торгово-экономическом сотрудничестве. На заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, состоявшегося 31 мая 2016 года в Астане, одобрены концепция и магистральное целеполагание будущих договоренностей с КНР.

Уже 25 июня 2016 года было сделано совместное заявление Комиссии и Министерства коммерции КНР о запуске переговорного процесса по Соглашению о ТЭС. Сегодня можно сказать, что переговорный процесс между сторонами идет довольно интенсивными темпами, и мой визит имеет одной из основных целей закрепить эти темпы переговорного процесса и придать ему новый импульс.

Во-вторых, вы, наверное, знаете, что китайская сторона, а также государства-члены ЕАЭС рассматривают будущее соглашение о ТЭС в качестве составной части процесса сопряжения организации и китайской инициативы Экономического пояса Шелкового пути (ЭПШП). Сам ЭПШП - глобальный проект, включающий в себя самые разные элементы - экономику, торговлю, транспорт, культуру, образование и т.д. И нужно отметить, что во многом из-за

своей разновекторности реализация проектов ЭПШП не закреплена за одним китайским министерством или за одной организацией, а за несколькими. Сама Комиссия работает по заключению соглашения о ТЭС с министерством коммерции КНР, хотя за ЭПШП отвечает не только это министерство, но и Государственный комитет по развитию и реформам, МИД, Фонд Шелкового пути и другие учреждения.

Основной целью моего визита в Пекин была встреча с вице-премьером Государственного Совета КНР Чжан Гаоли, который курирует работу по ЭПШП практически всех государственных учреждений и структур. Обсуждение вопросов сопряжения и заключения соглашения о ТЭС именно с ним - облегчение и поддержка переговорного процесса. Я обещал ему, что буду лично контролировать, чтобы переговорщики от ЕЭК работали в интенсивном режиме и попросил сделать тоже самое с китайской стороны. Мы по этому вопросу пришли к взаимопониманию.

- Какие сроки отводятся для переговоров?

- Наша позиция - чем скорее, тем лучше, но никак не в ущерб самому соглашению и интересам сторон. На ПМЭФ-2016 глава Еврокомиссии Юнкер, говоря о грядущем референдуме по выходу Великобритании из ЕС, отметил, что, возможно, причиной недовольства жителей Британии членством в ЕС является то, что Еврокомиссия слишком спешила с принятием норм и правил. Не исключено, что было бы лучше двигаться чуть медленнее, но более эффективно. Мы придерживаемся такой же позиции по соглашению о ТЭС, которое планируем подписать. Но нужно знать, что по соглашению с КНР, сами директивы по переговорам утверждены так, чтобы с одной стороны максимально учитывались уже оформленные интересы пяти государств-членов, а с другой - наших китайских партнеров. Поэтому тут возможен и нужен активный рывок, и, мне кажется, что взаимовыгодное соглашение не должно быть за горами.

Заменил ли соглашение о ТЭС двусторонние отношения отдельных государств-членов ЕАЭС с КНР?

- Нет. Наоборот, соглашение о ТЭС поспособствует институализации отношений всех государств-членов ЕАЭС с КНР. ЕЭК действует в рамках своей компетенции и никак не подменяет национальный суверенитет по развитию двусторонних отношений, да и не имеет такой возможности по определению.

В то же время я хочу повторить - магистральные направления соглашения о ТЭС с КНР являются утвержденными на высшем уровне лидерами стран ЕАЭС. То есть они учитывают общие, а не частные интересы. Одновременно хотел бы отметить инициативу господина Чжан Гаоли относительно создания общего банка данных по проектам, которые реализуют наши пять стран. Просьба китайской стороны заключается в том, чтобы ЕЭК предоставила им такой банк данных. Это свидетельствует, что координация деятельности в рамках ЕАЭС будет способствовать также и эффективности продвижения региональных проектов. Речь идет о проектах, которые уже начаты, реализуются, а также которые запланированы к реализации КНР и нашими странами. Очевидно, что эти проекты участвуют в процессе сопряжения. Если будет такой целостный банк данных, то китайской стороне и нам будет легче координировать работу по выстраиванию сопряжения в целом. Мы начнем немедленно, потому что господин Чжан Гаоли, выступив с такой инициативой, также заверил нас, что китайская сторона предоставит все необходимые информационные материалы.

- Расскажите о Ваших впечатлениях от переговоров с китайской стороной?

- То обстоятельство, что мы с первым вице-премьером Госсовета закрепили новый формат взаимоотношений между ЕАЭС и КНР свидетельствует, что

переговорный процесс идет успешно. Мы договорились, что будем периодически встречаться. Это говорит о заинтересованности наших коллег в продвижении этого проекта. С этой точки зрения, мне кажется, что инициатива, с которой выступили наши китайские коллеги, означает, что они придают большое значение евразийской интеграции. Мое впечатление было таким, что они будут поддерживать нас. Это первое впечатление. Второе, исходя из их инициативы создания единого банка данных, китайская сторона отводит важную роль тому, чтобы эти проекты были бы сопряжены с общим процессом региональной интеграции.

- У стран-членов ЕАЭС имеется общее понимание относительно дальнейшей региональной интеграции, в частности, с Китаем?

- Безусловно, если бы не было такого общего подхода, то не было бы переговоров с КНР. Мы тщательно готовились к переговорам, ушло много времени и усилий, чтобы создать такой формат диалога и включить в нашу повестку именно те вопросы, которые будут поддержаны всеми сторонами. В этом отношении мы хорошо подготовились и получили мандат от наших президентов и директивы, где есть четкий перечень вопросов, которые входят в компетенцию нашей Комиссии при переговорах с китайскими коллегами.

Одновременно мы договорились с нашими странами, что мы будем информировать всех членов объединения о ходе переговорного процесса и на Совете ЕЭК периодически намерены обсуждать ход процесса с тем, чтобы придать ему определенную гибкость с учетом инициатив и предложений, которые будут высказаны нашими партнерами.

Общие подходы к сопряжению ЕАЭС с ЭПШП уже согласованы между странами-членами, теперь необходимо обсуждать это с китайскими партнерами. Первый раунд переговоров уже состоялся, мы договорились, что один раз в два месяца будут проходить соответствующие встречи. Благодаря этому будет определяться скорость движения вперед и перечень вопросов, по которым необходимо проводить дополнительные консультации. Эти встречи будут организовываться на уровне рабочей группы, которой руководит министр по торговле ЕЭК Вероника Никишина.

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 31 May 2016 by *Eurasiancommission*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/08-06-2016-3.aspx>

Context: May 29 marks two years since the signing of the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The Chairman of the Board of the Board of the Eurasian Economic Commission Tigran Sargsyan told what the integration association is today and what has changed with the advent of the EAEU for citizens and businesses of the EAEU.

- Договору о ЕАЭС исполняется два года, Союз начал функционировать с 1 января 2015 года. Сроки для интеграционного объединения не очень большие. Удалось ли ЕАЭС за это время добиться мирового признания?

- За достаточно короткое время проделана огромная работа, которая дает реальные результаты. Об этом свидетельствует интерес к нашему экономическому проекту более 40 стран, которые выразили желание развивать торгово-экономическое сотрудничество с Союзом. В прошлом году было подписано Соглашение о создании зоны свободной торговли между ЕАЭС и Вьетнамом, ведутся переговоры о целесообразности заключения соглашений с Индией, Египтом, Израилем и Ираном.

В соответствии с инициативой Президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева – председателя Высшего Евразийского экономического совета в 2016 году углубление экономических отношений с третьими странами и

интеграционными объединениями является приоритетом работы ЕЭК в нынешнем году.

Активно развивается азиатское направление нашего международного сотрудничества. Недавно были подписаны Меморандумы о взаимопонимании между Евразийской экономической комиссией и Королевством Камбоджа, Республикой Сингапур. Обе страны заинтересованы в углублении сотрудничества вплоть до подписания Соглашения о ЗСТ. Комиссия ведет продуктивный диалог с Ассоциацией государств Юго-Восточной Азии (АСЕАН). Мы обсуждаем состыковку интеграционных процессов наших объединений с Шанхайской организацией сотрудничества (ШОС).

Мы также успешно сотрудничаем со странами и объединениями Латинской Америки – Комиссия уже подписала Меморандумы о взаимопонимании с Перу и Чили, ведутся переговоры по заключению Меморандума о сотрудничестве по торгово-экономическим вопросам с Общим рынком стран Южной Америки (МЕРКОСУР).

Региональная экономическая интеграция является определяющим трендом в современном мире. Страны понимают, что в условиях быстрых изменений и неопределенности мировой экономической среды более эффективно преодолевать новые вызовы и риски сообща. В этом смысле ЕАЭС развивается в русле глобальной тенденции.

Международная деятельность ЕАЭС, в том числе по заключению соглашений о зоне свободной торговли с третьими странами, будет способствовать развитию экспорта продукции из стран Союза, привлечению инвестиций и, в целом, росту экономики стран ЕАЭС путем создания условий для диверсификации торгово-экономических отношений.

- Насколько я знаю, обсуждается также углубление сотрудничества с Китайской Народной Республикой. Главы государств стран Союза и Китая приняли решение о сопряжении ЕАЭС и экономического пояса Шелкового пути. Делаются какие-то шаги в этом направлении?

- Совсем недавно, 20 мая на заседании Межправительственного совета ЕЭК в Ереване Комиссия получила мандат на проведение переговоров с КНР о заключении Соглашения о торгово-экономическом сотрудничестве между Евразийским экономическим союзом, его государствами-членами и Китайской Народной Республикой. Это большой шаг вперед. Он означает, что наши пять стран будут сообща вести переговоры в едином формате.

- В чем может заключаться сотрудничество ЕАЭС и КНР?

- Консультативная группа несколько месяцев изучала предложения от китайского бизнеса и стран Союза. Согласован перечень перспективных проектов для реализации в ЕАЭС и их сопряжения с проектом Экономического пояса Шелкового пути. В дальнейшем мы планируем обсудить Соглашение о торгово-экономическом сотрудничестве между Союзом и КНР. И тут наша главная цель – максимально отразить интересы бизнес-сообщества ЕАЭС. Если наши производители смогут выйти на огромный китайский рынок, то это будет большой потенциал для развития Союза.

- О каких «плюсах» для бизнеса в рамках ЕАЭС можно говорить уже сейчас?

- В первую очередь, это открытие таможенных границ. Это позволило компаниям существенно сократить время доставки товаров на рынки стран Союза и уменьшить финансовые и временные издержки на оформление грузов. Отмена таможенного контроля между странами ЕАЭС позволила производителям нарастить экспорт в другие страны Союза и расширить сотрудничество с компаниями из других стран-участниц объединения.

В ЕАЭС законодательно закреплён и успешно реализуется упрощённый порядок таможенного декларирования транспортных средств международной перевозки, зарегистрированных в странах Союза.

С 1 января 2016 года запущен первый этап четырехэтапной Программы либерализации каботажных перевозок грузов автомобильным транспортом. Реализация программы позволит транспортным компаниям стран Союза получить доступ к внутренним рынкам грузоперевозок государств-членов, сократить объём порожних пробегов.

Ведется работа по обеспечению доступа компаний из стран ЕАЭС на национальные рынки госзакупок. На сегодняшний день, подобный взаимный доступ уже обеспечен для компаний из Беларуси, Казахстана и России.

Нельзя не упомянуть технические регламенты, которые разработаны и приняты в рамках ЕАЭС. Они позволяют устанавливать оптимальные требования для обеспечения необходимого уровня безопасности продукции, обращающейся на едином союзном рынке. Для бизнеса это означает снижение издержек, снятие барьеров в торговле, которому способствует переход на единые обязательные требования техрегламентов на всей территории Союза. Производителям и импортерам не нужно подстраиваться под различные национальные стандарты.

- С 1 января 2015 года в Союзе в ряде секторов заработал единый рынок услуг. Что это означает? Что изменилось для бизнеса с его появлением?

- Сейчас в единый рынок услуг входит 43 сектора, в совокупности составляющих более 25% ВВП каждого из государств-членов. Идет работа над либерализацией еще 21 сектора услуг.

В рамках единого рынка услуг поставщикам услуг предоставлен максимально достижимый уровень свободы, который включает поставку и получение услуг без ограничений, изъятий и дополнительных требований, за исключением отдельных случаев, а также освобождение поставщика услуг от повторного учреждения в форме юридического лица, признание профессиональной квалификации персонала поставщика услуг.

- Обсуждает ли ЕЭК свои решения с представителями бизнес-сообщества?

- Мы находимся в постоянном диалоге с бизнесом. Взаимодействие осуществляется в таких форматах, как Консультативные комитеты и рабочие группы. Создание благоприятных условий для эффективного развития бизнеса в странах Союза, совершенствование регулятивных систем и снижение барьеров являются основными задачами Комиссии. При этом мы стремимся максимально оперативно реагировать на запросы предпринимателей. Для этого необходимо устранить оставшиеся изъятия и барьеры. Чем раньше они будут сняты, тем быстрее мы создадим единый рынок и тем комфортнее будут чувствовать себя хозяйствующие субъекты. Не менее важно расширить спектр полномочий, передаваемых странами на наднациональный уровень. Это позволит ЕЭК более активно оказывать помощь бизнесу.

- В нынешнем году запущены общие рынки лекарственных средств и медицинский изделий. Однако они заработали в ограниченном режиме, так как были приняты не все необходимые документы. В чем трудности, и когда рынки заработают в полную силу?

- Фармацевтическая отрасль во всех странах ЕАЭС очень быстро развивается, и основная задача в том, чтобы создать равные условия для всех участников общих рынков, стимулировать конкуренцию. Из-за сложной дискуссии о том, как осуществлять регистрацию новых лекарственных препаратов и при этом не создавать преимуществ для отдельных хозяйствующих субъектов, откладывается принятие нескольких нормативных документов второго уровня, без которых не могут полноценно заработать общие рынки лекарственных средств и

медицинский изделий. Но дискуссия активно идет, и в ближайшее время все вопросы будут сняты.

- С бизнесом все более ли менее ясно. А что с гражданами? Что им дало формирование Союза?

- В первую очередь, это, конечно, – создание общего рынка труда. Трудящиеся из стран ЕАЭС теперь имеют существенные преимущества перед трудовыми мигрантами из других стран. В частности, у них есть возможность находиться в стране без регистрации в органах миграционной службы в течение 30 дней вместо 7. Есть право на социальное и медицинское обеспечение, в том числе бесплатное обслуживание в поликлиниках. В случае трудоустройства в России нет необходимости оформлять патент на работу и сдавать экзамены на знание русского языка, истории и основ правового устройства РФ. Также при трудоустройстве граждан стран Союза в России обеспечено снижение ставки подоходного налога с 30% до 13% как для граждан РФ.

Кроме того, действует взаимное признание дипломов по всем техническим и большинству гуманитарных специальностей (кроме четырех направлений – фармацевтики, медицины, юриспруденции и педагогики). На завершающей стадии находится работа над Договором о пенсионном обеспечении. После его подписания граждане стран ЕАЭС смогут получать пенсию за период своей трудовой деятельности от государства Союза, в котором они трудились, даже если не являются его гражданами.

Была также решена проблема двойного обложения НДС при ввозе физическими лицами товаров личного потребления, а также при передаче товарно-материальных ценностей структурными подразделениями одного юридического лица, расположенных в разных государствах Союза.

При активном участии ЕЭК был запущен процесс по снижению цен на роуминг внутри Союза.

- В последнее время в мире все чаще говорят о развитии цифровых технологий. О том, что выиграет тот, кто больше в них инвестирует. Как обстоят дела с новыми технологиями в ЕАЭС?

- Я разделяю мнение, что необходимо уделять повышенное внимание цифровым технологиям. Высокие технологии повышают производительность во всех отраслях. И это современный тренд. Если мы хотим повысить производительность в любой отрасли, то, очевидно, что без современных технологий мы будем терять нашу конкурентоспособность. Максимальная добавленная стоимость перемещается из традиционных отраслей промышленности в сферу услуг и инноваций, то есть в сферу, где создаются продукты и услуги на базе цифровой экономики. Именно в этих секторах странам и региональным объединениям необходимо формировать конкурентные преимущества. Тем более, с учетом потенциала, который есть у наших стран в передовых технологиях. Этот сегмент экономики развивается достаточно быстрыми темпами. В большинстве государств-членов созданы особые условия для развития новых технологий, существует интеллектуальный потенциал, выстроена инфраструктура. Создание цифрового пространства - это оптимальный путь повышения эффективности, производительности и конкурентоспособности во всех отраслях экономики наших стран.

ЕЭК начала работу в этом направлении. Создана рабочая группа по выработке предложений по формированию цифрового пространства. Я считаю, что цифровая сфера должна быть одной из приоритетных в работе Евразийской экономической комиссии.

Кроме того, сейчас Комиссия работает над переходом к согласованной, а в перспективе – и к единой промышленной и агропромышленной политике, развитию промышленной кооперации. Это будет способствовать увеличению темпов роста промышленного производства, созданию новых инновационных

секторов промышленности, устранению барьеров на пути движения промышленных товаров на общем рынке Союза. Со своей стороны ЕЭК создает условия для внедрения высоких технологий в сфере промышленности и агропромышленного комплекса.

Нашим странам необходимо объединить промышленные потенциалы, консолидировать усилия в целях совместного ведения бизнеса на кооперационной основе в форме совместных предприятий, производства и экспорта совместного продукта и совместного позиционирования на рынке третьих стран.

Это те проекты, которые ждут от нас граждане, бизнес наших стран, потому что результаты нашей работы оцениваются тем, насколько мы создаем благоприятные условия для них. Мы должны ориентироваться в нашей работе именно на это.

К сожалению, в нашем едином экономическом пространстве пока еще нет понимания, как мы будем выстраивать наши технологические платформы. Президентами наших стран поставлена задача, чтобы мы могли сформулировать наши общие цели, общее видение этого пространства и как мы будем соотноситься с другими мировыми технологическими платформами.

- Какие, по вашему мнению, перспективы у евразийской интеграции? Большое ли у нее будущее?

- Уверен, что очень большое. Иногда кажется, что поодиночке можно быстрее наращивать потенциал роста экономики, но опыт показывает, что такой рост будет неустойчивым. Углубление региональной экономической интеграции может стать основным фактором обеспечения макроэкономической стабильности и устойчивого экономического роста. Например, возьмем ситуацию с колебаниями курсов национальных валют. Курс национальной валюты в одной союзной стране сильно влияет на экономику соседних стран. В течение последнего года от несогласованной девальвации национальных валют страдали представители бизнеса наших стран. Как же можно ответить на этот вызов? Повлиять на ситуацию в соседней стране? Только за счет интеграции. Если страны Союза будут координировать действия, это повысит устойчивость наших экономик в интересах бизнеса и населения. Мы сможем быть готовыми к тем изменениям, которые нас ожидают. Региональная интеграция служит ответом на современные макроэкономические вызовы.

Гарантами прогнозируемости для инвесторов выступают наднациональные институты, поскольку именно степень эффективности, открытости и прозрачности их работы формирует понятность и предсказуемость бизнес-среды, и поэтому на глобальные вызовы лучше отвечать сообща.

Конечно же, еще есть проблемы, барьеры и ограничения, над которыми мы продолжим работать совместно со всеми заинтересованными сторонами – институтами власти и бизнеса – во благо граждан наших стран.

Aram Sargsyan

Published on 9 September 2016 by *Radio Azatutyun – Radio Liberty*.

Source: <https://rus.azatutyun.am/a/27977746.html>

Context: Interview with *Radio Azatutyun – Radio Liberty*.

В 1999-2000 гг. занимавший пост премьер-министра Армении Арам Саргсян уверен, что назначение Карена Карапетяна на должность премьер-министра не принесет никаких изменений.

Более того, Арам Саргсян убежден, что его назначение было сделано за пределами Армении, с конкретными целями.

Лидер оппозиционной партии «Республика» подчеркивает, что Карен Карапетян приехал из Москвы в Ереван вовсе не для того, чтобы стать временным премьер-министром.

Радио Азатутюн: Г-н Саргсян, вы говорите, что решение было принято не в Армении. А где оно было принято?

Арам Саргсян: Однозначно, в России, это очевидно.

Радио Азатутюн: Вы имеете в виду со стороны властей России?

Арам Саргсян: Естественно, в регионе существует конкуренция, эта конкуренция уже становится заметна. Очевидно, что российские власти недовольны поведением властей Армении как в вопросе Карабаха, так и в связи с внутривластной ситуацией, их многочисленные спикеры не скрывают этого, и они видят, что день ото дня теряют здесь свое влияние. В этом плане они хотят увеличить свои возможности, свое влияние.

Радио Азатутюн: Г-н Саргсян, возникает следующий вопрос: если назначение сделано российскими властями, чем Овик Абрамян не удовлетворял российскую сторону, что они увидели необходимость в таком изменении?

Арам Саргсян: Чем Серж Саргсян не удовлетворяет русских, что русские пытаются здесь произвести некоторые перестановки? Ведь Серж Саргсян на все предложения России говорил «да», за одну ночь отказался от Соглашения об ассоциации, вступил в Евразийский союз. Но есть вопросы, в которых действующая власть понимает, что, идя на этот шаг, она делает шаг против себя. Во-вторых, есть вопрос преемника, впереди выборы, и в этом отношении, с точки зрения конкуренции, думаю, Овик Абрамян не пользовался тем доверием у российских властей и не имел того влияния, чтобы в дальнейшем работать с ними, чтобы они работали через него, и они захотели иметь более надежную фигуру.

Радио Азатутюн: То есть, это решение о назначении Карена Карапетяна премьер-министром было навязано русскими?

Арам Саргсян: Я считаю, что да. И я потому так считаю, что он должен был противиться этому, потому что это приведет к серьезным испытаниям... присутствие или усиление любого человека, находящегося в сфере российского влияния, в Армении рассматривают как очень опасное.

Vazgen Manukyan

Published on 16 September 2016 by *Aravot – News Armenia*.

Source: <https://www.aravot-ru.am/2016/09/16/221444/>

Context: Former Minister of Defense, former Prime Minister, Chairman of the Public Council Vazgen Manukyan stated at a press conference at the National Press Club regarding the 25th anniversary of Independence of Armenia.

«При вступлении в какой-либо союз, теряешь часть независимости, независимо от того, ЕАЭС это или ЕС. Создается впечатление, что мы гораздо больше подчиняемся России. Я согласен, но виновны мы сами. Армения всегда пыталась угодить и ЕС, и ЕАЭС. Довольно крупные отрасли экономики были отданы России, а чего же еще хотите? Чтобы она не пыталась диктовать свою волю?» – заявил вчера на пресс-конференции в Национальном пресс-клубе по поводу 25-летия Независимости Армении бывший министр обороны, экс-премьер-министр, председатель Общественного совета Вазген Манукян. Тем не менее, он считает, что утрата частички упомянутой независимости преувеличена, и Армения может самостоятельно проводить свою политику.

Коснувшись достижений независимой Армении, Вазген Манукян отметил, что независимость уже сама по себе достижение: «Если потеряем ее, то только по своей вине. Мы движемся вперед, но с очень малой скоростью, и не только не достигаем мировой скорости, но и отстаем». Он указал также и на основные проблемы: «В сфере сельского хозяйства возникли новые фермерские хозяйства, но проблемы остались нерешенными. У нас есть талантливые дети, несколько хороших школ, но общая образовательная система не отвечает нашим

требованиям. 12-летняя система школьного образования ничего не дала школе, кроме вреда».

2017

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 28 March 2017 by *Eurasiancommission.org*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/28-03-2017-%D0%92.aspx>

Context : In Moscow, Chairman of the Board of the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC) Tigran Sargsyan addressed the participants of the congress of the Association of Russian Banks, the main theme of which was declared as “Development, not stagnation. Competition is the main lever of economic growth. ”

Добрый день!

Уважаемые участники съезда Ассоциации российских банков, приветствую вас от лица Евразийской экономической комиссии.

Я бы хотел подчеркнуть актуальность вопросов поиска источников экономического роста, роли конкуренции и перспектив развития финансового рынка как с точки зрения национальной повестки развития Российской Федерации, так и ее участия в Евразийском экономическом союзе.

Очевидно, что Россия, как и все страны Евразийского экономического союза, находится в поиске дополнительных источников роста. Одним из них является интеграция. Еще в период функционирования Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства произошел рост взаимной торговли. Это был первый эффект. По мере развития Евразийского экономического союза стали проявляться синергетические и мультипликативные эффекты интеграции. Растет значимость взаимных инвестиций, количество совместных предприятий, по ряду показателей экономического развития мы наблюдаем сближение между нашими странами. Потенциал Союза еще не реализован в полном объеме. Интеграция требует трансформации существующих в странах норм и правил, создания новых инструментов управления.

Очевидным источником экономического роста для России, как и для других стран Союза, является повышение производительности. В современном мире в ее основе лежат процессы цифровой трансформации экономики и «Индустрии 4.0». Цифровая политика, подобно логистической, транспортной политикам, не может быть вещью в себе, она работает на интеграцию и глобализацию. В этой связи принято решение сформировать общую цифровую повестку ЕАЭС. Создана рабочая группа высокого уровня по подготовке Основных направлений реализации цифровой повестки ЕАЭС до 2025 года.

Естественным атрибутом интеграции также является конкуренция. Устраняя барьеры между нашими странами, мы развиваем конкуренцию юрисдикций. Инвестор, предприниматель будут формировать центр прибыли и компетенций в стране с наиболее благоприятным климатом. При этом очевидно, что ни одна из стран не хочет терять своих налогоплательщиков и инвесторов. Конкуренция должна быть не только эффективным, но и справедливым процессом. Поэтому в Евразийском экономическом союзе процесс устранения барьеров сопровождается унификацией и гармонизацией законодательств.

Так, в соответствии с Договором о ЕАЭС, к 2025 году должен быть сформирован общий финансовый рынок. Очевидно, что для такого высокочувствительного рынка необходимо иметь четкую «дорожную карту». Правительствам, национальным (центральным) банкам государств-членов Союза и Евразийской экономической комиссии дано поручение о совместной разработке Концепции формирования общего финансового рынка ЕАЭС. Она будет представлена на рассмотрение Высшего Евразийского экономического совета.

Предполагается, что концепция будет направлена на решение следующих задач:

- создание правовой основы, определение условий, сроков, механизмов и инструментов формирования общего финансового рынка;
- подготовку предложений по созданию и развитию инфраструктуры общего финансового рынка и технологических платформ;
- систематизацию проводимой Евразийской экономической комиссией работы по подготовке проектов международных соглашений, входящих в право Союза, которые регулируют валютные правоотношения, банковский, страховой рынки и рынок ценных бумаг;
- комплексное рассмотрение шагов по построению общего финансового рынка Союза с возможностью подготовки «дорожной карты» и взаимной увязки валютной политики и регулирования финансовых рынков.

Мы надеемся на активное участие всех заинтересованных лиц и приглашаем Ассоциацию российских банков включиться в работу по формированию общего финансового рынка Союза!

В заключение хотел бы поблагодарить организаторов за приглашение выступить. Желаю участникам плодотворной работы!

Tigran Sargsyan

Published on 9 February 2017 by *Eurasiancommission.org*.

Source: <http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/nae/news/Pages/10-02-2017-150407.aspx>

Context: Speech by the Chairman of the Board of the EEC Sargsyan at the project and analysis session “Digital transformation of the EAEU economy: new threats and sources of growth. Consolidated business position” at the Skolkovo Innovation Center in Moscow, Russia.

Наше сегодняшнее общение – это откровенный, открытый диалог с бизнес-сообществом. О тех проблемах, которые стоят перед вами; о выходах, которые вы видите; о том, что происходит в сфере инноваций; как идет цифровая трансформация на евразийском пространстве; какие у вас ожидания от работы Евразийской экономической комиссии.

В Евразийском экономическом союзе развивается диалог, полемика по поводу того, как осуществлять цифровую трансформацию. Есть различные подходы не только в экспертной среде, но и на самом высоком уровне. Потому что вопрос цифровой трансформации соотносится с очень многими глобальными вызовами, стоящими перед нашими странами. Естественно, когда Евразийская экономическая комиссия выступает с инициативой о необходимости совместными усилиями отвечать на глобальные вызовы, встают фундаментальные проблемы, о которых мы не можем не говорить вслух.

Трансформации, которые происходят в мире, заставляют наши страны задумываться, давать ответы на эти вызовы. Первый вопрос – самый основной, который может как мешать, так и помогать развитию интеграции – вопрос национального суверенитета. Каким содержанием мы сегодня наполняем это понятие – национальный суверенитет? От чего могли бы отказаться страны-участницы, от чего они не должны отказываться? В частности, полномочия по формированию общей повестки по цифровому пространству. Это полномочия наднационального органа или стран? Готовы ли они дать наднациональному органу дополнительные полномочия, чтобы мы проводили совместную политику в сфере цифровой трансформации?

Это дискуссионный вопрос, без решения которого невозможно наше продвижение вперед. С этой точки зрения позиция бизнеса имеет для нас принципиальное значение. Хотя и в среде бизнесменов есть различные мнения по

этому поводу. В частности, со стороны бизнес-сообщества некоторых стран звучит озабоченность, что крупные холдинги из России и других государств ЕАЭС могут поглотить менее крупные компании на всем пространстве Союза. Это может привести к тому, что, например, российская промышленность будет доминировать на евразийском экономическом пространстве. И наделение дополнительными полномочиями Комиссии может привести к тому, что мы будем стимулировать этот процесс. Это второе опасение, которое существенно тормозит формирование общей повестки по цифровой трансформации. И это вопросы, на которые мы хотели бы получить ответы в наших дискуссиях. Мы хотим услышать вашу оценку, ваше понимание сложившейся ситуации о том, как мы должны отвечать на глобальные вызовы.

Чтобы ответить на эти вопросы необходимо определиться с позициями. Какие существуют здесь позиции? Первая касается глобальных мировых изменений: мы понимаем, что в мире повсеместно происходит оцифровка экономики, новая модель экономического развития меняет мировой уклад, форму самоорганизации общества. Базовым процессом становится процесс производства знаний, вокруг которого формируется новая инфраструктура. Производство товаров на базе прежней инфраструктуры – старая модель индустриального общества, уходящая в прошлое. Развитыми будут считаться те общества, которые быстрыми темпами смогли сформировать новую форму самоорганизации.

Это глобальный тренд, который меняет все. И мы не можем не соотноситься с ним.

Вторая позиция – позиция интеграционных объединений. В том числе Евразийского экономического союза и Европейского союза, других экономических объединений. Что будет происходить с ними в мировом масштабе, как они готовы реагировать на вызовы, на глобальный вызов смены уклада, в частности по «цифре»? Каких взглядов они должны придерживаться?

Третья позиция – позиция государств. Как они предпочитают отвечать на вызовы: совместными усилиями или по отдельности? Часть стран уже заявили о собственных амбициях, о том, что у них в мировом масштабе будет своя специализация, своя повестка по «цифре». Это Великобритания, Сингапур, Малайзия, Израиль.

Следующая позиция – усиление роли транснациональных корпораций. Это новый феномен в мировом сообществе: они превращаются в нечто большее, чем просто хозяйствующие субъекты, становятся проводниками особых ценностей, внедряют у себя собственные системы безопасности, занимаются продвижением своих интересов по всему миру. В условиях новых систем самоорганизации общества, где виртуальные формы приобретают наибольший вес, влияние транснациональных корпораций становится сильнее влияния многих государств. По цифровой повестке, которую мы сегодня обсуждаем, влияние транснациональных корпораций точно будет усиливаться. Эту позицию мы тоже должны зафиксировать и постоянно отслеживать в ходе наших дискуссий.

Следующая позиция – позиция бизнеса наших стран. Какие у него ожидания? В каких процессах он хотел бы участвовать? Как он себя позиционирует?

Я бы хотел выдвинуть для вашего обсуждения несколько тезисов.

Первый тезис. Стремительное внедрение информационно-коммуникационных технологий во все сферы жизнедеятельности обуславливает значительные изменения в характере производства, а значит, в торгово-экономических отношениях между странами и интеграционными объединениями. На наших глазах формируются межотраслевые цифровые платформы, которые обеспечивают автоматическую координацию и оптимизацию взаимосвязанной деятельности большего количества участников рынка за счет вытеснения ненужных посредников. Это приводит к резкому сокращению транзакционных

расходов и увеличению скорости осуществления операций. По сути, межотраслевые цифровые платформы – особая современная форма организации разделения труда по всему миру.

Второй тезис. Максимальная добавочная стоимость сегодня создается в новых отраслях. А также в отраслях, прошедших оцифровку, что позволяет резко повышать производительность труда, связывая эти отрасли с межотраслевыми цифровыми платформами. Активы в традиционных отраслях промышленности, не прошедших оцифровку, резко обесцениваются на фоне роста стоимости новых цифровых активов. Ведущие эксперты сходятся во мнении, что в ближайшие 15-20 лет нас ждет повсеместное применение платформенной бизнес-модели и, по сути дела, переформатирование привычных организационных структур промышленности и торговли. Эта тема особенно актуальна для Российской Федерации, где среди экономистов существует консенсус относительно того, что в ближайшие 15-20 лет основным фактором экономического роста может быть только повышение производительности труда.

Третий тезис. Хорошим примером целенаправленного «выращивания» цифровой платформы является китайская Alibaba group, созданная в 1999 году. Ее капитализация уже превысила 300 млрд долларов США. Группа состоит из 14 цифровых платформ, включающих торговые, направленные на внешний и внутренний рынок, финансовые, логистические, таможенные и прочие. Alibaba способствует экономическому росту Китая и одновременно является инструментом продвижения его экономических интересов на мировой арене, в том числе на постсоветском пространстве.

Четвертое. Развитые страны и некоторые интеграционные объединения уже сформулировали свои интеграционные повестки с целью ускорения трансформации традиционных отраслей и перехода к цифровой форме взаимодействия. У нас же, как я ранее отметил, идет дискуссия. Кто этим должен заниматься? Должны ли наднациональные органы этим заниматься? Или каждая страна будет выстраивать свою собственную повестку?

Пятый тезис. Для ЕАЭС принципиальным моментом является следующее – мы должны обеспечить свободное движение товаров, услуг, капитала и рабочей силы. Это основные приоритеты, которые зафиксированы в нашем Договоре, и над этим мы работаем. Мы должны снять все барьеры, ограничения, изъятия, чтобы эти четыре свободы были реализованы в полной мере. Теперь посмотрим, что произойдет с ними в условиях цифровой трансформации, если мы сообща не сможем ответить на эти вызовы.

Торговля. Оцифровка торговли, создание торговых площадок сегодня осуществляется транснациональными корпорациями. Наши граждане отдают предпочтения этим платформам, потому что это – быстро, дешево, комфортно. И чем дальше будет развиваться интернет, повышаться его доступность, тем больше наших клиентов отдадут предпочтение этим площадкам. Более того, им отдают предпочтения мелкий и средний бизнес, ведь это повышает производительность и помогает им реализовывать свои товары. А что означает такая свобода в нашем пространстве? Это приведет к тому, что все будет управляться транснациональными корпорациями, а не нами. В будущем тот, кто управляет процессами, сможет задавать и вектор глобального развития на мировом рынке, оказывая существенное влияние на наш бизнес.

Элементарный пример. Если вы заходите на сайты для покупки товаров, какие из них попадают в первую очередь? Где наши отечественные товары? Их могут снимать и снова показывать. Могут предъявлять определенные требования, которым мы не удовлетворяем. Мы уже сегодня сталкиваемся с этим в разных сферах жизнедеятельности. Тот, кто управляет платформой, может воздействовать и управлять. Это первый вызов для нашей свободы перемещения товаров.

Еще один риск – подключение оцифрованных отечественных предприятий и цифровых продуктов, которыми пользуются потребители ЕАЭС, к межотраслевым цифровым платформам других стран. Почему это может произойти? Потому что у нас просто не окажется выбора. Сегодня в мире насчитывается порядка 30 таких платформ. По оценкам экспертов, вскоре их останется не больше 6-7. Они разделят мир между собой, и у нас не останется альтернативы.

В состоянии ли мы ответить на этот вызов, в состоянии ли выстроить свою собственную межотраслевую цифровую платформу ЕАЭС, что в принципе и соотносится с проблемой управления и проблемой экономического суверенитета?! Будет ли у нас экономический суверенитет через 15-20 лет?!

Мы видим тенденцию к использованию бизнесом и гражданами ЕАЭС новых цифровых решений в сфере финансовых услуг, которые также создаются иностранными компаниями, и, как следствие, ими же контролируются финансовые потоки. Здесь тоже происходят фундаментальные изменения. В ближайшие 10 лет мы станем свидетелями, как изменится вид и содержание финансового сектора экономики. В частности, блокчейны создают очень серьезные проблемы для регуляторов и надзорщиков, потому что происходит децентрализация и не понятна вообще роль центральных банков. Если они попытаются регулировать децентрализованные процессы, это означает, что они должны выстроить более сильную империю с более сложными технологическими решениями, к которым могут быть не готовы. В итоге в тех странах, где центральные банки будут подготовлены к диалогу с финансовым сектором, произойдет прорыв, а там где они будут тормозить эти процессы – деградация.

Самый яркий пример – США, где очень интенсивно развиваются банковские клубы. В чем их суть? Это онлайн-платформы, на которых инвесторы могут встретиться с теми, кому нужны средства. Эти платформы создают программисты, которые имеют опыт скоринга клиентов и зачастую – доступ к базам данных банков. И вот появляются эти банковские клубы, не имеющие лицензии, – результат работы маленькой команды программистов. Они обеспечивают связь между теми, у кого есть лишние деньги, и теми, кто эти деньги ищет. Одни не хотят отдавать эти деньги банкам, так как те предлагают очень низкие проценты. Другим нужны инвестиции, но банки предлагают очень высокую процентную ставку. Благодаря этой платформе обе стороны встречаются, а в результате появляется новая ниша, которая становится реальным конкурентом для банковского сектора. Более эффективная и децентрализованная, находящаяся вне банковского контроля и не берущая на себя риски. Вы сами отдаёте свои деньги с учетом того, что программа обеспечивает свою оценку рисков на неплохом уровне, который не уступает тем оценкам рисков, которые осуществляют коммерческие банки. И сами несете ответственность. В этом же и основной риск!

Такого рода финансовые институты сейчас «размножаются» очень быстро. Новые финансовые технологии, в том числе используя блокчейн, могут предоставлять услуги, которые будут конкурировать с услугами коммерческих банков.

И четвертый вызов – это привлечение высококвалифицированной рабочей силы для разработки новых IT-решений. Что происходит сегодня на евразийском экономическом пространстве? Беларусь создала мощный центр, где есть очень качественные программисты, экспорт программной продукции составляет 500 млн долларов. Этот интеллектуальный потенциал сегодня работает в большей степени на третьи страны. В Армении порядка пяти тысяч программистов работают по зарубежным заказам, в том числе на американские, европейские и азиатские IT-компании. Более того, транснациональные корпорации формируют такую структуру привлечения рабочей силы, которая позволяет искать накопленные

компетенции в той или иной интеллектуальной сфере в разных странах, а потом использовать эти ресурсы в своих интересах. Чтобы создать высокопрофессиональные кадры, мы тратим огромные деньги. Небольшая Армения, где годовой доход на душу населения составляет лишь чуть больше 5 тысяч долларов, работает на транснациональные корпорации, которые получают за труд наших специалистов гораздо большую добавочную стоимость. И эти доходы выводятся из Армении, Беларуси, России и других стран. Нам важно иметь свою повестку и включить в неё вопрос о евразийских межотраслевых цифровых платформах. Без этого мы потеряем важнейшую нишу в формировании новой добавленной стоимости. Иначе наша концепция свободного перемещения рабочей силы в ближайшие 15 лет может столкнуться с серьезными трудностями, учитывая те трансформации, о которых мы с вами говорим. Мы должны сделать так, чтобы граждане стран Союза находили применение своему интеллекту внутри ЕАЭС. В противном случае на кого будут работать те кадры, которые мы готовим? Мне кажется это серьезный вызов, который стоит перед нами.

Наша гипотеза заключается в том, что совместными усилиями мы можем сформировать собственные цифровые платформы. Мы можем претендовать на создание межотраслевых цифровых платформ на евразийском пространстве, и, более того, у нас есть сравнительное преимущество – накопленный потенциал, который еще не реализован. У нас есть максимум два года, чтобы не упустить этот шанс. Есть три концепции реализации межотраслевых цифровых платформ.

Первая концепция – американская. Государство помогает всем участникам рынка. Победители вырываются вперед и получают государственную поддержку в этой сфере.

Вторая – это китайская модель. Модель Alibaba, где есть политическое решение относительно поддержки этого проекта и административный ресурс стимулирует развитие этого проекта с целью продвижения интересов Китая.

И третья модель может быть нашей. Ситуация следующая: сейчас в наших странах формируются огромные массивы данных, в основном в государственных институтах. Сегодня на евразийском пространстве существует порядка 300 таких систем, и они получают каждый год порядка 10 тысяч отчетов, которые представляются нашими компаниями. Это очень серьезный накопленный потенциал. Если мы с вами сумеем найти единую позицию, единую повестку и сформировать амбициозный проект создания межотраслевой цифровой платформы на евразийском пространстве, наличие такого ресурса, такой громадной базы данных даст большую фору. Недаром big data – это один из технологических трендов сегодняшнего дня. Работа с большим массивом данных, его анализ и использование позволят решать очень многие вопросы.

Как реализовать этот проект, в чем будет состоять роль частного сектора? Мне кажется, мы могли бы предложить частному сектору формат государственно-частного партнерства. Мы рассчитываем, что компании, которые работают в этом сегменте и имеют свои интересные проекты, увидят свое место в этой концепции. Учитывая эффект масштаба, их капитализация при участии в глобальном проекте может вырасти в несколько раз. Если мы найдем формулу успешного взаимодействия, мне кажется, это станет прорывной идеей. Впрочем, у нее, конечно, есть и оппоненты.

Есть и другие гипотезы, как выстраивать на нашем евразийском экономическом пространстве цифровые платформы. Мы рассчитываем, что благодаря этому диалогу нам удастся нащупать правильное направление развития, так как без вашего видения будущего цифровой повестки мы ничего не сможем сделать.

Заканчивая, хочу поблагодарить Виктора Борисовича Христенко за организацию сегодняшней встречи, за то, что он выбрал для сегодняшней дискуссии эту актуальную тему.

Спасибо большое и плодотворной работы в ходе семинара!

Khosrov Harutyunyan

Published on 25 July 2017 by *Aravot – News Armenia (Аравот - Новости Армении.)*

Source: <https://www.aravot-ru.am/2014/07/25/181424/>

Context: Avarot Harutyunyan in an interview with Aravot.am, commenting on the statement of the First President of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan, according to which the founding members of the Eurasian Economic Union set a tough condition for Armenia: to establish customs control points around the entire perimeter of the Armenian-Karabakh border.

Депутат парламентской фракции РПА Хосров Арутюнян убежден, что вступление Армении в Евразийский экономический союз не обусловлено Карабахским вопросом. “Существует необходимость согласования правил режимов торговли. Вопрос вступления обусловлен техническими деталями”, — сообщил в беседе с Aravot.am г-н Арутюнян, комментируя заявление Первого президента Армении Левона Тер-Петросяна, согласно которому, члены-учредители Евразийского экономического союза поставили перед Арменией жесткое условие: установить пункты таможенного контроля по всему периметру армяно-карабахской границы. По словам г-на Арутюняна: “Связывать затягивание вступления Армении в Евразийский экономический союз с тем, что Армения стоит перед неизбежной необходимостью установления границы с Карабахом, означает — исказить ситуацию. Самой заинтересованной стороной в вопросе вхождения Армении в Евразийский экономический союз является Россия. В этой экономической структуре все вопросы решаются в условиях консенсуса. Сегодня же без Армении там действует формат «1+2»: Назарбаев и Лукашенко пытаются в рамках этого союза получить от России максимум преимуществ — для достижения собственных целей. Вступление Армении в союз восстановит баланс в этой структуре: вопросы будут решаться в формате «2+2», — так думают по крайней мере Назарбаев и Лукашенко, и это им не выгодно. Поэтому, Карабах – самый подходящий повод, хотя они и сами прекрасно знают, что иного подхода в вопросе Карабаха быть не может. Мы не можем ради какой бы то ни было программы интеграции поставить под угрозу нашу национальную безопасность. Но с помощью Карабахского вопроса они пытаются препятствовать вхождению Армении в этот союз, дабы создать невозможные, неблагоприятные для России условия.” По словам нашего собеседника, выдвигание Карабахского вопроса на первый план является поводом для Лукашенко и Назарбаева для приобретения “активов” против России: “Они уверены в том, что рано или поздно Армения станет членом Евразийского экономического союза, но думают набрать в процессе дивидендов в отношениях с Азербайджаном – если это возможно, а в случае с Назарбаевым – если разыгрывается политическая линия Астана-Баку-Анкара, то отчего же не попытаться осуществить это? Не думаю, что Карабахский конфликт когда-либо станет препятствием для вступления Армении в Евразийский союз.” Господин Арутюнян не согласился с нашим предположением, что молчание России по поводу предусловий, которые были выдвинуты перед Арменией, может означать и ее согласие. “Нет, поскольку вопросы решаются за кулисами, во время тайных телефонных переговоров, а не в ходе открытых дискуссий.” По словам г-на Арутюняна, вступление Армении в Евразийский союз повышает гарантию безопасности этой структуры на южно-кавказском направлении, то есть таким образом осуществиться именно то, что пытается сделать Россия. “Президент Армении высказал свое мнение относительно Карабахского вопроса. Оно заключается в том, что никогда, ни при каких обстоятельствах он не может представить Армению и Карабах в качестве отдельных государств — самостоятельных, национально разделенных территорий. Мы не собираемся ради

вхождения в Евразийский союз чертить границу между двумя странами, то есть устанавливать границу и делить одно государство. Армения перед такой задачей не стоит, Армения не должна решать вопрос проведения границы между Арменией и Карабахом — этот вопрос уже решен.”

Serzh Sargsyan

Published on 24 March 2017 by *NEWS.am*.

Source: <https://news.am/rus/news/380748.html>

Серж Саргсян: Армения сильно заинтересована в становлении Евразийского союза

Мы стали членом Евразийского экономического союза, считая, что наша экономика получит свободу, будет развиваться, имея все четыре свободы, ради которых была создана эта организация. Об этом заявил президент Армении Серж Саргсян в интервью телеканалу «Мир».

«Мы стали частью очень большого рынка, это дает возможность Армении больше экспортировать. В 2015-м и 2016 годах мы имели почти 20%-й рост экспорта. Для нас это экспорт, а для общего потребительского рынка - это товары и услуги.

Думаю, что цели, которые мы перед собой поставили, реалистичны, несмотря на то, что создание ЕАЭС по времени совпало с негативными процессами в мировой экономике. Это затруднило для наших граждан возможность почувствовать выгоду вхождения в Евразийский экономический союз. Но я убежден, что если бы этот союз не был создан, если бы Армения в него не вошла, то проблем у нас было бы гораздо больше, нежели сейчас. Я убежден, что у этого союза большие перспективы. Мы за то, чтобы как можно быстрее были устранены все существующие препятствия. У нас идет оживленное обсуждение этих проблем. Думаю, со временем наши граждане почувствуют правильность таких решений», - отметил он.

Отвечая на вопрос, можно ли назвать проблемы внутри ЕАЭС противоречиями, Саргсян отметил, что еще рано говорить, противоречия ли это или же вопросы, в решении которых заинтересованы члены союза. «Если бегло посмотреть на историю создания Евросоюза и его развитие, можно убедиться, что на становление новой организации требуются большие усилия и, самое главное, - время. Очень важно, чтобы члены объединения были заинтересованы в скорейшем его становлении. Здесь, я думаю, Ереван имеет особую ответственность, потому что представители Армении являются председателями комиссии, от четкой работы которой зависит очень многое. Мы сильно заинтересованы в становлении Евразийского союза», - сказал он.

Karen Karapetyan

Published on 3 April 2017 by *Mir Peremen*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/36asrBe>

«Армения стремится стать мостом между ЕАЭС и Евросоюзом»

2 апреля в Армении состоялись выборы — первые после изменения конституции в 2015 году. Страна переходит от президентской формы правления к парламентской, поэтому первым лицом государства становится премьер-министр, а президент будет выполнять в основном представительские функции. В преддверии этого события премьер-министр Республики Армения Карен Карапетыян в эксклюзивном интервью корреспонденту «Известий» Алексею Забродину рассказал о том, какими он видит перспективы российско-армянского

сотрудничества, что изменилось в стране после присоединения к Евразийскому экономическому союзу и почему Ереван не пошел на ассоциацию с Евросоюзом. — Армения вступила в ЕАЭС в 2015 году. Как оцениваете эти два года в союзе? — Вступив в ЕАЭС, мы, страна с трехмиллионным населением, стали членами «клуба» — рынка с населением почти 183 млн человек, который нам понятен, которому понятны мы. Логика ЕАЭС для нас абсолютно прагматична — мы становимся пятеркой, которую объединяет огромный рынок. У Армении есть все шансы быть успешной на нем, и я не вижу причин не быть таковыми.

Потенциал, имеющийся в ЕАЭС, намного больше, чем мы думаем. Членство в союзе создает для Армении возможности. Большую часть нашей готовой продукции мы экспортируем на рынки ЕАЭС, в связи с чем стоит отметить, что, по статистическим данным, в сравнении с прошлогодними показателями ВВП в Армении после присоединения к союзу возрос.

Продолжаются переговоры по вопросам интеграционного потенциала в различных сферах экономики, развития экспорта в третьи страны. Мы придаем важное значение осуществлению согласованной политики в сфере сотрудничества с ЕАЭС. В этом году первое заседание Евразийского межправсовета, состоявшееся 7 марта в Бишкеке, является, на мой взгляд, прочным и верным основанием, позволяющим находить эффективные решения возникающих на различных этапах сотрудничества проблем.

Я уверен, что мы не используем пока потенциал, который предполагает ЕАЭС, в полной мере, и Армения намерена в этом плане продолжать продуктивно работать. Армения также претендует стать мостом между клубом ЕАЭС и другими экономическими блоками, например членами Европейского союза, странами, подписавшими договор ассоциации с ЕС, а также Ираном и странами Ближнего Востока. Мы понимаем, что чем дальше простираются возможности и преимущества членства в ЕАЭС, тем лучше и для Армении, и для других стран объединения.

— Какие товары из Армении наиболее востребованы на рынке ЕАЭС и в России в частности?

— Хорошие перспективы в Армении у аграрного сектора — по производству и реализации продукции на рынке ЕАЭС, среди них — мясо, молоко, сыры, соль, масло... Мы традиционно сильны в продвижении нашего коньяка. Сейчас хорошо развивается производство вина, пива, соков, переработка сельхозпродукции.

Хочу отметить, что за последнее время экспорт армянской сельхозпродукции вырос в шесть раз. Для предоставления качественной продукции мы начали активно внедрять методы исследования и контроля безопасности продовольствия, которые приняты на территории Евразийского экономического союза. Эта работа продолжается, периодически проводим видеоконференции, рабочие встречи с коллегами из стран ЕАЭС. Сейчас также работаем над усилением нашей аналитической базы и лабораторного оборудования.

На заседании Евразийского межправительственного совета были одобрены правовые нормы регулирования оборота лекарств на едином рынке, согласно которым с 1 января 2017 года на территории ЕАЭС будет действовать единый рынок лекарств.

По итогам 2016 года товарооборот между Арменией и Россией вырос на 6%. Российско-армянское сотрудничество направлено на торгово-экономическую, энергетическую, транспортную, гуманитарную сферы, а также — реализацию

совместных инвестиционных проектов. Также Армении есть что предложить в сфере информационных технологий и ювелирного сектора.

— Армении предлагали ассоциацию с ЕС. Но Ереван сделал выбор в пользу ЕАЭС. Считаете ли вы, что это был правильный выбор?

— С точки зрения развития бизнеса привлекательным обстоятельством для Армении прежде всего является крупный и понятный рынок. Насчет Евросоюза — стоит отметить, что ЕС является одним из крупнейших доноров и инвесторов в Армении и, углубляя партнерство со странами в ЕАЭС, мы не останавливаем сотрудничество с ЕС. У нас нет ограничений относительно сотрудничества, инвестиций и диалога с Евросоюзом. На данный момент мы ведем открытый и прозрачный диалог с европейскими коллегами. Мы видим себя как приближающая эти два рынка страна, а не как разделяющая.

— Каким вы видите будущее отношений Армении и России?

— Россия является важнейшим партнером Армении и самым крупным инвестором. В этом году исполняется 25 лет дипломатическим отношениям между странами. И хотя уровень отношений между нами достаточно высок, наш совместный потенциал намного больше, и мы предлагаем ряд направлений, которые смогут диверсифицировать и расширить сферу нашего сотрудничества.

Отмечу, что 24 марта этого года состоялся стратегический форум, в котором приняли участие представители Центра стратегических инициатив Республики Армения, российского Агентства стратегических инициатив и руководители Клуба лидеров по продвижению инициатив бизнеса РФ. Это, конечно же, очень важная площадка для презентации полезных идей, стратегий, обмена опытом и нахождения новых путей развития экономики страны.

Мы заинтересованы в том, чтобы наши российские партнеры находили новые поводы и программы для осуществления инвестиций. Армения открыта для вложений. Нам есть что предложить нашим инвесторам, и мы создаем для них все условия, в которых они могут делать нормальный бизнес, зарабатывать деньги, создавать новые рабочие места и платить налоги.

Мы также обсуждаем ряд новых актуальных направлений армяно-российского сотрудничества, намечаем векторы развития и конкретных мероприятий.

К примеру, соглашения о взаимных безвизовых поездках граждан России и Армении, включая уже действующий с этого февраля регламент, по которому россияне могут приезжать в Армению с внутренними паспортами, на мой взгляд, дадут сильный толчок для развития культурно-гуманитарных отношений и туризма. Думаю, Армения как туристическая страна для российских граждан пока недооценена, и в этом году мы нацелены на проведение принципиальных изменений в лучшую сторону.

Сегодня обсуждаются схемы поставок сельхозоборудования, создание свободной экономической зоны, участие российского капитала, сотрудничество в энергетической отрасли, а также участие Росгеологии в наших программах геологоразведки.

— Вы долго работали в «Газпроме». Почему решили уйти в политику и стать премьером?

— Я очень позитивно оцениваю мой опыт работы в «Газпроме» и считаю эту организацию одной из самых успешных. Касательно меня как премьера: раз мне доверили данную должность, я сделаю все, что в моих силах, для того, чтобы

способствовать восстановлению нашей страны, чтобы Армения была современной, двигающейся вперед и развитой страной. Когда президент Армении подписал приказ о моем назначении в качестве премьер-министра, он отметил проведение политических реформ. На меня была возложена ответственность за изменения в стране. Я понимаю так: реформа — это прежде всего изменение в лучшую сторону, а изменение — это наша каждодневная потребность. Никогда не будет настолько идеальной системы управления, которая не будет нуждаться в изменениях. Я стремлюсь организовать свою работу таким образом, чтобы реформатором меня называл не только президент.

— Местные жители во время выборов высказывали интересное мнение. Например, студенты рассказывали, что будут голосовать за оппозиционный блок ЕЛК в знак протеста. Однако «если бы Карен Карапетян сказал, что останется премьером после 2018 года, то выбрали бы Республиканскую партию». Что бы вы могли сказать такому электорату?

— Когда люди искренне верят в тебя — это огромная ответственность за этих людей. Я понимаю это и очень ответственно к этому отношусь. После победы Республиканской партии наше правительство продолжит курс реформ, которые мы начали и, я бы сказал, с успехом продвигаем эти шесть месяцев.

Наше правительство открыто и для критики, и для сотрудничества. Мы стремимся восстановить доверие к власти, найти экономические и социальные решения, которые гарантируют стабильное развитие государства начиная с сегодняшнего дня и на десятилетия вперед и укрепят позиции Армении в регионе. Мы заинтересованы в становлении нашей страны. Менять нужно очень много, но шаг за шагом вместе мы сможем добиться поставленных целей, а цели и стратегии конкретно обозначены, и это очень важно.

Беседовал Алексей Забродин

Table 2.3. Table 1.1. Actors, speeches and statements examined for Kyrgyz case.

2010

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 5 July 2010 by *Azattyk Unalgysy (Radio Liberty)*.

Source: <https://www.azattyk.org/a/2091156.html>; <http://www.for.kg/news-127538-ru.html>

Context: statement at summit of EurAsEC Heads of State. Kyrgyzstan is determined to join the Customs Union, Kyrgyz President Roza Otunbayeva said at a summit of EurAsEC Heads of State on July 5.

Р.Отунбаева проинформировала участников ЕврАзЭС о прошедшем референдуме и вступлении политических институтов Кыргызстана в конституционное поле. Она также отметила высокую динамичность развития ЕврАзЭС как авторитетной международной организации. В частности, она заметила, что принятое сегодня решение о начале финансирования конкретных проектов из антикризисного фонда ЕврАзЭС является очень важным для Кыргызстана, который переживает трудные дни.

"В Кыргызстане создана комиссия, которая изучает все условия нашего будущего вхождения в Таможенный союз. Мы полны решимости вступить в Таможенный союз", - заявила она.

Планируется, что во второй половине дня Р.Отунбаева проведет двусторонние встречи с президентом России Д.Медведевым, а также с другими главами государств-членов ЕврАзЭС.

Daniyar Usenov

Published on 25 February 2010 by *Mir*.

Source: http://www.tsouz.ru/Community/Pages/SMI_14KTS.aspx

Таможенный союз, возможно, расширит свои границы. К России, Беларуси и Казахстану может присоединиться Кыргызстан. Правда, для этого ему придется пересмотреть свое участие в ВТО. Будет ли такой расклад выгоден, сейчас решают в Министерстве экономики республики. Подробнее - Александра Мучкина.

Основные торговые партнеры Кыргызстана - Россия и Казахстан, поэтому участие в Таможенном союзе сулит кыргызским производителям большие преимущества на рынках этих стран. Создание союзнических таможенных барьеров на пути дешевых китайских товаров сделает кыргызскую продукцию более конкурентоспособной. Таможенные тарифы станут едиными, а главное - взаимовыгодными.

«Правительство должно исходить из интересов республики. Все, что выгодно нашей стране, мы будем использовать в экономике», - говорит премьер-министр Кыргызстана Данияр Усенов.

Кыргызстан завозит в страны Таможенного союза не только собственную продукцию, в гораздо больших объемах республика занимается реэкспортом китайских товаров. Именно это создает риски для России, Казахстана и Беларуси.

Кыргызстан, как и Китай, является членом Всемирной торговой организации. Кыргызстан первым из стран СНГ вступил в ВТО. Но, по словам экспертов, за это время крепких отношений ни с кем из членов большого торгового клуба, за исключением Китая, не выстроил. Тем не менее, в Министерстве экономического регулирования надеются соблюсти интересы Кыргызстана на обеих торговых площадках.

«Мы ждем, когда страны-участники Таможенного союза войдут в ВТО. Это позволит снизить барьеры для нашего товара в эти страны», - отмечает министр экономического регулирования Кыргызстана Женишбек Байгуттиев.

Одной из самых экспортных отраслей в Кыргызстане является легкая промышленность. В швейном бизнесе сегодня работает более 150 тысяч человек. Эти участники рынка наиболее заинтересованы во вступлении страны в Таможенный союз. Государство не может игнорировать их интересы, как и интересы других отечественных производителей. Специалисты Минэконома сейчас тщательно прорабатывают возможность вступления Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз.

Amangeldy Muraliyev

Published on 7 October 2010 by *Kazinform*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jnsKR2>

Context: The first vice-premier of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan Amangeldy Muraliev tells about the development of Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan relations, about the prospects of multifaceted economic and business cooperation between the two neighboring countries in an exclusive interview.

- Амангельды Мурсадыкович, каким образом идет распределение официальной гуманитарной помощи Республики Казахстан братскому народу Кыргызстана? - Прежде всего, спасибо Правительству Казахстана за оперативную и

своевременную помощь. Продукты питания и строительные материалы, полученные из Казахстана, помогли пережить трудное время и ускорить восстановительные работы по строительству жилья. В целях обеспечения своевременного приема и целевого использования гуманитарного груза, прибывшего из Республики Казахстан, Правительство Кыргызской Республики приняло специальное распоряжение. В соответствии с названным распоряжением определены получатели гуманитарного груза: государственная дирекция по восстановлению и развитию городов Ош и Джалал-Абад, МЧС и ТЭЦ города Бишкек. Строительные материалы поступают в государственную дирекцию по восстановлению и развитию городов Ош и Джалал-Абад. Продукты питания и мыломоющие средства - для дальнейшей передачи груза местным государственным администрациям Ошской и Джалал-Абадской областей, мэрии г.Ош получает Министерство чрезвычайных ситуаций Кыргызской Республики. Твердое топливо - уголь поступает в ТЭЦ города Бишкек. - Какие сферы двустороннего сотрудничества Казахстана и Кыргызстана Вы считаете приоритетными? - Отношения с Казахстаном, казахским народом для нас имеют особое значение. Это обусловлено тем, что Казахстан является нашим ближайшим соседом, союзником и стратегическим партнером, а его народ - братским нам народом. Приоритетными направлениями по двустороннему сотрудничеству являются энергетическая и горнодобывающая отрасль, торговля и туризм. Казахстан в зоне СНГ является вторым крупным партнером в торговле. Ежегодно между нашими странами подписываются двусторонние соглашения в области регулирования вопросов водно-энергетических отношений. Кыргызстан оказывает услугу по регулированию частоты, обеспечивает необходимый пропуск воды в летнее время, одним из главных направлений также является экспорт кыргызской электрической энергии в сторону Казахстана. Так, по состоянию на 29 сентября 2010 года экспорт электрической энергии составил порядка 1,1 млрд. кВтч. Кроме того, необходимо отметить, что главным поставщиком топливных ресурсов в отопительный период для ТЭЦ Бишкека является Казахстан. 14 июля 2010 года подписан Протокол встречи кыргызской и казахстанской рабочих групп по рассмотрению вопросов двустороннего сотрудничества и оказанию помощи нашей стране. Указанным протоколом предусмотрено оказание гуманитарной помощи в виде поставок угля на ТЭЦ города Бишкек на сумму 5,8 млн. долл. США, а также оказание помощи в виде ТМЦ для пострадавших во время июньских событий районов республики. Основные проекты Республики Казахстан - Токмакский гормолзавод, Кызыл-Кийский цемзавод, банковский сектор. В горнодобывающей отрасли - это, прежде всего, месторождение Талдыбулак Левобережный. Также, в нашей республике работают ряд компаний из Казахстана по производству сурьмы, разработке редкоземельных металлов. К примеру, АО «Банк Туран Алем» финансирует работы по разработке олово-вольфрамового месторождения Трудовое и вольфрамового - Кенсу. Кроме того, граждане Казахстана являются соучредителями ряда компаний, которые получили лицензии на геологическое изучение и разработку месторождений строительных материалов (кварцевые пески, известняки, суглинки, песчано-гравийная смесь, облицовочные камни). Безусловно, существует ряд факторов, способных повлиять на улучшение инвестиционного климата в Кыргызстане, прежде всего - стабильность во внутривнутриполитической жизни страны и совершенствование действующего законодательства, регулирующего инвестиционную деятельность. Вместе с тем, решению двусторонних вопросов между Кыргызстаном и Казахстаном способствуют регулярные контакты и переговоры на правительственном и межведомственном уровнях. Результатом осуществляемых мер по прогрессирующему развитию взаимовыгодного партнерства должны стать конкретные кыргызско-казахстанские экспортно-импортные и инвестиционные проекты. В этом направлении положительный эффект дают функционирование в

нашей стране около 400 совместных казахстанско-кыргызских предприятий и 90 совместных предприятий с участием кыргызского капитала - в Казахстане. Их деятельность затрагивает в основном сферы торговли, строительства, туризма. Необходимо способствовать дальнейшему увеличению объемов товарооборота путем реализации совместных программ в различных областях, включая энергетику, горнодобывающую промышленность, сельское хозяйство и туризм. Кыргызстан, обладая значительным туристско-рекреационным потенциалом, имеет большие возможности для развития международного туризма, в том числе и с Казахстаном. Развитию туризма государство придает первостепенное значение, однако сегодня, в связи со сложившейся нестабильной общественно-политической обстановкой реализация мероприятий по привлечению туристов сталкивается с большими трудностями. Учитывая то, что для туристов из стран как ближнего, так и дальнего зарубежья Кыргызстан все же интересен, государством принимается ряд мер по развитию туристической индустрии. К примеру, предусмотрены: проведение пресс-конференций, информационных туров для туроператоров и СМИ стран ближнего зарубежья, выпуск рекламных материалов и распространение их через дипломатические и торговые представительства за рубежом, участие в международных туристических ярмарках и другие меры, способствующие развитию туризма. Как известно, 21-23 апреля 2010 года в Алматы прошла ежегодная международная туристическая ярмарка, в которой, несмотря на политическую обстановку в стране и закрытие границы, приняли участие представители курортно-оздоровительных учреждений и туристических компаний Кыргызской Республики. По итогам ярмарки были заключены договора с туристическими фирмами Казахстана. Кроме того министерства иностранных дел и экономического регулирования и загранучреждения республики разработали и внесли на рассмотрение и утверждение в администрацию президента Кыргызстана План действий по продвижению туристического продукта на 2011 год. Учитывая вышеизложенное, а также тесное сотрудничество Кыргызстана с Казахстаном, мы надеемся на дальнейшее плодотворное сотрудничество в сфере туризма. Наше Правительство приложит все усилия для того, чтобы туристы из Казахстана по-прежнему приезжали в Кыргызстан и чтобы для них создавались самые благоприятные условия. К примеру, нами завершено строительство автодороги высокого стандарта «Кеген-Ыссык-Куль». Однако введение со стороны Казахстана временных запретов на экспорт нефтепродуктов до 1 января 2011 года привело к повышению цен на светлые нефтепродукты в нашей республике. В настоящее время до 95% нефтепродуктов мы привозим из России, что в конечном итоге сказывается на себестоимости продукции. Также Казахстан применяет к кыргызским перевозчикам за пользование железной дорогой по своей территории тарифы, в три раза превышающие тарифы для своих перевозчиков. Указанные вопросы до сих пор не решены, и мы, с надеждой на понимание, в любое время готовы сесть за стол переговоров. - Насколько реально вхождение Кыргызстана в состав Таможенного союза? - Нами проведен анализ национального законодательства страны и ее международных договоров на соответствие с правовой базой Таможенного союза. В результате анализа рассмотрены 46 документов ТС, из них по 34-м возможно присоединение, а по 12-ти присоединение не возможно по причине обязательств перед ВТО. Эти 12 документов составляют основу Таможенного союза, их удельный вес в договорно-правовой базе ТС можно оценить как 70%. В структуре внешнеторгового оборота Кыргызстана со странами Таможенного союза самый большой удельный вес занимают Российская Федерация - 28,5% и Казахстан - 10,7%, на Беларусь приходится 1,7%. В целом три страны занимают в товарообороте Кыргызстана 40,9%, в экспорте - 22,7 %, в импорте - 49,5 %. Анализируя товарную структуру экспорта и импорта, необходимо отметить, что мы импортируем из стран

Таможенного союза более чем в 4,5 раза больше продукции, чем экспортируем. По итогам 2009 года внешняя торговля Кыргызстана со странами ТС составила 1831,5 млн. долл. США, что меньше, чем в 2008 году, на 24,2%. В том числе, экспортные поставки составили - 326,3 млн. долл. США и сократились на 35,5%, импорт - 1505,2 млн. долл. США и сократился на 21,2%. Как известно, Кыргызстан с 1998 года является членом ВТО и имеет обязательства перед ним по таможенным тарифам, а РФ и Казахстан только стремятся вступить в ВТО. В любом случае Кыргызстан глубоко изучает ситуацию с созданием ТС, но на это потребуется определенное время. Вместе с тем, мы предпринимаем усилия для адаптации нашей экономики для работы в условиях Таможенного союза. Это предполагает структурные изменения. -Какие Ваши личные планы после парламентских выборов в октябре текущего года? - Главная задача нашего Правительства - обеспечить честные и прозрачные выборы Парламента, стабилизировать и создать прочный фундамент для дальнейшего развития экономики страны. Мы прилагаем все усилия и предпринимаем все необходимые меры для этого. Уверен, что достигнем своей цели. А после выполнения своей миссии мы оценим ситуацию, и, думаю, примем необходимое решение. На счет личных планов - пока не хочется опережать события. - Благодарим за интервью.

2011

Roza Otunbayeva

Published 16 June 2011 by *RIA Novosti*.

Source: <https://ria.ru/economy/20110616/389065124.html>

Context : Kyrgyzstan is not yet ready to join the Customs Union, the republic's authorities have not yet had time to calculate the consequences of accession, Kyrgyz president Roza Otunbayeva told reporters.

Киргизия пока не готова вступить в Таможенный союз, власти республики пока не успели просчитать последствия вступления, заявила в четверг журналистам президент Киргизии Роза Отунбаева.

По ее словам, решение о вступлении в Таможенный союз Белоруссии, Казахстана и России должно принимать правительство республики.

"Очень много объективных причин, по которым Киргизии следует вступить в ТС. Рынок очень слаженный - казахстанский, российский рынки. Рынок не только для товаров, но и рабочих сил, капитала. Поэтому для нас это, безусловно, представляет важную выгоду", - отметила глава государства.

"У нас сейчас работает рабочая группа. Я еще не читала какого-то серьезного исследования, доклада на этот счет, где сказали бы "вот плюсы, вот минусы" вступления. Вы знаете, что к нам приезжал Сергей Глазьев, ответственный секретарь комиссии Таможенного союза, и наши министры экономики и финансов работают с ними в тесной упряжке", - сообщила она.

Almazbek Atambayev

Published on 17 November 2011 by *Izvestia*.

Source: <http://iz.ru/news/506878>

Context: Extracts from interview is given to "Izvestia", a Russian socio-political and business daily broadsheet. The first interview of the elected president of Kyrgyzstan to foreign media. Almazbek Atambayev is betting on a strategic rapprochement with Russia.

— Алмазбек Шаршенович, и иностранные, и киргизские наблюдатели сообщили, что президентские выборы прошли в целом демократично и откровенных нарушений выявлено не было. Вы согласны с такой оценкой?

— Я на своем веку много выборов видел. И нынешние не сравнить с теми, что были раньше, — или выбирать было не из кого, или результаты откровенно подтасовывались. Сейчас голосование, совершенно точно, было куда

демократичнее. Хотя, конечно, были и недостатки. В первую очередь это касается списков избирателей. Кое-кто из пришедших голосовать просто не нашел себя в этих списках. Но их не так много. По данным ЦИК, с жалобами на то, что они не нашли себя в списках, обратилось всего 1045 человек. Причем треть из жалобщиков была тут же найдена в списках на других избирательных участках. Я так думаю: дело в том, что избирательное законодательство не до конца продумано, поэтому и были недостатки. Но назвать это нарушение вопиющим я не могу. Ведь подавляющее большинство избирателей смогло проголосовать, и проголосовать именно так, как им хотелось.

— То есть временному президенту Розе Отунбаевой удалось исполнить свое обещание и организовать демократическую передачу власти новому президенту — первую за всю историю независимой Киргизии?

— Да, удалось. Погрешности, допущенные в ходе выборов, не повлияли на итог выборов. Ведь даже в самых демократичных странах бывают какие-то нарушения на выборах. А для Кыргызстана это просто огромный шаг вперед. Так что да, Роза Отунбаева справилась с задачей передачи власти легитимному, всенародно избранному президенту.

— А вам не обидно, что у вас, как у президента Киргизии, уже не будет такой мощной концентрации власти в собственных руках, как у ваших предшественников? Ведь за полтора года, прошедших с момента свержения Бакиева, республика из президентской, а то и суперпрезидентской стала парламентской.

— На самом деле новая форма правления скорее парламентско-президентская. Хотя бы потому, что президент избирается всенародно и получает довольно солидные полномочия. И мне совершенно не обидно из-за того, что их все же меньше, чем у того же Бакиева. Мне не хочется сравнивать свои полномочия и бакиевские. Мне хочется оправдать доверие людей, проголосовавших за меня. Главное же — не то, сколько у тебя полномочий, а то, что ты можешь сделать для своей страны, для своего народа.

— Буквально накануне выборов вы вели переговоры с кандидатами-южанами Адаханом Мадумаровым и Камчыбеком Ташиевым, вашими соперниками в борьбе за президентский пост. О чем шла речь на этих переговорах и чем они завершились?

— Я даже не столько по должности, сколько по возрасту — а я старше их — обязан был приглашать их, встречаться с ними, для того чтобы убедить других кандидатов провести мирные выборы. Я просил их сделать все, чтобы не расколоть людей, не расколоть страну вне зависимости от того, кто бы ни победил. И они со мной согласились. Да, были митинги, но назвать их массовыми нельзя. Выборы есть выборы, и проигравшим всегда обидно. Это в США или других демократических странах проигравший кандидат поздравляет победителя еще до официальных итогов голосования. Мы же еще, наверное, просто не доросли до такой стадии демократии, нашим политикам требуется время для того, чтобы смириться с поражением. Но мы быстро учимся.

— Перед выборами в СМИ неоднократно появлялась информация о том, что вы пользуетесь активной поддержкой Москвы. В чем конкретно заключалась эта поддержка?

— Речь, скорее всего, идет о том, что с руководством России, с администрацией президента, с главой российского правительства у нас полное взаимопонимание. У нас — в России и Кыргызстане — даже менталитет народа очень схож. Все мы вышли из «советской шинели». У нас одно прошлое и, я думаю, одно будущее. Так что морально, конечно, я чувствовал, что Россия поддерживала меня.

— Вас называли пророссийским кандидатом, кандидатом, нацеленным на стратегическое партнерство с Россией. Могли бы вы очертить рамки этого партнерства?

— Во внешней политике мы руководствуемся исключительно национальными интересами Кыргызстана. Именно они обуславливают необходимость стратегического партнерства с Россией. Наша социал-демократическая партия заявила это в своей программе еще в 1993 году. Мы уже имеем положительную динамику. Подали заявку на вступление в Таможенный союз. Сейчас работает комиссия по приему Кыргызстана в это объединение. И будущее нашей страны я вижу уже даже не просто в Таможенном союзе, а в Евразийском, о котором в вашей газете писал Владимир Путин. Мы все понимаем, что восстановить СССР невозможно, Кыргызстан, конечно, останется суверенной страной. Но мне бы очень хотелось создать единое экономическое пространство с Россией, Казахстаном, Белоруссией, с другими бывшими советскими республиками. К такому объединению нас, если хотите, призывают и заветы наших отцов, наших дедов, которые вместе воевали в Великую Отечественную.

— Вхождение в Таможенный союз потребует значительных экономических изменений в стране. Ведь если верить экспертам, в последние годы Киргизия выживала во многом за счет транзита дешевого китайского ширпотреба. Уже понятно, чем можно заменить этот источник финансов?

— Пути реэкспорта уже — после создания Таможенного союза — практически перекрыты. И это очень сильно ударило по крупным вещевым рынкам. Но жить на реэкспорте, на перепродаже за границу импортных товаров, страна не может. И, естественно, мы готовим большую программу ухода от реэкспорта, от которого пока еще сильно зависим. Уже сейчас из Китая нам все больше поставляют не готовые вещи, а ткани или фурнитуру. А уже здесь наши швейники производят из них готовые изделия, и на внешние рынки, в том числе и в Россию, идет готовый товар с маркой «сделано в Кыргызстане». И эта марка пользуется спросом. Кроме того, очень перспективным видится развитие таких отраслей, как энергетика, горнодобывающая промышленность. Они не развивались из-за главной нашей беды — коррупции. Наша задача — искоренить ее, поэтому я верю, что уже через несколько лет Кыргызстан станет в экономическом плане очень успешной страной. Для примера: только в этом году рост ВВП составил 9%.

— А вы намерены привлекать к реализации крупных проектов в своих перспективных отраслях российские компании?

— Конечно. В качестве наиболее показательного примера могу привести проект строительства сразу двух ГЭС Верхненарынского каскада. Российская компания «Русгидро» готова приступить к реализации этого проекта. И таких масштабных проектов много. Тем более что мы хотим сделать из Кыргызстана рай для инвесторов и предпринимателей. Перед ними будут сняты все препоны: упрощены все налоговые и таможенные процедуры, а самое главное — инвестор больше не будет задаваться вопросом, сколько он должен «дать» руководителям страны для того, чтобы начать работать. Этого больше не будет.

— С экономическим сотрудничеством разобрались. А что насчет военного? Будут продолжены переговоры о строительстве военной базы ОДКБ под Ошем?

— Рядом с Бишкеком, в городе Кант, находится российская военная база. И она останется. Более того, на основе тех российских воинских частей, которые уже расположены в Кыргызстане, будет создана единая объединенная российская база.

— А американская военная авиабаза Ганси? Она будет закрыта, как вы и планировали?

— В 2014 году заканчивается срок ее аренды, и подписывать новый договор мы с США не намерены. Вернее, мы предлагаем сделать на ее основе гражданский транзитный центр. Ведь это ненормально, когда военная база расположена на территории международного гражданского аэропорта.

— Другая важная тема — борьба с афганским наркотрафиком. Что здесь будет сделано?

— Мы уже восстановили структуру, занимавшуюся борьбой с наркотиками, которая была ликвидирована при Бакиеве. Она сейчас активно укрепляется, в чем ей помогает российская ФСКН. Более того, если мы вступаем в Таможенный союз, наша граница автоматически становится и российской внешней границей, охранять которую мы будем вместе. Мы же и сами заинтересованы в том, чтобы остановить поток наркоты. Он же идет не только в Россию. Все больше и наших граждан попадают в наркозависимость.

— Пока крупные инвестиционные проекты не реализованы, Киргизии не обойтись без внешних займов. Вы уже получили кредит от ЕврАзЭС, обещанный стране в случае вашей победы на выборах? И ожидаете ли другие иностранные транши?

— Кредит ЕврАзЭС был обещан еще летом прошлого года правительству Розы Отунбаевой. Причем речь не шла о каких-то особых условиях его получения вроде чьей-либо победы на выборах. И мне непонятно, почему в ситуации, когда страна выполнила все формальности, кредит еще так и не выдан. Видно, пора уже больше надеяться на себя, на свою экономику.

— Что будет со статусом русского языка?

— Статус сохранится. Я считаю, что мы должны уделить больше внимания его изучению. Русский язык необходимо знать в нашей стране каждому. Мы должны преподавать его даже в тех глухих селах, где нет ни одного русскоязычного. Ведь из этих сел люди едут на заработки в Россию, не зная ни одного слова, а потом мыкаются. Прав был Чингиз Айтматов, говоря, что два языка — это как два крыла у птицы. И такое богатство, как русский язык, мы не должны потерять. Он однозначно должен применяться и изучаться более активно.

— Нет планов сделать его вторым государственным?

— Государственный язык у нас должен быть один. У русского есть статус официального в нашей стране, и этот статус будет сохранен. Я сам очень люблю русский язык и даже когда-то удостоился похвалы известного русского писателя Владимира Солоухина за «мой русский». И во многом благодаря этому был принят в Союз писателей СССР в 1983 году.

Muratbek Imanaliyev

Published on 22 November 2011 by *Tengrinews*.

Source: <https://tengrinews.kz/sng/gensek-shos-sliyanie-s-evraziyskim-soyuzom-ne-planiruetsya-202104/>

Страны-участницы Шанхайской организации сотрудничества (ШОС) могут вступать в Евразийский союз, но слияния двух организаций не будет, передает "Интерфакс-Казахстан" со ссылкой на генерального секретаря ШОС Муратбека Иманалиева.

"Отдельные страны ШОС, в том числе Кыргызстан и Таджикистан, в одностороннем порядке информированы и занимаются данной проблемой (вступлением в Евразийский союз. - ИФ). Но все страны ШОС в целом туда вступать не намерены. Ни о каком слиянии двух организаций речь не идет", - подчеркнул он.

При этом Иманалиев добавил, что ШОС придает большое значение взаимодействию с региональными международными организациями. "В ходе встречи с главами ОДКБ, ЕврАзЭС и СНГ во вторник мы обменялись мнениями по поводу того, что и как мы можем сделать совместно. Нам необходимо развивать нынешнее сотрудничество и искать новые перспективы в данном направлении", - добавил он.

2012

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 3 January 2012 by *Inozpress.kg*.

Source: <http://inozpress.kg/news/view/id/35219>

Российский премьер-министр Владимир Путин имеет свое личное видение, в соответствии с которым новый союз станет мировым двигателем во главе с Москвой. Однако Евразийский Союз, о котором он мечтает, будет основан на идеологии торговых отношений. Концепция региональной экономической интеграции, возможно, теряет свое очарование в Европе, где долговой кризис ставит под угрозу существование еврозоны. Однако некоторые страны бывшего Советского Союза, все еще ведущие экономическую борьбу спустя 20 лет после обретения независимости, приветствуют величайшую из амбиций Путина. Россия сделала шаг вперед в сторону этой цели в рамках соглашения с бывшими советскими республиками Беларусь и Казахстан, позволяющего свободное передвижение товаров и капитала через общие границы трех государств.

Как предполагает Путин, все еще гипотетический союз будет простирается от восточных границ Центральной Европы на Тихоокеанское побережье и юг Памирских гор, расположенных возле Афганистана. Об этой реформе начали говорить еще с 1991 года. Содружество Независимых Государства, которое объединяет 11 из 15 бывших советских республик, стал первой попыткой, хотя и не очень удачной. Именно президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев упомянул об Евразийском Союзе в начале 1990 годов, однако идея была слишком преждевременной для стран, занятых своими делами. Путин являлся президентом России с 2000 по 2008 годы, и намерен занять этот пост после мартовских выборов в этом году. После парламентских выборов в декабре по России прокатилась волна акций протеста. Демонстрации стали серьезной угрозой для власти Путина, но, похоже, его власть остается в безопасности.

В ожидании нового шестилетнего президентского срока Путин сделал формирование Евразийского Союза к 2015 году приоритетным вопросом внешней политики. Он пропагандирует Союз как необходимость для России и ее соседей, чтобы конкурировать на мировом современном рынке. Его более масштабная цель – восстановить экономическое и политическое влияние Москвы на всем постсоветском пространстве, и таким образом, усилить позицию России в мире.

Если более бедные, возможные члены путинского союза надеются на то, что будут получать от Москвы дотации, как это было во время Советского Союза, они будут разочарованы. Россия в последние годы занимает более прагматичную позицию, когда речь заходит о щедрости, и эта позиция вряд ли изменится. «Несколько лет назад Россия пришла к выводу о том, что ее помощь бывшим советским республикам должна быть обращена в деньги», - говорит профессор Московского государственного института по международным отношениям Иван Сафранчук. По его словам, это означает, что Москва издала директивы о доверии и затем продала странам нефть, газ, электричество и военное оборудование по сниженным ценам. Эта стратегия приблизила Россию ближе к контролю над энергетической инфраструктурой Украины, Беларуси и Кыргызстана. Предоставляя Москве экономическое влияние над объектами, этот подход устранил непомерное давление на расходы, которое способствовало банкротству Советского Союза. Соглашение о создании «единого экономического пространства», вступившее в силу 1 января, предоставляет России до 30 млн. новых потребителей в Беларуси и Казахстана, тогда как эти страны получают большой доступ к российскому рынку и более 140 млн. человек. Риск для российских производителей – относительно низкая цена на товары в двух других странах, что может вытеснить их из рынка. Кыргызстан и Таджикистан – центрально-азиатские республики, находящиеся в

экономически сложном положении - возможно, станут следующими членами этого клуба. Прежде, чем уйти в отставку, бывший президент Кыргызстана Роза Отунбаева сказала, что видит судьбу своей страны неизбежно связанной с Евразийским Союзом. «Естественный поток рабочей силы, услуг и движения капитала, несомненно, направляется в Россию и Казахстан», - сказала она. Нынешний президент страны Алмазбек Атамбаев дал ясно понять, что видит судьбу Кыргызстана, на территории которого располагается американская авиабаза, очень тесно связанной с Россией. Соседний Таджикистан, протяженная и прозрачная граница которого с Афганистаном держит всех в напряжении, оказался более упрямым партнером и недавно вступил в дипломатический спор с Россией. Однако учитывая то, что в России работают 1 млн. таджикских мигрантов, приманка в виде свободных границ может оказаться слишком привлекательной, чтобы отказаться.

Другие потенциальные члены Евразийского Союза проявляют осторожность. Украина, которая не приняла определенного решения по поводу вступления в союз, боится поставить под угрозу свое будущее экономическое и политическое сотрудничество с Западной Европой. Другие, как Армения, не проявили большого энтузиазма по поводу идеи, тогда как Грузия во главе с президентом Михаилом Саакашвили, вероятно, будет всегда враждебна ко всему, что исходит от Москвы. Директор Московского центра Карнеги Дмитрий Тренин предостерегает против того, чтобы говорить о перспективе Евразийского Союза как политического проекта. «Я не вижу абсолютно никакого желания со стороны руководства Казахстана отказываться от своего суверенитета и не вижу, что белорусы хотят стать частью России», - сказал он. Но все же у соседей России, возможно, есть причина бояться попыток Кремля восстановить свое политическое господство. Вскоре после того, как Путин пришел к власти, Министерство иностранных дел совершенно ясно объяснило стратегическое видение России. Документ, который датируется от 2000 года, выступает за продвижение политики, которая «лучше всего служит интересам России как великой державы и одного из влиятельнейших центров современного мира».

Эта тема была недавно повторена в предвыборной кампании путинской «Единой России», где утверждалось, что «новый союз позволит нашей стране стать еще одним полюсом влияния в современном многополярном мире». Как сказал Тренин, до сих пор опасения по поводу восстановления господства Кремля были необоснованными, отмечая, что Казахстан и Беларусь лишь повышают досягаемость российских рынков на одну треть населения. «Это отлично, но это не делает из вас центр влияния», - отмечает он.

Almanbet Matubraimov

Published on 23 September 2012.

Source: http://wiki.ru/sites/ekonomika_i_finansy/id-articles-396760.html

Кыргызстан считает необходимым принять в рамках ЕврАзЭС единый документ, регламентирующий порядок пребывания трудовых мигрантов на территории стран Сообщества, - такое мнение в Минске в ходе заседания Межгосударственного совета ЕврАзЭС высказал член интеграционного комитета ЕврАзЭС Полномочный представитель Президента КР по вопросам интеграционного сотрудничества в рамках СНГ и ЕврАзЭС Алмамбет Матубраимов.

Ednan Karabaev

Published on 5 July 2012 by *VB.kg*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30rBJIr>

"Двадцатилетнее участие в разных организациях не принесло Кыргызстану никаких дивидендов", - заявил сегодня, 5 июля, на круглом столе в Бишкеке эксперт-политолог Эднан Карабаев.

"Однако я считаю, что Кыргызстану надо прыгнуть в Таможенный союз, но только с мешком преференция за спиной, - говорит Карабаев. - Есть понимание этого вопроса наверху, но существует и проблема донесения информации до населения. Новый геоформат внешних отношений России требует прирастания Центральной Азии. С кем быть Кыргызстану - решается в новом формате. Мнения простых кыргызстанцев разнополярны - это факт".

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 25 December 2012.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2YwuvBH>

Евразийский экономический союз начнет работать с 1 января 2015 года. Об этом 24 декабря на заседании Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил Президент России Владимир Путин.

По его словам, страны Таможенного союза подробно обсудили дальнейшие направления евразийской интеграции.

«Наши партнеры одобрили ключевые принципы для сближения, гармоничного развития и укрепления конкурентоспособности. Реализация этих принципов главная и основная цель — повышения благосостояния наших граждан. Следующий этап согласования отраслевой части, тест который должен быть готов к 1 мая 2014 года. Евразийский союз начнет работать с 1 января 2015 года», — сказал В.Путин.

Экономический союз РФ, Казахстана и Белоруссии не является попыткой воссоздать СССР — Назарбаев

Создание экономического союза России, Казахстана и Белоруссии не является попыткой воссоздать Советский Союз, это будет инновационным проектом трех стран. Убежденность в этом выразил президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев по итогам заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, передает ИТАР-ТАСС.

«Создание Евразийского экономического совета — инновационный проект современности, он не является попыткой реставрировать СССР, как нам хотят навязать. Возврата назад нет», — подчеркнул Назарбаев.

По его словам, три страны «не плывут по течению, их объединение не является повторением ни Евросоюза, ни другого объединения». Продолжая употреблять «водную» терминологию, президент Казахстана сравнил евразийское объединение с гребной лодкой. «Трое сильных гребцов всегда быстрее одиночки, а если бы была восьмерка, вообще была бы скорость большая», — сказал он.

Назарбаев считает, что главная цель для трех стран на данный момент — «чтобы с 1 января 2015 года заработал Евразийский экономический союз». «Эксперты прилагают максимум усилий, чтобы к маю 2014 года проект договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе был у нас /президентов/ на столе», — отметил казахстанский лидер. По его мнению, готовящийся документ должен стать документом «высокого класса, обеспечивающим баланс интересов всех участников».

Политизация Евразийского экономического союза недопустима

Политизация Евразийского экономического союза недопустима, договор о его создании должен содержать только экономические положения, заявил президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, передает Прайм.

«Мы с вами говорили, и не хотелось бы повторять, но политизация создаваемого союза недопустима. Все мы видим, что происходит. Давайте создадим экономический союз, все придет в свое время», — сказал Назарбаев.

Он отметил, что задача Евразийской экономической комиссии в связи с этим — не допустить включения в проект договора положений, выходящих за пределы экономической интеграции.

«Такие направления, как охрана границ, миграционная политика, система обороны и безопасности, а также вопросы здравоохранения, образования, культуры, правовой помощи по гражданским, административным и уголовным делам не относятся к экономической интеграции и не могут быть перенесены в формат экономического союза», — сказал Назарбаев.

Он добавил, что эти вопросы уже урегулированы в формате многосторонних соглашений в рамках СНГ и ОДКБ и в рамках двусторонних соглашений между Россией, Белоруссией и Казахстаном. Президент Казахстана также назвал неприемлемым предложение наделить высший совет на уровне глав государств и правительств наднациональными полномочиями. По его словам, уже есть наднациональный орган, наделенный такими полномочиями — Евразийская экономическая комиссия.

Назарбаев считает, что договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе не должен затрагивать международные договоры государств-членов с другими странами и организациями. «Как суверенные государства мы активно сотрудничаем с различными странами, международными организациями, не ущемляя взаимных интересов. Союз не должен мешать нам в этом направлении», — сказал президент Казахстана.

Вступающие в ТС страны должны принимать все его соглашения

Вступающие в Таможенный союз государства должны принимать на себя весь комплекс обязательств без каких-либо особых режимов, заявил президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев на заседании высшего евразийского экономического совета, передает Прайм.

Президент Украины Виктор Янукович ранее заявлял, что Украина примет решение о возможном присоединении к отдельным положениям Таможенного союза после их анализа. В свою очередь замглавы Минэкономразвития РФ Алексей Лихачев отмечал, что такой механизм не ясен и не предусмотрен процедурами присоединения.

«Есть соглашения — все вступающие должны принять. Есть какие-либо проблемы — давайте потом посмотрим. Но никакого присоединения к Таможенному союзу с сохранением особых режимов мы не должны позволять», — сказал Назарбаев, предложив своим коллегам принять «дорожную карту» по присоединению к Таможенному союзу Киргизии.

Власти Киргизии заявили о намерении присоединения республики к ТС весной 2011 года, «дорожную карту» планировалось подписать до конца 2013 года. Однако в декабре власти заявили, что республика будет участвовать в

интеграционных процессах с другими государствами «только с учетом национальных интересов страны и не во вред социальной стабильности».

Киргизская сторона настаивает на создании специального фонда поддержки предпринимателей республики при вхождении в Таможенный союз. Республика также рассчитывает получить финансовую помощь в размере около 200 миллионов долларов на оснащение пропускных таможенных и пограничных пунктов на границе с Китаем, Узбекистаном и Таджикистаном.

Кроме того, в рамках присоединения к ТС правительство Киргизии рассчитывает на определенные преференции для крупных рынков республики и создании в республике трудоемких производств в области перерабатывающей промышленности и логистики.

Казахстан выступает против наделения ЕЭК новыми полномочиями

Казахстан выступает против наделения Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) новыми полномочиями и считает, что нужны механизмы ответственности чиновников ЕЭК за принимаемые решения, заявил президент страны Нурсултан Назарбаев на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, передает Прайм.

«Мы считаем, что сейчас нет необходимости такой — чрезмерно расширять полномочия», — сказал Назарбаев.

Он также предложил ввести для чиновников ЕЭК практику оценки их деятельности наподобие той, что применяется в Казахстане.

«Не лишним будет и закрепить персональную ответственность членов коллегии за принимаемые решения. У нас решение наделить членов коллегии иммунитетом и широкими полномочиями. Но надо возложить на них также и ответственность за это», — сказал Назарбаев.

Евразийская интеграция бесплатных конфет не дает

Евразийская интеграция бесплатных конфет не дает, как думают некоторые. Об этом по итогам заседания Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев.

«Каждая из стран нацелена на то, чтобы к маю 2014 года основные документы по созданию Евразийского экономического союза легли нам на стол. Сегодня на нас внимательно смотрят все страны. Сейчас создается история наших государств. ЕЭС не является реконструкцией СССР, мы идем вперед. Мы строим свое объединение. Интеграция бесплатных конфет не дает, как некоторые думают. Никто в нее насильно не тянет, а все вступают добровольно. В мире действует немало таких организаций», — сказал Н. Назарбаев.

Он отметил, что политический суверенитет в Евразийском экономическом союзе будет только укрепляться. «В этом не должно быть никаких сомнений. Интеграция не направлена против других стран», — отметил Н. Назарбаев.

Казахстан ждет разъяснения по карабахской проблеме в вопросе присоединения Армении к ТС

Казахстан готов подписать «дорожную карту» о присоединении Армении к Таможенному союзу, но с особым мнением, поскольку требует прояснения вопрос о границах Таможенного союза в связи с проблемой Нагорного Карабаха, заявил президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, передает Прайм.

«Дорожная карта» по Армении в целом согласована, полагаю, возможно, ее принять. Вместе с тем, вопрос о границе Таможенного союза, где он будет проходить в Армении в связи с нагорно-карабахским конфликтом, остается открытым. Поэтому мы будем вместе с коллегами подписывать «дорожные карты», но с особым мнением, которое будет доложено», — сказал Назарбаев.

Он выразил надежду, что в ходе согласования документа эксперты найдут решение данного вопроса.

Александр Лукашенко: Если Евразийский союз не заработает с 1 января 2015 года, это будет позором РФ, Белоруссии и Казахстана

Если Евразийский экономический союз не заработает с 1 января 2015 года, это будет позором для России, Белоруссии и Казахстана, а также лидеров этих стран. Такое мнение выразил президент Белоруссии Александр Лукашенко по итогам заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического совета 24 декабря в Москве, сообщили в пресс-службе Кремля.

«Как уже сказал председатель, состоялся действительно конструктивный и полезный обмен мнениями по самым актуальным темам дальнейшего развития евразийской интеграции, и не только этой интеграции. Мы обсудили очень многие вопросы, которые сейчас актуальны для развития наших государств. Важнейшая задача на этом пути, конечно же, — подготовка договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе.

Владимир Владимирович тоже сказал, что он должен заработать и заработает с первого января 2015 года, и добавил, что мы к этому будем, по крайней мере, стремиться. Я скажу больше, выразив позицию Беларуси: если мы не добьемся того, чтобы этот экономический союз заработал в определённые нами сроки, это будет позором для нас троих и наших государств. Мы об этом также говорили, и это говорит о том, что мы полны решимости за этот короткий промежуток времени создать и подписать очень сложный документ», — отметил он.

«Хотел бы отметить, что договор в целом приобретает конкретные очертания, однако работа, и мы это констатировали единогласно, предстоит огромная. Ряд наиболее чувствительных позиций требует уточнений. В частности, речь идёт о разграничении компетенции союза и государств — членов этого союза, иерархии актов будущего объединения и так далее. Обсуждая вопрос соотношения договора с иными международными документами, мы заявили, что он не должен препятствовать заключению или применению ранее принятых соглашений, не противоречащих целям договора или создающих более благоприятные условия для сотрудничества», — добавил Лукашенко.

Необходимо, по его мнению, сохранить действия уже имеющихся соглашений, к примеру, в рамках Союзного государства с Россией, договоров Белоруссии и России с Казахстаном. Это, как считает он, безусловно, будет способствовать дальнейшему развитию интеграции.

Алмазбек Атамбаев: Кыргызстан присоединится к интеграционным объединениям только с учетом национальных интересов

Президент Кыргызстана Алмазбек Атамбаев в Москве принял участие в очередном заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета на уровне глав государств.

Как сообщили в отделе информационной политики Аппарата Президента КР, на заседании с участием Президента Российской Федерации Владимира Путина,

Президента Республики Беларусь Александра Лукашенко, Президента Республики Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева был рассмотрен проект «дорожной карты» по вступлению Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз трех вышеназванных государств.

Президент А.Атамбаев, выступая на заседании, подчеркнул, что Кыргызстан присоединится к интеграционным объединениям только с учетом национальных интересов. В связи с этим при утверждении «дорожной карты» должны быть учтены все рекомендации кыргызской стороны.

Президенты государств-членов Таможенного союза выразили поддержку позиции Президента Кыргызстана Алмазбека Атамбаева. Было поручено экспертной группе продолжить работу по подготовке «дорожной карты» с учетом позиций кыргызской стороны.

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Таможенный союз выгоден Кыргызстану

Обсуждение вопроса вступления Кыргызстана и Армении в Таможенный союз прошло в активном формате. Об этом сегодня в Москве по итогам заседания Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил первый вице-премьер-министр КР Джоомарт Оторбаев.

По его словам, принято решения о присоединении и утверждении дорожной карты Армении в ТС и было принято решение о продолжении обсуждения дорожной карты по вступлению Кыргызстана в данный союз. «Наш Президент Алмазбек Атамбаев неоднократно говорил, и сегодня тоже, что мы готовы вступить в Таможенный союз, но на условиях, которые удовлетворяют нашу страну. Любой шаг Кыргызстана будет связан с необходимостью удовлетворения тех условий, которые государство ставит для вступления в это объединение. При этом все страны-участницы ТС также должны быть удовлетворены планом мероприятий дорожной карты», — сказал Дж.Оторбаев.

Как он заявил, все страны входят в объединения добровольно, но с учетом государственных интересов. «Условия для всех индивидуальны. То, что хочет Армения не удовлетворит Кыргызстан или Украину. Мы должны выполнить поставленные обязательства. Когда завершится разработка Дорожной карты, сказать сложно. Процесс должен завершиться без особых затяжек. Мы должны пройти сложный путь, подписать сотни положений. Все шаги должны быть исполнены», — пояснил Дж. Оторбаев.

Он добавил, что Таможенный союз в большей степени будет выгоден Кыргызстану в экономическом плане.

Все президенты поддержали Кыргызстан

Все президенты стран-участниц Таможенного союза поддержали позицию Кыргызстана о принятии «дорожной карты» только с учетом национальных интересов. Об этом сегодня журналистам по итогам заседания Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил первый вице-премьер-министр КР Джоомарт Оторбаев.

Отвечая на вопрос журналистов, какие будут приняты меры, если во второй раз не примут условия Кыргызстана по вступлению в Таможенный союз, Дж. Оторбаев отметил, что позиция Президента Алмазбека Атамбаева четкая. «Любая дорожная карта должна приниматься с учетом интересов страны. И все главы государств данного объединения поддержали нашу позицию», — пояснил он.

Кроме того, окончательный вариант будет еще дорабатываться. «Кыргызстан требует укрепления внешних границ Таможенного союза, создания преференций для крупных рынков и фонда развития», — сказал Джоомарт Оторбаев.

Владимир Путин: С Кыргызстаном работа будет продолжена

Практически завершена работа над «дорожной картой» по вступлению Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз, остается решить несколько вопросов, поставленных Бишкеком. Об этом сегодня в Москве на заседании Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил Президент России Владимир Путин.

По его словам, Армения и Кыргызстан уже активно движутся к Таможенному союзу. «Армения далеко продвинулась в прогрессивном направлении. Сегодня мы можем подписать «дорожную карту». Кыргызстан тоже готов вступить в ТС. Осталось решить несколько вопросов, поставленных Бишкеком. Убежден, вместе с кыргызскими друзьями нам удастся найти взаимоприемлемые развязки», — сказал президент России.

Он заявил, что будущее масштабного интеграционного проекта во многом зависит именно от слаженности действий партнеров на всех направлениях взаимодействия. «Россия, безусловно, готова к такой совместной работе», — заявил В. Путин.

Дорожная карта по вступлению в Таможенный союз одобрена, а с Кыргызстаном работа будет продолжена. Об этом сегодня в Москве по итогам Высшего евразийского экономического совета заявил президент России Владимир Путин.

По его словам, государства Таможенного союза намерены четко выдерживать график, чтобы подписать договор не позднее мая 2014 года.

Таможенный союз сохранит высокий темп интеграционного сотрудничества работы над созданием Евразийского экономического союза. «Дорожная карта Кыргызстана практически готова, мы продолжим работу с экспертными группами», — пояснил В.Путин.

Он отметил, что карта Армении утверждена.

Кроме того, евразийская интеграция нацелена на улучшение жизни граждан. «Мы договорились, что изъятия будут сведены к минимуму. У законодателей будет много времени, чтобы ратифицировать соглашение к 1 января 2015 году. Улучшится взаимная торговля. Мы не отгораживаемся от других рынков», — сказал В.Путин.

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 20 March 2012.

Source: <http://kyrgyzembassy.ru/?p=8303#.WVoYYYiGPIU>

Москва, 20 марта / – Кабар/. Правительства стран-участниц ЕврАзЭС разработают «дорожную карту» по вступлению Кыргызстана и Таджикистана в Евразийский экономический союз. Об этом накануне, 19 марта, в Москве журналистам сообщил вице-премьер-министр КР Джоомарт Оторбаев.

«Очень важным вопросом на сегодняшнем заседании глав стран, входящих в ЕврАзЭС, стала позиция Кыргызстана и Таджикистана по Евразийскому экономическому союзу. В частности, какой статус будут иметь данные два государства. Президент КР Алмазбек Атамбаев заявил, что республика не готова быть просто партнером. Либо государство становится членом, либо не входит вообще», – сказал Дж.Оторбаев.

По его словам, Кыргызстан будет вести переговоры о предоставлении преференций. «Это естественный процесс, так как нам придется изменить законодательство, гармонизировать параметры по торговле. Есть понимание того, что в республике сфера текстильной промышленности обеспечивает многих граждан работой. Поэтому завоз мануфактуры для данной отрасли должен быть по специальным нормам в течение 5-6 лет. Такая необходимость вызвана тем, чтобы люди не потеряли работу, а рынок «Дордой» продолжал функционировать. Мы будем очень жестко придерживаться преференций, которые выгодны нам по стадийному вступлению в Евразийское экономическое пространство и Евразийский союз», – отметил вице-премьер.

Дж.Оторбаев добавил, что руководство Кыргызстана выразило политическую волю по вступлению республики как в таможенный союз, так и в Евразийский экономический союз.

2013

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 26 February 2013 by *Glavcom*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/39cYhkj>

В Институте мировой политики состоялась видеоконференция с бывшим президентом Кыргызстана

В Институте мировой политики состоялась видеоконференция с бывшим президентом Кыргызстана Розой Отунбаевой. Лидер Тюльпановой революции поделилась своим видением общественно-политических изменений на постсоветском пространстве, перспектив развития парламентаризма, а также интеграционными планами Кыргызстана. Кроме того госпожа Отунбаева выразила свою позицию по поводу эффективности системы гендерного квотирования для осуществления равенства между мужчинами и женщинами и привела пример представительства женщин в Кыргызском парламенте, которое составляет 23%. Напомним, что в составе украинского парламента пятого созыва женщинам принадлежат только 9% мандатов. Мероприятие состоялось в рамках проекта «Виртуальный форум лидеров-женщин», который поддерживает Интерньюз.

Сергей Солодкий, Первый заместитель директора Института мировой политики, модератор видеоконференции: Добрый день. Мы рады приветствовать Розу Исаковну Отунбаеву, бывшего Президента Кыргызстана. Госпожа Отунбаева также неоднократно занимавшую должность Министра иностранных дел. Сейчас, Роза Исаковна возглавляет Международный фонд "Инициатива Розы Отунбаевой." Также, у нас на связи Зульфия Кочорбаева, директор "Агентства социальных технологий" и координатор Альянса Женских Законодательных Инициатив. Наш почетный гость в Киеве Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Кыргызстана Чиналиев Улукбек Кожомжарович. Хотел бы напомнить, что наше мероприятие проходит в рамках проекта «Глобальный виртуальный форум женщин-лидеров» при поддержке Интерньюз и Агентства США по международному развитию. У нас уже на связи были бывший Президент Латвии и заместитель Государственного секретаря США. И мы рады видеть и говорить с Розой Исаковной. В Украине много о Вас знают, Ваше имя известно среди экспертов и политиков. Могли бы Вы, поделится своей историей успеха, как Вам удалось стать одной из известнейших женщин-лидеров, единственным Президентом в Центральной Азии и одной из немногих женщин, которые возглавляли государства на постсоветском пространстве. Какими рецептами могли бы воспользоваться украинские женщины?

Роза Отунбаева, бывший Президент Кыргызстана: Спасибо за приглашение на эту видеоконференцию. Мы очень рады, что Киев проявил интерес к Кыргызстану. Я недавно слушала передачу по «Эхо Москвы», где говорили о том, что на всем постсоветском пространстве нет парламентаризма, разве что в Украине, а так вообще нигде ничего подобного нет. Я Вам скажу, что у нас в Кыргызстане парламентаризм уже действует третий год, и это очень непросто. Я как раз стала Президентом с внедрением парламентаризма в Кыргызстане.

В апреле 2010 года у нас случились трагически события коренного масштаба, когда был свергнут режим Бакиева. Таким образом вместо авторитарной власти, донельзя концентрированной в руках одного человека (практически семьи), мы переходное правительство поставили задачу предложить проект Конституции парламентского характера в течение трех месяцев. Целью было создать новый парламент и провести президентские выборы. И эта вся работа пала на мои плечи.

Я получила образование в советское время, сразу после школы уехала в Москву, где 8 лет проучилась в Московском государственном университете на философском факультете, где я защитила свою кандидатскую диссертацию. Я вернулась в Кыргызстан и работала 6 лет в Кыргызском национальном университете, преподавала философию и возглавляла кафедру диалектического материализма. Я работала в райкоме партии, а затем горкоме партии. После прихода Горбачева к власти, в 1986 году, я была назначена Заместителем председателя Совета министров. А В 1989 году Эдуард Амвроосиевич Шеварднадзе позвал меня работать в Москву в МИД СССР. Я работала три года как представитель Советского Союза при ЮНЕСКО.

После распада СССР я решила, что вернусь в Кыргызстан. Я возвратилась в страну и возглавила Министерство иностранных дел. Страна только стала независимой, и мы начинали открывать свои дипломатические миссии за границей. Экономика наша села на мель. Тогда меня послали в США, и я открыла наше первое посольство, проработала там 2 года на должности посла. Я возвратилась в страну в 1994 году и вновь стала Министром иностранных дел, проработала три года. В 1997 году я видела, что Президент Акаев строит авторитарный режим, и очень тяжело было работать. Смысла протестовать не было, потому что его все еще поддерживал народ. И я уехала послом Кыргызстана в Великобританию и занимала должность 5 лет. Потом два года проработала на миротворческой миссии в Абхазии. После возвращения в Кыргызстан хотела стать депутатом, но мне не позволили на основании того, что я ранее возглавляла дипломатическую миссию. С того момента, у нас с Акаевым началась борьба. В 2005 году после парламентских выборов, после вашей Оранжевой революции, у нас случилась Тюльпановая революция. Но в результате к власти пришел Бакиев, который за неполный свой срок решил набрать в свои карманы столько, сколько Акаев за все 14 лет.

Я, по-моему, уже всю историю независимого Кыргызстана рассказала. Вот где-то я рядом шла. Начиная с 2008 года, я была членом парламента и стала лидером оппозиционной фракции. Оппозиция была очень гонима, ее жестко подавляли, убивали, резали и поджигали. Этот был период очень грубого и жестокого правления. Всему этому конец был положен в апреле 2010 года. Много партий было объединено в союз против Бакиева. И когда произошла наша Апрельская революция, то решили, что нужно принять компромиссное решение и выбрать переходное правительство. В тот момент сошлись на мне. Я стала Президентом, руководителем Временного правительства и возглавляла страну полтора года. Я

выполнила свою миссию и передала власть. Вот такая моя история.

Сергей Солодкий: Спасибо за краткий экскурс в историю Кыргызстана. Роза Исаковна, Вы человек философии демократичной. Хотелось бы спросить, что больше всего повлияло на формирование Вас как демократа? Мы как-то общались в Институте в Валдасом Адамкусом и задавали ему тот же вопрос. Он ответил, чтобы быть не постсоветским политиком или не советским политиком в плане своего поведения и принципов, нужно все-таки прожить на Западе, чтобы впитать в себя их ценности, а потом прививать их в своем обществе. Может на Вас повлияла каким-то образом работа в Британии или США либо какие-то другие факторы?

Роза Отунбаева: Я думаю, что это имеет место быть. Я действительно видела в реальности каково политическое полотно на Западе. Вы знаете, это такие сложные и непростые технологии. Например, когда мы говорим о парламентаризме. У Вас сейчас Украине не парламентаризм? Какая у Вас форма правления?

Сергей Солодкий: Форма правления у нас президентско-парламентская, но система сложилась полностью президентская, потому что Парламент полностью под контролем Президента. У нас сейчас большой кризис парламентаризма в Украине.

Роза Отунбаева: У нас тоже парламентаризм пребывает в состоянии становления. Это очень сложная форма правления, которая требует высокой политической культуры, чтобы договариваться и достигать компромисса. Вот прошло три года и все больше слышно голосов, которые кричат «Долой парламентаризм, этот бардак» и требуют возвращения к президентской системе. Так вот живя на Западе, понимаешь, что у парламентаризма там довольно долгая традиция (достаточно ярким примером стоит назвать ту же Англию). Сейчас идет популярный политический сериал *Vorgen* о датском парламенте. Это настоящая наука о парламентской жизни. И, конечно, когда живешь за рубежом, то читаешь прессу и участвуешь в дискуссиях, что позволяет впитывать присущую им культуру.

Я считаю, что мы кыргызстанцы и кыргызская политическая элита взяли такой страт в годы гласности и перестройки и не изменили своего духа. Мы эти 20 лет боремся за демократию. У нас есть когорта людей, которая считает, если мы стали на путь демократического развития, то мы не должны с него сходить. Я считаю, что это нам помогает идти по этому пути.

Игор Турянский, бывший Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Украины в ЮАР: Здравствуйте Роза Исаковна. Мы с Вами встречались неоднократно. Первый раз в 1987 году в Нью-Йорке, когда Вы были на должности Заместителя председателя Совета Министров, потом мы много раз в Москве, когда Вы представляли Советский Союз при ЮНЕСКО, и последняя наша встреча состоялась в Стамбуле в июне 1993 года в рамках встречи, организованной НАТО, «Программа ради мира». У меня к Вам три вопроса.

В одном интервью Вы сказали, что, будучи Президентом Кыргызстана, Вам пришлось три года руководить очень амбициозными и тяжело управляемыми мужчинами. Вопрос в том, они не воспринимали Вас как женщину, или Вы оказывали на них давление своим интеллектом?

Те ростки демократии, свободы слова, открытости общества, которые Вы говорили, были заложены во время Вашего президентства, они сейчас

И третий вопрос как Вы относитесь к Твиттер-дипломатии?

Роза Отунбаева: Спасибо огромное за воспоминания и за интересные вопросы, что Вами упомянутое интервью я давала на английском языке, когда я в декабре была в Америке и как-то меня так перевели. Я подумала, наверное, меня там дома спрягают. Так и быть, сказала так и сказала.

Могу только добавить, что у нас в то время было с десяток партий и различных движений. Все мы были объединены против правящего режима. Когда я сейчас езжу на Запад, то меня часто спрашивают, как Вам удалось выйти из кризиса. Вы знаете, что в государствах, где период диктатуры был длителен (сегодня такими странами стали те, которые попали под арабский вирус), сложно прорасти партиям и установится оппозиции. После же крушения того или иного режима, политические силы начинают драться, и мы можем наблюдать такие события сейчас происходят в Египте. Мне было тяжело, потому что я была всех старше и, может быть, опытней в международной политике, а также стоит учитывать мой политический опыт. Ведь я была легальным голосом оппозиции в Парламенте, страна слышала с моих уст все, что оппозиция думает и какие она предъявляет требования. И когда я эти полтора года работала, то нужно было решать столько сложных вопросов, по которым было трудно найти консенсус. Но вот уважение и ко мне и как к женщине и как к старшему человеку помогло мне всех вывести. Мы шли как по тросу меж отрогов двух высоких горных вершин. И нам удалось выйти на результат и восстановить институты власти.

Я так сказала в своем интервью, потому что все политики и так амбициозны. А когда идет такой кризис, а вы знаете, что у нас 7-го апреля на площади погибло много людей, их просто расстреляли. Это трагедия была столько людей, столько семей. Потом 10-го июня развернулись межэтнические столкновения в Оше, и нам нужно было реагировать. Очень много было проблем и мне нужно было искать консенсус.

Сегодня меня уже начинают обвинять в том, что я выпустила Бакиева. А сложилась следующая ситуация, что он вылетел в Ош в Джалабат, где его родовое гнездо, и начал собирать всех своих. И с его присутствием в стране наша бы ситуация усложнилась. Мне позвонили из Вашингтона, где в то время проходила конференция по ядерному разоружению, со мной говорил Нурсултан Абишевич. Он сказал, что встретился с Президентом Обамой и Президентом Медведевым, и они считают, что стоит выпустить Бакиева для стабилизации ситуации. Я донесла это предложение до своего временного правительства, но все отвернулись от него и отказались брать на себя ответственность. Тогда я взяла ответственность на себя и выпустила Бакиева. Также, была история с июньскими событиями, когда столкнулись узбекский и кыргызский народы. И Президент Каримов и международное сообщество требовали расследования, но никто не хотел впускать международную комиссию. Я взяла на себя такую ответственность, и расследование имело место быть, когда семь международных экспертов приехали в Кыргызстан. Я считаю, что результат для нас был позитивным ни геноцида, ни военных преступлений эта комиссия не констатировала.

Я была скорее кризис-менеджером, нежели Президентом. Мне не удалось ни наряды менять, ни показать, что такое женщина-Президент. Мне нужно было выводить страну на мирные рельсы.

Отвечая на Ваш второй вопрос, то в контексте гендерной тематики нашей видеоконференции, хочу сказать с чувством определенной гордостью, что я в Центральной Азии пока единственная женщина, которая стала Президентом. Как Вам известно, в нашем регионе другие устои и традиции чем у Вас в Украине ведь вы живете в Европе. И на этом фоне, во время своего президентства, я выдвинула ряд женщин на ключевые должности. Так, сейчас у нас в Кыргызстане женщины занимают должности Генерального прокурора, председателя правления Национального банка, председателя Верховного Суда, председателя Счетной Палаты, министра финансов, министра здравоохранения, губернаторов. Всех я не выдвигала, но 90% были предложены мной на утверждение Парламентом, они до сих пор работают. В Парламенте – у нас 23 % женщин, это процент был достигнут за счет введения квотной системы. Но мы считаем, что гендерные квоты - это императив для нашей Республики, может быть, и для всех стран с нашим background. Мужчины смирились с такой ситуацией, потому что нам нужно было расчищать страну и наводить порядок. И сегодня на всех ключевых местах, где нужно контролировать деньги и обеспечивать законность стоят женщины

Что касается электронной дипломатии – это очень хорошо, ведь мы сейчас можем с вами разговаривать. Для нас, например, сейчас особенно актуальной является тема парламентаризма. Мы бы хотели и поляков послушать, и литовцев послушать, и монголов послушать, как происходит становление парламентаризма, с какими проблемами сталкиваются. Например, опыт Польши – очень привлекателен. Так, в 90-е годы там каждый год менялось правительство, а сегодня способно функционировать весь срок, на который его избирают.

Павло Жовниренко, Центр стратегических исследований: У меня два вопроса и оба о ценностях. Первый вопрос касается тех ценностей, на которых Вы выросли и которые сформировали Вас как политика демократического мышления. Меня интересует Чингиз Айтматов и его произведение «И дольше века длится день», и понятие Манкурт, которое Вам знакомо, насколько все это отложило отпечаток на Ваше становление. И второй вопрос о ценностях, что Вы как женщина-политик с европейского опыта перенесли бы в Кыргызстан без раздумий, а о чем бы Вы задумались, перед тем как переносить их на кыргызскую почву, меня, особенно, интересуют вопросы отношения к женщине и отношений внутри семьи.

Роза Отунбаева: Какие-то сложные вопросы. Безусловно, мы патриархальны в чем-то. На протяжении нескольких месяцев мы слышим, что то во Франции, то в Великобритании принимают законы об однополых браках. Нас в Азии это конечно шокирует. Но также их на Западе шокирует тот факт, что у нас крадут девушек. На Западе, если мы говорим о месте женщин в обществе, то это во многом обусловлено тем, что там утвердилось технократическое, современное, секулярное общество. Нам многому у них можно поучиться. В связи с тем, что мы проходим транзитный период у нас стоят острые проблемы развития. У нас высокая детская и женская смертность, разрыв в развитии между о селом и городом, уровень бедности достигает 30 %. У бедности женское лицо, у бедности детское лицо. Нужны большие инфраструктурные инвестиции. Просвещение медицина – очень важны, но необходимы инвестиции в инфраструктуру. Если же говорить о должностях, то женщины в Кыргызстане занимают те же должности, что и мужчины. Например, в секторе НПО 80% организаций возглавляют женщины, в сфере масс-медиа тоже очень много женщин, которые работают редакторами и журналистами. То есть активность политическая очень высока. Зульфия, может ты что-то добавишь?

Зульфия Кочорбаева, директор "Агентства социальных технологий": Добрый день. Я тоже благодарю за такую возможность удаленного диалога, всех так хорошо

видно и слышно как-будто мы находимся в одном зале. Относительно того, что можно перенять, то я согласна с Розой Исаковной, что у нас еще много чего, что стоит изменить. Это, прежде всего, касается того, что должна измениться роль женщины и в семье, в обществе, в политике, в экономике. Европейский опыт показывает, что недостаточно только изменять роль женщин, а также важно изменять роль мужчин в обществе. Этот процесс проявляется в том, что мужчины начинают понимать, что у них тоже есть отцовские обязанности и обязанности в семье. Эти изменения, путем смягчения противоположностей в ролях, которые мужчина и женщина исполняют в обществе, являются актуальным для Кыргызстана.

Другой момент, который я бы хотела отметить и многие исследования это подтверждают, в том числе и Всемирного Банка, это зависимость развития экономики от участия женщин в экономическом развитии. Часто так бывает, что экономические кризисы выталкивают женщин из рынка труда в неформальный теневой сектор. С другой стороны многие исследования указывают на то, что выведения женщин из тени и привлечения их в сферу бизнеса и развития экономики со временем окупается и дает множество социальных эффектов. Третий момент – уровень защищенности женщин в Западных странах вдохновляет и, сравнивая его с тем уровнем защищенности, который есть в Кыргызстане, мы понимаем, что нам еще многое стоит менять. На самом деле положение женщин и детей и уровень их защищенности – это лакмусовая бумажка развития страны. Для этих изменений нужно готовить почву и не стоит ожидать быстрых результатов.

Владимир Цибулько, политический эксперт: Сейчас на постсоветском пространстве Москва инспирирует разные интеграционные проекты. Какие интеграционные проекты интересны для Кыргызстана? И существует ли противостояние между российскими проектами и другими?

Роза Отунбаева: У нас в Кыргызстане, с самого начала становления Республики, сразу наметились векторы нашей интеграционной политики. В первую очередь мы являемся членом СНГ. Мы являемся членами Союза тюркоязычных стран [Тюркский Совет - ИСП], его членом не является Узбекистан. Говоря о России как интеграторе и о центре притяжения, то сейчас на столе Таможенный Союз и Евразийский Союз. В Таможенный Союз Кыргызстан будет входить, и мы стремимся войти. Мы должны действовать по законам, которые нам диктует реальность. С Россией у нас большой товарооборот, в Россию едут наши мигранты, только 3000 работают там на постоянной основе, а в некоторые сезоны число работников зашкаливает до миллиона. Это немалая цифра для нашей Республики с населением в 5.5 миллиона. Поэтому Таможенный Союз, который предполагает свободное прохождение товаров, услуг и финансов, является для нас очень важным союзом. Мы готовимся, идут переговоры о вступлении Кыргызстана в это объединение. Если говорить, о Евросоюзе, то ему нужно вызреть. Шанхайская организация сотрудничества – это тоже очень важное направление ведь Китай крупнейший наш торговый партнер.

Оксана Пылявец, аналитик Института мировой политики: Спасибо большое за Ваш ответ. Весьма интересно было послушать о интеграционных планах Кыргызстана. В Украине тема интеграции в центральноазиатском регионе не достаточно широко освещается. Мой вопрос заключается в том, ведется ли дискуссия в Кыргызстане насчет того, повлияет ли вступление в Таможенный Союз на суверенитет страны?

Также хотелось бы вернуться к гендерному вопросу и к теме квотирования. На

каком уровне должны вводиться квоты на политическом, или также на уровне высшего руководства предприятий?

Роза Отунбаева: Чтобы закончить с первым вопросом, то я отмечу, что все эти дискуссии подстегиваются, и масло в огонь подливается. Вы оцените нашу ситуацию. У Кыргызстана тысячекилометровая граница с Китаем и прямой границы с Россией у нас нет, но мы оказались между двумя китами Китаем и Россией. У нас нет возможности продавать товары в Китай, они все завозят к нам через границу. В нашем торговом балансе мы выглядим невыгодно по отношению к Китаю. Но нам же нужно продавать наши товары куда-то. У нас естественный рынок – это Казахстан и Россия. В Узбекистан мы тоже ничего не можем продавать, ведь наглухо закрыта граница. Таможенный Союз – для нас императивен и давайте не будем себя обманывать. Мы все в некоторой степени друг от друга зависим, и независимость имеет свои пределы. Для нас, чтобы жить, работать и производить, нужен рынок Казахстана и России, и мы будем двигаться в этом направлении.

Что касается вопросов гендерного квотирования, то я думаю, что если учитывать исторические несправедливости, традиционализм и усиление роли религии, ведь происходит открытая исламизация, мы должны чем-то отвечать на это все. В этом контексте, квоты – абсолютно необходимы. В советах директоров, например, женщин совсем не наблюдается, там просто «клуб мальчиков» (“boys club”). Мы тоже хотим расковырять это место, и тоже используя квотную систему. Вы, наверное, знаете, что Европа хочет ввести гендерные квоты в высшем руководстве до 40%. Мы тоже хотим приобщиться к такой практике. Это будет тот инструмент, через который мы сможем войти в святая святых, где в серой зоне крутятся громадные ресурсы.

Чиналиев Улукбек Кожомжарович, Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Кыргызстана: Добрый день Роза Исакована. Нас действительно очень многое связывает, мы работали и в советский и постсоветский период. В переломные времена судьба испытывает человека на крепость и эти испытания Вы выдержали с честью. Вам удалось то, что удастся далеко не всем мужчинам и при этом Вы остались обаятельной и очаровательной женщиной. Я совершенно с Вами согласен насчет электронной дипломатии, что есть такая возможность установить контакты и связи. Спасибо Вам большое, что Вы пришли и приняли участие в видеомосте.

Сергей Солодкий: Наша видеоконференция подходит к концу, и я Вам задам последний вопрос. Во всех трех революциях на постсоветском пространстве: в Грузии, Украине и Кыргызстане ключевую роль играли женщины. В Грузии – Нино Бурджанадзе, в Украине – Юлия Тимошенко, в Кыргызстане – Вы. Из трех женщин только Вам удалось закрепиться на президентском посту. Есть ли у Вас желание, вновь вернуться в политику и вновь стать президентом Кыргызстана?

Роза Отунбаева: Знаете, на сегодняшний день таки планов нет. Я поняла, что можно работать на любом месте и приносить пользу. Я была недавно в Литл Роке в Арканзасе у Президента Клинтона, где проходило заседание Мадридского клуба (во время которого собираются все бывшие премьеры и премьер-министры). Так вот, когда я посмотрела на Билла Клинтона, которого я застала президентом, когда открывала посольство, то подумала, как он много делает в постпрезидентском качестве.

Я хочу Вас поблагодарить за такую возможность общения.

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 2 October 2013 by *Deutsche Welle*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2qUs1Rh>

Context: Interview of ex-President of Kyrgyzstan Roza Otunbayeva to Deutsche Welle. At the invitation of the German Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation, Roza Otunbayeva, former President and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan, arrived in Germany. In the conference hall of the foundation, she gave a lecture on the political and economic situation in the republic, and then answered questions from a DW correspondent. Roza Otunbayeva, in particular, spoke about the problems in the negotiations on the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the Customs Union.

По приглашению немецкого Фонда имени Фридриха Эберта (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung) в Германию приехала бывший президент и министр иностранных дел Киргизии Роза Отунбаева. В конференц-зале фонда она прочитала лекцию о политическом и экономическом положении в республике, а затем ответила на вопросы корреспондента DW. Роза Отунбаева, в частности, рассказала о проблемах на переговорах о вступлении Киргизии в Таможенный союз.

DW: Госпожа Отунбаева, выступая в Берлине, вы много говорили об успехах в деле укрепления парламентской демократии в Киргизии. Вместе с тем некоторые наблюдатели - и в самой стране, и за рубежом - не исключают варианта очередной политической дестабилизации. Как вы оцениваете ситуацию?

Роза Отунбаева: Демократии, тем более парламентской, всегда присуща определенная нестабильность. Но не следует делать из этого вывод о риске новой революции. У нас в парламенте пять фракций, они и решают все проблемы в Киргизии. Власть президента лимитирована. Часть ее перешла в правительство, часть - к парламенту. Теперь не так, что один царь правит в стране. Существует созданная нами система сдержек и противовесов. Но мы хотим большего - сделать так, чтобы парламентские фракции были более стабильными и сохранялись все пять лет.

Наш парламент работает уже три года - хоть с ухабами и разъездами в разные стороны, но держится. Один раз только был правительственный кризис. Сейчас на повестке дня стоит очень серьезный вопрос - проблема Кумтора (месторождение золота в Киргизии, третье по запасам в мире. - *Ред.*), который покрывает 15 процентов бюджета. Шум, который доносится по этому поводу, наверное, и наводит на мысль о некоторой нестабильности.

- Вы были первым и пока единственным президентом Киргизии, который мирно и добровольно передал власть преемнику. Вы уверены, что и действующий глава государства поступит также?

- Да, президент не раз говорил, что уйдет в положенный срок. Президент привержен тем задачам и целям, которые мы поставили в апреле 2010 года. Он - один из авторов новой конституции, и я уверена, что он, безусловно, вовремя сложит полномочия.

- После тех событий, о которых вы говорите, Запад уделял Киргизии довольно много внимания. Теперь интерес к вашей стране заметно поубавился. Вы разочарованы? Чего вы ожидаете, например, от Евросоюза?

- Европейский Союз совсем недавно, в ходе визита нашего президента в Брюссель вновь заявил, что Центральная Азия и в первую очередь Киргизия останутся на его повестке дня. Здесь, в Берлине, в офисе главы правительства мне говорили, что канцлер ФРГ заявляла, что как только она переизберется, будет обязательно помогать нашей стране. В Германии говорят о демократическом характере развития Киргизии, готовы нам помогать. В ЕС много стран, но если хотя бы ведущие из них, такие, как Германия, объявят такой курс своим приоритетом, то нам этого будет достаточно.

- Половина внешней торговли Киргизии приходится на Китай. В политическом отношении, однако, Бишкек больше ориентируется на Москву. Какими вам представляются отношения в этом треугольнике?

- Вполне адекватными. Мы имеем тысячу километров общей границы с Китаем. Через нашу страну проходят транзитные пути китайских товаров в Узбекистан, в Россию. Наши люди задействованы в этой торговле. Но наша внешняя политика очень тесно связана с Россией. Нас объединяют история, культура, язык.

- Киргизия ведет переговоры о вступлении в Таможенный союз. На какой эффект вы рассчитываете от участия в ТС?

“- Я считаю, что свободное передвижение товаров, услуг, рабочей силы, финансов, то есть то, что предполагает Таможенный союз, все это для нас исключительно привлекательно и важно. Это наше жизненное пространство. Мы понимаем, что присоединение к ТС - это сложный процесс. Нам придется за многие позиции драться. Киргизия уже давно в ВТО, есть сложившиеся хозяйственные связи со многими другими странами, входящими в эту организацию. Регион же ТС - неровный, есть члены ВТО, а есть и не члены (Казахстан и Беларусь не входят в ВТО - *Ред.*). Плюс Китай, который является основным торговым партнером для многих стран Центральной Азии, в том числе для Казахстана, а также для России. Переговоры о вступлении в Таможенный союз будут еще идти, и мы уже видим довольно много подводных камней.”

- Что вы имеете в виду?

“- Нас просто так не принимают в Таможенный союз. В свою очередь мы видим, что ТС - это не манна небесная. Казахстан, например, оказался наводнен белорусскими продовольственными товарами, которые дешевле и вкуснее. Некоторые казахстанские предприятия уже, что называется, пали. Мы также столкнемся с очень сильными конкурентами. Китай, который, казалось бы, только наводняет нас своими товарами, у нас тоже хочет покупать продовольствие. Так что нам надо делать выводы и готовиться.”

- Последний вопрос, госпожа Отунбаева, об Афганистане. Какие последствия вы ожидаете для Киргизии, когда в 2014 году из Афганистана уйдет военный контингент международной коалиции?

- Нас в первую очередь беспокоит не закрытая плотно граница с Афганистаном. Трафик наркотиков, оружия, моджахедов - все это вещи вполне предсказуемые. Мы такой перспективой обеспокоены, поднимаем готовность наших пограничных войск на должный уровень. Кроме того, надо дать и людям возможность зарабатывать не на наркотиках, а на чем-то другом.

Zhantoro Satybaldiyev

Published on 30 September 2013 by *Gezitter.org*.

Source:

http://www.gezitter.org/politic/24145_kyrgyzstan_na_puti_k_tamojennomu_soyuzu/

25 сентября премьер-министр Жанторо Сатыбалдиев побывал с однодневным рабочим визитом в городе Астане для участия в заседании глав правительств Высшего Евразийского экономического совета. Скажем для справки: Высший Евразийский экономический совет считается высшим органом Единого экономического пространства и Таможенного союза. Его членами являются Россия, Беларусь и Казахстан, а Кыргызстан и Украина обладают статусом наблюдателя.

В своем выступлении на заседании Жанторо Сатыбалдиев отметил, что Кыргызстан придает большое значение подписанию меморандума об углублении связей между республикой и Евразийской экономической комиссией.

«Правительство Кыргызстана подтверждает свое намерение идти по пути экономической интеграции на Евразийском экономическом пространстве и продолжит переговоры по присоединению к Таможенному союзу (ТС)», - отметил он. По его словам, процесс интеграции в Таможенный союз правительство определило как главный приоритет, направленный на обеспечение повышения уровня жизни населения и предстоящего в будущем устойчивого экономического развития. В этом направлении правительство будет активно вести работу с Евразийской экономической комиссией по разработке дорожной карты по вхождению Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз.

Во время обсуждения дорожной карты глава правительства Кыргызстана остановился на важных для нашей страны моментах. Это, прежде всего, создание механизма оказания помощи странам, желающим присоединения к Таможенному союзу. «Не секрет, в Кыргызстане доля ВВП на душу населения в несколько раз ниже, чем в странах, вошедших в ТС. Поэтому такой механизм можно осуществить созданием Специального фонда или Института развития. Такие механизмы имеются во всех интеграционных объединениях мира», - сказал Жанторо Сатыбалдиев. Также глава правительства остановился на необходимости оказания помощи в создании производственных предприятий с большим количеством рабочих мест в Кыргызстане. По его мнению, это предоставит возможность смягчить первые тяжелые моменты при вхождении в ТС, а также сократит поток нелегальной миграции. Кроме того, Жанторо Сатыбалдиев сказал, что для Кыргызстана в переходный период важно определить список товаров и объемов для применения таможенных пошлин, отличающихся от единого таможенного тарифа Таможенного союза.

При приеме новых членов нужны общие решения

В этот же день президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев принял всех глав правительств, прибывших на заседание Евразийского экономического совета.

На заседании Нурсултан Назарбаев рассказал о дальнейшей работе Таможенного союза, в том числе: стоят обязательства по обсуждению вопросов, связанных с принятием новых членов или стран-наблюдателей, выразил уверенность, что в таких непростых вопросах найдутся общие решения.

В ходе встречи обсуждены вопросы дальнейшего углубления Евразийской экономической интеграции, а также вопросы реализации достигнутых 29 мая в Астане соглашений на заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета.

Премьер-министр Казахстана в октябре приедет в Бишкек

25 сентября премьер-министр Кыргызстана Жанторо Сатыбалдиев и премьер-министр Казахстана Серик Ахметов провели встречу сначала в ограниченном, а затем в расширенном кругу.

Серик Ахметов выразил удовлетворение кыргызско-казахскими отношениями, отметил, что по итогам 2012 года объем товарооборота между двумя странами превысил 1 млрд долларов. В свою очередь Жанторо Сатыбалдиев отметил: «Кыргызстан заявил свою политическую волю по вступлению в Таможенный союз. Сегодня заметны определенные подвижки в решении данного вопроса. Конечно, ничего не бывает без трудностей. Для их преодоления нужна политическая поддержка стран Таможенного союза».

На встрече обсуждено двустороннее сотрудничество, точнее, вопросы угля и газа, границы и водно-энергетические вопросы. Зашла речь также о деятельности станции «Маймак» в Таласской области и строительстве железной дороги Россия-Казахстан-Кыргызстан-Таджикистан. По итогам встречи по всем поднятым вопросам согласовали, что после проведения консультаций будут приняты соответствующие решения на заседании кыргызско-казахской межправительственной комиссии, которое пройдет в предстоящем октябре в Бишкеке. Жанторо Сатыбалдиев сказал: «Я уверен, что на всех поднятых сегодня

вопросах будет поставлена точка во время вашего официального визита в Кыргызстан в следующем месяце».

Россия всесторонне поддержит Кыргызстан

Под эгидой заседания Высшего Евразийского совета в Астане Жанторо Сатыбалдиев встретился с премьер-министром Российской Федерации Дмитрием Медведевым.

На встрече обе стороны отметили значимость всех вопросов, рассмотренных в повестке дня заседания. Вместе с тем стороны обсудили ход подготовительных работ Кыргызстана к вступлению в Таможенный союз. Жанторо Сатыбалдиев отметил: «В этом направлении Кыргызстан надеется на поддержку России». Дмитрий Медведев сказал, что Россия окажет необходимую помощь Кыргызстану при вступлении в Таможенный союз. Далее он высказал свое мнение: «Мы с пониманием относимся к кыргызским друзьям. Впереди предстоит много нелегких дел».

Главы правительств двух стран сказали о важности реализации строительства железной дороги Россия-Казахстан-Кыргызстан-Таджикистан, отметили, что реализация данного проекта станет логистическим продолжением интеграционных инициатив на евразийском пространстве.

Жанторо Сатыбалдиев и Дмитрий Медведев также обсудили вопросы повестки дня кыргызско-российского межправительственного заседания, которое пройдет в ноябре в Москве.

2014

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 13 November 2014 by *Knews.kg*

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WDbrlA>

Премьер-министр Кыргызской Республики Джоомарт Оторбаев встретился с советником президента Российской Федерации по вопросам евразийской интеграции Сергеем Глазьевым. Об этом сообщили в отделе информационного обеспечения аппарата правительства.

В ходе встречи стороны обсудили вопросы, касающиеся процесса присоединения Кыргызской Республики к Таможенному союзу и Единому экономическому пространству.

Глава правительства отметил, что в настоящее время кыргызской стороной ведется активная работа по исполнению обязательств в рамках присоединения страны к интеграционным объединениям.

«Вступление в Евразийский экономический союз — приоритетная задача в работе правительства Кыргызстана. В ближайшее время завершится процесс гармонизации нормативно-правовой базы в соответствии с законодательством ТС и ЕЭП, после чего весь пакет документов будет направлен в парламент для их ратификации. Также разработан проект Договора о присоединении республики к Евразийскому экономическому союзу. После прохождения процедуры согласования, проект будет представлен на веб-сайте правительства для широкого общественного обсуждения», — информировал премьер-министр.

В свою очередь Сергей Глазьев отметил положительную динамику по присоединению Кыргызской Республики к интеграционным объединениям ТС и ЕЭП.

«Кыргызстан имеет все возможности, чтобы стать полноправным членом Таможенного союза. Со стороны Российской Федерации будет оказана вся необходимая помощь», — отметил Глазьев.

В ходе встречи стороны также обсудили вопрос создания совместной площадки для освоения средств, которые выделяют Россия и Казахстан для адаптации экономики Кыргызстана к правовым нормам Таможенного союза, реализации

инфраструктурных проектов, технического регулирования и таможенного администрирования в рамках вхождения республики в Таможенный союз.

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 16 September 2014 by *Radio Azattyk (Radio Liberty)*.

Source: <https://rus.azattyk.org/a/26586686.html>

Context: Interview with Radio Azattyk (Radio Liberty), the head of government, Joomart Otorbaev, spoke about the economic situation of the republic, about what Kyrgyzstan expects after joining the Customs Union and the upcoming changes in the composition of the cabinet.

«Азаттык»: Правительство подготовило и одобрило проект бюджета на 2015 год. Однако специалисты отмечают, что там не учтены риски после вступления КР в Таможенный союз. Если мы вступим в альянс уже в следующем году, придется вносить изменения в этот документ? Нет угрозы того, что снизятся таможенные сборы?»

Оторбаев: Мы просчитываем все риски после вступления в Таможенный союз и открыто обсуждаем их с обществом. Россия и Казахстан – наши самые основные торговые партнеры. Насколько между нами будет меньше барьеров, настолько будет больше возможностей развивать такое сотрудничество.

В обществе высказываются опасения по поводу повышения цен. Однако, если сейчас сравнить цены в Бишкеке с ценами в Алматы, Астане или в той же Москве, то разница не такая уж и большая. Например, я недавно ездил в Таласскую область. Там мне сказали, что цены такие же, как в соседнем Таразе. Поэтому после открытия границ будут небольшие изменения в ценах, но они не повысятся в 2-3 раза.

А таможенных сборов не станет меньше. По этому вопросу сейчас работает специальная группа. После вступления в Таможенный союз сборы будут рассчитываться по другой формуле. Средства, поступающие в нашу таможню, будут поступать в общий бюджет, но будут выделяться нам же. Здесь не будет никаких изменений.

«Азаттык»: Ранее сообщалось, что Россия для поддержки экономики Кыргызстана создаст фонд развития с бюджетом в 1 миллиард долларов. Заявлялось, что 500 миллионов поступят в ближайшее время. Когда начнут поступать эти средства?»

Оторбаев: Во-первых, мы договорились об уставе фонда. В Душанбе подписано соглашение по этому поводу. После ратификации документа будет утвержден состав управления. После этого будут определены проекты, которые будет финансировать фонд. Мы намерены завершить этот процесс до нового года и надеемся, что к этому времени начнут поступать средства на первые проекты.

«Азаттык»: Из-за кризиса в Украине Евросоюз и США вводят экономические санкции против России. Вы говорите, что РФ - наш основной партнер. Не отразятся ли санкции против нее на Кыргызстане? Есть ли у нашего правительства антикризисный план на этот счет? До этого президента Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев призвал свое правительство быть готовым к любой ситуации...»

Оторбаев: Во-первых, Евразийский экономический союз – это экономическое объединение. Там не должно быть политических проблем. Во-вторых, конечно, если экономическое положение России ухудшится, то это некоторым образом скажется и на нас. Однако в России пока нет признаков кризиса. Поэтому мы надеемся, что она выйдет из сложившейся ситуации в кратчайшие сроки. Для нас очень важна и экономика Казахстана. Состояние экономики РК скажется и на нас. Однако объем нашей экономики меньше. Даже очень большая проблема для них может оказаться менее важной для нас.

«Азаттык»: Но все-таки надо быть готовым к любой ситуации?»

Оторбаев: Да, мы должны быть готовы. Мы сейчас проводим анализ. Однако не наблюдаем у них глубокого кризиса.

«Азаттык»: Возобновились переговоры по Кумтору. Когда завершится этот процесс? Канадцы внесли свои предложения, в которых предлагают создать ОсОО. А кыргызское правительство настаивает на создании акционерного общества. В чем разница? Какой вариант больше подходит для нас?

Оторбаев: В феврале этого года Жогорку Кенеш одобрил меморандум о создании совместного предприятия с равными долями сторон и дал поручение разработать дополнительные соглашения. Мы сейчас работаем в этом направлении. Конечно, есть спорные моменты. Это касается в основном того, о чем вы спросили – акционерное общество или общество с ограниченной ответственностью? Правительство настаивает на АО. Это связано с тем, что у нас есть много законов, касающиеся этого. Однако надо рассмотреть разные варианты. Мы намерены до конца этого месяца внести в парламент проекты соглашений и обсудить их с депутатами.

«Азаттык»: Если говорить о работе правительства, то вы, наверное, слышите критику некоторых политиков и общественных деятелей в ваш адрес. К тому же лидер коалиции большинства в парламенте Феликс Кулов заявил, что скоро будет рассмотрен этот вопрос и, возможно, некоторые министры лишатся своих кресел. Возможны ли изменения в составе кабинета министров?

Оторбаев: Сейчас нет неприкасаемых людей. Перед каждым членом правительства поставлены задачи. Если он выполняет их и работает качественно, то останется работать. В противном случае уйдет. Сейчас ведется анализ, проводятся консультации с лидерами депутатских фракций.

«Азаттык»: Насколько вас удовлетворяет нынешний состав правительства? Есть кадры, которые вы хотели бы заменить?

Оторбаев: Здесь не надо поддаваться на эмоции и оценивать работу министров в зависимости от выполнения ими задач. Сейчас пока рано говорить о каких-то изменениях. В течение сентября будет проанализирована работа каждого министра.

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 21 October 2014 by *Vesti.kg*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/39c7UzD>

На днях КР отправит пакет всех необходимых документов по вступлению в единое экономическое пространство

В ходе сегодняшней встречи с председателем Совета Федерации Федерального Собрания России Валентиной Матвиенко глава правительства Джoomарт Оторбаев заявил о твердом намерении Кыргызстана присоединиться к интеграционным объединениям.

- Мы твердо намерены исполнить наши обязательства по дорожной карте как по вступлению в Таможенный союз, так и в Единое экономическое пространство (ЕЭП). Также в ближайшие дни мы направим наш пакет нормативно-правовых актов по вступлению в Единое экономическое пространство. Таким образом, завершив в этом году формальные шаги, относящиеся к Евразийским интеграционным объединениям, мы готовим к подписанию договор о присоединении к ЕЭС со всеми обязательствами. Считаем, что именно экономическая интеграция позволит нашей стране развиваться еще более успешно. Мы сделаем все, чтобы стать полноправным членом ЕЭС до конца этого года, пройдя все процедуры, - сказал премьер.

Далее он отметил, что на сегодняшний день правительство видит серьезные шаги «Газпрома» в вопросах газообеспечения нашей страны.

Напомним, вчера, спикер Жогорку Кенеша Асылбек Жээнбеков встретился с главой Совета Федерации РФ Валентиной Матвиенко. На встрече была обсуждена тема вступления Кыргызстана в Таможенный и Евразийский экономический союзы. Было отмечено, что Россия приветствует выбор политического руководства и народа Кыргызстана - евразийской интеграции. Узнать больше: <https://vesti.kg/politika/item/30504-otorbaev-kyrgyzstan-postaraetsya-stat-polnopravnyim-chlenom-ees-do-kontsa-etogo-goda.html> - Оторбаев: Кыргызстан постарается стать полноправным членом ЕЭС до конца этого года - VESTI.KG - Новости Кыргызстана.

Djoomart Otorbaev

Published on 23 May 2014 by Rossiyskaya Gazeta (rg.ru) – Russian newspaper.

Source: <https://rg.ru/2014/05/23/otorbaev.html>

Context: Interview. Joining the Customs Union is the main economic priority of Kyrgyzstan in the near future. This was announced to “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” by the Prime Minister of the Kyrgyz Republic Joomart Otorbaev at the traditional “Business Breakfast”, this time in Bishkek. The head of the republic’s government answered questions about the features of Kyrgyzstan’s entry into the integration association.

Тема: Киргизия: выбор сделан

Известно, что Киргизстан был в свое время одним из соавторов создания Таможенного союза. Потом случилось так, что ТС продвинулся вперед в интеграционном процессе, а республика от него отстала. На ваш взгляд, чем это было вызвано и как вы оцениваете сегодняшнюю ситуацию по дорожной карте?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Для Киргизстана вопрос вступления в Евразийские интеграционные объединения очень важен. Грядущая евразийская интеграция нашей республики должна стать успешным примером и для стран Таможенного союза, и для других государств, подумывающих о присоединении к ТС. Мы осознаем свою ответственность в рамках инициативы и понимаем, что фактически этот шаг - без права на ошибку. Входить в Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство республика должна с минимальным количеством рисков и, конечно, без суеты. Таков, в принципе, наш подход. Поэтому я благодарен "тройке" за то, что она отнеслась с пониманием к подобной позиции КР. Подчеркну, что никто нас не торопил, не подталкивал к принятию решения. В течение полутора лет совместно с Евразийской экономической комиссией и странами - учредителями ТС разрабатывался оптимальный вариант дорожной карты по вступлению Киргизстана в Таможенный союз. Сегодня документ готов, он утвержден в правительстве и отправлен на согласование в парламент страны. Евразийская экономическая комиссия примет дорожную карту по вступлению Киргизстана в ТС буквально на днях. Мы согласимся с вариантом дорожной карты.

Не усугубит ли, на ваш взгляд, вступление Киргизии в Таможенный союз существующие в республике экономические проблемы? Критики интеграции полагают, что именно это и произойдет.

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Как вы знаете, объявив о намерении присоединиться к ТС, мы одновременно подаем заявку на вступление в Единое экономическое пространство (ЕЭП). Эти два шага, в общем-то, неизбежно будут сопряжены с определенными социальными проблемами. Поскольку структура экономики Кыргызстана отличается от структур экономик стран Таможенного союза, вопрос ее адаптации к новым экономическим реалиям очень важен. Фактически в "богатое" интеграционное объединение входит страна с более низким подушевым потреблением. Чтобы избежать негативных последствий, нам необходимо учесть буквально каждую деталь. При этом мы рассчитываем на

помощь со стороны России, Казахстана и Беларуси. И они, понимая наши проблемы, готовы Кыргызстан поддержать.

Вхождение в Таможенный союз откроет для киргизских производителей огромные рынки. А что Киргизия может предложить странам - участницам ТС, чтобы способствовать притоку капиталов?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: В вашем вопросе содержится и ответ. Наши производители в одно мгновение получают доступ из внутреннего пятимиллионного рынка к 170-миллионному рынку сбыта с высокой покупательской способностью. И этот фактор, на мой взгляд, является наиболее важным фактором, который принесет КР серьезные плюсы. А это, в свою очередь, приведет к качественному улучшению инвестиционной привлекательности нашей страны. Мы надеемся на приход в республику серьезных инвесторов как из стран Таможенного союза, так и из других государств. Очевидные преимущества, которые есть у Кыргызстана сейчас, - это самые низкие в СНГ тарифы на электроэнергию, недорогая рабочая сила, невысокие цены на недвижимость (аренда, покупка) и так далее. То есть у любого бизнеса в условиях КР есть реальные возможности существенно сократить расходы на производство своей продукции. Именно это наша страна и сможет предложить потенциальным инвесторам.

В период подготовки дорожной карты звучали слова о том, что вступление Киргизии в Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство противоречит принципам ВТО, членом которой является республика. Вы видите какую-либо угрозу для экономики страны в одновременном членстве в ТС и ВТО?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Многие страны мира входят и во Всемирную торговую организацию, и в различные региональные интеграционные объединения. И одно другому не мешает. Россия, напомню, также является членом ВТО. То есть мы вступаем в союз, в котором самая большая страна имеет те же обязательства перед Всемирной торговой организацией, что и Киргизстан. Поэтому каких-то фундаментальных противоречий в этом я не вижу. Ну а если все-таки возникнут трудности, например, какой-то член ВТО заявит, что КР в рамках Таможенного союза устанавливает тарифы, наносящие ущерб его торговой политике, то решать проблемы мы будем с помощью переговоров.

Россия, как известно, последние несколько лет все пристальнее смотрит в сторону Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, оставаясь при этом крупнейшим партнером западного мира. А Киргизия находится в самом сердце Центральной Азии. Как вы полагаете, интеграционные процессы и разворот РФ в сторону Азии помогут вашей стране найти свое место, способное дать экономическое преимущество?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Тот факт, что Россия начинает активнее работать со странами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, для Кыргызстана, конечно, является плюсом. Согласно экспертным расчетам, к 2050 году 51 процент мирового ВВП будет производиться в Азии. Китай, к примеру, вот-вот станет первой по всем параметрам экономикой мира. Что касается нас, то у Кыргызстана просто уникальное географическое положение. Республика находится между тремя членами БРИКС - Россией, Китаем и Индией. По сути, мы внутри БРИКС! Само по себе это уже преимущество. У нас есть выходы на крупнейшие рынки, благодаря чему Киргизстан может стать транзитной страной, предоставляющей благоприятные условия для работы, в первую очередь российского и китайского бизнеса.

Господин премьер-министр, вы не опасаетесь, что в борьбе за инвестиции, госструктуры республики забудут о своем главном предназначении? А именно - побуждать свой народ трудиться? Мол, не даст денег этот инвестор, обязательно даст другой, а самим зачем работать... Не случится ли, в случае

прихода в Киргизию большого количества инвесторов, развращения власти? И, кстати, как вы оцениваете в этом контексте присутствие российского бизнеса у вас в стране?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: А вы знаете, нашей республике в каком-то смысле повезло, что у нас нет нефти и газа. Иными словами, у нас нет трубы! Нам приходится зарабатывать своими руками и головой. Вот и власть в этом смысле, она абсолютно не развращена потоками легких денег. Все деньги, которые заходят к нам, - трудные. И нам не грозит смерть от нашей лени. Приходится зазывать инвесторов, приходится много работать, чтобы в Киргизстан, в страну, не имеющую выходов к морю, вкладывали деньги. Мы боремся за инвесторов, предлагая им удобную законодательную базу, создавая комфортабельный инвестиционный климат. Факт в том, что в нас по-крупному пока инвестируют всего две страны - Россия и Китай. То есть очереди из инвесторов нет.

Конечно, уровень подушевого потребления у нас в 10 раз меньше, чем в Казахстане, и в 12 раз меньше, чем в России. За счет того, что нам труднее достаются ресурсы. Киргизстан никто не дотирует, но конкурентная устойчивость нашей экономики - серьезная.

По природе и местоположению Киргизия - уникальная страна. Ее можно сравнить со Швейцарией, и в этом смысле она могла бы стать местом элитного отдыха. Каким вам видится туристическое будущее республики?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Я немного шире отвечу на этот вопрос. Самое большое препятствие на пути привлечения инвестиций в любую страну мира - отсутствие в ней политической стабильности. Еще три года назад в Киргизстане была крайне чувствительная ситуация, политические процессы казались абсолютно непредсказуемыми, казалось - крах экономике. Что уж тут говорить, в свое время революцию в КР даже назвали предтечей арабских революций. Но если сравнить, как развиваются события в Египте, Ливии, Тунисе и Киргизстане, то мы можем гордиться установившейся в нашей стране стабильностью. Большая заслуга в этом президента Алмазбека Атамбаева. С каждым годом амплитуда политических землетрясений у нас уменьшается. Все больше появляется доверия со стороны иностранцев к Киргизстану. А ведь туризм - один из элементов такого доверия. Достаточно сказать, что ежегодно количество приезжающих в КР гостей увеличивается примерно на треть. Так что я лично смотрю на туристическое будущее республики с большим оптимизмом. Главное, чтобы была политическая стабильность и предсказуемость инвестиционного климата.

Джоомарт Каипович, давайте перенесемся мысленно лет на 10 вперед. Какими вы видите Киргизстан, жизнь его граждан?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: Мы живем в самом быстроразвивающемся регионе земного шара, в окружении стран-"локомотивов" современного мира, которые обеспечивают по 7-8 процентов ежегодного роста и в которых проживает более половины человечества. Киргизстану просто необходимо стать участником этих процессов, найти свою нишу в региональном разделении труда. Наверное, мы не сумеем стать страной больших фабрик и заводов. Мы должны стать страной, максимально удобной для ведения бизнеса, с предсказуемым законодательством и предсказуемым инвестиционным климатом, с толерантным, многоязычным и образованным населением. Если сумеем это сделать, то инвесторы, которым нужны стабильность и безопасность, не заставят себя долго ждать. Вот это наша цель.

Помогает при выработке и принятии решений ваша прежняя научная деятельность? Какие принципы вы для себя исповедуете в экономике? Каков стиль работы премьера Оторбаева?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: По образованию я физик. А это наука точная. Так что главное для меня - системность и плановость во всем. Вообще у каждого госслужащего должен быть план работы. Тогда он сможет уйти от эмоций и быть ближе к расчетам и здравому смыслу. Весь цивилизованный корпоративный мир так существует. Этот принцип приводит к успеху. Изобретать тут ничего не надо.

Когда вам тяжело, откуда черпаете вдохновение?

Джоомарт Оторбаев: От семьи. Это моя поддержка. У меня пятеро детей, и они обязаны стать хорошими гражданами и служить своей стране. Мои родители дали мне имя, и я не имею права его замарать. Это же стремлюсь передать детям.

Визитная карточка

Джоомарт Каипович Оторбаев, премьер Киргизии. Родился в 1955 году в городе Фрунзе. В 1978 году окончил с отличием Ленинградский государственный университет по специальности "физика", доктор физико-математических наук, профессор. С 2001 по 2005 годы занимал должности специального представителя президента КР по привлечению инвестиций, спецпредставителя президента по экономической помощи Афганистану, вице-премьер-министра по экономическим вопросам. С 2006 по 2011 год - старший советник в Европейском банке реконструкции и развития. С декабря 2011 по апрель 2014 г. - вице-премьер-министр Киргизской Республики по экономике и инвестициям, первый вице-премьер-министр. 3 апреля 2014-го парламент республики утвердил Джоомарта Оторбаева в должности премьер-министра КР.

Askar Akayev

Published on 30 October 2014 by *Gezitter*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/32wIiMy>

Первый президент Кыргызстана Аскар Акаев высказал газете "Майдан" своё мнение относительно Таможенного союза:

"Позитивные результаты от вступления Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз зависят от правильно построенной кыргызским правительством политической интеграции. Не нужно думать, что позитивные перемены от вступления возникнут автоматически. Многие полагают, что для кыргызов наступит "время благоденствия" после вступления в Таможенный союз. Но благоденствие надо заработать трудом. С одной стороны, у тройки государств-членов ТС может возникнуть вопрос, не потянут ли союз назад беспокойные и нестабильные кыргызы со своими постоянными митингами. Поэтому политическая элита Кыргызстана, политическое руководство страны должны серьёзно подумать о том, каким образом обеспечить будущее стабильное и плодотворное развитие Кыргызстана в составе Союза", - сказал А. Акаев.

Askar Akayev

Published on 30 March 2014 by *Pro-kg.ru*

Source: <https://bit.ly/2R6NAiK>

Академик Аскар Акаев возглавлял Киргизию в течение 15 лет, откуда вынужден был бежать после «тюльпановой революции» 2005 года. Спустя девять лет его судьбу повторил президент Украины Виктор Янкович. Уехав из Киргизии, Акаев продолжил научную работу, в частности возглавив научный коллектив в Институте математических исследований сложных систем им.И.Пригожина МГУ, который занимается прогнозированием развития экономики, в том числе и предвидением кризисов. Поэтому с Аскаром Акаевым корреспондент «Вестника Кавказа» поговорил не только о ситуации на постсоветском пространстве, но и о российской экономике.

— Аскар Акаевич, каков ваш прогноз развития российской экономики, особенно после присоединения Крыма?

— У России есть все ресурсы для динамичного развития — и природные, и, самое главное, человеческие. Все-таки россияне высокообразованные, здесь грандиозный человеческий потенциал, выдающаяся российская наука, поэтому у России есть все условия, все шансы для более динамичного экономического развития.

Я считаю, что российская экономика должна развиваться темпами в 7-8%, потому что весь мир с учетом даже отсталых, слаборазвитых стран, включая страны Африки, движется темпами 3% в год. Весь мир, в том числе и быстро развивающиеся экономики Китая и Индии. Весь мир! Китай, Индия развиваются темпами в 8-9%, а российская экономика и должна, и способна развиваться темпами в 7-8%. Но для того, чтобы этого достичь, нужна новая индустриальная политика, сильная, эффективная промышленная политика.

— Как вы оцениваете перспективы интеграции на постсоветском пространстве?

— Сегодня нет альтернативы интеграции, потому что глобализация идет во всем мире. Одной из закономерностей глобализации является региональная интеграция. Мы видим, что вся Европа интегрируется, они хотят вовлечь другие страны в свою орбиту. Сейчас, например, борются за то, чтобы вовлечь в свою орбиту Молдавию, Грузию и другие страны. Поэтому у России и у соседей России, бывших советских республик, нет другой альтернативы, кроме как тесно интегрироваться в экономическом, политическом, во всех отношениях. Только сильная региональная интеграция поможет России и странам СНГ выйти на мировой уровень развития.

— Каким вы видите будущее Таможенного союза, Евразийского союза после этих событий на Украине?

— Я убежден, что Таможенный союз будет развиваться независимо от того, что происходит на Украине. Конечно же, для самой Украины очень было бы важно присоединиться к Таможенному союзу, потому что украинская экономика получила бы новое направление. Сейчас она находится в катастрофическом состоянии. Украинская экономика чужеродна для европейской. Европейская экономика не интегрирует украинскую, она будет отторгать ее как чужеродный элемент. Что касается дальнейших шагов, я вижу, что на базе Таможенного союза в дальнейшем возможна крепкая евразийская интеграция, будет создан крепкий Евразийский союз.

— Каковы перспективы сотрудничества со странами Южного Кавказа?

— Со странами Южного Кавказа, конечно, сложнее. Хотя мы видим, что Армения сейчас вступает в Таможенный союз, но у Армении особый путь. Что касается Грузии, Азербайджана, то, наверное, у них будет свой вектор развития. Я не вижу никаких возможностей, чтобы они оказались в орбите евразийской интеграции.

Askar Akayev

Published on 3 August 2014 by *RitmEurasia*.

Source: <https://www.ritmeurasia.org/news--2014-08-03--a.akaev-kyrgyzstan-poluchit-bolshe-vygody-ot-vstuplenija-v-ts-13915>

При вступлении в Таможенный союз Кыргызстан получит больше выгоды. Поэтому правительству республики нужно выработать правильную стратегию экономического развития при интеграции. Такое мнение бывший президент Кыргызстана Аскар Акаев (1991–2005 годы) сказал во время интервью корпорации Би-би-си.

«Отличие 21 века от предыдущих времен это то, что страны объединяются в региональные организации и экономические союзы. Сейчас по всему миру идет глобализация. Если сказать точнее, то идет начало третьего этапа глобализации. Первый этап начался в конце 19 века, второй этап начался после Второй мировой

войны. Все это требует региональной интеграции от всех государств», - сказал экс-президент.

По его словам, Кыргызстан не может сам по себе развиваться в экономической части. Что бы граждане жили хорошо, нужно объединяться в разные региональные объединения, экономические союзы. По этой причине Кыргызстан был участником ЕврАзЭС и СНГ. Однако все эти вопросы должны быть вне политики.

«Таможенный союз – это экономический проект. Однако правительство должно изучить все плюсы и минусы и выработать правильную стратегию экономического развития. Если будет правильная стратегия, то не будет сложностей. Если же кабинет министров не просчитает все нюансы, то вступление КР в ТС может иметь определенные сложности», - отметил А.Акаев.

Приводя пример, А.Акаев сказал, что на сегодняшний день Беларусь, выработав правильную стратегию при интеграции, получает большие выгоды от вступления в Таможенный союз.

«Кыргызстану тоже нужна такая правильная стратегия. Ее можно назвать выигрышной стратегией», - сказал экс-президент А.Акаев, сказав, что «Таможенный союз нужно вступать. У Кыргызстана сейчас нет иного выхода. Это будет выгодно для экономики республики».

А.Акаев напомнил, что в 1998 году Кыргызстана первыми среди стран СНГ стал членом Всемирной торговой организации (ВТО). Тогда Кыргызстану было необходимо приход не дорогих товаров.

«Если помните, все товары были дорогие, среди населения была депрессия и другие сложности после распада СССР. Просчитав все нюансы, Кыргызстан решил присоединиться в ВТО, что принесло большие выгоды. Когда Китай в 2001 году стал членом ВТО, Кыргызстан также получил большие преференции, товары приходили в КР по низким ценам. Наши граждане получили выгоды от реэкспорта товаров в другие страны Центральной Азии. Поэтому при интеграции в определенную организацию и союз, Кыргызстану нужно выработать правильную стратегию экономического развития», - сказал А.Акаев.

Говоря о противодействии международных организаций в вопросе вступления Кыргызстана в ТС, А.Акаев отметил, что членство КР в ТС не противоречит ВТО. Никаких отрицательных моментов не будет.

«МВФ, Всемирный банк, ЕБРР и ряд других международных финансовых институтов, возможно, будут против вступления КР в ТС. Однако это имеет больше политический характер, чем экономический. Но, не смотря на это интересы Кыргызстана нужно поставить выше всего и принять правильные решения», - сказал экс-президент Кыргызстана.

Askar Akayev

Published on 31 March 2014 by *Knews.kg*.

Source: <https://knews.kg/2014/03/31/askar-akaev-regionalnaya-integratsiya-vyivedet-na-mirovoy-uroven/>

Академик Аскар Акаев возглавлял Кыргызстан в течение 15 лет, откуда вынужден был бежать после «тюльпановой революции» 2005 года. Спустя девять лет его судьбу повторил президент Украины Виктор Янукович. Уехав из Кыргызстана, Акаев продолжил научную работу, в частности возглавив научный коллектив в Институте математических исследований сложных систем имени Пригожина МГУ, который занимается прогнозированием развития экономики, в том числе и предвидением кризисов. О ситуации на постсоветском пространстве и о российской экономике с Аскаром Акаевым поговорил корреспондент онлайн издания «Вестника Кавказа».

Аскар Акаевич, каков Ваш прогноз развития российской экономики, особенно после присоединения Крыма?

У России есть все ресурсы для динамичного развития — и природные, и, самое главное, человеческие. Все-таки россияне высокообразованные, здесь грандиозный человеческий потенциал, выдающаяся российская наука, поэтому у России есть все условия, все шансы для более динамичного экономического развития.

Я считаю, что российская экономика должна развиваться темпами в 7-8 %, потому что весь мир с учетом даже отсталых, слаборазвитых стран, включая страны Африки, движется темпами 3 % в год. Весь мир, в том числе и быстро развивающиеся экономики Китая и Индии. Весь мир! Китай, Индия развиваются темпами в 8-9 %, а российская экономика и должна, и способна развиваться темпами в 7-8 %. Но для того, чтобы этого достичь, нужна новая индустриальная политика, сильная, эффективная промышленная политика.

Как Вы оцениваете перспективы интеграции на постсоветском пространстве?

Сегодня нет альтернативы интеграции, потому что глобализация идет во всем мире. Одной из закономерностей глобализации является региональная интеграция. Мы видим, что вся Европа интегрируется, они хотят вовлечь другие страны в свою орбиту. Сейчас, например, борются за то, чтобы вовлечь в свою орбиту Молдавию, Грузию и другие страны. Поэтому у России и у соседей России, бывших советских республик, нет другой альтернативы, кроме как тесно интегрироваться в экономическом, политическом, во всех отношениях. Только сильная региональная интеграция поможет России и странам СНГ выйти на мировой уровень развития.

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Askar Akayev

Published on 10 November 2014 by *News-Asia*.

Source: <http://www.news-asia.ru/view/ks/interview/7537>

Последние десять лет потрясли мир чередой «оранжевых», «тюльпановых» и других так называемых «цветных революций». Целый ряд государственных деятелей в постсоветских странах исчезли с политической арены. Первый президент Кыргызстана Аскар Акаев - редкий пример высокой политической жизнестойкости и достойного поведения в труднейших условиях. Сегодня, в день его рождения мы публикуем беседу экс-президента КР с главным редактором портала News-Asia Александром Банниковым.

После государственного переворота, т.н. «тюльпановой революции», которая произошла в стране в 2005 году, Акаев не исчез бесследно, а нашёл силы возвратиться в науку и добиться в ней высочайших результатов. Академик

Акаев стал крупным экспертом по проблемам нынешнего глобального экономического кризиса. Накануне 70-летнего юбилея мы встретились с Аскарком Акаевичем в Москве, в уютной обстановке кафе Дома учёных.

- Аскар Акаевич, 27 октября 1990 года Вы были избраны президентом Кыргызстана. Чем Вам запомнился этот день?

- Без глубокого волнения я не могу вспоминать осень 1990 г. И не потому, что стал тогда президентом страны. Просто почувствовал живительный запах грядущих прогрессивных перемен, возможность вместе со своими единомышленниками повернуть республику к новой жизни в условиях демократии. Консервативные силы, осевшие в Жогорку Кенеше и в других государственных органах, пытались сохранить былые порядки, но их усилия решительно отторгались народом.

Благо, что к власти в республике вместе со мной пришли в основном люди с демократическими взглядами. Инерция советского авторитарного прошлого над нами не довлела. Поэтому возникла возможность быстрого поворота в сторону демократических реформ. Не побоюсь сказать, что Кыргызстан шёл в этой области впереди всех на постсоветском пространстве. Наша республика первой ввела свою национальную валюту - сом, успешно провела земельную реформу и создала местное самоуправление по образцу Швейцарии. В итоге уже к 1998 году Кыргызстан был признан страной с рыночной экономикой и первой среди стран СНГ принят в ВТО, что обеспечило в последующем сотни тысяч рабочих мест в торговле и швейной отрасли.

Возвращаясь к вашему вопросу, скажу, что после ошской трагедии 1990 г., ситуация в нашей политической элите кардинально изменилась. Все претенденты от партноменклатуры на двух президентских выборах провалились. А в Верховном совете республики образовалась сильная демократическая фракция. 26 октября 1990 года я находился в Москве в гостях у академика Самарского - был такой выдающийся советский математик. Вдруг приглашают меня к телефону. Как нашли, не знаю, звонят из Фрунзе. И один из депутатов Верховного совета говорит: «Мы, демократическая фракция, решили выдвинуть тебя в президенты. Ты должен быть завтра утром в 10.00 на заседании». Я попытался возразить, сказал, что не хочу в президенты... На меня начали давить, сказали: «Иначе вообще в республику не пустим». Что делать? Пришлось лететь ночью, положившись на судьбу.

В десять утра захожу в зал Верховного совета. В списке уже 11 человек. Регистрируюсь 12-м. Все представляют свою программу развития, затем идёт голосование. Уже в первом туре, неожиданно для себя, я получил большинство голосов депутатов и вышел во второй тур вместе с Насирдином Исановым, в котором с большим перевесом одерживаю победу. В этот же день формирую правительство и предлагаю всех одиннадцать своих соперников на те, или иные руководящие посты. Исанова - на пост премьер-министра. Ведь за каждым стояла группа поддержки, родоплеменные кланы, и все вместе они хорошо представляли республику, что способствовало успешному проведению весьма болезненных реформ.

- 19 августа 1991 г. состоялся путч ГКЧП. Когда Вы поняли что это госпереворот?

- Как и другие, я узнал относительно ГКЧП утром 19 августа по радио. Сомнений не испытывал - это была попытка государственного переворота с применением силы. У гэкачепистов была ссылка на то, что Горбачёв болен, недееспособен. А я тремя днями раньше, 16 августа, больше часа с ним разговаривал; обсуждали вопросы, связанные с предстоящим подписанием Союзного договора. Он был полон энтузиазма, говорил энергично. Какой больной? Я понял сразу, что это переворот.

Поехал в Дом правительства и оттуда сделал по радио заявление с жёстким осуждением действий ГКЧП и призывом не подчиняться его решениям. Если бы сейчас я вам сказал, что был в то время спокойным, то покривил бы душой. За власть в республике всё ещё цеплялись остатки воинствующей партийно-советской номенклатуры. Значительное влияние сохранял республиканский аппарат КГБ. Могло быть всякое - вплоть до моего ареста. И, действительно, стоило мне выступить, как в Дом правительства пожаловал председатель КГБ республики генерал Асанкулов с секретной телеграммой от председателя КГБ СССР Крючкова. Требование было одно - беспрекословно подчиняться указаниям ГКЧП и дезавуировать заявление, осуждающее их действия. Пришлось отстранить самоуверенного генерала от руководства КГБ республики и назначить на его место другого человека. Не повлияли на мою позицию также угрозы со стороны командующего среднеазиатским военным округом ввести в Бишкек войска. Когда путч провалился, на сессии Верховного Совета СССР я выступал вторым. Первым – Руслан Хасбулатов от Российской Федерации, поскольку главную роль в победе над ГКЧП сыграла Россия, Ельцин. После меня выступал Анатолий Собчак, он в Петербурге также не поддержал ГКЧП. Горбачёв предпринял ещё одну попытку уговорить лидеров республик подписать Союзный договор, хотя бы в усечённой форме. Но путч сыграл свою роковую роль. Начался парад суверенитетов республик, что стало началом распада СССР.

- *Что означает для Вас Независимость?*

- Я принадлежу к кыргызам плоть от плоти, кровь от крови, поэтому вполне естественно, что для меня государственная независимость кыргызов - это возможность сохранить себя на века как титульную нацию, сберечь свои неповторимые черты и качества, умножая тем самым вклад в общую копилку мировой культуры.

Национальная государственность предполагает историческую ответственность кыргызов не только за свою национальную судьбу, но и за судьбу представителей всех этносов, образующих вместе с кыргызами единый народ страны. Как первый президент республики, я никогда не мыслил себе будущего кыргызов без соотечественников, принадлежащих к другим национальностям. Для меня с самого начала было очевидно, что сильная национальная государственная идея должна сочетаться с идеей, позволяющей наладить совместную жизнь людей, принадлежащих к разным этносам, но неразрывно связанных в структуре единого народа территориально, экономически, политически, социально и культурно.

- *Аскар Акаевич, почему в Центральной Азии первым изгнанником «цветной революции» стали именно Вы - ведь мировое сообщество называло Вас, «создателем островка демократии в ЦА»?*

- Всем хорошо известно, что «цветные революции» используются США для смены неугодных Вашингтону лидеров в различных странах, на разных континентах. Действительно, Вы правы в том, что с Западом и, в особенности с американским руководством, после провозглашения нашей государственной независимости у меня сложились поначалу хорошие отношения. В Белом доме встречали весьма приветливо, как истинного демократа, и даже сравнивали с Джефферсоном. Особое дружелюбие наблюдалось после открытия американской базы в «Манасе». Тогда, после авиационной атаки международных террористов 11 сентября 2001 г. на Нью-Йорк и Вашингтон, мы вместе с Россией вступили в состав Антитеррористической коалиции. Кыргызстан руководствовался прежде всего своими национальными интересами. Стоит вспомнить те тревожные дни и ночи лета 1999 и 2000 гг., когда Юг республики подвергся жестокому нападению со стороны тысячных бандформирований из Афганистана.

Однако в дальнейшем намерение американских военных надолго закрепиться на нашей земле стало крайне беспокоить. Наш главный союзник и стратегический партнёр Россия не имела тогда на территории Кыргызстана своей военной инфраструктуры. Тогда как далекие от нас в географическом и геополитическом отношениях США оказались в самом центре нашей республики, в самом сердце Центральной Азии. Для установления равновесия руководству России было предложено открыть авиационную базу в Канте. Совместное решение об этом было принято в 2003 г., а основой послужила подписанная мною и В.Путиным в июле 2000 г. в Кремле Декларация о вечной дружбе, союзничестве и партнёрстве наших стран.

После этого я почувствовал заметное изменение к худшему в отношении ко мне со стороны Вашингтона. Дополнительное похолодание произошло после моего категорического отказа разместить в «Манасе» разведывательные самолёты «Авакс». Мой решительный поворот в сторону России тогдашнее американское руководство встретило в штыки. А дальше события развивались по вполне предсказуемому сценарию. Началась масштабная ожесточённая кампания дискредитации меня и членов моей семьи в независимых СМИ. А непримиримая радикальная оппозиция во главе с Бакиевым и Отунбаевой получила для борьбы с законной властью со стороны Вашингтона мощную финансовую и морально-политическую поддержку. Когда оппозиция поняла, что не в силах поднять народ на подлинную революцию, то, не задумываясь, прибегла к услугам наркомафии и криминальных структур, чтобы осуществить обыкновенный государственный переворот.

Антироссийская направленность событий 2005 г. в Кыргызстане, также как и событий 2014 г. в Украине, видна невооружённым глазом. К сожалению, уроки из тех событий ещё должным образом не извлечены. Очевидно только одно, что феномен «цветных революций» не ушёл в прошлое. Географические рамки таких революций приобрели ныне более широкое измерение. Цветные революции в Северной Африке, на Ближнем Востоке и арабском мире - тому подтверждение.

- Прошло почти 10 лет с тех пор, как оппозиция совершила переворот 24 марта 2005 г., и почти 5 лет после трагических событий апреля 2010 г. Скажите, оправдали ли государственные перевороты, которые в Кыргызстане принято называть «революциями», свои цели? Удалось ли выстроить правильную государственную систему управления, побороть коррупцию и поднять уровень жизни населения?

- Если быть кратким, то надо констатировать, что итоги правления революционных властей весьма неутешительны. Действительно, демократии в стране больше не стало. Государственное управление, следуя русской поговорке, «дышит на ладан». Экономика в застое. Снизились реальные доходы населения. В 2005 г. после государственного переворота непримиримая оппозиция в Кыргызстане получила исключительный шанс показать свою государственную, политическую и интеллектуальную состоятельность, повести страну дальше по пути демократии и добиться большего, чем это удалось сделать мне. Со стороны революционных лидеров громогласных обещаний переустроить республику на новой справедливой основе, существенно улучшить жизнь народа раздавалось предостаточно. Однако перемен к лучшему так и не произошло. И это закономерно, поскольку в марте 2005 г. организаторы госпереворота не думали о народе, а только о захвате власти во имя собственных корыстных целей. Именно поэтому дело закончилось государственными преступлениями Бакиева, стрельбой по соотечественникам и многочисленными жертвами. Кровью на Юге и волюнтаристским насаждением парламентской системы власти отмечено правление Отунбаевой.

Государственный переворот сорвал нормальный поступательный процесс демократического развития в стране. «Революции» привнесли в политическую жизнь страны «вирус» насилия, иллюзии того, что ключевые проблемы политической жизни можно решать путём восстаний и переворотов. Более того, прижилась традиция решать любые вопросы с помощью массовых уличных выступлений. В то время, как соседние страны сосредотачивались на созидательных усилиях, шаг за шагом совершенствуя политическую систему, поднимая экономику, повышая благосостояние людей, в Кыргызстане шла борьба за раздел власти и национальной собственности. А это не могло не привести страну к деградации. Например, располагаемые доходы на душу населения в 2004 г. в Кыргызстане были в два раза выше, чем в Таджикистане, а сегодня, наоборот. Это и есть цена негативного влияния политической нестабильности в Кыргызстане и позитивная цена стабильного развития Таджикистана.

В заключение хочу сказать, что как революции, так и государственные перевороты приводят к коренной ломке в национальной жизни. Их разрушительные плоды сполна испытали украинцы. Революции в Северной Африке и на Ближнем Востоке так же разрушили ряд государств и разожгли огни гражданских войн. Особый удар они наносят по деловой активности. Нестабильность всегда надолго отпугивает внутренних и внешних инвесторов. А без инвестиций экономика не развивается.

- Перспектива вступления Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз сегодня вызывает большие споры. Какова Ваша позиция в этом вопросе? Каким Вы видите будущее ТС и Евразийского союза после событий на Украине?

- Одна из закономерностей нынешней глобализации - региональная интеграция, которая может помочь избежать негативных последствий этой самой глобализации. Поэтому сегодня ни одна страна в мире не может успешно развиваться без участия в региональной кооперации. Это веление времени. ТС сегодня стал весьма привлекательным межгосударственным объединением с большим потенциалом развития. Вступление республики в ТС сулит стране значительные преимущества и поможет вывести её экономику из кризисного состояния.

А вот позитивный результат от вступления в ТС уже будет зависеть от грамотно выстроенной политики интеграции со стороны правительства Кыргызстана. Нельзя полагать, что он придёт автоматически. Многие думают, что в ТС имеется «рог изобилия» откуда посыплются все блага для Кыргызстана. Их надо заработать трудом. С другой стороны, в самой «таможенной четверке» может возникнуть вопрос: не станет ли постоянно митингующий, беспокойный и нестабильный Кыргызстан грузом тянущим ТС вниз? Поэтому политической элите Кыргызстана надо серьёзно подумать о том как обеспечить стабильное и созидательное развитие страны в будущем Союзе.

Что же касается решения о создании Евразийского союза, считаю его правильным и весьма своевременным. Оно опирается на объективные исторические закономерности о евразийском единении, отражённые, в частности, в гумилевских трудах. «Объединиться, чтобы не исчезнуть!» - с таким призывом обращался этот великий российский учёный и мыслитель к потомкам. Будь сегодня Л. Гумилёв жив, он порадовался бы воодушевляющему повороту в сторону единения, который ныне происходит на земле Евразии. Безусловно, участие Украины в Евразийском союзе резко повысило бы его шансы стать одним из наиболее крупных, успешных и притягательных региональных союзов. Мне думается, что так и случится в недалёком будущем, поскольку исторические и культурные корни современной Украины всё же находятся здесь. Как говорится, поживём - увидим.

- Скажите, если бы у Вас появилась возможность повернуть время вспять и вернуться в 90-е или начало 2000-х годов, поменяли бы вы что-нибудь в своих действиях, решениях?

- Если бы мне снова довелось стать у руля государства, я бы снова повёл его тем же курсом - на укрепление единства народа, гармонизацию межэтнических отношений, на углубление демократических преобразований. Альтернативы этому нет. Кыргызстан сможет состояться как полноценное государство только на демократическом пути развития. Именно благодаря правильно выбранному вначале пути развития, Кыргызстан к 2000 году стал подлинно демократическим государством, полноправным и авторитетным членом международного сообщества. Устойчиво развивалась экономика. Началось культурное возрождение. Страна была на подъёме. Я не устаю повторять свой главный лозунг «Стабильность и эволюция лучше, чем революция!» Посмотрите, как три революции разрушили новую украинскую государственность.

- *При каких обстоятельствах Вы были бы готовы вернуться на родину?*

- Я был и остаюсь верным сыном кыргызского народа, гражданином Кыргызстана. Никогда не мыслил свою жизнь в отрыве от родной земли, где покоятся мои родители и мои предки. Всей душой я мечтаю вернуться на Родину. Вопрос о времени возвращения действительно зависит от обстоятельств, которые весьма просты - лишь бы власти не препятствовали и не организовывали провокаций. Одновременно я хотел бы отметить, что государственное руководство России проявило по отношению ко мне и членам моей семьи подлинное великодушие и гостеприимство. Для меня лично созданы прекрасные условия для научной и творческой деятельности. Но тяга к Родине остаётся. Надеюсь, Вы это правильно понимаете.

- *Накануне своего юбилея, что бы Вы хотели пожелать народу Кыргызстана?*

Конечно же, искренне желаю мира, благополучия и процветания; скорейшего преодоления тех трудностей, которые выпали в последнее десятилетие на его долю. Единства и согласия в народе. Каждому кыргызстанцу от всей души желаю доброго здоровья и счастья. Пусть в домах всегда будет в достатке хлеба, тепла и света. Душой, сердцем и всеми помыслами я остаюсь с моим родным народом.

Igor Chudinov

Published on 30 July 2014 by VB.kg.

Source: <https://bit.ly/39mEWNi>

- Вхождение Кыргызстана в Таможенный союз уже предreshено. Как приспособиться к новым условиям?

- Не стоит забывать о том, что интересы государства и предпринимателя не всегда совпадают. Исполнительная власть заинтересована собрать как можно больше налогов, чтобы выполнить социальные обязательства. Поэтому правительству важно, чтобы банковская система работала максимально прозрачно: оно хочет видеть все операции, чтобы знать, не укрываются ли какие-то налоги. Бизнес, конечно, такого контроля желает избежать. Кроме того, не верит, что он заплатит налоги и увидит построенные на них школы и больницы.

- Речь идет о бизнесе.

- Давайте посмотрим на этот вопрос с другой стороны. Россия поставляет миллион тонн нефтепродуктов, т.е. рынок ГСМ Кыргызстан отдал. "Кыргызгаз" уже продали, начали реализовываться два крупных энергопроекта – строительство Верхне-Нарынского каскада ГЭС и Камбар-Атинских ГЭС. Следовательно, контроль над стратегической отраслью фактически будет у России. По поводу продажи аэропорта "Манас" ведутся переговоры с Китаем и Россией. Большая

часть лицензий на разработку месторождений находится у китайцев. В таких условиях чего-то бояться уже бесполезно.

Кроме того, у нас разве можно найти какого-то монополиста, который что-то боится? Многие наши олигархи давно уже имеют бизнес в России, где трудятся и наши соотечественники. Мы даже не заметили, как они сами фактически стали частью Таможенного союза.

Что касается финансового сектора, то при гармонизации законов Кыргызстан почувствует сразу. Наверное, валюту придется менять только с паспортами.

- Бытует мнение, что крупный бизнес еще сможет приспособиться, а малый и средний сильно пострадает, т.к. не выдержит конкуренции со стороны других стран, которые будут завозить сюда товары.

- В Кыргызстане такой маленький рынок, что странам-членам ТС неинтересно душить местный малый бизнес. Но поставщики китайской и прочей продукции, конечно, пострадают. Реэкспортом заниматься станет невыгодно. Их однозначно коснется, но таких примерно 70 тыс. Конечно, это много. Но на кону судьба более 5 млн человек.

Если говорить не о торговле вещами, а в целом о малом и среднем бизнесе, то разве можно чему-то удивить отечественный бизнес, который за годы независимости перенес столько шоков и перипетий? Нашим предпринимателям, кажется, уже ничего не страшно. И российского рынка они тоже не настолько испугаются, как это предрекают многие.

Если говорить о выживаемости, то наши предприниматели зубами всегда цеплялись за сохранность своего дела. Мы гораздо мотивированнее, потому что привыкли полагаться только на себя. В России и Казахстане такого закаленного бизнеса меньше. В других странах условное КПД от ведения бизнеса гораздо выше, чем у нас. Что касается конкурентной борьбы, то малый и средний бизнес к ней всегда готов.

Опасения же связаны с тем, что предстоит очередная перестройка, и бизнесмены чувствуют, что никто им не поможет.

Одно можно с уверенностью сказать - работать придется больше.

- Много лет Минэкономики пытается исследовать влияние Таможенного союза на разные отрасли экономики, но получается не очень удачно. Говорят о целых отраслях без более узкого анализа, какие процессы будут происходить внутри каждой сферы. Вы также считаете, что швейникам только поможет?

- С определенными условиями. Много говорится о том, что для швейной отрасли в целом вступление в Таможенный союз будет способствовать развитию, увеличится экспорт. При этом высказываются опасения, что продукция станет не самой конкурентоспособной, т. к. вырастут цены на нее из-за увеличения пошлин на ткани и фурнитуру из Китая, Турции. Выход из ситуации есть. В той же России высокие пошлины на готовую продукцию, но на материалы – нулевые. Ничто не

мешает нашему правительству обнулить пошлины на ткани и фурнитуру, чтобы поддержать швейников.

- Чиновники много говорят о том, что агропромышленная отрасль может стать движущей силой. Как сделать, чтобы так оно и было?

- Фермерам вступление в Таможенный союз выгодно тем, что появится рынок сбыта. Но нужно не просто продавать сельхозпродукцию в Казахстан, а делать внутри страны хотя бы минимальную переработку. Необходимо добавленную стоимость оставлять в Кыргызстане.

- Как привлечь иностранные инвестиции в Кыргызстан, если он вступит в альянс?

- Нужны конкурентные условия. Пока у нас это дешевая рабочая сила, налоговый режим и цены на электроэнергию. Если мы пойдем по нынешнему пути, когда начали постепенно увеличивать налоги, то конкурентные условия, конечно, уберем. По налогам мы сами должны работать, тут уже Таможенный союз ни при чем.

Пока ситуация складывается так: с одной стороны, государство нацелено на вступление в Таможенный союз, с другой – ужесточает условия для инвесторов. Это же не Россия диктует правительству внутригосударственное регулирование, отпугивающее инвесторов.

- Простые граждане, не имеющие бизнес, беспокоятся о повышении цен...

- Их опасения, конечно, оправданы. Но правительство может отрегулировать некоторые вопросы. Многие, например, боятся увеличения цен на машин. В Казахстане была отсрочка по введению пошлин на импорт автомашин. Кроме того, крупнейшие мировые гиганты автопрома давно предусмотрительно построили заводы в России. Беспшлинно поставлять продукцию могут они.

Естественно, с повышением цен должны расти поступления от налогов. Следовательно, государство должно повышать зарплаты и пенсии.

- Ваша бизнес-ассоциация была сформирована из бывших членов Ассоциации гильдии соотечественников. В организацию вошли российские инвесторы?

- Нет. В бизнес-ассоциацию входят компании, которые заинтересованы в выходе на российский рынок и участии в российских проектах. Среди членов преобладают представители туристического и строительного бизнеса, есть компания из горнодобывающего сектора. Всего у нас 37 членов.

- Что вы сделали за год работы ассоциации? Какие есть интересные проекты?

- В настоящее время бизнес-ассоциация занимается активной реализацией одного крупного проекта. Евразийский банк развития в ближайшее время планирует выделить кредит для создания логистической платформы в Кыргызстане. Речь идет о хранении, сортировке и переработке до 60 тыс. тонн сельхозпродукции, которую планируется закупать у фермеров. Решение о необходимости создания

такого современного центра принималось на уровне кыргызско-российской межправкомиссии.

Кстати, идея создания такого центра родилась еще в 2008 году. Ничего нового в ней нет. Фактически это повторение советской сельхозкооперации "Кыргызпотребсоюза", когда в каждой области располагалось несколько баз по приему продукции.

Наша цель – создать заказ для крестьян. Начнем с корнеплодов: картофель, лук, морковь, другая ранняя сельхозпродукция. На базе будет происходить хранение, упаковываться и экспортироваться за рубеж. На первом этапе базы откроются в Бишкеке и Караколе. Например, на Иссык-Куле можно будет закупать картофель и яблоки.

Первоначальные инвестиции составят примерно 18 млн сомов кредитных средств. Проектом будет заниматься член ассоциации "Ала-Тоо Логистикс". Сама ассоциация обеспечивает административное сопровождение.

Amangeldy Muraliyev

Published on 20 February 2014 by *Ritmeurasia*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3eItk8r>

В Киргизии есть понимание того, что иного пути, чем вступление в Таможенный союз, для сохранения экономической безопасности нет, несмотря на активное противодействие процессу интеграции со стороны ряда зарубежных структур и противников внутри страны, особенно представителей торгового капитала. Последние активно готовятся к переменам. Но по-своему...

«Made in...», или Не наше

С вступлением в Таможенный союз Киргизия потеряет статус транзитной страны для китайских товаров. Так как обе страны уже давно входят в ВТО, то взаимные льготы давали возможность ввозить дешевый ширпотреб и другие товары и далее экспортировать на рынки стран региона и России. Создание ТС лишило огромной части доходов владельцев крупнейших в Центральной Азии оптовых рынков. Вхождение страны в состав союза нанесет им очередной удар. Поэтому некоторые представители торгового бизнеса стали активно готовиться к минимизации потерь.

Учитывая, что некоторые виды продукции, изготовленные в Киргизии, хорошо реализуются на внешнем рынке, начался активный завоз товаров из Китая, которые продаются, как произведенные в Киргизии. Правительство даже было вынуждено принять постановление «О мерах по защите отечественных товаропроизводителей текстильной и швейной продукции». Согласно документу, запрещен ввоз такой продукции на таможенную территорию страны с ярлыками «Made in Kyrgyzstan».

Владельцы швейных предприятий, терпя убытки, сами были вынуждены заказывать продукцию в Китае и выдавать ее за свою, так как невозможно выдержать конкуренцию с менее качественными, но более дешевыми товарами из соседней страны. То есть на экспорт, в основном в Россию и Казахстан, идут те же китайские товары, но с киргизским ярлыком и, естественно, по более высокой цене.

Как сообщает Министерство промышленности и энергетики, доля текстильной и швейной промышленности в общем объеме производимых в стране товаров составляет 6,9%. С каждым годом эта доля, пусть медленно, но увеличивалась.

Однако по итогам 10 месяцев прошлого года экспорт продукции по сравнению с тем же периодом за предыдущий год снизился на 18%.

Отметим, что 90% швейной продукции Киргизии продается в Россию, в отрасли занято 160 тысяч человек, в основном женщины, из 5,5-миллионного населения страны.

Не только штаны и рубашки...

Постановления правительства относительно продукции только швейников оказалось недостаточным. «В торговых центрах Бишкека продается мебель, сделанная в Китае под маркой кыргызстанских компаний», – посетовали киргизские производители мебели на круглом столе, организованном Торгово-промышленной палатой КР. Кроме того, они отметили, что налог с продаж для производителей хоть и небольшой, но все же в два раза выше, чем для торговых организаций. Заместитель главы ТПП Киргизии Амангельды Давлеталиев в ответ предложил создать при его организации комитет по поддержке предпринимательства в мебельной отрасли.

На данный момент при Торгово-промышленной палате уже существуют десять подобных комитетов. Пока они не показали свою эффективность при защите собственных производителей. То, что проблемы решаются по мере поступления жалоб, а не по мере их возникновения, и то, что попытки поддержать предпринимателей предпринимаются не комплексно, а отдельно по отраслям, свидетельствует об одном – в правительстве уделяют решению этой задачи недостаточно внимания.

Раньше проблема защиты собственных производителей не стояла столь остро из-за того, что и собственное производство в стране, а равно и экспорт собственных товаров, не занимали заметного места в экономике страны. Добыча золота и экспорт электроэнергии давали основную массу доходов в казну. Теперь же с предстоящим вступлением в ТС правительству необходимо будет всерьез заняться защитой своих потребителей, продукции собственной промышленности, а также предотвращением реэкспорта китайской продукции под видом произведенной в Киргизии. Уже наблюдается снижение экспорта, а количество жалоб на киргизскую продукцию, которая на самом деле является китайской, увеличивается. Это, несомненно, бьет по репутации киргизских производителей и тормозит развитие промышленности. И, безусловно, это на руку торговому капиталу.

«Решение о вступлении в ТС будут принимать
хозяева оптовых рынков»

Так пошутил и одновременно всерьез сказал на круглом столе бишкекский политолог Игорь Шестаков. В свою очередь, начальник отдела международного взаимодействия Евразийской экономической комиссии Антон Азаров, выступая на совместном заседании профильных комитетов российской Государственной думы и киргизского парламента, отметил: «При вступлении Киргизии в Таможенный союз придется перепрофилировать оптовые рынки и развивать собственный бизнес, а не надеяться на реэкспорт из Китая... Следует создавать рабочие места в собственном государстве».

В конце января бывший премьер-министр Амангельды Муралиев, выступая на форуме экспертов «Таможенный союз: фантомные страхи и реальные риски», отметил: «Мы не одной ногой, а на восемьдесят процентов своего «тела» уже находимся в союзе. На первом плане у нас структурные преобразования в экономике, чего мы не смогли сделать за 20 лет. Это позволит нам переориентировать экономику. Приход крупных инвесторов создаст новые рабочие места и производство, тем самым начнется борьба с теневой экономикой. Структурная перестройка сама не приходит».

Тем временем все чаще в прессе появляются заявления, что «бизнес-сообщество обеспокоено возможностью вступления в Таможенный союз». Обобщая, авторы

статей и телесюжетов хотят показать, что весь бизнес, а не только торговый капитал, проиграет от интеграции в ТС. Между тем 74% процента граждан Киргизии, согласно данным мониторинга Центра интеграционных исследований Евразийского банка развития и Международного исследовательского агентства «Евразийский монитор», поддерживают идею вступления их страны в ТС.

* * *

Несмотря на неблагоприятную ситуацию, производство в Киргизии все же развивается, пусть темпы и оставляют желать большего. И вот пример: в открывшейся 18 февраля в Москве на ВВЦ 42-й Федеральной оптовой ярмарке товаров и оборудования текстильной и легкой промышленности «Текстильлегпром» принимают участие 22 швейных предприятия из Киргизии. На фоне общего числа участников – 2,5 тысячи организаций из 27 стран – киргизские производители выглядят, конечно, довольно скромно. Но уже сам факт присутствия киргизских компаний на этом форуме можно признать как достижение.

Tursunbek Chyngyshev

Published on 25 December 2014 by *Gezitter*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2WO43DN>

После подписания договора о присоединении Кыргызстана к Евразийскому экономическому союзу "Азаттык" обратился с некоторыми вопросами к экс-премьер-министру, в одно время возглавлявшему комитет по введению нацвалюты, сома, Турсунбеку Чынгышеву.

"Азаттык": Спустя ровно 23 года после развала СССР Кыргызстан присоединяется к Евразийскому экономическому союзу под началом России. За последние 23 года на постсоветском пространстве создавались, распускались несколько организаций. Вы были вторым по счету премьером за время независимости Кыргызстана. Вступление Кыргызстана в Евразийский экономический союз – рядовое или историческое событие?

Чынгышев: По-моему, историческое событие...

"Азаттык": Были дискуссии относительно присоединения к Евразийскому, в том числе Таможенному союзу. Возможно, членство в данном союзе принесет Кыргызстану светлое будущее. Возможно, полную экономическую зависимость и потерю конкурентоспособности немногочисленной отечественной продукции. Кто несет ответственность за данное решение: президент Алмазбек Атамбаев или власть в целом, все политические силы в парламенте?

Чынгышев: Неважно, какие последствия будут вследствие данного решения: хорошие или плохие, - но ответственность лежит на всех. И на президенте, и на парламенте. Ведь именно парламент утвердил все законы и подписанные документы. Неправильно считать, что в этом вопросе ответственность лежит только на Атамбаеве, Оторбаеве (премьер-министр) или спикере. Ответственность лежит на всех ветвях власти при любом раскладе: и позитивном, и негативном.

"Азаттык": Но ведь депутаты парламента утверждают, что проголосовали, не ознакомившись с проектом договора?

Чынгышев: Какие только слова не звучали в парламенте всё это время. Депутатов, выступающих за вступление в Евразийский и Таможенный союзы, даже назвали «предателями». Депутаты тоже поняли, что у нас нет другого выхода.

"Азаттык": Евразийский и Таможенный союзы – это экономическое интеграционное объединение государств. В идеале стороны должны подчиняться единым правилам и работать в соответствии с ними. Но обязательно будут присутствовать конкуренция и соперничество. Например, вас не беспокоит торговая война между Россией и Беларусью последнего времени?

Чынгышев: Это ожидаемое явление во взаимоотношениях двух государств, потому что Таможенный союз, начинающий функционировать с 1 января Евразийский экономический союз пока еще не сформированы окончательно, не устоялись. Но для Кыргызстана конкуренция будет не столь ощутимой, как между Беларусью и Россией. Нам не стоит опасаться некоторого соперничества, борьбы интересов. Всё постепенно урегулируется.

"Азаттык": Противники Евразийского и Таможенного союзов считают, что данные объединения несут угрозу суверенности. Теперь после вступления от Кыргызстана, кыргызского общества, власти потребуются дополнительные усилия для предотвращения потери независимости. Чего надо опасаться, чему уделять внимание?

Чынгышев: Например, в экономическом аспекте самое главное – остерегаться введения единой валюты. Ведь звучат заявления о единой валюте. По крайней мере 10-15 лет надо отказаться от данного шага. Потеря экономического суверенитета начинается с валюты, в первую очередь. Недаром Британия не присоединилась к единой валюте Евросоюза. Будущее евразийского объединения зависит от многих факторов. По какому пути пойдет российская власть, казахские родичи? Поймут ли друг друга, до конца ли будет существовать объединение? Будет ли каждая страна сохранять свой суверенитет или будут попытки создать империю? Если Россия лелеет имперские планы, то, разумеется, ЕЭС развалится. Всё зависит от политического уровня, прозорливости политических лидеров стран –членов объединения. Но, безусловно, для суверенности существуют угрозы.

Ednan Karabaev

Published on 14 August 2014 by *VB.kg*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/32AvXa0>

Директор Форсайт–центра Barometr.kg Эднан Карабаев заявил "ВБ", что проблема контрабанды через госграницу Кыргызстана остается острой. Как и факт, что взамен этой самой контрабанды предложить для приграничного развития пока нечего. Отсутствие инфраструктуры создает теневые межгосударственные рынки, отказываться от которых весьма и весьма тяжело.

"Может, поэтому эксперты констатируют затягивание и даже саботаж вхождения Кыргызстана в ТС на уровне чиновников среднего звена?" – задается вопросом Эднан Карабаев.

Он полагает, что "участие в Таможенном союзе Бишкеку нужно даже больше, чем Москве, Астане и Минску. Эпоха китайских товаров в любом случае ушла в прошлое, и необходимость искать свою нишу пусть даже на региональном рынке становится очевидной с каждым днем".

Muratbek Imanaliyev

Published on 25 March 2014 by *Vechernii Bishkek*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2ORy6qr>

Здоровое начало в создании Евразийского союза есть и его надо развивать. Такое мнение сегодня, 25 марта, выразил экс-генеральный секретарь ШОС и президент Института политики и развития Муратбек Иманалиев.

Однако он заявил, что Таможенный союз и более позднее международное сооружение – Евразийский союз – требуют еще некоторого времени для более полноценного осмысления элитами и простыми людьми государств как идеи и концепции, так и для детальной проработки проектов по улучшению совместной жизни.

"СНГ, существующий на настоящий момент в двух важных ипостасях, не имеет четко просматриваемых перспектив. Содружество как некий исторический процесс, обусловивший и опекавший цивилизованный "развод" республик Советского Союза, уже прекратил свое существование в качестве упомянутого выше процесса. СНГ больше напоминает ежегодную конференцию глав государств, нежели активно функционирующую международную организацию", - заметил Иманалиев.

Он добавил, что все-таки желательно, чтобы в этом качестве СНГ продолжало свое существование, потому что ежегодные встречи президентов стран СНГ позволяют им поддерживать полезный диалог, который, несмотря на критику и неприятие, все-таки позитивен и скорее необходим.

2015

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 7 April 2015 by *Gezitter*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2OMIm2p>

В своем интервью Би-Би-Си в связи с пятилетием апрельской революции экс-президент Кыргызстана Роза Отунбаева сравнила прошлые события кыргызского общества с событиями в мире и призвала быть рациональным народом в соответствии с цивилизацией.

Би-Би-Си: Кыргызский народ, поставив целью построить справедливое общество, пережил две революции. Можете вы, посмотрев сегодняшнюю общественно-политическую ситуацию, сказать, что таковы были цели революции?

Р. Отунбаева: Что было – прошло. Как хотите, так и критикуйте. Но посмотрите и сравните. Мы видим, чем завершились события в Тунисе, Ливии, Сирии. Возьмите Украину, погибло свыше пяти тысяч человек, свыше ста тысяч ранено. Поэтому надо проявить взвешенность и жить рационально, как подобает цивилизованному народу.

Революция должна была произойти. Таковы были внутренние побуждения, устремления людей. Но ведь должны быть и внутренние объективные факторы. Мы же не можем изменить всё в одночасье. Но я не говорю, что потребуются век. Что сегодня приносит парламентское правление? Парламент – это установление границ, баланс. Парламент контролирует, проверяет исполнительную власть. Исполнительная власть исполняет свою работу по возможности. Что не под силу исполнительной власти, президент вынужден брать на себя.

Сегодня говорят, что мы снова возвращаемся к прежнему президентскому правлению. А что делать президенту, сидеть и бездействовать, пока развалится экономика? Необходимо сильно удерживать баланс между тремя ветвями власти. Не должно оставаться никакой лазейки. Но ветви власти могут подтягиваться друг к другу. То, что не делает парламент, выполняет исполнительная власть. Не выполняет исполнительная власть, тогда работает третья ветвь власти. Сейчас всему этому мы учимся. Что значит для истории пять лет? Это очень краткий срок. Что сделали Бакиевы за пять лет: набивали свои карманы и удовлетворяли свои аппетиты.

Би-Би-Си: Сейчас Кыргызстан с хорошими надеждами вступает в Евразийский экономический и Таможенный союзы. В то же время часть народа выступает «против», считая, что интеграционный процесс означает отказ от суверенности. Какие меры должна предпринять власть для предотвращения обострения такого протеста?

Р. Отунбаева: На днях я вернулась со встреч в Совете Европы. Встречалась с персонами очень высокого уровня. Вступая в Евросоюз, европейские страны

отдали свой суверенитет. Многие вопросы они уже не могут решать самостоятельно. Никто не возмущается и все работают в рамках Евросоюза. Проблема в подъеме экономического уровня нашего населения. Недавно один предприниматель спросил, что кроме тапочек производит Кыргызстан в настоящее время? Вот над чем мы должны задуматься. Неужели мы останемся страной, производящей только войлок и шырдаки? Мы должны переходить на производство.

Мы приучили народ к демократии, но не можем разрабатывать ни один рудник. В Таласе говорят, чтобы не трогали "Джеруй", что будут выживать за счет животноводства.

В таком случае в Кыргызстане никогда не будет развиваться производство.

Разве в Казахстане нет экологических проблем? Есть, и достаточно. Но тамошний народ понимает, что без производства государство не сможет развиваться. В общем, я считаю правильным вступление Кыргызстана в Евразийский экономический союз. Часть оппозиции выступает против вступления. Они высказывают свои опасения, возможно, и у них есть свои аргументы.

Би-Би-Си: Вскоре после революции 2010 года на юге страны вспыхнул межэтнический конфликт. Международные и местные эксперты говорят, что невзирая на предупреждения о возможности такого конфликта не были приняты своевременные меры. Если посмотреть через призму сегодняшнего дня, можно было предотвратить те трагические события?

Р. Отунбаева: Это непростой вопрос. Высказываются разные мнения, предположения. Тогда с четырех сторон происходили различные события, действия. Например, люди Тюлеева устраивали демонстрацию перед Белым домом. В Таласе происходили одни события, в Нарыне – другие. В Оше полным мандатом обладал генерал Исаков. Все полномочия были в руках этого человека. Не прошло и двух месяцев после революции, как случились ошские события. Возможно, можно было принять меры по предотвращению той ситуации. Но это было время сильной угрозы возникновения противостояния в одном народе. Не было и силы, способной усмирить конфликт. У нас не было ничего, чтобы подавить столкновение и разнять враждующие стороны: ни резиновых дубинок, ни слезоточивого газа – ничего. Не было и опыта разрешения подобных ситуаций. Это было сродни природному катаклизму. У нас не хватило силы на всё.

Roza Otunbayeva

Published on 7 May 2015 by *Aif.ru*

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hpaTaL>

На саммите Евразийского экономического союза, который пройдет в Москве 8 мая, будет обсуждаться вопрос присоединения к ЕАЭС Киргизии.

«Основной темой, наверное, будет вопрос о присоединении к Союзу Киргизии. В последние дни, недели вдруг появились некоторые сложности, очевидно, они могут обсуждаться», — заявил помощник президента России Юрий Ушаков.

Сложности, о которых говорит Ушаков, связаны с возможной отсрочкой вступления Бишкека в ЕАЭС. Изначально ожидалось, что Киргизия станет членом объединения к 9 мая, но эти планы столкнулись с рядом сложностей, мешающих их реализации.

Препятствия интеграции

Надо сказать, нынешняя попытка Киргизии интегрироваться с предшествующим Евразийскому экономическому союзу Таможенным союзом далеко не первая: присоединение республики откладывалось пять раз. Возглавлявшая ранее страну Роза Отунбаева более симпатизировала Западу и даже успела получить от Евросоюза порядка 200 млн евро на реализацию различных программ. Сменивший Отунбаеву на посту президента пророссийски настроенный Алмазбек Атамбаев в

прошлом году пообещал, что 2015 год Киргизия встретит в составе Евразийского экономического союза.

Но и устремлённость Атамбаева к вступлению в ЕАЭС не помогла скорой интеграции Киргизии: присоединение Бишкека к объединению стало предметом торга между членами Союза и Киргизией. Республика настаивала на отмене аудита ветеринарного контроля своей продукции для осуществления свободного движения сельскохозяйственных товаров внутри объединения. Кроме того, Киргизия требовала сохранения льготных ввозных таможенных пошлин в отношении грузов из Китая, которые будут завозиться в республику в рамках реализации инфраструктурных проектов.

Будущие партнёры Киргизии по ЕАЭС (Россия, Казахстан и Белоруссия), понятно, с такими требованиями Бишкека соглашаться не спешили. Во-первых, система ветеринарного контроля страны оставляет желать лучшего и явно нуждается в проверке. Во-вторых, ввоз китайских товаров под эгидой строительства инфраструктуры может обернуться их перепродажей на внутренние рынки государств Евразийского экономического союза.

Нынешний премьер-министр Киргизии Темир Сариев, ещё занимая пост министра экономики страны, после недавно прошедшего в Москве заседания совета ЕАЭС заявил, что Бишкек планирует отложить вступление в ЕАЭС. Дело в том, что стороны не успевали ратифицировать договоры о присоединении Киргизии к Союзу и соответствующие протоколы.

А практически на финишной прямой присоединение Киргизии к Евразийскому экономическому союзу осложнило то, что в конце апреля правительство республики во главе с премьер-министром Джоомартом Оторбаевым ушло в отставку. А нет правительства, значит, нет никаких документов и соглашений.

Интересно, что место Оторбаева недавно занял Темир Сариев, который до этого говорил о переносе вхождения его страны в состав ЕАЭС, но после того, как возглавил Кабмин, заявил, что к 8 мая будут подписаны все соглашения.

«Я намерен заняться реформами экономики, решить вопросы Кумтора (золоторудное месторождение — прим. ред.) и вступления Киргизии в ЕАЭС», — пообещал Сариев на заседании парламента, добавив, что 8 мая будут подписаны соглашение и протоколы о присоединении республики к объединению. Для достижения этой цели глава правительства создал оперативный штаб, который он же и возглавил. Позже Сариев сообщил, что Бишкек выполнил все требования «дорожной карты» для вступления в Евразийский экономический союз.

«Республика за год провела все необходимые работы по реализации «дорожной карты» по присоединению к ЕАЭС. <...> Вся необходимая база для присоединения Киргизстана к ЕАЭС уже утверждена. Продукция, производимая в республике, будет соответствовать требованиям техрегламентов ЕАЭС и свободно экспортироваться. Участие Киргизстана в ЕАЭС уже с первых дней позволит обеспечить свободное перемещение товаров, капиталов и услуг, а также трудоустройство наших трудовых мигрантов», — цитирует киргизского премьера РИА «Новости».

Чем поможет Россия?

Безболезненное присоединение Бишкека к ЕАЭС согласилась спонсировать Россия. Для адаптации киргизской экономики к вступлению в Союз Москва пообещала выделить 1 млрд долларов. 500 млн долларов будут переданы в специальный фонд развития в виде уставного капитала. В конце марта соглашение о создании российско-киргизского фонда развития одобрило правительство РФ. Целью фонда называется «содействие экономическому сотрудничеству между Киргизией и Россией, модернизации и развитию киргизской экономики».

Вторая половина суммы будет выделена в виде льготного кредита на условиях Международной ассоциации развития (входит в группу Всемирного банка).

«Для России действительно важно, чтобы Киргизия стала членом ЕАЭС. Это выгодно как с политической, так и с экономической точки зрения. Сам ЕАЭС станет сильнее, если к нему присоединится больше стран. Влияние и зависимость от России вырастет. Так, примеру Киргизии могут последовать и другие страны. Для России же расширение ЕАЭС позволит получить хоть и не очень большой, но дополнительный рынок сбыта, а также возможность прохождения товаропотоков через Кыргызстан. Есть плюсы для России в энергетическом и миграционном плане», — замечает эксперт компании «Деловой фарватер» Антон Соничев.

В свою очередь первый вице-президент общероссийской общественной организации «Российский клуб финансовых директоров», к. э. н. Тамара Касьянова отмечает, что в Бишкеке осознают, что без России у страны будет смутное будущее. По её словам, Киргизия не только нуждается в деньгах, но и хочет расширить рынки сбыта. «Скажем так, открыть «новый шёлковый путь» для своих товаров. ЕАЭС вполне предоставит ей такую возможность. Также страна планирует технологическое обновление газовой инфраструктуры. Напомню, что её газораспределительные системы, оставшиеся ещё с Советского Союза, требуют модернизации. Собственно, кроме финансовой помощи, Россия реконструирует газовую систему», — добавляет Касьянова.

Два года назад «Газпром» приобрёл 100% акций «КыргызгазПром» за символическую сумму в 1 доллар. Российская газовая монополия взяла на себя долговые обязательства почти на 40 млн долларов. Тогда же было принято решение потратить в течение пяти лет не менее 20 млрд рублей на модернизацию газовой системы Киргизии. «"Газпром" поставил задачу увеличить объём добычи газа в Киргизии (в 2014 году годовой объём добычи газа оценивался в около 30 млн кубометров). Но с другой стороны, полномочия «Газпрома» ограничены, ведь согласно соглашению он обладает исключительным правом только на транспортировку газа по территории республики по газовой магистрали, которая принадлежала "КыргызгазПрому"», — пояснила Касьянова AiF.ru.

Китайская угроза

Основная статья доходов порядка 80% киргизских предпринимателей — это перепродажа китайских товаров: одежды, обуви, плодово-овощной продукции и т. п. Объём реэкспорта товаров из КНР в Киргизии оценивается в 10 млрд долларов в год (для сравнения, ВВП республики составляет 6,5 млрд долларов). Секрет выгоды реэкспорта китайской продукции в низких таможенных пошлинах, установленных между Бишкеком и Пекином.

Сейчас средняя ставка ввозной таможенной пошлины составляет 5%. После вхождения Киргизии в ЕАЭС она увеличится почти в два раза. Но даже после увеличения ставки существует значительная угроза, что на российский рынок хлынет ещё больше, чем сейчас, дешёвых китайских товаров. Как Москва собирается решать этот вопрос, пока неясно. «Официально Россия даёт Киргизии реальную возможность ограничить рынок реэкспорта из Китая, только вот сомнительно, что это решение поддержат на всех уровнях исполнительной власти», — полагает Касьянова.

«От вступления Киргизии в ЕАЭС основной профит получит не РФ, а сама Киргизия. Выгода для РФ не будет слишком большой. Например, в России должно уменьшиться количество трудовых мигрантов из Кыргызстана, что увеличит занятость россиян. Кроме этого, российские инвесторы получают больше возможностей для извлечения выгоды, а российские товаропроизводители получают дополнительный доступный рынок сбыта. Реализация крупных российско-киргизских проектов (Камбар-Атинская ГЭС-1, Верхненарынский каскад ГЭС) позволит России получить дополнительные доходы. Будет усилено

военное сотрудничество РФ и Киргизии, что выгодно в плане безопасности для РФ», — перечисляет Соничев.

Не менее важно для российско-киргизских отношений решение администрации и президента республики Алмазбека Атамбаева о денонсации Киргизией соглашения о размещении военнослужащих США на территории республики в 2013 году. «Вполне очевидно, что это решение соответствовало интересам России, а на фоне разраставшегося конфликта на Украине в 2014 году и западных санкций инициатива России укрепить свои геополитические позиции в Средней Азии вполне себя оправдывает», — резюмирует Касьянова.

Kurmanbek Bakiyev

Published on 21 May 2015 by *Vechernii Bishkek*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2OLAxtQ>

Сегодня, 21 мая, президент Алмазбек Атамбаев одобрил договор о вступлении республики в Евразийский экономический союз (ЕАЭС).

"Это знаменательный день, мы завершаем все внутригосударственные процедуры по присоединению к ЕАЭС. Согласованы тысячи страниц документов. Я хотел бы поблагодарить наш парламент и правительство за громадную работу. Я видел, как наши рядовые работники, специалисты, получая гроши, боролись за каждую строчку в протоколах", - рассказал глава Кыргызстана.

Таким образом, Кыргызстан полностью завершил процедуру ратификации в этом вопросе. А пока аналогичные вопросы решаются в других странах-участницах ЕАЭС, "ВБ" решил вспомнить, как создавался евразийский альянс.

От единой страны к единой таможенной территории

Впервые мысль объединиться на постсоветском пространстве прозвучала спустя всего три года после развала СССР. В 1994 году в ходе своего первого официального визита в Россию ее высказал президент уже суверенного Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев. Идея торгово-экономического объединения лидерам ряда стран СНГ пришлась по душе - уже в 1995-м соглашение о создании Таможенного союза (ТС), трансформировавшегося впоследствии в Евразийское экономическое сообщество (ЕврАзЭС), подписывают президенты Беларуси, Казахстана и России.

Договор же о создании того ТС, который действует сегодня, был заключен много позже. Документ, подтверждающий намерение объединиться в рамках единой таможенной территории, страны все той же "тройки" подписали в 2007-м. Еще через два года, в 2009-м, были приняты и ратифицированы около 40 международных договоров, которые и легли в основу нового альянса. В 2010-м единый таможенный тариф стран "тройки" вступил в силу, а в 2011-м весь таможенный контроль был вынесен на внешний контур границ, объединивших Беларусь, Казахстан и Россию.

Принять приглашение не значит вступить

Процесс вхождения Кыргызстана в евразийство затянулся на годы. Первое приглашение войти в альянс республика получила в ноябре 2009 года - сразу после того, как РБ, РК и РФ подписали соглашения по ТС на минском саммите ЕврАзЭС, Дмитрий Медведев, бывший на тот момент главой России, встретился с президентом Кыргызстана Курманбеком Бакиевым.

"Сегодня три государства подписали важный документ и я надеюсь, наши другие партнеры, в том числе Кыргызстан, на пути к участию в Таможенном союзе", - недвусмысленно намекнул Медведев.

Однако ответ Бакиева оказался совсем не таким, каким его, должно быть, ожидал российский президент. "Если к Таможенному союзу, который сегодня заключен, присоединятся другие государства ЕврАзЭС, мы получим огромный рынок, огромную территорию, и в условиях кризиса такое пространство будет очень экономически устойчивым, способствуя развитию экономик всех государств, которые в него входят", - риторически заявил второй глава КР.

Впрочем, в ходе встречи со своим белорусским коллегой Александром Лукашенко, Бакиев все-таки внес конкретику: "Мы готовы вступить в Таможенный союз, но являемся членами Всемирной торговой организации, и там есть определенные условия, над которыми работают наши эксперты", - сообщил он.

К лету 2010-го Кыргызстан успел пережить вторую революцию, бегство Бакиевых и полную смену властной верхушки. Но вот в том, что касается Таможенного союза, остался на месте. "Мы полны решимости присоединиться к единому таможенному пространству", - заявляла тогда временный президент КР Роза Отунбаева, добавляя, что республика все еще изучает условия будущего вхождения в союз.

Какая-то ясность появилась лишь весной 2011-го, когда отечественное правительство решилось начать процедуры присоединения республики к объединению. Осенью того же года, в октябре, межгосударственный совет ЕврАзЭС создал рабочую группу по вопросу участия КР в ТС, но вот официальную заявку на вступление страна подала лишь в мае 2013-го.

Подготовительная работа

С того момента начался титанический труд аналитиков - на то, чтобы просчитать все плюсы, минусы и риски для Кыргызстана, ушли месяцы. Как и на то, чтобы подготовить "дорожную карту" - пошаговый план вступления республики. Параллельно шли переговоры о том, какие преференции получит страна для того, чтобы участники ТС вовсе не задавили экономику Кыргызстана - слабейшую среди них.

К слову, еще в начале 2010 года по вопросу послаблений для КР Россия занимала жесткую и негативную позицию. "Это наши партнеры, но это не значит, что мы должны предоставлять им необоснованные преференции. Да, Единое экономическое пространство - это Беларусь и Казахстан. По остальным странам - вы предоставьте уж мне это право - я буду определяться в зависимости от поведения руководства этих государств", - заявлял тогда Дмитрий Медведев.

Однако революционная смена кыргызстанского руководства привела к тому, что Россия "определилась", а Кыргызстан получил-таки право импортировать некоторые товары из "запределья" Таможенного союза по сниженным тарифам. Первоначально республика намеревалась просить преференций по списку, состоящему из более чем 2,5 тысячи наименований. Дальнейшие обсуждения - в том числе и с отечественным бизнесом - сократили этот перечень до 300 пунктов. В итоге же щадящий (а в большинстве случаев и вовсе нулевой) ввозной тариф утвержден по 166 позициям. Действовать он будет в течение ближайших пяти лет.

Полный перечень наименований товаров прикреплен в конце статьи.

Этим помощь по интеграции Кыргызстана в ТС, а после и в ЕАЭС не ограничилась - для облегчения этого процесса партнеры по альянсу решили выделить республике финансирование. На \$500 миллионов, предоставленных РФ был создан Российско-кыргызский фонд, задачей которого станет кредитование проектов в приоритетных секторах экономики КР. Еще \$200 миллионов Россия решила выдать новому участнику евразийского объединения на выполнение пунктов "дорожной карты". Те же цели профинансировал в размере \$100 миллионов и Казахстан.

К слову, последние суммы частично поступят в Кыргызстан в виде оборудования и услуг специалистов, которые будут обучать отечественных работников ведомств, ответственных за проверку производимых в республике товаров на предмет соответствия нормам ТС.

Ждем-с

23 декабря 2014-го Алмазбек Атамбаев принял участие в очередном заседании Высшего Евразийского экономического совета, проходящего в Москве. Гвоздем программы мероприятия стало подписание договора о присоединении КР к ЕАЭС. "Кыргызские друзья совместно с правительствами "тройки", Евразийской комиссией прилагают серьезные усилия для адаптации национального законодательства к требованиям Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства. Реализована большая часть соответствующих "дорожных карт". Важно не снижать темпов и сообща завершить эту работу", - прокомментировал это событие глава России Владимир Путин.

В тот же день была обозначена дата фактического вступления в альянс - 8 мая 2015 года. Буквально за две недели до этого срока появились опасения не успеть. 24 апреля Атамбаев отправил в отставку теперь уже экс-премьер-министра Джоомарта Оторбаева и распустил тем самым правительство. Вечером того же дня Минэкономики распространило сообщение: из-за возникших с участниками ЕАЭС разногласий по все тем же преференциям сроки открытия границ между Кыргызстаном и Казахстаном могут отодвинуться.

Опасения эти, однако, не оправдались: 8 мая участники проходившего в Москве заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического союза одобрили кандидатуру нового участника альянса.

Однако ни фактически, ни юридически полноценным членом ЕАЭС Кыргызстан все еще не является - для того, чтобы это произошло, документы, помимо КР, должны ратифицировать все другие партнеры по Единому экономическому пространству.

"Таможенный контроль будет ликвидирован в момент вступления в силу соответствующего договора. Иначе говоря, сразу после того, как документ будет ратифицирован в парламентах всех стран ЕАЭС. Сложно сказать, когда этот процесс завершится, но есть вероятность того, что до осени таможенные границы с Казахстаном открыты не будут. Некоторые СМИ интерпретируют наши высказывания и неправильно утверждают, что границы откроются только осенью. Правительство сейчас делает все возможное, чтобы ускорить ратификацию всех договоров. Возможно, раньше осени откроются. Но и исключать не стоит, что осенью откроются" - таким образом пару дней назад сложившуюся ситуацию парламентариям объяснил министр экономики Олег Панкратов.

Впрочем, уже сегодня, 21 мая, посол России в КР Андрей Крутько сообщил: до осени ждать не придется. "Государственная дума РФ планирует утвердить ратификацию договора о принятии Кыргызстана в ЕАЭС до каникул, которые начнутся в июле. Насколько мне известно, остальные страны-участницы планируют ратификацию по такому же принципу", - обнадежил Крутько.

Что дальше?

Уже в течение нескольких лет, с того самого момента, как Кыргызстан выразил свое твердое желание присоединиться к торгово-экономическому проекту "старших товарищей", ведутся разъяснительные работы - правительство раз за разом повторяет ответы на вопрос: "А чем же, собственно хороши ТС и ЕАЭС?". Для этой цели исполнительная власть даже обзавелась памяткой, своеобразным FAQ.

Основную же цель интеграции, утверждает кабмин, можно описать всего в нескольких словах: улучшение экономического благосостояния Кыргызстана. Евразийство расширит рынки сбыта, улучшит инвестиционную привлекательность страны, товарооборот и ситуацию с занятостью населения. Впрочем, абсолютно такими же формулировками вот уже на протяжении многих лет в Кыргызстане описываются перспективы от реализации любого связанного с экономикой проекта.

Igor Chudinov

Published on 12 August 2015 by *Birbol*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/39IKXKm>

«Нужно понимать, что мы стали одним целым на общем пространстве, где проживают 180 млн. человек. Общий бюджет всех стран входящих в евразийское экономическое пространство больше 2 триллионов долларов.

Безусловно это рождает ожидание перспективы у бизнеса, у простых людей. Теперь мы сможем свободно перемещать трудовые, финансовые ресурсы и товарные ресурсы. Но конкуренцию на рынке никто не отменял и нам необходимо создать удобную площадку для конкуренции с бизнесом Казахстана и России.

Что нужно для того, чтобы инвестор пришел в Кыргызстан? У нас по этому вопросу есть свои предложения, и мы ждем шагов правительства Кыргызстана. Очевидно, что мы должны обладать преимуществом в налоговой сфере, нужно облегчить налоговое бремя для наших производителей и инвесторов. Необходимо пересмотреть законодательные акты, связанные с рейдерством и посягательством на чужую собственность.

Также стоит отметить, что за последние 5 лет в 4 раза сократился экспорт продукции Кыргызстана. Для того, чтобы получить обратный эффект нам нужно позаботиться о предприятиях, которые работают именно на экспорт. Нужно освободить подобные предприятия от любых налогов хотя бы на первые 5 лет. На практике доказано, что чем меньше налоговое бремя, тем больше людей выходят из серого бизнеса. Есть ожидания, что бюджет страны после вступления в Евразийский союз не будет пополняться, но это всего лишь надуманные вопросы чиновников и всех, кто связан заработными платами в бюджете».

Amangeldy Muraliyev

Published on 22 April 2015 by *Kabarlar*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jyw9fU>

«Население голосует за вступление в ЕАЭС из соображений безопасности», - заявил сегодня во время круглого стола в ИА «24.kg» «За полшага до вступления в ЕАЭС: с чем Кыргызстан пришел к важному этапу интеграции?» экс-премьер-министр КР Амангельды Муралиев.

По его словам, фактически Кыргызстан уже вступил в Евразийский экономический союз. Осталось только формализовать процедуру, что и планируется сделать в начале мая. Но решение о евразийской интеграции – больше политическое, а не экономическое.

«Люди хотят безопасности. Ситуация в мире тяжелая. События в Сирии, Иране, на Украине настораживают людей. Они хотят безопасности. Выборы в Узбекистане показывают, что люди за стабильность и мир. Если говорить об экономической составляющей, то мы вступаем в ЕАЭС в условиях экономического кризиса. Какие у нас будут макроэкономические показатели? Этот вопрос должен найти комплексное решение в правительстве и парламенте. Ситуация непростая, жизнь подорожала, структурные элементы экономики не работают так как надо. Людей мучают конкретные вопросы. Например, какие барьеры будут после вступления в ЕАЭС», - отметил Амангельды Муралиев.

«Возможен сильный отток рабочей силы из КР после вступления страны в ЕАЭС, у нас на так много рабочих мест, но высокий уровень безработицы и миграции. Есть целый комплекс проблем. Готово ли правительство дать нам рецепты, рассказать, по какому пути мы пойдём? Недостаток информации приводит к тому, что в головах людей сумятица. Поэтому правительство должно громко и четко отвечать на все самые сложные вопросы», - добавил он.

Boris Silayev

Published on 21 February 2015 by *Vechernii Bishkek*.

Source:

http://www.vb.kg/doc/304019_boris_silayev:_o_svoih_pensiiah_migrantam_iz_kyrgyzstana_nado_dymat_seychas.html

Своим видением решения проблемы пенсионного обеспечения трудовых мигрантов из Кыргызстана с "ВБ" поделился руководитель Всероссийской общественной организации "Общество дружбы с Киргизией", экс-мэр Бишкека и экс-первый вице-премьер Кыргызстана Борис Силаев.

- Борис Иванович, принцип квотирования в России иностранной рабочей силы, против чего вы так категорично выступали, с наступившего года отменен. Взамен значительно расширены возможности трудоустройства по патенту, теперь уже не только у физических, но и юридических лиц. Вы довольны?

- Абсолютно нет. Потому что в российской миграционной политике по-прежнему ничего хорошего не происходит. Она и сегодня строится не на логике, не на

целесообразности, а только на методе наказать, запретить, выгнать. Да, систему квот ликвидировали. Но опять сложилась ситуация, которая загоняет трудовых мигрантов в нелегальное положение. Нереально короткие сроки, отводимые на сбор всех документов для получения патентов, сопутствующие этому процессу очереди, нервотрепка, пресловутые черные списки ФМС, в которые так легко попасть и на несколько лет стать невъездным в Россию, - это что, во благо мигрантам?

И как в этой ситуации чувствуют себя кыргызстанцы?

- Они вместе с приезжими из других стран сейчас в полной мере разделяют возникшие трудности и проблемы. Но в отличие от всех прочих, перед ними забрезжил свет в конце тоннеля. Что не может не обнадеживать. Как только Кыргызстан окончательно вступит в Евразийский экономический союз, все эти нынешние проблемы останутся для них в прошлом. Ведь членство в союзе предполагает свободное перемещение, в том числе и рабочей силы. Гражданам Кыргызстана в России уже не придется собирать всякие документы, платить установленные за их получение деньги, которые складываются в крупную сумму. Проблемы пока остаются, но важный шаг вперед уже сделан. И теперь надо энергичнее действовать в еще одном, не менее важном направлении.

- Что вы имеете в виду?

- Сейчас в Кыргызстане создаются необходимые предпосылки для реализации программы пенсионного обеспечения его трудовых мигрантов, принятой правительством республики в 2013 году. Речь здесь прежде всего об активном использовании такого эффективного ресурса, как негосударственные пенсионные фонды. Против них, как и против самой программы, в свое время жестко выступали кыргызстанские ультрапатриоты. Мол, в России и так наших мигрантов обдирают, а тут этим еще станут заниматься такие фонды. Теперь такой аргумент не работает. Практика негосударственных пенсионных фондов (НПФ) давно и убедительно подтвердила право на жизнь. К сожалению, именно применительно к трудовым мигрантам этот ресурс пока не используется в должной мере ни в России, ни в Кыргызстане.

- Однако, насколько известно, в рамках Евразийской экономической комиссии сейчас занимаются тем, чтобы мигранту засчитывался и зарубежный стаж работы.

- Да, может быть. Но в каких размерах я пенсию буду получать? Где мой заработок, который я копил? Механизм пока не отработан. В России даже большое количество ее собственных граждан трудится по "серым" схемам. А среди трудовых мигрантов, включая кыргызских, вообще 90 процентов привязаны к "серым" схемам. И значит, что какие бы межгосударственные решения не принимались, такой человек себе на пенсию не копит.

- И что вы, ваша организация предлагаете?

- Государства пусть договариваются между собой, отработывают необходимые механизмы, не только зачета стажа, но и пенсионного накопления мигранта. По идее, российский работодатель должен производить в полной мере отчисления за своего иностранного работника в государственный пенсионный фонд. А у последнего при отъезде к себе на родину должно существовать право свои накопления перенаправлять туда же. Это так называемые "длинные" деньги, и им необходимо работать на экономику не России, а Кыргызстана. Но мы знаем, что в ситуации с "серыми" схемами такие отчисления мало кем из работодателей

производятся. И поскольку еще неизвестно, когда с подобной порочной практикой будет покончено, мы предлагаем занять это поле негосударственным пенсионным фондам. На чем, по сути, построена и кыргызская программа пенсионного обеспечения трудовых мигрантов.

- Но со времен распада СССР люди не единожды теряли свои средства из-за вложений в те или иные разрекламированные организации.

- Негосударственные пенсионные фонды здесь ни при чем. В России их сегодня немало. И уже за более чем 20 с лишним лет не было случая, чтобы хоть один из них проворовался, ушел, обманул. Есть закон, согласно которому, если подобное вдруг и случилось бы, государство возвратит человеку все его средства. В Кыргызстане точно такой же закон. И в обеих странах за этой сферой установлен жесткий контроль.

- Каковы в данном случае преимущества и гарантии?

- Доходность накоплений значительно превышает ту, что при пользовании государственным фондом. Об этом свидетельствует и российская, и кыргызская практика. В Кыргызстане пока один только НПФ действует, но доходность его - на порядок выше. Госфонды, как правило, дефицитны, бюджет им добавляет. А накопления из НПФ по договору с правительством идут на реализацию тех или иных проектов в стране. Применительно к Кыргызстану это означает создание новых рабочих мест, повышение налогооблагаемой базы и в конце концов сокращение миграции. Кроме того, средства, аккумулируемые в НПФ, не пропадают, случись что-либо с вами, наследуются вашими близкими. Тут много и других интересных моментов, и мы предлагаем Кыргызстану именно этот вариант.

- Как все это выглядит на практике?

- Кыргызстанец, покидая родную страну, заключает договор с НПФ "Кыргызстан" и ежегодно кладет на свой счет определенную сумму. Она определяется правительством республики, исходя из среднедушевого дохода трудового мигранта из Кыргызстана в РФ, в расчете на год, это примерно 5-6 тысяч рублей. В России ему требуется обязательный теперь полис добровольного медицинского страхования. И здесь уже разработана "Социальная карта гостя России", которая одновременно является и платежной картой на территории РФ. Данная комплексная программа направлена на оказание бесплатных или доступных услуг гражданам из стран СНГ. А услуги эти включают, в том числе, и медицинское страхование, пенсионное обеспечение мигрантов. И мигрант при желании становится партнером одного из российских НПФ. Тогда с его зарплаты на пенсионный счет тоже ежемесячно автоматически перечисляются 200-300 рублей. Когда же он достигнет пенсионного возраста, он может получать пенсию и в Кыргызстане, и в России.

- Но как приезжему разобраться, какие здесь есть негосударственные пенсионные фонды, какому из них отдать предпочтение?

- Вот над этим мы сейчас и работаем. В республике сейчас создается система "единого окна". Воспользовавшись ею, мигрант получит необходимую

информацию и по данному вопросу. А дальше уже право выбора за ним: идти или нет по предлагаемому пути.

- То есть вы тоже подключаетесь к информационному наполнению этого окна?

- И самым непосредственным образом. Сегодня в России иностранный гражданин может легально получить рабочее место, если выполнит все необходимые требования, в том числе решит свои страховые, пенсионные вопросы, откроет счет, станет класть на него деньги. Идеальный вариант, когда мигрантам предлагают рабочие места, обеспечиваемые жильем. Для этого мы уже около года работаем совместно с правительством Кыргызстана и регионами Российской Федерации. Правительство республики ранее официально обратилось к губернаторам 20 регионов РФ с просьбой заключать прямые соглашения между Кыргызстаном и регионом о приеме трудовых мигрантов. Мы подготовили проект такого документа, в котором предусмотрены обязательства, которые берет на себя каждая из сторон. Кыргызская – что будет направлять рабочих, владеющих востребованными здесь специальностями, подготовленных в языковом отношении, при наличии у них полиса добровольного медицинского страхования и так далее, российская – что устраняет из процесса всякие посреднические фирмы, обеспечивает прибывшего конкретной работой и жильем.

- Это, как вы говорите, в идеале. А в реальности?

- Из 20 регионов пока не все отреагировали. Но вот Астраханский, Краснодарский края, Нижегородская область, Дальневосточный регион откликнулись. Мы, правда, не обращались в Московский и Ленинградский регионы, полагая, что они и так перенасыщены приезжим людом. Хотя, может быть, начинать надо было именно с них, поскольку здесь в полной мере ощущают остроту проблемы. И в Подмосковье один работодатель уже сегодня готов 10 тысяч человек, в том числе и приезжих, принять, предоставив им общежитие.

- Ну а что все-таки с прочими регионами?

- Увы, в некоторых из них этой проблемы пока не чувствуют. Говорят, мол, зачем нам нужны трудовые мигранты, мы своим человеческими ресурсами обойдемся. Может, в чем-то они и правы. Но, с другой стороны, есть заявление президента России, который говорит, что в ближайшие годы для поступательного развития страны надо создать 25 миллионов рабочих мест. Но их же надо обеспечить рабочей силой! И возможности для прямого сотрудничества в миграционном плане уже имеются и их нельзя не использовать. Мы же, в свою очередь, будем активнее отрабатывать нашу непосредственную задачу, которую избрали для себя приоритетной, наращивать усилия в пенсионной сфере. Для чего я уже в марте вновь отправлюсь в Бишкек.

- С какой целью?

- Будем отрабатывать, скажем так, российское направление в Кыргызстане. На данном этапе попробуем развернуть в республике работу по реализации "Социальной карты гостя", по привлечению накоплений кыргызских мигрантов в НПФ в России. Конечно, этим можно заниматься и во время пребывания иностранных граждан на ее территории. Но Первый негосударственный фонд, с

которым взаимодействует наша организация, предпочел не ждать на месте, а налаживать сотрудничество непосредственно в Кыргызстане. Тем более, что здесь существует упоминавшаяся мною правительственная программа. Премьер-министр Кыргызстана Джоомарт Оторбаев, с которым удалось не так давно встретиться, подчеркивал ее важность. Ведь вступление республики в ЕАЭС не решает автоматически проблему пенсионного обеспечения мигрантов.

- Чем конкретно будете заниматься во время пребывания в Бишкеке?

- Планирую встречи в правительстве, с представителями заинтересованных госструктур. Буду разяснять преимущества от системы негосударственных пенсионных фондов, в расчете на то, что она начнет формироваться и в Кыргызстане.

- Но тут же, как вы говорили, уже есть такой фонд!

- Он преимущественно работает на внутреннем рынке. Тогда как существует реальная перспектива создания еще одного фонда, который сосредоточился бы непосредственно на решении пенсионных проблем мигрантов. И в республике уже есть ребята, готовые заниматься этим, с ними тоже обсудим возникающие задачи. Когда в Кыргызстане будут приняты все необходимые нормативно-правовые документы, когда появится такой фонд, а в будущем и фонды, что, как и в России, создаст здоровую конкуренцию между ними, работа пойдет в обоих направлениях. И выиграют от этого и граждане республики, которую я считал и считаю для себя родной, и она сама.

Ednan Karabaev

Published on 17 July 2015 by *Vechernii Bishkek*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3hhvcXs>

Экс-министр иностранных дел Эднан Карабаев сказал "ВБ", что "сегодня мы все еще живем в состоянии тревожных дум о будущем, первые шаги на евразийском поприще на большинстве кыргызстанцев в принципе никак не сказались".

- *Ряд кыргызстанских и российских аналитиков полагает, что положительные результаты вступления КР в ЕАЭС проявят себя далеко не мгновенно. Так ли это?*

- К примеру, замдиректора департамента макроэкономической политики Евразийской экономической комиссии Андрей Липин на днях отметил: говорить о каких-либо эффектах для Кыргызстана можно будет только через пару лет. Причем на нынешний 2015 год большим оптимизмом не отличаются перспективы по всему ЕАЭС. Любые колебания российской инвестиционно-грантовой иглы, на которую подсажено в определенной степени постсоветское пространство, дают о себе знать каждому.

- Какие главные преференции в конечном итоге получил Кыргызстан при вступлении в ЕАЭС?

- Разумеется, плюсов очень много. Например, 170 наименований продукции, на которую ставки таможенных пошлин отличаются от союзных. Причем переходный период по каждому наименованию установлен от трех до пяти лет.

- Главный сектор в КР – аграрный, что его ждет теперь?

- Сегодня мы готовимся поставлять на евразийский рынок мясную и молочную продукцию, так что производители без работы не должны остаться. Тем более что импорт нашего мяса в Казахстан и Россию закрыт с 2007 года, и теперь будет возможность отказаться от контрабанды, переходя на легальные поставки. Правда, не факт, что все наши товары сразу будут соответствовать стандартам ЕАЭС. Есть риск, уже привезя товар в Россию или Казахстан, узнать, что он не соответствует

нормам, да и сохранились ограничения в объеме вывозимой от нас молочной и мясной продукции.

- А возвращение кыргызстанских фермеров к кооперации?

- У сельчан появляются реальные возможности отказаться от индивидуального фермерства в пользу уже имевших хороший результат колхозов, которые в советское время обеспечивали стране лидерство по многим позициям.

- Ваш прогноз: что произойдет с ценами на основной ассортимент потребительских товаров в Кыргызстане?

- Эксперты отмечают, что выход на евразийский рынок может привести к повышению цен на ряд товаров внутри страны. А вот ожидаемый экспорт казахского алкоголя может заставить наших производителей снизить цены. Так что пьем, не закусывая, и проверяем, сбудется ли прогноз о повышении цен на продукты на 14, товары - на 11 и услуги - на 9 процентов.

Ednan Karabaev

Published on 22 June 2015 by *Gezitter.org*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jFMQq6>

- Эднан мырза, как вы оцените сегодняшнюю внешнюю политику Кыргызстана, взаимоотношения с соседями?

- Придя к независимости, мы во внешней политике придерживаемся многовекторности, адаптируемся к геополитическим интересам. Конечно, с вступлением в Евразийский экономический союз начнет получать приоритетное значение постсоветский вектор. Если сказать по справедливости, то во внешней политике преобладало сотрудничество с бывшими советскими странами. Здесь в первую очередь стоят экономические связи. По товарообороту впереди стоят Россия и Казахстан. В вопросе политики и безопасности мы в составе СНГ, ОДКБ, ШОС, все партнеры считаются одинаковыми для нас. Но тут есть свои положительные и отрицательные стороны. В годы независимости между странами Центральной Азии имела место конкуренция за гранты, инвестиции, внимание крупных игроков. В итоге регион не смог стать единой геополитической силой. Соперничество Узбекистана и Казахстана за лидерство, борьба за водные ресурсы, пограничные проблемы и другое. Это обстоятельство оказывает негативное воздействие на стабильность наших отношений. К тому же после двух революций мы превратились в фактор нестабильности для наших соседей, руководимыми одними и теми же людьми. У нас есть неправительственные организации, которые нигде не имеют власти, только у нас, не стихают митинги, наши границы открыты, нет четкой вертикали власти. В регионе только мы выбрали парламентаризм, несмотря на низкую политическую культуру, нехватку правовой грамотности.

- Мы вступили в Евразийский экономический союз. Стоим перед вступлением в Таможенный союз. Какое воздействие окажет нахождение в составе этих организаций на внутреннюю, внешнюю политику нашей страны?

- Как я выше сказал, мы в течение 30 лет являемся стабильным партнером. После развала СССР нас в определенной степени объединял промышленно-сельскохозяйственный комплекс, на его основе начали устанавливаться новые капиталистические отношения. Даже при разрушении наших заводов, фабрик мы благодаря реэкспорту китайских товаров продолжали работать на рынках СНГ. Быстро закончился этап централизации партнеров, под эгидой этого же СНГ постепенно начались процессы совместного взаимодействия. Ладно, скажем, эта организация не оправдала наших ожиданий, но сослужила большую службу по сохранению единства народов. Сегодняшний Евразийский союз тоже не создан за два дня. В 1993 году мы под эгидой СНГ составили Договор об экономическом союзе, там ставили целью создание общего экономического союза на базе поэтапных рыночных отношений. Кстати, в ходе эволюционной интеграции страны Содружества приходили к решению сначала создать сильное ядро, а потом

вводить в состав экономически слабые страны. Что ни говори, но Россия, Белоруссия, Казахстан обладают 80% потенциала СССР, то есть, ВВП на 2 трлн долларов, рынок потребления на 165-170 млн человек, производят сельскохозяйственную продукцию в объеме 100 млрд долларов. Конечно, мы получим только выигрыш от участия в перспективном экономическом проекте. В мировой экономике, политике уже позади время оставаться в одиночестве, к тому же наши ресурсы ограничены.

- *Нет точного прогноза о том, что даст Таможенный союз экономике Кыргызстана. Один говорит, что задавит дороговизна, другой связывает развитие экономики нашей страны с этим союзом. И вообще, ТС продвинет нас вперед или отбросит назад?*

- Я об этом говорил несколько раз. Необходимо, чтобы каждое новое начинание в государстве получало поддержку общественности. У нас большинство народа хорошо не понимает, куда, зачем мы вступаем. Такая же ситуация имела место в свое время и в Казахстане. Поскольку Белоруссия союзник России, этот вопрос не вызвал никаких трудностей. А наш сосед доминированием сильной вертикальной власти подавил недовольства и протесты народа. Мы ведь изрядно свободны от власти, из-за этого у нас имеют место опасения. На словах Кыргызстан видит плоды ЕАЭС, а в реальности процесс присоединения затянется на 2-3 года. Но это понимает лишь малая часть народа, а подавляющая часть живет в ожидании, что меньше чем за 1 год цены взлетят до небес, жизнь ухудшится. Для нас есть опыт Казахстана, они стремились в ЕАЭС для расширения рынка, после чего столкнулись с фактом, что ничего нельзя вынести на рынок. Поэтому Астана прилагает усилия для реализации крупных логистических проектов, взяла в свои руки строительство железной дороги, идущей из Пекина в Европу через Казахстан, Россию. В то же время множество аналитиков связывают вступление Казахстана в Евразийский экономический союз с Назарбаевым. В прошлом году в стране усилились антиевразийские настроения. В этом году сказано о снижении объема товарооборота. У нас есть противники вступления в ЕАЭС. Они при поддержке неправительственных организаций время от времени проводят акции недовольства, пытаются создать в обществе протестное настроение. В качестве ответа им от государства не проводится пропаганда «За евразийский союз!» Более того, даже бизнесмены не знают достаточно хорошо, как надо работать по новым правилам. Немало сказано, что наша продукция не отвечает стандартам. Значит, придется рассматривать привычные ресурсы.

- *Похоже, США окончательно упустили свои позиции в Кыргызстане, России. Не примут ли каких-либо действий США для возвращения утраченного влияния на предстоящих выборах?*

- В отличие от России США никогда не были нашим стратегическим партнером. С одной стороны США финансируют у нас вопросы права, свободы. Не будем говорить, насколько это оправдано. Но если у нас, с одной стороны, установилась неработающая судебная система, то с другой стороны мы имеем передовые современные законы. Всего-то надо исполнять и соблюдать эти законы. Нельзя думать, что с выводом базы, символизирующей наличие США в Кыргызстане, изменились приоритеты США. Это все равно, что сказать: США под шкурой мирных специалистов, советников сохраняют свою позицию в Афганистане. Не забудем одну вещь, США взрастили, подготовили в Кыргызстане своих агентов. Они – неправительственные организации, финансируемые ими, воспитанные множеством тренингов молодые лидеры, активисты, и одна часть нашей оппозиции, время от времени едущая в США для обмена опытом.

Muratbek Imanaliyev

Published on 24 February 2015 by *Ca-portal*.

Source: <http://www.ca-portal.ru/article:17074>; <http://polit.kg/conference/3/424>

19 февраля на встрече «Кыргызстан в геополитическом водовороте: настоящее и будущее» выступил экс-министр иностранных дел КР и экс-генсек ШОС Муратбек Иманалиев:

Сегодня мир входит в режим перманентной турбулентности. Иногда вектор той или иной ситуации совершенно непредсказуем. Куда движется глобализация? Уясним для начала, что сам процесс не нов. Всегда возникали новые центры мировой экономики, сменяющие друг друга, а это очень важный элемент того, что называется глобализацией.

Для нашего региона глобализационным процессом было в своё время возникновение монгольской империи. Тогда на обширном пространстве от Вьетнама до Адриатики было создано единое государство. Другое дело, что оно не слишком долго просуществовало.

Предложенная пару декад тому назад версия глобализации с однополярным вариантом управления на сегодня, конечно, прекращает своё существование. Начинается далеко не плавный процесс торможения. Новая версия глобализации подразумевает наличие уже нескольких центров.

Тут важно понять, что обсуждаемое нами на таких вот встречах — это евро-атлантическая версия. Ещё никто не говорил о том, как представляют будущее планеты, скажем, китайцы. Действительно ли в Китае происходит появление новой мировой державы по евро-атлантическим лекалам или это просто попытка возродить «очаг цивилизации»? К этому надо присмотреться. Китайская культура не предполагает двух важных компонентов: колонизации окружающего пространства и разработки собственной идеологии. Все понимают, что Восток (я имею в виду монголоидную Азию) не дал миру ни одной религии и ни одной идеологии. Заметьте, именно Европа дала миру расизм, нацизм, коммунизм и т. д. Другое дело, что ряд восточных стран попытался использовать эти идеологии, но не все эксперименты оказались удачными. Мы наблюдаем попытки создания «социалистического капитализма». Сегодня это — один из трёх видов современного капитализма, куда, конечно, можно отнести капитализм протестантский и капитализм конфуцианский. Последний — это этико-нормативная версия капитализма. Соответственно, встаёт вопрос: что имеет место в Китае? Развитие социалистического, мобилизационного или всё-таки конфуцианского типа?

Дальнейшее развитие глобализационного процесса будет зависеть от того, кто его возглавит.

Оно может быть прямолинейным, а может и не быть. Имеются исламский и индийский варианты. Мы, конечно, очень внимательно присматриваемся к тому, что происходит в исламском мире. Наблюдаем очень печальный процесс деградации исламских государств, протекающий не без участия внешних акторов. Возникают плохо или вообще не управляемые пространства. Сегодня там пытаются сконструировать некое «исламское государство». Но что это такое, никто понять не может. Есть, впрочем, и достаточно мощные островки государственности — Турция и Иран, а также Египет. Но деградация преобладает: достаточно взглянуть на Ливию, Ирак и Афганистан. Вообще, процесс глобализации очень болезненный. В то же время кризис в исламском мире — это ещё не смерть. Возможно, в конце концов выкристаллизуется некий исламский капитализм — не случайно ведь некоторые принципы исламского банкинга уже внедряются англичанами. Другое дело, исламские государства — они очень разные.

Наш регион, который на востоке и западе ограничен Байкалом и Каспием, а на севере и юге - горными системами Урала и Гиндукуша, если говорить об исторической географии, как геополитическая единица никогда не существовал. Бывшие советские республики Центральной Азии, только пытаются встать на ноги. Не очень понятно, как они будут развиваться далее. Наше государство

делегирует функцию геополитического планирования другим державам и у них же всё заимствует. Обесценивание национальной государственности — достаточно распространённое вообще на сегодня явление. Есть проблемы и с полиэтническим обществом, и с формированием общенациональной идентичности. Часто ставят вопрос следующим образом: а стоит ли вообще спасать то, что само по себе деградирует? В то же время деградация — не синоним умирания. В любом случае, нам придётся так или иначе выстраивать отношения со своими соседями. Я убеждён, что главное тут — избежать создания враждебного окружения. Я считаю, что наше отношение к Евразийскому экономическому союзу не должно сковываться поиском каких-то альтернативных вариантов: это, на мой взгляд, бесполезное занятие. Все интеллектуальные и прочие силы нужно направить на эффективное и, если хотите, эгоистическое использование предоставляемых возможностей. Я глубоко ценю работу наших учёных и экспертов, занятых проблемами евразийской интеграции. Но ещё раз хочу сказать: стратегирование здесь не должно сводиться к поиску альтернатив, потому что их просто нет. С другой стороны, есть идеологический дефицит в этом процессе. Надо понимать, что любая структура, подобная ЕАЭС, выстраивается на основе определённого набора ценностей. Европейский союз создавался не экономистами, а философами. Наиболее сильной державой в мире до сих пор являются Соединённые Штаты Америки. Даже их гигантский государственный долг и бумажный, ничем не обеспеченный доллар — признак не слабости, а силы. Никакая другая экономика такие вещи — в частности, использование своей бумаги для регулирования мировой экономики — позволить себе не может. Главная проблема государств Центральной Азии — их не сложившаяся ещё до конца государственность. Преодоление этой несостоятельности — процесс длительный и довольно болезненный. Без отношений между нашими президентами (а сегодня они очень редко встречаются друг с другом) он затянется на неопределённый срок. Пока вместе что-то решать у нас не получается.

Отвечая на вопросы.

1. О Евразийском экономическом союзе. Почему Кыргызстан не может иметь альтернативу в виде другой модели развития?

Проблема наших государств лежит в области такого понятия, как «посткоммунизм». Квалификационную оценку этому явлению никто дать не может. Но по сути это такое микшированное состояние. Задача всех наших стран — я говорил об этом на Валдайском форуме — попробовать выйти из этого состояния. У той же России есть три проблемы: демографическая (чтобы очень маленьким количеством людей контролировать огромную территорию, требуется очень высокое качество населения), обустройство пространства (не должно быть разрывов — даже при том, что в российских условиях инфраструктурное строительство обходится очень дорого) и, наконец, изменение ментальности в сторону более адекватного восприятия реальности. Последняя проблема характерна и для нас. Поэтому так важно, чтобы наши интеллектуальные элиты могли вместе продумать пути выхода из состояния посткоммунизма.

Для нашей страны характерны следующие негативные явления. Во-первых, деиндустриализация. Во-вторых, возврат к натуральному хозяйству на селе. К заявлениям, что мы можем накормить пол-России, нужно относиться очень осторожно. В-третьих, дегуманизация общественных отношений, сопровождаемая разрушением института семьи и криминализацией политического и не только пространства. В-четвёртых, превращение кыргызов в «сетевую нацию», разбросанную по всему миру (то, что может существовать только в пределах одного поколения).

На уровне евразийской интеграции нет чёткой ценностной основы. Поэтому и понимаются интеграцию все участники этого процесса по-своему. Но надо извлекать пользу из всего. Надо руководствоваться своими, не побоюсь этого

слова, эгоистическими интересами. Нам нужны инженеры, особенно водные инженеры. Нужна модернизация сельского хозяйства. В ближайшие 10-15 лет нас ждёт масштабный продовольственный кризис. А обеспеченность продуктами питания в случае с Кыргызстаном — всего 42%. Сможем ли мы выжить без поддержки Евразийского экономического союза? По многим причинам, нет. Можно, конечно, отказаться... Но что ожидает нас в этом случае? У Американского университета в ЦА студенты собирали подписи против вхождения в Таможенный союз. И на их листовках было написано, что если сейчас литр бензина стоит 40 сомов, то после вступления будет стоить 50. Я предложил им дописать: не вступим — будет 60. Так что всё очень просто.

2. О китайском «проекте» экономического пояса Великого шёлкового пути.

Это не проект, это инициатива. Проекта как такового не существует. Да, Китай заявил о том, как он видит развитие части евразийского континента. Разработал принципы экономического развития. Но мы не должны сидеть и ждать. Надо правильно оценить ситуацию и извлечь выгоду. Надо понять, в чём мы можем конкурировать с теми же китайцами. Конкуренцию-то ведь никто не отменял!

3. Об Украине.

Украинская элита, если такая существует, они не сумела сконструировать ни национальное государство, ни полиэтничное общество, ни национальную идентичность. Те же самые проблемы характерны практически для всех стран постсоветского пространства. На полиэтничность можно смотреть как на зло, а можно как на исторически сложившуюся позитивную данность. Украинский же национализм, имеющий локальное происхождение, вступает с этой данностью в противоречие. Идёт антагонизм между идеями, поступками, режимами. Лично я сторонник того, чтобы украинцы решали свои проблемы сами, без помощи извне. Ни одно государство не может себе позволить игнорировать мнение какого-либо меньшинства, если только речь не о криминале. Нужен диалог внутри страны. А как только вы подключается к этим переговорам кого-то со стороны, сразу получаете вечный конфликт.

4. О том, согласится ли Кыргызстан продлить соглашение с НАТО о транзите грузов в Афганистан.

Я не думаю, что президент Атамбаев может позволить себе такие вещи. Он прекрасно понимает, чем это заканчивается.

5. О возможности появления новых глобальных идеологий и варианте того, что институты многополярного мира — тот же БРИКС — будут существовать лишь на основе голого прагматизма.

Вариант голого прагматизма полностью исключается. Идеологическое насыщение новых конструкций будет иметь место обязательно. Но каким оно окажется, сказать сложно. Дело в том, что появление новых центров мировой политики и экономики, таких, как Китай и Индия, должны способствовать развитию новой культуры взаимоотношений. Пока мы находимся в плену евроцентризма, то есть судим обо всём, что происходит в мире, по тому, как развивалась Европа. Нынешний период турбулентности будет насыщен конфликтами, войнами, неурядицами. А всё потому, что в международном праве уже заложено противоречие: право на самоопределение — это хорошо, но с другой стороны — не очень. Ещё в году 89-ом все республики СССР ратовали за самоопределение, а стоило им стать, не приходя, так сказать, в сознание, независимыми, тот же принцип уже перестал их устраивать. Сейчас многие политологи говорят о «гибели» национального государства. Но, опять-таки, об этом можно говорить только применительно к Европе. Здесь, в Азии, никто никогда и не понимал, что такое «национальное государство». Если вы поднимете этот вопрос в Китае, на вас будут смотреть как на сумасшедшего. Поэтому новые идеологии будут возникать обязательно — возможно, в форме этических учений, а не обоснований для унижения или подавления кого-то, как это было в Европе.

7. О сотрудничестве государств Центральной Азии.

Я глубоко убеждён, что главная проблема тут — проблема воды. И нам нужен постоянно действующий формат диалога по этому вопросу. В том числе и с участием Афганистана, который сейчас готовится к тяжёлым переговорам с Таджикистаном и Узбекистаном по ресурсам Амударьи. Для начала надо определить переговорные принципы. Наиболее существенным принципом должно стать, по моему мнению, соблюдение межотраслевого баланса интересов. Безусловно, вода должна быть увязана с другими элементами народного хозяйства. Другого подхода просто не может быть. А мы вообще не разговариваем друг с другом. Спорадически подписываются только какие-то бумажки... Если так и будет продолжаться, это приведёт к крайне негативным последствиям.

8. О многовекторной политике.

Многовекторными странами являются либо очень сильные, мощные державы, либо очень слабые. Вся «середина» развитого мира сторонится многовекторности. Многовекторными не являются ни европейские страны, ни Япония с Южной Кореей. Там вообще стратегический союз с Соединёнными Штатами. Другого им даже показывать не стоит. Да, они могут сотрудничать с Россией в экономическом, инвестиционном плане, но не в стратегическом: тут всплывают уже определённые обязательства в соответствии с договорами о коллективной безопасности. Так что, как правило, многовекторность — признак слабости государства. Это знак того, что последнее не представляет чётко, куда ему «бежать», с кем сотрудничать.

Muratbek Imanaliyev

Published on 24 July 2015.

Source: <https://gorchakovfund.ru/news/view/muratbek-imanaliyev-v-osnove-evraziyskoy-integratsii-dolzhen-byt-obshchie-tsennostnye-orientiry/>

24 июля на продолжающейся в Уфе IV Школе по Центральной Азии в рамках секции о присоединении Кыргызстана к ЕАЭС выступил почетный гость программы, Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Муратбек Иманалиев.

Основную проблему евразийской интеграции на данном этапе генеральный секретарь Шанхайской организации сотрудничества в 2009-2012 гг видит в формулировании глоссария.

"Мы вкладываем разный смысл в понятие интеграции. Как мне представляется, в этом и состоит корень проблем. Мы должны понять, кого и по каким критериям нужно относить к евразийцам? Кто считает себя таковыми искренне? Что должно ставиться во главу угла: история, география, экономика или что-то еще?" - задавался вопросами спикер.

В ходе дискуссии об идентичности речь зашла о кризисе мировых религий и социально-политических концепций. "Процессы, связанные с кризисом религии, имеют отношение не только к исламу, но затрагивают в том числе и нетрадиционные верования и культы. Кризис социально-экономических концепций, капитализма, политэкономии и социализма – это факт. Вторая половина 20 века – период принципиальных изменений структуры мировой политики. Традиционное для нас вестфальское понимание понятий "государство" и "суверенитет" – это сугубо европейская парадигма, которая в Азии трактуется совсем иначе. Появились неформальные акторы – "Аль-Каеда", талибы. С ними либо общаются втихаря, либо делают вид, что не замечают их. На мой взгляд, формализовать их нельзя. Проблема с субъектами международных отношений связана с комплексными изменениями в мировой политике. Главный вопрос – как создается почва для появления разного рода радикальных организаций. Кризис

переживают все религии. Мир стоит перед необходимостью конструирования новой модели человеческого развития. Пока никто кроме футурологов этим не занимается", считает Муратбек Иманалиев.

В процессе обсуждения не удалось избежать проблематики межэтнических конфликтов в регионе. "Этноориентированность – не всегда позитивный и эффективный компонент внешней политики. Иногда "соотечественники" становятся инструментом реализации меркантильных интересов. Это общеизвестный факт во всем мире. В рамках ЕАЭС нет ясности, как будет выстраиваться политика в отношении стран с такими проблемами", - поделился мнением спикер.

Касаясь вступления своей страны в ЕАЭС, почетный гость рекомендовал не спрашивать, что даст Киргизия Евразийскому союзу.

"Членство страны в объединении не определяется тем, кто что даст, а тем, кто и как может быть вмонтирован в систему максимально гармонично для коллективного развития этого пространства. Мы говорим, что в основании ЕАЭС – Россия и Казахстан. Это как США и Канада, между которыми могут быть противоречия, но друг без друга они не могут жить. Экономические и культурные параметры практически идентичны. То же в случае с Россией и Казахстаном. Союз определяет именно это, а не нефть и газ. Когда я говорю, что в основе ЕАЭС должны быть смыслы, я имею ввиду именно вышесказанное. Я убежден в формуле наследования. Мы либо признаем, либо отрицаем СССР. Это ошибка. Было много позитивного и немало негативного, надо подходить к вопросу более конструктивно. Существовали общие ценностные ориентиры, общее образовательное и лингвокультурное пространство. Это были достижения, в том числе, и насильственные, но они имели позитивный исход для большинства. Именно это надо помнить, когда мы говорим и об экономике, а не считать литры бензина. Я говорил то же самое китайцам. Если двигаться вперед только с экономикой и финансами, это не всегда хорошо кончится. Все известные международные организации строились не на экономических, а на других фундаментальных основах", - уверен Муратбек Иманалиев.

2016

Askar Akayev

Published on 20 July 2016 by *Govoritmoskva*.

Source: <https://govoritmoskva.ru/interviews/1332/>

А. Бузгалин: Александр Бузгалин, директор института социэкономии Московского финансово-юридического университета. В среду как всегда мы с вами говорим о самых сложных, самых интересных, самых важных проблемах экономической жизни нашей страны. Сегодня у нас в гостях удивительный человек. Я очень горд, что вы пришли к нам. Аскар Акаевич Акаев – это не только большой политический деятель и интересный творческий человек. Это прежде всего выдающийся ученый, математик, академик, друг, наверное, огромного количества самых интересных и очень красивых личностей. Аскар Акаевич совместно с Виктором Антоновичем Садовничим и другими коллегами недавно написал (напомню для радиослушателей, что Садовничий – это академик, ректор Московского государственного университета) книгу, которую мы хотели сегодня и обсудим с вами: «Качество образования, эффективность научно-исследовательской работы и экономический рост». Целый ряд прогнозов был подготовлен под руководством академика Акаева, и эти прогнозы показывают, что возможности для эффективного интенсивного экономического развития в нашей

стране есть, хотя есть и очень большие серьезные препятствия, которые мешают этому развитию. Здравствуйте, Аскар Акаевич.

А. Акаев: Здравствуйте.

А. Бузгалин: Мы сегодня начнем с того, что я вам задам несколько вопросов, и первую половину эфира мы будем комментировать в лучшем случае только письма. А звонки, уважаемые радиослушатели, мы будем принимать только после перерыва в 1А. БУЗГАЛИН:35. Аскар Акаевич, скажите, пожалуйста, все-таки те возможности, которые есть в нашей экономике – с чем они связаны: с наукой, с образованием, с чем-то еще, с нефтью, газом или со всем сразу? На чем базируется прогноз?

А. Акаев: Прежде всего, конечно, с человеческим потенциалом, человеческим капиталом. Россия всегда славилась своим богатым человеческим потенциалом. Россия всегда была богата талантами во всех сферах. И в сфере образования, науки, культуры, промышленности. Всегда мы помним, что в середине прошлого века именно Советский Союз первым покорил космос, запустив человека в космос. И в создании мирного атома тоже Советский Союз в первых рядах.

Я помню, один период я работал в области лазерной физики, оптической голографии. Ведь и лазерная физика была полностью создана в Советском Союзе академиками Прохоровым, Басовым и получила колоссальное развитие. Поэтому я считаю, что Россия имеет очень хороший потенциал для динамичного развития своей экономики. И источники прежде всего – конечно, качественное образование, научно-технический прогресс и человеческий потенциал. Россия всегда славилась своими выдающимися инженерами, учеными. Именно Советский Союз благодаря такой мощной кооперации, мощной единой науке, кооперации науки и техники во всех союзных республиках добилась выдающихся результатов. И сегодня в постсоветскую эпоху мы видим, что в научной сфере они в какой-то мере сохраняют сотрудничество. Например, в моем родном Кыргызстане находятся филиалы ряда российских научно-исследовательских институтов, академических учреждений. И поэтому можно говорить, что кооперация в сфере научных исследований, в сфере образования сохраняется. К примеру, в Кыргызстане сегодня функционирует Кыргызско-российский университет имени первого президента России Бориса Николаевича Ельцина, который является одним из лучших университетов в регионе. То есть тем самым и там учатся студенты вообще из всех среднеазиатских республик. Поэтому можно говорить, что научная и образовательная сфера на постсоветском пространстве сохранила связи.

Но вы правы в том плане, что, конечно, надо эту кооперацию углублять, нужны совместные программы научных исследований. И отрадно, что в Евразийском экономическом союзе такие инициативы имеются. Но нужны просто решительные действия, чтобы они приносили большие результаты.

А. Бузгалин: Давайте мы теперь перейдем к нашей экономике. Это очень важный и трудный вопрос. Ни для кого не секрет, что, к сожалению, стагнация продолжается. В 2015 году, напомним радиослушателям, у нас был спад -3.5%, мы обсуждали эту тему. В этом году мы неделю назад говорили, что пока ситуация не слишком хорошая, где-то в районе 0, где-то минус, в сельском хозяйстве чуть-чуть плюс. Но надежды есть.

Аскар Акаевич, если говорить о вашем прогнозе, о моделях нашего развития на будущее, то есть ли там перспективы, есть ли оптимистический сценарий для развития экономики России?

А. Акаев: Прежде всего, если говорить о краткосрочных прогнозах, действительно, они не утешительны. Стагнация российской экономики будет продолжаться. По нашим прогнозам... Кстати, мы делали прогноз в 2014 году относительно спада темпов инфляции в 2015 году. И они были опубликованы и оказались очень близко к фактическим данным. А вот прогноз на нынешний 2016 год... По нашим прогнозам, спад еще будет продолжаться. Глубина рецессии составит примерно 1.4%.

А. Бузгалин: Немножко меньше, чем в 2015 году.

А. Акаев: В 2 раза, можно сказать, меньше, чем в 2015 году. Но все-таки спад будет ощутимый. Около 1.5% по нашим моделям показывает. А инфляция... Сегодня много говорят о том, что инфляцию уже обуздали, она в этом году не выйдет за 6%. Но в этом мы очень сильно сомневаемся. Инфляция все-таки составит довольно значительную величину – 9-10% показывают наши прогнозы. В 2017 году только-только начнется. Восстановительный рост даст какие-то результаты. Но мизерный. Примерно 0.5-0.6% в 2017 году. И только в 2018-2019 годах мы ожидаем (наши прогнозы по моделям показывают), что российская экономика выйдет на темпы роста 1.5-1.8%. Это близко как раз к потенциальным равновесным темпам роста, которые по нашим оценкам и оценкам ряда других экспертов составляют примерно 2%. Очень мало. То есть сегодня нужны, конечно, активные действия. Во-первых, чтобы повысить темпы роста хотя бы до этих мизерных потенциальных темпов роста. Но надо искать источники роста, чтобы все-таки российская экономика двигалась по среднемировым, а вообще-то хотелось больше, чем 3-4%. Ведь вся группа развивающихся стран мира будет развиваться темпами примерно 5-6% ближайшие годы.

А. Бузгалин: Аскар Акаевич, естественно, возникает вопрос. Наверное, сразу два вопроса. Но давайте по очереди. Первый вопрос о том, какие механизмы, какие шаги, какие изменения, какие реформы (хотя слово «реформы» уже все боятся произносить после 1990-х годов) нужны в экономике, в социальной сфере, в сфере образования и науки, чтобы переломить эту скучную, если не трагическую, ситуацию, которая сложилась сейчас?

А. Акаев: Если брать в краткосрочном плане, поскольку сегодня источники долгосрочного экономического роста отсутствуют, об этом отдельный разговор, если брать краткосрочный период, то, конечно же, надо смягчать денежно-кредитную политику и бюджетную политику. Я считаю, что действия направлены на ужесточение денежно-кредитной политики и бюджетной политики, урезание социальных расходов не способствует выходу из нынешней экономической стагнации. Посмотрите, 2 основных фактора, которые способствуют экономическому росту. Во-первых, спрос. Доходы населения последние годы падали темпами примерно 3-4%. Покупательная способность падала примерно 9-10%. То есть спрос упал значительно. Пока еще ситуация не улучшается. И второй основной фактор – это инвестиции. А инвестиции падают уже 4-й год подряд, начиная с 2012 года.

А. Бузгалин: Я вас перебыю на секунду. Мы говорили неделю назад, что и за это полугодие идет опять сокращение инвестиций.

А. Акаев: Совершенно верно.

А. Бузгалин: Но я вставлю еще одну важную реплику для радиослушателей. Я тоже позволю себе как профессор выступить, а не только как ведущий. Дело в том, что когда мы вкладываем деньги в социальную сферу, в университет, в заработную плату, в здравоохранение, для многих кажется, что мы растрачиваем бюджет и это идет в никуда, но на самом деле это не так. Деньги, которые пришли в университет – это спрос на современное оборудование, это вложения в человека, это заработная плата профессору, или, если это школа, то это заработная плата учителю, который придет повышенным платежеспособным спросом на рынок, у нас экономика рыночная, как ни говори, и он будет стимулировать развитие. Если университету будет нужно построить новый спутник, как Московский государственный университет сделал спутник, то для этого потребуется огромное количество инвестиций в самые разные отрасли экономики. Если говорить об Академии наук – то же самое. Если говорить о медицине, то она сегодня удивительно капиталоемкая и трудоемкая. Но это другой труд, это высококачественный труд интеллектуалов, людей с хорошими творческими способностями. Поэтому речь идет не о разбазаривании денег и не о печатании денег в пустоту на инфляцию. Речь идет о вложениях и способе стимулирования инвестиций. Это я прост немножко поясню для всех, о чем идет речь.

А. Акаев: Полностью поддерживаю. Я считаю, что никоим образом нельзя урезать социальные расходы, как раз направленные на образование, здравоохранение, развитие, преумножение человеческого потенциала, потому что мы с вами начали с того, что все-таки главное богатство России – это талантливый человеческий потенциал. Поэтому я считаю, что социальные расходы только надо наращивать. И, возвращаясь... Источником роста сегодня... он единственный, я бы это хотел подчеркнуть, об этом много говорят сегодня... сегодня, поскольку нет источников долгосрочного экономического роста, единственное, чем можно способствовать выходу из кризиса, из стагнации – это, конечно же, мягкая денежно-кредитная политика. ЦБ упорно проводит жесткую денежно-кредитную политику. Мы видим, что весь мировой опыт посткризисный показывает, что ни в одной стране жесткая экономика не дала хороших результатов, кроме Великобритании, где экономика диверсифицирована.

А. Бузгалин: И там совершенно другая модель связей с миром, чем у России.

А. Акаев: Вы правы. Совершенно другая модель. А возьмем даже развитые страны (Соединенные Штаты Америки, Европа) – всюду только мягкая денежно-кредитная политика, мягкая налогово-бюджетная политика привела к результатам. Если брать пример Бразилии, которая входит вместе с Россией в группу БРИКС и которая отличилась в первом десятилетии нынешнего столетия самыми быстрыми темпами роста, мы видим ту же самую картину. Посмотрите, экономическая политика Бразилии как раз тоже состояла в том, чтобы с помощью сжатия кредитов бороться с инфляцией. Там тоже провели девальвацию национальной валюты реала. Но все это дало как раз результаты отрицательные.

А. Бузгалин: Да, печальные.

А. Акаев: Инфляция остается высокой. Там тоже урезали социальные расходы, в первую очередь правительства. Это вызвало массовые социальные протесты.

А. Бузгалин: Извините, Аскар Акаевич. Я просто напомню радиослушателям, что Бразилия начала социально-ориентированную политику, это было на протяжении последних 10 лет до недавнего времени.

А. Акаев: И это хорошо работало.

А. Бузгалин: И это был действительно очень прогрессивный курс при всех противоречиях. Но дальше стали наступать на большие мозоли корпорациям, в том числе американскому капиталу, который там очень активно себя ведет. Но и не только американскому, естественно, и своему собственному. В том числе латифундистам. Ведь в Латинской Америке до сих пор еще пережитки феодализма сохраняются. Это не шутки. Это реальность. Кстати, в России тоже есть кое-что от этого. Будем честны. И когда это наступление началось, началась и обратная политика по дискредитации правительства, президента и альтернативного социального курса. Ввели многие меры неолиберального свойства. И результаты, как вы правильно сказали, к сожалению, очень печальны.

Давайте мы сейчас вернемся к вашей книге. Я напомню, в начале эфира, когда у нас были проблемы с микрофоном, я представил книгу Виктора Антоновича Садовниченко, ректора Московского государственного университета, академика Акаева, Коротаева и Малкова «Качество образования, эффективность научно-исследовательских работ и экономический рост». Причем, здесь и количественный анализ, и качественные оценки. Листая книгу, я хотел бы обратить внимание на то, что вы говорите о качестве образования.

И у нас здесь было очень интересное СМС-сообщение, письмо о том, что проблема образования – это, наверное, одна из самых главных проблем. Вопрос такой: «Какое образование должен или обязан иметь человек, чтобы стать или быть человеком?». Видите, какой интересный вопрос. Так что такое качество образования? И вы вначале сказали, что образование и наука, то есть человек, могут дать импульс развитию, вывести нас из той стагнации, о которой мы говорили в первой части нашей передачи. У нас немного времени. Поэтому, Аскар Акаевич, какие-то ключевые тезисы, может быть: что такое качественное образование и какого человека вы видите?

А. Акаев: Я считаю, что качественное образование – где гармонично сочетается хорошее фундаментальное образование и вместе с тем человек получает достаточные навыки и компетенции, которые ему необходимы в практической жизни. Я сам изначально инженер. И я считаю, что советское инженерное образование как раз давало именно такое хорошее качественное образование.

А. Бузгалин: Вы знаете, до сих пор Физтех дает удивительных специалистов, которые создают научно-технические разработки, почти прикладные разработки, но они, к сожалению, мало востребованы.

А. Акаев: Это уже беда со стороны народного хозяйства. Действительно, невостребованность, во-первых, качественных, высококвалифицированных

инженеров наших, научных работников. Они не востребованы. И это говорит о том, что правительство должно как раз стимулировать развитие новых высокотехнологичных отраслей экономики, поддерживать хотя бы те отрасли, которые в Советском Союзе занимали передовые позиции. Я имею в виду, конечно, гражданскую сферу, поскольку мы знаем, что военно-промышленный комплекс традиционно поддерживается на хорошем уровне.

А. Бузгалин: Да. Мы, кстати, интересно вели диалог с радиослушателями. Можно ли через мирную науку и технику повышать уровень развития или обязательно это делать через военно-промышленный комплекс? Мы провели голосование. Вы знаете, более 60% сказали, что можно идти прежде всего по мирному пути и на этой базе развивать военную оборонную технологию, а не наоборот.

А. Акаев: Я полностью солидарен. Я считаю, что пришло время сегодня браться как раз за развитие научно-технического прогресса именно в гражданской сфере, сохранять, а потом и приумножать уже и военно-промышленный комплекс, подпитывать с этой стороны. Я считаю, что мы вообще имели прекрасную систему НИОКР и в гражданской сфере в советскую эпоху, которая, к сожалению, во многом деградировала. Помните, в советскую эпоху на любом мало-мальски крупном предприятии промышленном была научная лаборатория или КБ, то есть то, что мы называем НИОКР. А было много специализированных институтов прикладных, которые занимались НИОКР. Вот их надо... Мы их потеряли, к сожалению. Их надо возрождать и восстанавливать.

А. Бузгалин: Я с вами абсолютно согласен. И, более того, мы не стоваривались с вами, но у нас были три эфира, которые практически потребовали радиослушатели (Сергей Доренко поддержал эту инициативу), посвященные критическому наследованию опыта Советского Союза. И до сих пор не замолкает полемика. До сих пор пишут письма: «Вот вы совки, трам-пам-пам», другие: «Наоборот, надо обязательно брать этот опыт». Но интересно. Два письма.

«Высшее образование – это не только профессия, но и повышение культуры, а также привите навыков системного мышления». Думаю, вы как математик это поддержите.

А. Акаев: Полностью солидарен.

А. Бузгалин: И еще одно письмо от Сергея: «Образование наладится тогда, когда уберут кучу ненужных менеджеров в образовательных учреждениях, а деньги отдадут преподавателям». Я позволю себе маленькую реплику. Мне очень интересна ваша реакция как одного из ведущих ученых нашей страны, в целом нашего пространства. Я согласен, что две ключевых беды нашего образования – это менеджеризация, когда эти менеджеры от экономики начинают вести себя, и бюрократизация. Плюс еще коммерциализация. Наверное, три беды. Вы согласны, что это проблема? Или это надумано некоторыми профессорами?

А. Акаев: Я считаю, что это подлинная настоящая проблема. И можно сказать – беда современной эпохи. Потому что действительно я убежден в том, что лучшими менеджерами в науке и образовании всегда были профессионалы. Посмотрите, Курчатов, Королев...

А. Бузгалин: Хохлов, Садовничий.

А. Акаев: Да. Хохлов, Садовничий, ныне ректоры. Все они были высокопрофессиональными педагогами и настоящими учеными. Поэтому я считаю, что в сфере науки и образования, конечно, надо вернуться к той практике, которая показала себя наилучшим образом. Надо руководителей воспитывать из числа...

А. Бузгалин: Спасибо, Аскар Акаевич. У нас как всегда неожиданно в самый интересный момент приходит время перерыва. Мы буквально через 5 мин с вами продолжим разговор об образовании, науке, их влиянии на экономическое развитие и о возможностях, которые они дают для преодоления экономического кризиса. Напомню, у нас в гостях Аскар Акаевич Акаев, академик, один из ведущих математиков нашей страны. И мы обсуждаем книгу, которую он с Виктором Антоновичем Садовничим представляет научной общественности. До встречи через 5 мин в эфире, уважаемые коллеги. И мы будем принимать ваши звонки, будем вести диалог.

НОВОСТИ

А. Бузгалин: Здравствуйте. После перерыва опять в эфире Александр Бузгалин, директор Института социэкономки Московского финансового юридического университета. И с нашим гостем Аскар Акаевым, академиком, автором очень интересной книги, написанной совместно с Виктором Садовничим, ректором Московского университета и другими учеными, мы говорим сегодня о том, как образование, наука влияют на развитие экономики и о том, какие могут быть прогнозы. Аскар Акаевич – известный математик. И у них очень интересные модели, которые показывают, что, к сожалению, пока ситуация не самая лучшая.

Мы договорились, что после перерыва мы поговорим о том, как изменять ситуацию, о том, что такое человеческий капитал, человеческий потенциал. Будем отвечать на ваши письма, принимать ваши звонки. Звонки идут уже потоком. Но подождите еще буквально несколько минут. Я хотел поблагодарить Андрея, который потребовал предложить Аскару Акаеву чаю или водички. Спасибо.

А. Акаев: Спасибо огромное Андрею.

А. Бузгалин: И такой очень жесткий вопрос, который прислал Сергей Корсаков: «Наша основная проблема – как мы можем повлиять на депутатов, если они после выборов предадут то, что они говорили до выборов? Выборы – это индульгенция на господство». Аскар Акаевич, давайте подумаем: действительно, насколько политический механизм может и должен быть демократическим, для того чтобы все-таки обеспечить влияние людей на экономическое развитие и обеспечить те приоритеты, о которых вы совершенно справедливо говорили в первой половине нашего радиоэфира.

А. Акаев: Безусловно, должно быть сильным, конечно, сильным это влияние. Я сейчас в этой связи вспоминаю, как было свыше четверти века назад, когда впервые Михаил Сергеевич провел эксперимент и был избран Верховный Совет, съезд народных депутатов СССР, где была огромная конкуренция. И тогда, в

общем-то, выборы выявили такие яркие, очень много ярких личностей, которые потом стали лидерами на постсоветском пространстве. Я считаю, что они действительно донесли чаяния большинства населения, людей до общественности, старались как-то принять решение. Но другое дело, что развал СССР, конечно, не позволил сбыться этому. Я считаю, что новая Государственная Дума должна принять исторические решения в двух направлениях.

Прежде всего, это, конечно же, во главе угла, для того чтобы обеспечить долгосрочный экономический подъем, улучшение благосостояния народа, необходимо принять законодательство об ускорении научно-технического прогресса. Я считаю, что сегодня в мире идет новая научно-техническая революция, связанная широчайшим внедрением и использованием NBICS-технологий – нано-, био-, когнитивных, информационных, социальных технологий. Мы опять в этом плане отстаем сегодня. Развитые страны уже, используя эти технологии, начинают подъем. И будут ближайшие годы разгоняться. Я считаю, что нужен первый закон о научно-техническом прогрессе.

Второй, который мне представляется чрезвычайно важным, нужен закон о полномочиях Центробанка России. Возьмите центробанки: возьмем ФРС, возьмем ЕЦБ – они всегда заботятся не в первую очередь об инфляции, а в первую очередь они думают о динамике выпуска, о занятости, какова безработица.

А. Бузгалин: Совершенно верно. Я хочу подчеркнуть, что по конституциям многих ведущих стран мира Центральный Банк ответственен за экономический рост, за состояние занятости, и на третьем месте – за инфляцию.

А. Акаев: Абсолютно верно. А наш Центробанк считает, что рост, занятость и благополучие населения – это не наши проблемы. Это проблема правительства. Мы занимаемся только таргетированием инфляции. Мы видели, что это таргетирование инфляции любой ценой как раз нанесло огромный ущерб. То, что поддерживает стагнацию российской экономики. Поэтому надо законодательно расширить полномочия в первую очередь. Хотя Центробанк сегодня не выполняет те основные...

А. Бузгалин: Даже не столько полномочия, сколько ответственность.

А. Акаев: Ответственность. Совершенно правильно. Я согласен с этой поправкой.

А. Бузгалин: Аскар Акаевич, давайте мы здесь сделаем маленькую паузу. Я подчеркну, что вопрос о том, что должны делать депутаты и как отвечать перед народом, был задан радиослушателями. Вот Аскар Акаевич сейчас говорил именно об этом, о новых законах. В связи с научно-техническим прогрессом не могу не добавить: действительно сейчас происходят качественные изменения. И развитые страны начинают возвращаться к индустрии. Но это другая индустрия. Так называемая индустрия 4.0. Это умные фабрики, это 3D-принтеры, аддитивные технологии, когда вместо того, чтобы резать, пилить и сверлить, просто наоборот соединяют из чего угодно – из порошка, из любых материалов и создаются совершенно новые комплекты. Причем, это своего рода интернет-промышленность. Даже есть такой новый термин.

А. Акаев: Совершенно верно.

А. Бузгалин: Если мы эту новую волну не поймает, не поймает этот ветер в свои паруса, то, к сожалению, отставание будет огромным. Давайте мы еще раз вернемся к проблемам образования и науки, поскольку книга, которую мы обсуждаем, именно об этом. И мы перед перерывом специально говорили с Аскарком Акаевичем, что ученый и педагог – это не та самая кухарка, которую якобы нельзя было допускать к управлению. Кстати, я напомним: обычно, когда цитируют Ленина, говорят, что Ульянов хотел, чтобы кухарки управляли государством. В работе я до сих пор это помню. У нас спрашивали на экзамене когда-то. У Ленина написано: «Мы согласны с любым буржуазным деятелем в том, что кухарка не может управлять государством. Но мы не согласны с тем, что интеллигенция, рабочие и человек, который не принадлежит к высшему классу, не может начать учиться управлять государством и включаться в управление государством». А если говорить об университете или об Академии наук, но кто лучше профессора, доцента или даже молодого ученого понимает, что нужно делать? Это же не кухарка, это человек с образованием повыше, чем у любого менеджера. Так что здесь это противодействие бюрократизации и коммерциализации одновременного, своего рода менеджериализации образование – это важная тема, мы об этом с вами говорили.

Я позволил себе маленькую паузу. А сейчас давайте мы начнем принимать звонки, Аскар Акаевич, и будем отвечать на вопросы наших радиослушателей. Добрый день, вы в эфире. У нас в эфире музыка оказалась. У нас сегодня какой-то очень интересный эфир: микрофоны выключаются, музыка включается. Видимо, гроза и какие-то странные явления. Может быть, инопланетяне мешают нам работать или наоборот помогают. Добрый день, вас слышно, вы в эфире.

Слушатель: Вы составляете экономические модели и на основе них делаете прогнозы. У меня локальный вопрос: учитываете ли в своих моделях коррупцию? То есть есть хорошо развитая наука про различные виды коррупции. А у нас она запредельная. Как вы учитываете коррупцию и какие прогнозы по коррупции вы делаете?

А. Бузгалин: Спасибо. Вот такой неожиданный вопрос, Аскар Акаевич.

А. Акаев: Естественно. Есть модели разных уровней. Например, модели первых уровней, где рассматриваются основные факторы, источники роста. Конечно, мы коррупцию, взаимоотношения власти и населения, общества. Эти все вопросы находятся на втором плане. Но есть специальные модели, в которых, безусловно, мы учитываем взаимоотношения власти и общества, и влияние коррупции тоже. И, естественно, влияние коррупции огромное. Но, тем не менее, все-таки экономику развивают прежде всего научно-технический прогресс, повышение производительности труда. Поэтому мне кажется, что в первую очередь нам надо все-таки бороться... Конечно, безусловно, надо бороться с коррупцией, надо искоренять ее, как в Финляндии, как в Малайзии...

А. Бузгалин: Кстати, извините, Аскар Акаевич. У нас тут время бежит, звонков очень много. Но я позволю себе сказать только два слова. В Финляндии (страна занимает одно из первых мест по инновациям в мире, хотя маленькая страна и, казалось бы, никаких возможностей)...

А. Акаев: И последняя по коррупции.

А. Бузгалин: Да. Она занимает последнее место по коррупции. У них меньше всего бюрократов на душу населения, меньше всего полицейских на душу населения, меньше всего тех, кто сидит в тюрьме, заключенных на душу населения. Но при этом очень большая доля государства в экономике. 53%.

А. Акаев: И науки и образования.

А. Бузгалин: И огромная доля науки и образования.

А. Акаев: Огромная доля науки и образования. Благодаря этому процветает. Вот пример рядом. А это ведь 100 лет назад была самая отсталая окраина Российской империи.

А. Бузгалин: И, кстати, еще один момент, тоже очень важный. Лозунг нефтяной страны Норвегии. Норвегия открывает университеты. Извините, 2 очень интересных письма, прямо противоположных.

«Увы, не каждый ученый может возглавлять государство». И одновременно противоположное письмо: «Бизнесмен и есть кухарка». Я думаю, что бизнесмен – конечно, не кухарка. Но и каждый ученый не должен возглавлять государство. А вот то, что ученые могли бы поучаствовать в управлении хотя бы университетами и своими собственными академическими центрами или другими исследовательскими центрами – это важно.

Давайте примем еще один звонок, Аскар Акаевич, и будем комментировать то, что важно для наших радиослушателей. Вы в эфире. Здравствуйте.

Слушатель: Здравствуйте. Спасибо за передачу. Аскар Акаевич, скажите, пожалуйста, мы сейчас в ситуации, буквально как в 1941 году. Сталин показал преимущество социализма в Великой отечественной войне. Не считаете ли вы, что именно социализм стал бы той идеей, которая объединила бы все наши советские республики?

А. Бузгалин: Спасибо. Видите, одну секунду, я только прочитаю еще один момент, прямо противоположный, просто чтобы был баланс мнений. «Ученые СССР на содержание государства транслируют и повторяют не соответствующий жизни марксизм». Видите, социализм жизни не соответствует и социализм – это единственное, что соответствует жизни. Аскар Акаевич, трудный вопрос для всех нас. Но все-таки ваш комментарий.

А. Акаев: Я все-таки считаю, что интеграционные процессы – это, конечно, закономерное влияние. Региональная интеграция – это одна из закономерностей процесса глобализации, которая сегодня продвигается столь же динамично, как 10-20 лет назад. Поэтому я считаю, что объединение усилий. Я радуюсь тому, что в рамках Евразийского экономического союза интеграционные процессы сейчас углубляются. Сегодня появляется прекрасный шанс дать новый импульс экономическому развитию Евразийского экономического сообщества путем сопряжения с проектом экономического пояса, Великого шелкового пути, который выдвинул Китай. И Александр Владимирович очень правильно сказал: «Объединение усилий образовательных и научно-исследовательских учреждений

на постсоветском пространстве – все это, конечно, нам могло бы позволить обеспечить такой экономический рост, который решает вопросы и безопасности, и благосостояния наших народов».

А. Бузгалин: Спасибо, Аскар Акаевич. Мы не завершаем эфир. Прежде чем мы примем новый звонок, я позволю себе немножко спорное утверждение. Я думаю, что пространство стран, которые могут сейчас объединиться вокруг шелкового пути или как-то иначе, могло бы быть и пространством другой модели образования, потому что в значительной степени предлагаемая сейчас логика вот этого Болонского процесса (даже есть термин – болонизация всей страны), к сожалению, ведет к формированию элитной модели и выращиванию скорее узких специалистов, чем творческих людей с широкой эрудицией, фундаментальным потенциалом и одновременно способностью его реализовать в прикладных сферах.

Я думаю, что если бы мы подумали о сохранении лучших достижений советской модели, критическом сохранении, и предложили в нашем постсоветском пространстве, в пространстве диалога с Китаем, Индией, возможно, частью стран Европы. Я часто бываю в Европе. Там далеко не все следуют идеям их лидеров, я бы сказал так. Мы предложили бы другую модель образования – по-моему, получилось бы неплохо.

А. Акаев: Абсолютно с вами солидарен. Например, я несколько лет назад читал лекции по приглашению Берлинского технического университета. И там немцы говорят: «Зачем вам Болонская система? Мы сами не знаем, как от нее избавиться. И наша немецкая система образования вследствие этого ухудшается». Приведу такой хороший пример. Сейчас Китай обратился к Московскому государственному университету создать совместный Китайско-российский университет в Шэньчжэне, который бы с помощью Московского университета они хотят там давать самое лучшее образование в Китае сегодня. Причем, здание этого университета будет копией здания Московского государственного университета.

А. Бузгалин: Вот этого я не знал.

А. Акаев: Да. Виктор Антонович Садовничий был в Шэньчжэне, они уже заложили камень. Уже через год-два поднимутся эти высотные корпуса совместного Китайско-российского университета, который будет под эгидой именно Московского университета. Китайцы хотят поднять уровень своего фундаментального образования к российскому, а мы наоборот, к сожалению...

А. Бузгалин: Вот это хороший тезис. И я с вами абсолютно согласен. Более того, я поскольку заодно еще и визит-профессор Пекинского университета, могу сказать, что там действительно огромный интерес к системе российского образования, и, наверное, вместе с ними мы могли бы миру предлагать альтернативы здесь, и это было бы не менее, а, может быть, и более важно, чем нефть и газ. Давайте мы примем еще пару звонков. У нас осталось буквально 10 мин до конца эфира. Будем подводить итоги. У нас опять музыка звучит. Как-то никак у нас музыка не оставит сегодня. Вы в эфире. Добрый день.

Слушатель: Меня зовут Георгий. Скажите, уважаемые господа профессора, вы все знаете, что произошло на днях. Удивительное предательство тех людей, которые призваны нас защищать. Они продали родину, они нас предали. Как вы

собираетесь с этим жить? Вы обсуждаете планы воссоздания новой России. Как мы будем создавать, когда люди, которые нас должны защищать снизу доверху, продались этому самому американскому доллару? Бандитов защищают, ребята, бандитов.

А. Бузгалин: Видите, мы перпендикулярно ушли. Радиоэфир так устроен. Я специально дал возможность, Георгий, вам высказаться, поскольку это действительно большой и сложный вопрос, но мы сегодня говорим об экономике, образовании и научно-техническом прогрессе. То, что коррупция – это ключевая проблема, которую может решить прозрачное общество, мы с Аскарком Акаевичем уже говорили. Поэтому давайте мы примем еще один звонок и потом будем подводить итоги.

А. Акаев: Я считаю, что созидательная деятельность всегда должна опережать разрушительную. А созидательная деятельность связана, конечно, с улучшением качества образования и эффективности научно-технического прогресса.

А. Бузгалин: Я в этой связи позволю себе академическую ремарку, раз уж зашел такой разговор. Дело в том, что с коррупцией можно и должно, конечно, бороться правоохранительными методами. Но если человек ориентирован прежде всего, для того чтобы любой ценой получить деньги, если профессора оценивают по тому, какой у него джип, а не по тому, насколько он талантлив и насколько его любят ученики, если то же самое касается педагога, государственного деятеля, кого угодно, то мы не выйдем из этой ситуации. Если государство не создаст систему, где человеческий потенциал будет оцениваться не в деньгах, а в творческих достижениях, будь то дворник, который сделал красивый сад около вашего дома или профессор, академик, который предложил миру новую теоретическую модель или модель развития России, как вы с Виктором Антоновичем Садовничим, то мы никогда коррупцию не победим. Ведь сажать в тюрьму, если человек любой ценой хочет получить деньги, наверное, можно, но лучше, чтобы он хотел чего-то большего, чем деньги любой ценой.

Давайте мы примем еще один звонок и будем, наверное, подводить итоги нашего очень интересного разговора. Здравствуйтесь, Валерий.

Слушатель: Скажите, пожалуйста. Вы много говорите про учебники, которые сейчас отвратительны. Даже, я помню, в свое время я учился по учебникам в 1970-е годы. Это начальная школа. Кругозор у детей развивался. Там были профессии, космос был. А сейчас о трупах, мумриках каких-то. И когда сейчас правители говоря, что все лучше и лучше образование, лучше и лучше медицина, а делается все наоборот с точностью хуже, хуже и хуже.

А. Бузгалин: Давайте мы здесь поставим... Аскар Акаевич, мы этого видим или не видим? Я лично это вижу и, по-моему, полгода про это говорю, что ситуация действительно очень печальная. И мы начали с плохого прогноза, к сожалению. Вы согласны, что все плохо с образованием, или где-то плохо, где-то хорошо, или везде хорошо?

А. Акаев: Меня радует то, что все-таки есть точки роста. Надо признать, что, например, я как инженер чувствую, что инженерное образование последнее десятилетие, конечно, резко ухудшилось. Но есть точки. Я регулярно бываю в прославленном Санкт-Петербургском политехническом университете, который

100 лет назад подарил нам физиков мирового уровня, которые решили независимо от Европы, Америки, создали атомную и водородную бомбу. Все они были подготовлены именно в политехническом и работали в физико-техническом институте. Я считаю, что сегодня политехнический как инженерный вуз Санкт-Петербурга – он резко в последние годы улучшил свою образовательную деятельность, качество растет. Они начинают работать со многими ведущими компаниями. Например, с тем же Боингом и другими компаниями.

Должна быть востребованность у себя. Правительство должно развивать свою высокотехнологичную промышленность, как об этом говорил президент. Он говорил, что требуется технологическая революция, технологическое перевооружение, 20 млн высококвалифицированных высокооплачиваемых рабочих мест. Все это надо претворять в жизнь. И тогда наши инженера, наши таланты будут работать у себя и будет расти качество образования в целом по стране. Важно, что точки роста есть. Есть Московский государственный университет, где фундаментальное образование остается на высоте.

А. Бузгалин: Мы сейчас будем подводить итоги. Напомню, сейчас с нами ведет диалог Аскар Акаевич Акаев, академик, главный научный сотрудник Московского государственного университета, автор книги, написанной четырьмя учеными, включая Виктора Антоновича Садовниченко о качестве образования, эффективности НИОКР и экономическом росте. Давайте мы подведем некоторый итог. У нас передача посвящена экономике, хотя мы, естественно, не могли не говорить о других проблемах.

Итак, тезис №1: ключевой источник развития – это человеческий потенциал. И мы здесь с Аскаром Акаевичем абсолютно едины.

Тезис 2: этот человек должен и может реализовать себя через современное образование, науку, инженерную деятельность. И это касается миллионов, а не только какой-то избранной элиты. Это тезис №2. Тезис №3: мы с вами неожиданно вышли на политические вопросы. Впрочем, как неожиданно? Экономика без политики не бывает. И Аскар Акаевич, напомню, говорил нам о том, что настоящая демократия и участие в управлении ученого или профессора, учителя или садовника, инженера – это нормально и эффективно. И это, кстати, путь к прозрачности и путь к тому, чтобы мы немножко ушли от наших проблем. Мы говорили о том, что экономика, где все исключительно ради денег, где деньги не только стимулируют, но и развращают, или прежде всего развращают – эта экономика порождает коррупцию, губит образование и науку. И наконец последнее, что я позволю себе уже от себя, может быть, сказать. Без того, чтобы у нас было стратегическое планирование в рамках рыночной экономики, без того, чтобы у нас произошла хотя бы минимальная социализация собственности, когда не только олигархи, но и граждане России будут участвовать во властных экономических отношениях. Без того, чтобы у нас не было такого социального неравенства и было больше социальной справедливости, которая стимулирует человека с творческим трудом, а не того, кто любой ценой стимулировал или паразитировал на ренте. Без этого мы не выйдем из нашего кризиса.

Аскар Акаевич, полторы минуты вам для заключения.

А. Акаев: Вы очень справедливо сейчас подчеркнули о важности стратегического планирования. Действительно, сегодня обидно, что Россия не имеет

стратегического плана развития, утвержденного по всем этим канонам и не руководствуется этим. А ведь Советский Союз в этом отношении имел прекрасные, нужно сказать, достижения.

Кстати, в этой книге один из разделов посвящен тому, каким образом использовать достижения образования и науки в стратегическом планировании и в стратегическом управлении для достижения высоких целей, которые надо непременно ставить перед страной и народом.

А. Бузгалин: Спасибо, Аскар Акаевич. Я напомним, у нас сегодня в эфире был академик Акаев, главный научный сотрудник Московского государственного университета. Мы с вами говорили о том, что и как может дать образование и научно-исследовательская деятельность для экономики, если эта экономика будет связана с селективным регулированием, с планированием, социальной справедливостью и социализацией собственности.

К сожалению, я, Александр Бузгалин, должен с вами попрощаться. Профессорам положен отпуск. До конца августа я буду писать умные книжки. И мы с вами снова встретимся теперь только в конце летнего сезона и будем продолжать серьезный трудный разговор о противоречиях в экономике. Мы начнем его накануне выборов и еще раз обратимся друг к другу с вопросом: «Какая партия не только обещает, но и голосует за те цели, которые вы, уважаемые радиослушатели, считаете главными для нас, для экономики России, для каждого гражданина России?». И, пожалуйста, подумайте, посмотрите, проанализируйте, кто за что голосовал в предыдущие годы в Государственной Думе. И на этой основе сделайте выводы. Кто и что делал, а не кто и что обещает, у кого красивая или некрасивая физиономия из нынешних кандидатов. Тогда будет толк. До встречи через месяц.

Omurbek Babanov

Published on 21 October 2016 by *Kabar*.

Source: <http://old.kabar.kg/economics/full/20633>

Вступление Кыргызстана в Таможенный Союз выгодно для Кыргызстана. Так заявил первый вице-премьер-министр, исполняющий обязанности премьер-министра КР Омурбек Бабанов говоря о решении, принятом на прошедшем недавно в городе Санкт-Петербург очередном заседании Межгосударственного Совета ЕврАзЭС.

«Как известно, Межгоссовет ЕврАзЭС 19 октября т.г. принял решение создать Рабочую группу по вопросу участия Кыргызстана в Таможенном Союзе. Данная Рабочая группа подготовит План мероприятий, реализация которого создаст необходимые условия для присоединения Кыргызской Республики к Таможенному союзу», - сказал и.о. премьера.

В беседе с журналистами, О.Бабанов особо отметил, что доля товарооборота только с тремя странами ТС традиционно на протяжении ряда лет составляет в среднем около 44%, доля экспорта 40% и импорта - 47%. Самый большой удельный вес в товарообороте КР занимают Россия – 26,9% и Казахстан – 16,8%, на Беларусь приходится 1,2%.

Объем экспорта в страны ТС составляет 715,2 млн долл. США, если взять остальной объем экспорта КР в другие страны, без золота и реэкспорта нефтепродуктов, то он составит 304,7 млн долл. США (годовые данные за прошлый год). Т.е. экспорт КР в другие страны СНГ и ВТО сопоставим с экспортом только в одну Россию (257.8 млн. долларов США).

«Поэтому главная задача перед нами: принять необходимые меры по сохранению и увеличению экспорта в страны ТС. А это, позвольте отметить, 715,2 млн. долл. США за прошлый год. И за этими цифрами сотни тысяч людей, занятых в этой сфере», - сказал О.Бабанов.

Преимущества вступления КР в Таможенный Союз, по его мнению состоят, прежде всего, в том, что:

- Кыргызстан сможет осуществлять беспошлинные поставки стратегически значимых товаров. Это позволит Кыргызстану обеспечить стабильные, без срывов, поставки ГСМ

- это упростит механизмы привлечения инвестиций из стран Таможенного Союза

- участие КР в ТС - это не только беспошлинное передвижение товаров, но и единое транспортное, образовательное и культурное пространство; свобода передвижения капитала, услуг, рабочей силы; создание условий для стабильного развития экономики Сторон в интересах повышения жизненного уровня наших граждан.

- произойдет отмена формальностей, сборов и таможенного контроля на внутренних границах ТС, свобода транзита, обеспечат сокращение издержек участников внешнеторговой деятельности и создадут выгодные условия для работы оптовых рынков республики.

- значительным преимуществом для товаропроизводителей станет устранение внутренних постов санитарного, ветеринарного, фитосанитарного контролей на границах с государствами ТС и сократит коррупцию в данной сфере.

Дальнейшими шагами в работе по присоединению КР к Таможенному союзу и Единому экономическому пространству станет снятие ограничений для трудовых мигрантов из Кыргызстана. Они смогут беспрепятственно передвигаться по территории стран ТС и ЕЭП и пользоваться всеми социальными правами и гарантиями этих стран.

Кроме того, в рамках Единого экономического пространства также подписано в декабре 2010 года Соглашение о государственных закупках, которое предусматривает предоставление национального режима для государственных закупок. Это означает, что при вступлении КР в ТС, поставщики товаров и услуг смогут участвовать на равных условиях в тендерах на государственные закупки странах ТС, передает слова О.Бабанова отдел информационной политики Аппарата Правительства КР.

Medetbek Kerimkulov

Published on 16 February 2016 by *Slovo.kg*.

Source: <http://slovo.kg/?p=54190>

Согласно рейтингу, размещенному на сайте GlobalPetrolPrices.com, наша республика заняла 18-е место среди 181 страны, попавшей в обзор. При этом мы занимаем первое место по дешевизне топлива среди импортозависимых государств. Все другие страны в первой двадцатке являются производителями и экспортерами нефти: Венесуэла, Кувейт, Саудовская Аравия, Туркменистан, Катар, ОАЭ, Казахстан, Иран, Нигерия, Россия и т. д.

В январе в республику импортировано 76,4 тыс. тонн нефтепродуктов. Из них бензина — 34,9 тыс. тонн, дизтоплива — 41,5 тыс. тонн. Товарные остатки ГСМ на начало февраля составляют около 89 тыс. тонн, включая около 51 тыс. тонн бензина и 38 тыс. тонн дизтоплива.

«В последнее время в Кыргызстане наблюдается общее снижение цен на топливо на 5,5 сома, или 12%. И это несмотря на то, что курс доллара США поднялся на 17 сомов, или 29%. В порядке информации приведу сравнение розничных цен на ГСМ в нашем государстве с их уровнем в соседних странах по состоянию на 1 февраля 2016 года. Так, АИ-92 в Кыргызстане продается по 33,5 сома, в России — по 33,7 сома, в Казахстане — по 26 сомов, Таджикистане — по 51,3 сома,

Узбекистане — по 59,9 сома. АИ-95 у нас стоит 37 сомов, в России — 36,6 сома, Казахстане — 28,7 сома, Таджикистане — 53,2 сома, Узбекистане — 65,9 сома. Цена на дизельное топливо в Кыргызстане составляет 32 сома, России — 35,2 сома, в Казахстане — 20,6 сома, Таджикистане — 49,3 сома, Узбекистане — 59 сомов.

Отметим, что стоимость бензина в России и в Кыргызстане практически сравнялась. При этом дизельное топливо у нас стоит на 3,23 сома дешевле. Более низкие цены в Казахстане обусловлены рядом обстоятельств. В частности государственным регулированием цен на ГСМ, маленькими налогами (акциз на бензин в 2 раза ниже, на дизель — в 3 раза), низкими транспортными расходами (внутренний тариф на ж.-д. перевозки в 3-4 раза ниже, чем транзитный). Кроме того, имевшаяся и ранее разница с Казахстаном в стоимости резко возросла в связи с девальвацией тенге», — сообщил на пресс-конференции глава Ассоциации нефтетрейдеров страны Медетбек Керимкулов.

Благодаря договоренностям между Президентами Кыргызстана и России ГСМ поступает к нам без взимания экспортной пошлины. Это экономит ощутимые суммы при импорте нефтепродуктов. Так, за 2015 год экономия составила \$78,5 млн., в 2014 году — \$322 млн. Ни одна другая страна не предоставляет нам подобных скидок, все другие производители продают нефтепродукты по мировым ценам. В связи с этим их предложения не являются экономически выгодными и конкурентоспособными по сравнению с российскими.

«Импорт нефтепродуктов из Казахстана экономически нецелесообразен в связи с действием заградительных экспортных пошлин, которые составляют \$169 за тонну (9 сом/литр). В связи с этим себестоимость поставки ГСМ из соседней республики оказывается намного выше стоимости топлива из России. А привозить ГСМ из других стран, таких как Азербайджан, Туркменистан и Иран, не представляется возможным из-за отсутствия свободных объемов для экспорта, относительно высоких цен, более высоких издержек на транспорт и логистику в связи с географической удаленностью. Поэтому ассоциация считает необходимым развивать торгово-экономическое сотрудничество с основными странами-партнерами и активно использовать те преимущества, что получил Кыргызстан после вступления в Евразийский экономический союз», — заявил Медетбек Керимкулов.

Стоит отметить, что после отмены таможенного контроля на границах со странами ЕАЭС наши предприниматели больше не тратят свое время и деньги на таможенное оформление грузов. Кроме того, компаниям-импортерам предоставляется отсрочка до 50 дней на уплату косвенных налогов (НДС и акциз), что снизило их потребности в оборотных средствах и сопутствующие затраты. Дополнительным послаблением стало и то, что из налогооблагаемой базы по НДС исключены транспортные расходы: с момента вступления в союз для расчета данного налога учитывается только отпускная цена производителя. По мнению Медетбека Керимкулова, одним из перспективных направлений для развития взаимовыгодного сотрудничества со странами ЕАЭС является вопрос о поставках нефти для отечественных НПЗ. «Мощность имеющихся в Кыргызстане заводов за последние годы удвоилась и составляет более 2 млн. 110 тыс. тонн нефти. В случае полной загрузки мощностей объемы выпускаемой продукции позволят полностью обеспечить внутренние потребности Кыргызстана. Однако для достижения этой цели следует решить вопрос о беспошлинных поставках нефти путем заключения соответствующих межправительственных соглашений с Россией и Казахстаном.

Дополнительные преимущества и выгоды Кыргызстан может получить и в сфере транспорта. В рамках договоренностей о скоординированной транспортной политике государства — члены союза согласились обеспечить равные и благоприятные условия для потребителей услуг железнодорожного транспорта

путем применения при перевозке грузов унифицированного тарифа, который значительно ниже применяемых в настоящее время транзитных. В связи с этим ассоциация обратилась в правительство с просьбой решить вопрос о применении унифицированного тарифа в отношении грузов, перевозимых железными дорогами России и Казахстана в Кыргызстан и из него. Принимая во внимание то, что доля транспортных расходов в себестоимости импортируемых нефтепродуктов превышает 20%, применение более низкого унифицированного тарифа позволило бы существенно сократить затраты компаний-нефтетрейдеров и снизить стоимость ГСМ для конечных потребителей», — заявил Медетбек Керимкулов.

Aaly Karashev

Published on 15 April 2016 by *Sputnik*.

Source: <https://ru.sputnik.kg/economy/20160415/1024374930.html>

Эксперты считают, что единая валюта нужна странам Евразийского экономического союза, но для этого необходима большая работа, и в ближайшее время об этом говорить рано.

БИШКЕК, 15 апр — Sputnik, Бакыт Толканов. На пространстве Евразийского экономического союза, в который входят Армения, Беларусь, Казахстан, Кыргызстан и Россия, вновь начали поднимать тему единой валюты.

Разговоры о единой валюте в рамках евразийской интеграции начались в 2012 году, в частности, главы Казахстана и Беларуси — Нурсултан Назарбаев и Александр Лукашенко — сказали, что ни одна валюта стран — участниц ЕАЭС не годится на роль единой валюты союза. Через два года обсуждения возобновились, даже предлагались рабочие названия: "алтын" и "евраз".

Однако после этого звучали разные заявления, причем на самом высоком уровне. В одних утверждалось, что введение единой валюты не стоит в повестке дня, в других — допускали ее появление. Однако 8 апреля на тот момент первый вице-премьер Кыргызстана Аалы Карашев заявил, что вопрос введения единой валюты в рамках ЕАЭС надо рассмотреть в ближайшем будущем.

"В самое ближайшее время нам нужно рассмотреть вопросы валютного регулирования. В частности, вопрос введения единой валюты ЕАЭС для осуществления совместной торговли и таможенного регулирования в рамках организации", — заявил он на форуме "Евразийская экономическая перспектива".

Президент России Владимир Путин в ходе "прямой линии" 15 апреля сказал, что ее введение — это большой вопрос.

"В принципе, это интересная тема, наверное, когда-то это станет возможным. Но на том этапе, когда уровни развития экономик и структуры экономик стран, входящих в Евразийский экономический союз, сравниваются", — цитирует Путина РИА Новости.

Нужна ли общая валюта для стран ЕАЭС и выгодно ли ее введение в первую очередь Кыргызстану? Эти вопросы корреспондент Sputnik Кыргызстан задавал экспертам.

Надо сначала вырасти, а пока развивать расчеты в национальных валютах

Доктор экономических наук Жумакадыр Акенеев считает, что позиция российского лидера верна, в первую очередь необходимо, чтобы уровни экономик сравнялись.

"Надо развивать расчеты в национальных валютах. Сом оказался крепче, чем тенге и рубль, мы 70 процентов товаров импортируем, причем значительную часть — из Казахстана и России. В сомовом эквиваленте товары стали дешевле, так что нам сейчас еще выгодней ввозить. При этом, считаю, что переход на расчеты в национальных валютах выгоден и другим странам ЕАЭС. Собственные валюты становятся более востребованными", — сказал Акенеев.

Экономист Кенешбек Алимбеков также считает, что в первую очередь надо сравнивать уровни экономики, для этого каждое государство должно вести свою денежно-кредитную политику, а при единой валюте это невозможно. Независимость в денежных делах позволит дать толчок экономике. Переход на единую валюту неизбежен?

По словам Акенеева, переход на расчеты в национальных валютах — это только начало и со временем страны интеграционного объединения перейдут на общую валюту.

"Удобно для взаимных расчетов, когда мы одной валютой можем торговаться в тех же Армении, Беларуси и других странах. Она будет более устойчивой по сравнению с национальными валютами каждой из стран ЕАЭС, если учитывать экономическую мощь и масштаб экономического союза. Переход неизбежен", — убежден Акенеев.

Алимбеков согласен, что единая валюта, пусть и позже, но необходима, так как это способствует стабильности как в ЕАЭС в целом, так и в Кыргызстане в частности.

"Во-первых, единая валюта будет способствовать дальнейшей интеграции. Во-вторых, улучшит торгово-экономическую деятельность, в-третьих, единая валюта будет устойчивой, что опять-таки укрепит экономику. И одно из самых важных преимуществ — меньшее влияние курсов доллара и евро, то есть не будет шоковых моментов из-за этих валют", — сказал Алимбеков.

Отметим, что в Евросоюзе платежное средство — евро, в странах Персидского залива давно идут разговоры о создании общего динара, а в СМИ периодически появляется информация о планах по введению единой валюты США, Канады и Мексики — амеро.

Aaly Karashev

Published on 11 April 2016.

Source: <http://www.inozpress.kg/news/view/id/48286>

Почему Кыргызстан вдруг заговорил о единой валюте?

Обычно разговоры о введении единой валюты в рамках Евразийского экономического союза раздавались со стороны северного соседа. Однако сейчас о едином инструменте взаиморасчетов в рамках ЕАЭС неожиданно заговорили братья кыргызы. Аналитическая служба казахскоязычного сайта Qamshy.kz задалась вопросом, с чего бы это?

«Теперь разговор о введении единой валюты валюты Евразийского экономического союза начали братья, живущие по соседству — кыргызы. На проходящем в Бишкеке форуме «Евразийские экономические перспективы» вице-премьер Кыргызстана Аалы Карашев заявил, что вопрос о введении единой валюты союза нужно рассмотреть уже в ближайшие дни.

«Нам нужно срочно рассмотреть вопрос валютного регулирования. В частности, чтобы урегулировать проблемы общей торговли и таможенных сборов, нужно рассмотреть вопрос введение единой валюты ЕАЭС», — сказал Аалы Карашев.

Ранее, в ноябре прошлого года, депутат Государственной Думы Российской Федерации, председатель комитета ГД по делам СНГ, евразийской интеграции и связям с соотечественниками Леонид Слуцкий заявлял, что *несмотря на некоторые трудности, ведется работа по разработке единого инструмента взаиморасчетов для стран Евразийского экономического союза.*

Тогда такое заявление российского депутата вызвало в обществе определенные противодействия, а руководство Казахстана сообщило, что *вопрос введения общей валюты не стоит на повестке дня*.

Тем не менее, нужно учитывать, *пока страны-участницы этой организации не придут к единому знаменателю по данному вопросу, отдельные чиновники и политики периодически будут поднимать вопрос о введении единой валюты*.

К тому же, если принять к сведению, что все постсоветские страны, обвиняющие в мировом финансовом кризисе США, проводят политику дедолларизации, нельзя отрицать, что идея введения единой валюты может стать реальностью.

Не удивительно, что эту инициативу чаще других поднимает Россия, не желающая терять своего влияния на постсоветском пространстве.

Однако почему Кыргызстан, являющийся с 1998 года членом Всемирной торговой организации, а с августа прошлого года присоединившийся к Евразийскому экономическому союзу, вдруг стал испытывать теплые чувства к единой валюте?» недоумевает редакция сайта.

Aaly Karashev

Published on 9 April 2016 by RIA Novosti.

Source: <https://ria.ru/20160409/1406010875.html>

Ранее вице-премьер Киргизии Аалы Карашев уже говорил о необходимости активизировать валютное урегулирование в рамках ЕАЭС.

БИШКЕК, 9 апр – РИА Новости, Юлия Орлова. Странам ЕАЭС необходимо проводить операции по взаиморасчётам между странами в своих национальных валютах, заявил в субботу РИА Новости первый вице-премьер Киргизии Аалы Карашев.

Киргизия стала полноправным членом Евразийского экономического союза 12 августа прошлого года. Она стала пятой страной интеграционного объединения, включающего Россию, Белоруссию, Казахстан и Армению.

"Нам стоит уделять больше внимания вопросам валютного регулирования, включая расширение возможностей обращения национальных валют на рынках ЕАЭС и проведение операций с ними во взаиморасчетах между нашими странами и при распределении таможенных пошлин", — заявил он. По его словам, удельный вес стран-членов ЕАЭС в общем объеме внешней торговли Киргизии в 2015 году составил около 40 %. Самый большой удельный вес в товарообороте республики занимают Россия – 25 % и Казахстан – 18,2%.

По его словам, Киргизия также выступает за формирование общего энергетического рынка ЕАЭС, что позволит странам Союза "привлечь серьезные инвестиции для строительства новых энергетических мощностей, которые крайне необходимы в условиях быстроразвивающихся экономик".

Необходимо также углубить промышленную кооперацию и создать единый электронный портал госзакупок ЕАЭС, что обеспечит предпринимателям всех стран доступ к государственным закупкам. Представитель киргизского кабмина также считает необходимым усилить работу в рамках интеграционного объединения по расширению торгово-экономического сотрудничества с третьими странами, чтобы "обеспечить доступ наших товаров на рынки Азии и Европы", а также унифицировать железнодорожные тарифы для перевозки грузов через территорию государств-членов ЕАЭС.

По словам Карашева, присоединение Киргизии к ЕАЭС произошло в момент экономического кризиса, падения цен на энергоносители и девальвации национальных валют, что "несколько нивелировало положительные эффекты от интеграции", но в противном случае республике было бы гораздо сложнее преодолевать кризисные явления и ситуация в экономике страны "сейчас была бы тяжелее в несколько раз".

Aaly Karashev

Published on 8 April 2016 by *Ca-portal*.
Source: <https://bit.ly/3hsZYwQ>;
<http://www.ca-portal.ru/article:26348>
Context: forum "Eurasian Economic Perspective".

«Сегодня мы убеждаемся в правильности выбранного пути», - заявил сегодня на форуме «Евразийская экономическая перспектива» первый вице-премьер-министр КР Аалы Карашев, говоря о вступлении страны в ЕАЭС.

«Тема, которой посвящена сегодняшняя встреча, имеет символическое значение. 25 лет назад Кыргызстан обрел независимость, но между нашими странами сохранились тесные торговые и экономические связи наряду с духовными и культурными. В августе 2015 года Кыргызстан стал пятым полноправным членом ЕАЭС, без сомнения могу сказать, что это событие исторического масштаба. Сегодня стало очевидно, что сделанный шаг будет определять развитие экономики нашей страны», - пояснил Аалы Карашев.

Он констатировал, что Кыргызстан присоединился к ЕАЭС в разгар обострения экономического кризиса, девальвации национальных валют и введения санкций в отношении одной из стран - членов ЕАЭС. «Несмотря на это, решение о вступлении Кыргызстана в ЕАЭС было взвешенным, своевременным и поддержано населением страны. Сегодня мы убеждаемся в правильности своего выбора, иначе нам было бы тяжело преодолеть кризис», - сказал первый вице-премьер-министр КР.

При этом Аалы Карашев признал, что необходимы дальнейшие шаги, в частности, устранение барьеров внутри союза, функционирование единого рынка без введения ограничений и разработка единого унифицированного тарифа для железнодорожных перевозок. «Надеемся, что данный вопрос будет решен в ближайшее время», - заключил первый вице-премьер-министр КР.

Напомним, в работе форума принимают участие депутаты Жогорку Кенеша, члены правительства КР, послы стран СНГ в КР, депутаты парламентов России, Казахстана, Армении, Беларуси. Приглашены на мероприятие и представители бизнес-кругов Кыргызстана, члены Российско-Кыргызского Фонда развития, ученые и работники международных организаций.

Ruslan Kazakbayev

Published on 21 August 2016 by *Kabar*.
Source: <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/interview/full/38956>

Кыргызы и казахи издревле считаются братскими народами. И сегодня стратегическое партнерство двух республик выходит на новый уровень, о чем свидетельствует предстоящий визит Президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева в Кыргызстан со статусом «государственный». Уже завтра в Бишкеке будут обсуждены важнейшие вопросы, которые, безусловно, повлияют на дальнейшее развитие политико-экономических отношений и дадут толчок решению ряда проблем, коих в последние годы накопилось немало. О чем конкретно будут вести разговоры кыргызская и казахская делегации в интервью корреспонденту агентства «Кабар» рассказал министр иностранных дел КР Руслан Казакбаев.

- Руслан Айтбаевич, ожидается государственный визит Президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева в Кыргызстан. Какие принципиально важные вопросы планируются решить в ходе предстоящего его визита в нашу республику?

- Нынешний визит Президента Н. Назарбаева имеет статус "государственного", что свидетельствует о высоком уровне политико-экономических взаимоотношений Кыргызской Республики и Республики Казахстан.

Особую значимость данному государственному визиту придает тот факт, что он осуществляется впервые в истории кыргызско-казахстанских отношений и проходит в год 20-летия установления дипломатических отношений между нашими странами.

В ходе государственного визита будет продолжен активный политико-экономический диалог глав двух государств, который был начат в ходе официального визита Президента Кыргызстана Алмазбека Атамбаева в Казахстан 10-11 мая текущего года. Планируется рассмотрение и обсуждение самого широкого круга вопросов, начиная с политико-дипломатического взаимодействия и заканчивая культурно-гуманитарными связями наших государств.

Самыми главными на предстоящих переговорах в верхах станут вопросы дальнейшего углубления союзнических отношений и стратегического партнерства между нашими братскими государствами, а также принятие некой "дорожной карты" кыргызско-казахстанского сотрудничества в самых различных сферах с обозначением конкретных мер и планов на ближайшие годы. Также планируется подписание целого пакета международных соглашений и решений глав государств.

Также будут обсуждены вопросы взаимодействия в рамках международных организаций и региональных объединений. И в этом ключе хотелось бы отметить, что у наших государств совпадают позиции по широкому кругу международных и региональных проблем. Мы тесно взаимодействуем в рамках международных организаций, таких как ООН, ОБСЕ, СНГ, ОДКБ, ЕврАзЭС и ШОС. Буквально два-три дня назад состоялся СМВД ОИС, где еще раз было подтверждена близость и схожесть позиций наших стран по актуальным вопросам международной жизни.

- Стало известно, что в рамках данного визита пройдет третье заседание Высшего Межгосударственного совета на уровне президентов. Озвучьте, пожалуйста, повестку дня?

- На этом заседании Высшего Межгоссовета, кроме того что я уже обозначил, в частности будут обсуждены вопросы взаимодействия в торгово-экономической, инвестиционной, водно-энергетической сфере, в области промышленности, коммуникаций, сельского хозяйства, приграничного сотрудничества, гуманитарные связи, в том числе проблемы трудовых мигрантов, а также другие перспективные направления.

В повестку дня также включены вопросы о поднятии на новый уровень наших межпарламентских связей, которые за последние годы довольно активизировались.

- Какие документы планируются подписать по итогам Межгоссовета? И есть ли среди них такие, которые повлияют на динамику развития отношений в экономическом плане?

- По итогам переговоров и заседания Высшего Межгоссовета главы государств примут Юбилейную декларацию об углублении стратегического партнёрства и союзнических отношений между Кыргызстаном и Казахстаном, утвердят трехлетний План мероприятий по сотрудничеству двух государств на 2012-2015 годы. Также наши президенты примут ряд решений Высшего Межгоссовета по конкретным направлениям нашего взаимодействия.

Кроме этого, планируется подписание межправительственных соглашений о сотрудничестве по борьбе с незаконным оборотом наркотиков и психотропных средств, о строительстве средней школы в Ошской области Кыргызстана, о координации радиочастот, используемых радиослужбами двух государств, а также Протокола к Соглашению о создании Кыргызско-Казахстанского инвестиционного фонда.

Безусловно, планируемые к обсуждению вопросы и принимаемый трехлетний План мероприятий по сотрудничеству двух государств на 2012-2015 годы будут способствовать наращиванию экономического сотрудничества. Тем более, планы

двух наших президентов об увеличении объемов товарооборота между Кыргызстаном и Казахстаном до миллиардной отметки, является вполне реализуемой задачей.

- Премьер-министр Кыргызстана Омурбек Бабанов заявлял, что с казахской стороны достигнута договоренность об открытии на границе четырех дополнительных КПП. Известны ли конкретные сроки?

- Переговоры по возобновлению работы пунктов пропуска на кыргызско-казахстанской границе проводятся на постоянной основе.

Так, с июня 2012 года начал функционировать переоборудованный пункт пропуска "Ак Тилек (КР) – "Карасу" (РК), предназначенный для грузовых перевозок. В ближайшее время ожидается возобновление работы КПП "Каркыра"- "Кеген". Сейчас казахстанская сторона проводит внутригосударственные процедуры согласования по данному вопросу.

Также достигнута договоренность об осуществлении совместного таможенного контроля в пунктах пропуска на кыргызско-казахстанской государственной границе в целях сокращения процедуры контроля до одного раза и, следовательно, экономии времени для граждан двух государств. Мы планируем обсудить эти и другие вопросы, связанные с работой контрольно-пропускных пунктов на заседании совместной кыргызско-казахстанской рабочей группы по вопросу взаимодействия соответствующих служб двух государств в пунктах пропуска. На этой встрече стороны рассмотрят вопрос относительно перспектив работы пунктов пропуска: «Кичи-Капка», «Камышановка», «Жайыл» и «Куркуро».

- Еще один вопрос по границе. В настоящее время есть проблемы на кыргызско-казахстанской границе с перемещением товаров. По словам главы Таможенной службы КР, они вызваны законодательством Таможенного союза. Есть ли варианты решения данной проблемы, и на какой стадии переговоры о присоединении Кыргызстана к альянсу Казахстана, России и Беларуси?

- Относительно работы пунктов пропуска я уже вкратце рассказал Вам ситуацию. Пути решения проблемы есть. В соответствии с Договором о зоне свободной торговли, подписанного главами правительств СНГ в октябре 2011 года, в отношении товаров, вывозимых из стран СНГ в Кыргызстан, применение экспортных пошлин может регулироваться двухсторонними договоренностями. В этой связи, казахстанской стороне ранее были направлены на рассмотрение проекты межправительственных соглашений о мерах по урегулированию торгово-экономического сотрудничества в области экспорта отдельных видов товаров. Эти вопросы предмет переговоров с казахстанской стороной.

Относительно Таможенного Союза. Как Вам известно, Кыргызстан еще в 2011 году официально подал заявку о намерении вступить в Таможенный Союз. Мы рассчитываем на поддержку государств-участников Союза, и в частности Казахстана, в вопросах предоставления преференций в переходный период при вступлении Кыргызстана в Таможенный Союз, что должно быть предусмотрено поэтапное присоединение Кыргызстана к Таможенному союзу в рамках ЕврАзЭС. Мы исходим из того, что присоединение Кыргызской Республики к Таможенному союзу и Единому экономическому пространству (ЕЭП) отвечает национальным интересам страны, равно как и членство КР во Всемирной торговой организации с 1998 года.

Кыргызская сторона учитывает интересы всех членов ТС/ЕЭП по стремлению вступить во Всемирную торговую организацию, а также согласно подписанным соглашениям "тройкой" в рамках ТС, в которых обязательства, принимаемые первой страной, присоединяющейся к ВТО, становятся частью нормативно-правовой базы ТС. При этом, нормы ВТО будут иметь большую силу, чем нормы ТС.

- Руслан Айтбаевич, за 20 лет Кыргызстан надежно укрепил свои взаимоотношения с Казахстаном. Скажите, как, по вашему мнению, должно развиваться сотрудничество двух государств в ближайшее время?

- За время установления дипломатических отношений между государствами подписано более 120 документов, основными из которых являются Договор о вечной дружбе от 1997 года и Договор о союзнических отношениях от 2003 года. Союзнические отношения и стратегическое партнерство между нашими странами, которые мы намерены углублять и укреплять в дальнейшем, а также имеющие договоренности, создали условия для образования таких органов взаимодействия, как Высший Межгосударственный совет, кыргызско-казахстанский Межправительственный совет, Совет министров иностранных дел.

К примеру, в рамках Межправительственного совета созданы различные комиссии: Подкомиссия по приграничным вопросам и Комиссия по имущественным и другим неурегулированным вопросам и т.д. по каждому направлению сотрудничества, которые являются действенными механизмами двустороннего сотрудничества. Они должны работать и решать те или иные вопросы. И они заработали, и есть результаты.

Важно обеим сторонам исполнять все ранее подписанные соглашения и договоренности. Не должно быть исключений.

На ближайшую перспективу у нас есть трехлетний План мероприятий по сотрудничеству двух государств, который надо реализовать своевременно и в полной мере.

Есть еще одно немаловажное, может даже самое главное, направление, которому мы должны уделять первостепенное значение. Это укрепление духовного и культурного единства двух братских народов. В этом отношении весьма кстати начало месячника культуры Казахстана в Кыргызстане, которое проводится по поручению наших президентов.

В рамках месячника будут проведены гала-концерты с участием мастеров искусств, дни казахского кино, выставка художников, а также гастроли деятелей культуры Казахстана. В следующем году такой Месячник культуры Кыргызстана пройдет в Казахстане.

В заключение, я хотел бы отметить, что кыргызско-казахстанские многовековые исторические узы дружбы и братские отношения неразрывны, они будут только крепнуть и развиваться на благо наших народов и государств.

Askar Akayev

Published on 5 July 2016 by *Tsagrad*.

Source: https://tsagrad.tv/articles/askar-akaev-es-nichego-ne-mozhet-dat-ukraine_15517

Context : The host of the program "Real Time" on the TV channel Tsagrad Yuri Pronko talked with Askar Akayev, President of the Kyrgyz Republic in 1990-2005 (overthrown as a result of the Tulip Revolution in 2005). The focus is on the prospects for creating Greater Eurasia.

Ведущий программы "Реальное время" на телеканале Царьград Юрий Пронько пообщался с Аскарком Акаевым, президентом Киргизской Республики в 1990-2005 годах. В центре внимания - перспективы создания "Большой Евразии".

ЮРИЙ ПРОНЬКО: Президент России Владимир Путин выступил с инициативой по созданию нового глобального проекта - Большое Евразийское пространство. Уже сейчас более 40 стран мира проявили неподдельный интерес к этой инициативе Кремля. "Большая Евразия", проблемы и перспективы развития - это "Главная тема" сегодня в "Реальном времени".

Наш гость, эксперт - Аскар Акаев. Аскар Акаевич, здравствуйте.

АСКАР АКАЕВ: Здравствуйете.

Ю.П.: Давайте начнем с главной темы. Ваши первые мысли, которые возникли, когда вы слышали об этой инициативе президента?

А.А.: Я считаю, что эта инициатива весьма своевременная. Поскольку она имеет все основания. Мы знаем, что сам Евразийский экономический союз родился тоже по инициативе Владимира Владимировича Путина, примерно два года назад. Он как раз высказался о новой форме интеграции. И вот - сегодня функционирует Евразийский экономический союз. Правда, в усеченном виде. Хотелось бы, чтобы это была более глубокая, более полная интеграция. Но я думаю, придет и это время.

А что касается инициативы "Большой Евразии", я ее поддерживаю. Я считаю, что это инициатива, которая имеет длительное будущее. Это очень важная инициатива для XXI века, учитывая то, что сегодня возрождается как евразийская цивилизация, так и китайская, индийская. Мы видим, Шанхайская организация сотрудничества сегодня крепнет и расширяется. Только недавно в Ташкенте были приняты новые члены ШОС. Это Индия, Пакистан, на очереди Иран. Таким образом, структурирование "Большой Евразии" уже идет, а в центре - действительно евразийская цивилизация, которая может служить мостом между этим нарождающимся на Востоке таким мощным союзом и Европейским союзом на Западе. Эта идея получит скоро и материально-экономическое, во многих измерениях подтверждение.

Например, во время недавнего визита президента Путина в Китай было подписано большое соглашение с председателем Китайской Народной Республики Синь Цзиньпинем. Там как раз предусматривается разработка и принятие обширного торгового соглашения между Евразийским союзом и Китаем. Постепенно это, конечно, перейдет, я думаю, в торговое соглашение в новом формате - между Евразийским союзом и странами Шанхайской организации; со временем, и с Европейским союзом. И я убежден, что это даст огромный импульс.

Только что вы говорили о проблемах в экономическом развитии России, о стагнации российской экономики, об урезании поддержки...

Ю.П.: Социальных расходов.

А.А.: И мне кажется, что как раз нужен динамичный рост экономик - не только России, но и всех стран Евразийского экономического сообщества. Нужен успех - для того чтобы это интеграционное объединение - ЕврАзЭС - стало успешным и привлекательным.

Как оптимист, я тоже участвовал в формировании интеграционных объединений на постсоветском пространстве. Я считаю, что если и будет успех в экономической сфере, то благодаря импульсам, благодаря развитию торговли между Евразийским экономическим союзом и Китаем, который реально может начаться. Потому что это было поддержано президентом РФ и председателем Китайской Народной Республики, и президентами всех стран Евразийского экономического сообщества. И это могло бы, я думаю, привести к расширению, к успешному продвижению интеграционного союза. Я оптимист и верю, что через годы это могло бы превратить евразийскую пятерку уже в евразийскую десятку.

Ю.П.: Даже так? Если рассматривать в долгую?

А.А.: Да, в долгую. Даже в среднесрочном аспекте - к примеру, с горизонтом 10 лет, - я думаю, это было бы. Вот сейчас появляется прекрасная возможность дать импульс. То есть появляется один из внешних источников для того, чтобы начать экономический рост - как в России, так и в странах Евразийского экономического союза.

Ю.П.: Если мы говорим о "Большой Евразии", какие здесь могут быть подводные камни, какие вы видите проблемы?

А.А.: Проблема, конечно же, в основном в терроризме. Усиление международных террористических сил, которые набрали вес на пространстве "Большой Евразии",

начиная от Афганистана до Ближнего Востока. Сегодня все еще продолжается кризис в Сирии, но надеемся, что уже найден подход к его разрешению.

Будем надеяться, что эти проблемы начнут решаться. Мне представляется, что интеграционные процессы начнут снимать эти проблемы. Например, вступление в Шанхайскую организацию Индии и Пакистана. Индия и Пакистан, вы знаете, - страны, которые долгое время имеют пограничные претензии друг к другу.

Ю.П.: Непростые, прямо скажем, отношения.

А.А.: Непростые. Но меня радует и вселяет надежду на то, что дела пойдут на поправку в этом регионе, тот факт, что они вступили одновременно в Шанхайскую организацию сотрудничества. А ведь Шанхайская организация сотрудничества возникла на почве именно создания дружеского окружения. Китай хотел дружеского окружения, страны СНГ хотели дружеского окружения: стремились на основе взаимного согласия решить пограничные споры - и все проблемы были решены. И мне кажется, что таким образом начнут сначала смягчаться, а потом и сниматься проблемы, которые стоят между Индией и Пакистаном.

Между Индией и Китаем тоже когда-то были проблемы. Но ведь сейчас они постепенно решаются. Они находятся и в БРИКС, и в ШОС теперь - и мы видим, как торговое, экономическое сотрудничество всесторонне развивается между Китаем и Индией.

Ну а у России с Индией всегда были прекрасные отношения.

Ю.П.: И не только торгово-экономические.

А.А.: Да, в военно-технологической сфере тоже, во многих других сферах.

Поэтому эти события вселяют в меня оптимизм: будет упрочение мира, стабильности на пространстве "Большой Евразии", которая как раз создаст благоприятные условия для, прежде всего, торгово-экономических связей. Сегодня производственный потенциал Китая - колоссальный. Китай имеет огромные инвестиционные ресурсы. И если действительно торгово-экономическое и инвестиционное сотрудничество будет набирать обороты между евразийскими странами Евразийского экономического союза и Китаем, я уверен, что это будет одним из благоприятных экзогенных источников для экономического роста.

Вы сейчас как раз говорили о внутренних источниках. Я с вами полностью солидарен: для того чтобы начать рост в российской экономике, надо прежде всего стимулировать потребительский спрос. А следовательно, нужно как-то подумать о том, как наращивать доходы населения. Потому что именно доходы служат источниками спроса. С другой стороны, нужны, конечно же, инвестиции. Для того чтобы пошли инвестиции, действительно ресурсы есть. Но нужны проекты, нужны технологии, инновации, в которые можно было бы без оглядки инвестировать имеющийся капитал.

Вот, ко всем этим трем источникам добавляется это важное - внешние источники. Это могло бы стимулировать начало оживления и подъема экономик стран Евразийского союза.

Ю.П.: Давайте я сегодня буду сомневаться, и вы будете опровергать мои сомнения. Если рассмотреть структуру экономик стран, которые входят в Евразийский экономический союз, - мягко говоря, это разные структуры. Есть определенные, в какой-то мере противоречия. А если мы говорим о более серьезной интеграции, здесь вы не видите подводных камней?

А.А.: Я сторонник буддизма - в том плане, что у буддистов есть очень хорошая предпосылка: глаза человеку даны спереди - надо всегда смотреть вперед, созидать будущее, а не оглядываться назад и бороться с прошлым. Знаете, я считаю, что в нашем прошлом было много замечательного, много хорошего, которое мы, может быть, потеряли в значительной мере, но еще не все. Поэтому надо смотреть вперед. И в чем я вижу, например, точки сопряжения. Смотрите, президент Путин проявил

инициативу замечательную - сопряжение Евразийского экономического союза с Экономическим поясом Великого шелкового пути.

Ю.П.: Это проект Пекина.

А.А.: Да. Я считаю, что для Китая это жизненно важно. Потому что мы видим, что Трансатлантический союз и другие союзы пытаются в общем-то изолировать Китай и Россию от новых центров мирового роста, мировой торговли. В этой ситуации, конечно, Китай неслучайно начал этот экономический Шелковый путь. Потому что Китаю нужно уже на большом Евразийском континенте прокладывать пути для торговли, пути для инвестиций, пути для влияния. И тут страны Евразийского экономического союза, в первую очередь Россия и Казахстан, очень хорошие имеют позиции, могут оказаться в выигрыше. Поэтому это очень правильное было решение. Страны Евразийского союза, мы когда-то имели в общем-то одну экономику и были очень гармонично состыкованы.

Ю.П.: Взаимно интегрированы.

А.А.: Взаимно интегрированы. Причем были настолько глубоко интегрированы, что была экономика, которая работала как часы, можно сказать. Как хорошие швейцарские часы.

Ю.П.: Вы имеете в виду советскую экономику?

А.А.: Советскую эпоху, особенно 1960-1970-е годы. В 1980-х уже, конечно, начало потихоньку рушится, к сожалению великому. Но к этому можно вернуться. Да, мы много потеряли из-за деиндустриализации, но сегодня надо наверстывать.

В России президент Путин всегда говорит о том, что мы должны переходить на рельсы реиндустриализации, на технологическое перевооружение. Необходимо насыщать экономику инновационными продуктами, товарами и так далее, инновационной технологией. Вот на этой основе страны Евразийского экономического союза могли бы создать новую интегрированную экономику. Ведь об этом говорит и президент Казахстана. Об этом мечтают, конечно, и другие страны Евразийского экономического сообщества. Потому что без реиндустриализации, без создания новой индустрии говорить о таком мощном экономическом подъеме, конечно, не придется.

Я хочу привести такой пример. Был создан, если вы помните, Центр высоких технологий стран Евразийского экономического сообщества, но он бездействовал. Почему? Там даже были, я знаю, десятки, сотни проектов из всех стран Евразийского экономического сообщества. Из России, Белоруссии, Казахстана (в основном из трех этих крупных стран, конечно), Армении и других стран. И Кыргызстан мой родной, конечно, мог бы присоединиться к этим проектам. Но все эти проекты лежали, не реализовывались из-за отсутствия инвестиционных ресурсов. Не было инвестиций.

А сейчас, как раз во время визита президента Путина в Китайскую Народную Республику, было подписано соглашение об инвестиционном сотрудничестве. И китайская сторона берется как раз инвестировать в этот Центр высоких технологий Евразийского экономического союза. То есть появляется возможность совместно с Китаем инвестировать в те инновационные проекты, которые собраны в рамках Евразийского экономического союза. И это может произойти буквально в ближайшие годы. А это инновации, это новые технологии. И это технологии, которые касаются всех стран, не только, допустим, Белоруссии отдельно. Ведь Евразийская экономическая комиссия отбирала проекты, которые затрагивают экономические интересы всех стран - и Казахстана, и Белоруссии, и России... Теперь это интересно и Китаю.

Теперь, представьте себе, Китай (а у Китая есть инвестиционные ресурсы и достигнута договоренность) начнет инвестировать в эти проекты. И таким образом появляются новые производственные предприятия на территории стран Евразийского экономического союза. Это и новые тысячи рабочих мест высококвалифицированных, о чем мечтал президент Путин. Это добавленная

стоимость, это начало роста экономики. То есть вот такие точки роста могут появиться. Это мощнейший стимул для дальнейшего динамичного развития и углубления Евразийского экономического союза.

То есть я смотрю оптимистично. В ближайшие годы может пойти такое динамичное развитие.

Ю.П.: Аскар Акаевич, я не думаю, что наши западные партнеры будут смотреть и наблюдать за происходящим интеграционным усилением между двумя глобальными проектами - Евразийским экономическим союзом и проектом Китая Великий шелковый путь. На ваш взгляд, здесь они смогут на противоречиях сыграть?

А.А.: Естественно, позиция Соединенных Штатов Америки однозначная - не допустить усиления "Большой Евразии" - ни Китая, ни России, ни Индии. Но я считаю, что время гегемонии Соединенных Штатов Америки проходит. Конечно, еще некоторое время, еще пару десятилетий Америка, конечно, будет диктовать миру (во многом, санкциями, военными операциями) свои условия. Но эпоха такого гегемона, к счастью для народов мира, все-таки проходит.

Ю.П.: Это уже вчерашний день?

А.А.: Это вчерашний день. Развивающиеся страны, лидерами которых сегодня являются Китай и Индия, набрали такую мощь. Американцы, видимо, даже не могли предположить лет 20 назад, что могут упустить такое динамичное развитие Китая. Они помогали, вы помните хорошо, перемещали технологии в Китай.

Ю.П.: Производства целые.

А.А.: Да, целые производства, передавали технологию. Конечно, тоже в интересах финансового капитала Соединенных Штатов Америки. Ну а потом, 90 процентов прибыли все-таки шли в Америку - от передачи этих технологий. Но все-таки они упустили момент, когда Китай трансформировался в самостоятельную технологическую державу. Сегодня Китай уже сам динамично развивает технологии, во многих направлениях становится лидером. Индия тоже. У Индии ближайшие перспективы даже гораздо лучше, чем у Китая и у стран БРИКС. Сейчас Китай, первые 10 лет, был лидером. А следующие 10 лет, я уверен, будет Индия лидером.

Россия имеет самые передовые технологии в военно-технической сфере, с этим никто не спорит. Операция в Сирии показала, что последние усилия, которые были предприняты по улучшению в этой сфере, дали результаты. Практически дали. Но теперь в России, конечно, надо решать вопросы в сфере гражданских технологий - либо путем конверсии, либо путем решительной поддержки инновационного развития.

Ю.П.: Формы могут быть разные.

А.А.: Да. И тогда "Большая Евразия", под лидерством России, Китая и Индии, становится мощной экономической и геополитической силой.

И я хотел бы сказать следующее. Европейский союз сегодня все-таки находится у точки бифуркации. Это приводит к размышлению европейских лидеров: а не повернуться ли тоже в сторону Евразии? То есть дружить по атлантической линии, конечно, они всегда будут. Но экономически, мне кажется, Европейский союз тоже может повернуться. Потому что от развития проекта Шелкового пути Европейский союз тоже может колоссально выиграть. И этого Европа не может упустить.

Посмотрите, в Средние века, когда процветал Великий шелковый путь, ведь вся инновационная продукция шла из Китая в Европу. И знания тоже из арабского мира перекочевали...

Ю.П.: Когда-то это уже было.

А.А.: А сейчас это может стать двусторонним движением. То есть Восток "Большой Евразии" конечно заинтересован в передовых технологиях, в передовом

менеджменте, который может прийти с Европы. А Европа заинтересована, потому что продукцию Европы может поглотить растущий средний класс Индии и Китая. Я несколько лет назад был в Китае, встречался с учеными, встречался с профессорами университета. Профессор университета ездит на БМВ немецкого производства. Хотя эти же БМВ производятся в Китае. Я его спрашиваю: "Слушайте, а почему вы не пользуетесь БМВ китайского производства?" Он говорит: "Качество примерно одно и то же, но это - престиж!" Престиж - поэтому он покупает БМВ в Германии, германского производства, предпочитая китайскому. Поэтому Европа может развернуться.

Последние 40 лет были эпохой экономики предложения. Предложение решало. В мире все предлагали людям, покупали. Особенно послевоенные 30 лет - эпоха процветания. В общем, средний класс вырос колоссально на Западе. Он поглощал все. А сейчас в Америке средние классы размываются, Америка теряет позиции. В самой Европе тоже. А всю эту высокотехнологичную, высококачественную, но дорогую продукцию европейского производства кто будет покупать? Будет покупать средний класс.

Ю.П.: Но и странам Евразийского экономического союза надо наращивать свои возможности. То же самолетостроение.

А.А.: Поэтому я думаю, что Евразийский экономический союз оказывается между Европейским союзом и Китаем - даже больше, ШОС давайте возьмем. БРИКС не будем брать, потому что Бразилия - далеко на континенте. Возьмем ШОС и Европейский союз, а в центре - Евразийская цивилизация. Поэтому я считаю, что это была замечательная инициатива Владимира Владимировича Путина - все-таки повышать интеграционный уровень. Я убежден, если будут в течение 4-5 лет успехи в экономическом развитии, если пойдет развитие новых технологий, новых производств инновационных на основе общих проектов... А проекты рождаются в основном в России, но они приносят плоды всем.

Ю.П.: Эффект получают все страны.

А.А.: Эффект получают все, и это будет укреплять союз. И тогда, я уверен, он превратится в "десятку", а где-то через 15-20 лет, я убежден, может появиться снова Евразийская дюжина - все тринадцать. И Украина придет, и Молдова, и Грузия. Все снова придут, я уверен. Украина пройдет через эти адские коридоры, испытает все и вернется домой. Европейский союз Украине ничего дать не может. И... сегодня, конечно, огромная проблема с Турцией, но 10 лет назад я слышал от турецких бизнесменов: "Слушайте, мы все строим в России, вся Россия отдыхает, кормит Турцию на побережье Турции. А почему бы нам пойти не в Европейский союз, а в ЕврАзЭС?" Такое было, между прочим.

Ю.П.: И вы не исключаете того, что и Анкара также развернется.

А.А.: Со временем. Потому что недавно премьер-министр Великобритании сказал, что Турцию не примут в ЕС и к третьему тысячелетию. И это истина. Поэтому со временем и Турция может.

Я убежден, что и Узбекистан, Азербайджан, Грузия, Украина - они все могут. Успехи экономической интеграции приведут к этому, я уверен. И может появиться просто Евразийский союз - с более полными полномочиями, с наднациональными органами, как в Европейском союзе.

Я думаю, что эта инициатива, эта идея Владимира Владимировича Путина - очень дальновидная стратегия. И она принесет пользу всем странам "Большой Евразии". То есть "Большая Евразия" сегодня уже формируется, понимаете? Благодаря успехам Китая, Индии, благодаря успехам ШОС. "Большая Евразия" уже продвигается, вот пожалуйста, по Великому шелковому пути.

Ю.П.: То есть получается, что это уже не проект, а реальность?

А.А.: Это реальность, это уже реальность. Потому что - посмотрите, инфраструктурные проекты. Причем Китай готов вложить триллионы долларов, реальные триллионы долларов. Ведь уже проложены трубы, дороги строятся по

Казахстану... Поэтому я считаю, что проект "Большой Евразии" будет иметь решающее значение в геополитических изменениях XXI века в ближайшие десятилетия. Я убежден, мир будет менять "Большая Евразия". "Большая Евразия" будет лидером мирового развития в XXI веке, начиная с первой трети. Я в этом убежден.

Ю.П.: Спасибо вам огромное, Аскар Акаевич, мне было приятно провести с вами это время здесь, в студии телеканала Царьград. Надеюсь, это наша первая, но далеко не последняя встреча. Тем более, я с вами полностью согласен. "Большая Евразия" - это не вчера, это даже не сегодня, это завтра глобального мира и глобальной экономики.

А.А.: Да, это завтра, это будущее мира, я считаю.

Ю.П.: Спасибо огромное.

2017

Askar Akayev

Published on 30 March 2017 by *Eurasian Studies*.

Source: <http://eurasian-studies.org/archives/3526>

Context: speech at the round table "The Big Eurasian partnership: challenges, problems, opportunities".

_ Аскар Акаев, президент Кыргызской Республики. Текст выступления на круглом столе «Большое Евразийское Партнерство: вызовы, проблемы, возможности». Москва, 30 марта 2017 г.

Инициатива В.В. Путина на ПМЭФ — 2016 связана налаживанием партнерства в рамках Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества, Евразийского экономического союза, с выходом на страны Юго-Восточной Азии, Японию, Южную Корею, страны АСЕАН. А на Западе – Европейский союз.

Естественно, основной компонентой в большом евразийском партнерстве является Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества. Я в своем докладе как раз хочу сконцентрироваться именно на будущем потенциале Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества. Как известно, Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества была создана в 2001 году по инициативе России и Китая с целью обеспечить стабильное и безопасное развитие на беспокойном, огромном Центрально-Азиатском регионе.

Сегодня Шанхайская организация является одной из самых авторитетных региональных межгосударственных объединений, и мы видим, как повышается интерес Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества, с вступлением года два назад в эту организации Индии, Пакистана. Сегодня ШОС возглавляет три великие державы, можно сказать, три цивилизации – китайская, индийская и евразийская во главе с Российской Федерацией.

И, конечно же, та очередь, которая стоит в Шанхайскую организацию, а на очереди сегодня Иран, Афганистан, страны Ближнего Востока. Изъявили желание такие страны, как Египет, Сирия, Израиль и многие другие, стать партнерами по диалогу в Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества. Это все свидетельствует о возрастающем интересе к этой крупнейшей и авторитетнейшей региональной межгосударственной организации.

Очень важно подчеркнуть, что Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества – это организация совершенно нового типа. Это организация, которая отвечает вызовам XXI века и в основе отношений в Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества лежат прогрессивные принципы, которые названы шанхайским духом. Это, в

первую очередь, равенство государств-участников этой организации. Невмешательство во внутренние дела других государств. Это взаимное доверие, взаимное сотрудничество в целях взаимной выгоды. Как видите, самые прогрессивные, самые справедливые принципы лежат в основе этой организации. И поэтому она сегодня является привлекательной организацией. Мы видим очень много государств, которые хотели бы присоединиться.

Сегодня мы видим, что Шанхайская организация как раз наиболее эффективно обеспечивает стабильное безопасное развитие в своем регионе, и, конечно, расширение этой организации на Запад. Как мы видим, вступление Ирана, стран Ближнего Востока и далее, будет распространять, я это утверждаю. Считаю, что как раз эта организация способна решить проблемы нерешенные, которые остались от XX века. Это и проблемы Афганистана, это и проблемы Ближнего Востока по обеспечению стабильного, безопасного, процветающего развития на огромном Евразийском всем континенте.

До последнего времени, конечно, слабинкой Шанхайской организации можно было считать экономическую составляющую. Она, действительно, не соответствовала заявленным целям при создании этой организации в 2001 году. Но вот в 2013 году председатель Китайской Народной Республики Си Цзиньпин выступил с эпохальной инициативой по созданию нового Великого шелкового пути. Шелкового пути, который призван преобразить в геоэкономический и геополитический ландшафт всего Евразийского континент. И можно полагать, что в значительной мере эта цель, наверно, будет достигнута уже в первой половине XXI века, а именно в 30-40-х годах нашего столетия.

Естественно, что эпохальный проект, выдвинутый Китаем, «Один пояс – один путь», который состоит из двух суперпроектов – «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути», и «Морской Шелковый путь» XXI века. Они призваны, в первую очередь, оживить, усилить как раз экономическое измерение Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества, с одной стороны. С другой стороны, конечно же, Китай рассчитывает таким образом оживить внешнюю торговлю, тогда как Соединенные Штаты Америки хотят ограничить эти возможности Китая созданием Трансатлантического и Транстихоокеанского инициатив. Но мы видим, что в отличие от этих западных инициатив – Транстихоокеанского и Трансатлантического торгового партнерства, что опять же в основе выдвинутого Китаем проекта «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути», лежат совершенно новые принципы, отличные от тех, которые лежали в соответствующих инициативах Запада в XX и начале XXI века.

А эти принципы – это расширенный состав тех же принципов, которые легли в основу шанхайского духа. Более того, китайское правительство предлагает учесть максимальным образом интересы всех тех стран, которые присоединятся к проекту «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути» и даже оказать содействие и помощь. Эти принципы формулируются следующим образом, что китайское правительство готово идти на совместные консультации, совместное планирование, совместное строительство и совместное обоюдывыгодное строительство, и эксплуатацию нового Великого шелкового пути. И мы видим, что эти принципы как раз отвечают интересам всех стран, которые, конечно, окажутся на новом Шелковом пути XXI века, и этим китайская инициатива кардинальным образом отличается от тех принципов, которые заложены в американской инициативе Трансокеанского и Трансатлантического партнерств.

И замечательно, что Российская Федерация в числе первых государств поддержала эту инициативу Китайской Народной Республики. И мы с вами хорошо помним, что два года назад в мае 2015 года лидеры двух государств – президент России Владимир Владимирович Путин и председатель Китайской Народной Республики Си Цзиньпин подписали совместное заявление о сопряжении проекта «Экономический пояс Шелкового пути» и Евразийский экономический союз.

Многие эксперты считают, что это историческое решение. Решение состоялось, но, конечно, теперь его надо воплощать. Воплощать Китай, мы видим, намерен осуществить этот проект в полной мере так, как это задумано. Мы это видим даже по огромным объемам финансовых ресурсов, которые планируется направить на осуществление «шелковых проектов». Посмотрите, только один Банк развития Китая объявил, что до 2020 года, то есть предстоящие четыре года, будет финансировать «шелковые проекты» в объеме около 1 трлн американских долларов. Это огромная сумма. Один триллион на создание нового Шелкового пути XXI века, и мы видим, что намерения Китая весьма серьезны.

Самое главное, уже запущены демонстрационные проекты. Один я назову в Пакистане – начато строительство крупнейшей гидроэлектростанции, которая будет вырабатывать 700-800 мегаватт энергии, которая будет стоить примерно 2 млрд долларов.

Сегодня китайская компания «Три ущелья» знаменитая, начала строительство этой электростанции как раз на той самой реке, которая, вы помните, несколько лет назад затопила практически всех процветающие оазисы Пакистана, когда унесло более 2 млн животных. И пострадали очень многие районы. Так вот, эта электростанция, кроме электроэнергии, очень нужная для развития Пакистана, навсегда исключит из жизни пакистанского народа такие наводнения, которые приносили ранее очень много бед. Один из демонстрационных проектов, который уже начат.

Поэтому, конечно, перед Россией, Российской Федерацией, а Российская Федерация крайне заинтересована должна быть в реализации, в совместном сопряжении. То есть решение, которое уже принято лидерами России и Китая, именно в опережающем темпе, я считаю, что Россия и страны Евразийского экономического союза должны действовать в опережающем темпе. Сегодня нас очень тревожит, что мы, наоборот, опаздываем. Если мы будем опаздывать, Китай настроен очень серьезно. Он будет строить новый Великий шелковый путь, и мы окажемся странами транзита этого Великого шелкового пути. Через наши страны пройдут транспортные коридоры, высокоскоростные железнодорожные, автомобильные и прочие. И мы окажемся просто транзитом на этом новом караванном пути шелковом XXI века.

А мы должны ставить задачу, чтобы Россия и евразийские страны стали бы партнерами. Они бы встроились в эту цепочку строящегося нового Шелкового пути, стали бы одними из главных логистических центров и промышленных баз на новом Шелковом пути. Чтобы просто оценить каковы будут объемы торговли на новом Шелковом пути, я назову только одну цифру, которую назвал как целевую, председатель Си Цзиньпин. Он объявил, что к 2030 году на новом Шелковом пути объемы торговли Китая со странами на этом пути должны удвоиться.

А что это означает? Сегодня объем торговли Китая со странами на предполагаемом Шелковом пути составляет примерно 1 трлн 250 млрд американских долларов. Представьте себе сумму. К сожалению, я не буду называть обороты, которые приходится на страны ЕврАзЭС, она, к сожалению, мизерна сегодня. Поэтому мы опаздываем. А через 15 лет, в 2030 году удвоят. Это означает, что торговый оборот на Великом шелковом пути Китая со всеми странами будет 2,5. Только Китая! Я не беру, ведь подключится Европейский союз. Конечная цель Китая – это довести Шелковый путь до европейского покупателя, богатого покупателя, который будет покупать товары, так же, как это было на древнем Великом шелковом пути.

Вы помните, Китай экспортировал шелк, фарфор, а все золото Запада текло в обратном направлении, в Китай. Сегодня Китай ставит ту же цель. Поэтому, конечно, из тех хоты 2,5 трлн, конечно, мы должны были бы львиную долю торгового оборота оставить в России и странах Евразийского союза. И тогда они бы процветали. У них был бы развит экспорт, добавленная стоимость и, конечно, это привело бы к резкому улучшению жизненного уровня, так, как это и было в оазисах на пути древнего Великого шелкового пути, где оседали товары, оседали знания, инновации, на Великом шелковом пути.

Поэтому я считаю, что такое сопряжение Евразийского экономического союза, потенциала, и нового «Экономического пояса Шелкового пути» Китая, оно, конечно, открывает колоссальные возможности для будущего динамичного развития экономик на Евразийском континенте. Юрий Владимирович здесь хорошо сказал, что это партнерство предполагает охватить весь континент, от стран АСЕАН на востоке до Англии на западе, которая сейчас вышла из Европейского союза, и, слава Богу. Она присоединится в следующем уже к этому большому евразийскому партнерству. И в этом я вижу такой локомотив динамичного развития в XXI веке.

Но мы, к сожалению, страны Евразийского союза, сегодня очень запаздываем. У нас нет четко сформулированных стратегий до сих пор. Китай уже имеет стратегию конкретную. Более того, как я уже привел пример, он уже начал осуществлять эту стратегию. Поэтому я призываю всех, кого волнует, интересуется этот вопрос, что мы должны бить тревогу, что мы должны бы развиваться опережающими, идти навстречу этому эпохальному проекту и встраиваться в него, как партнер полноправный, который бы представлял собой один из важнейших логистических центров. И, самое главное, индустриальных баз.

Посмотрите, все достижения интернет-технологий, интернет-индустрии, Китай предполагает, что новый Шелковый путь будет строиться на базе интернет-индустрии. То есть по нему не будут идти караваны с товаром, как на древнем Великом шелковом пути. А по нему пойдут программы. А товары будут печататься непосредственно по соседству потребителя на 3D-принтерах. Я так для доступности грубо говорю. Но примерно так будет происходить. Поэтому я призываю активизировать нашу деятельность, чтобы в странах Евразийского союза так же динамично приняли участие в этом эпохальном проекте, который может стать мощным локомотивом для экономического развития и повышения жизненного уровня наших народов.

Temir Sariyev

Published on 28 March 2017 by *Regnum*.

Source: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2255601.html>

Context: 8 months left before the presidential election in Kyrgyzstan, the election campaign is already underway. A REGNUM correspondent asked one of the candidates for the presidency Temir Sariev about his views on the future of the country.

ИА REGNUM: Какие направления внешнеполитической деятельности Киргизии вы считаете наиболее важными в том случае, если станете президентом?

В целом, стратегически Киргизия проводит достаточно продуманную внешнюю политику. Главным приоритетом для нас, как впрочем и для любой другой страны, является обеспечение тесных добрососедских отношений с ближайшими географическими соседями и экономическими партнерами. В этой связи считаю, что мы должны продолжать углублять интеграционные процессы, в которых мы находимся.

В первую очередь это касается ЕАЭС, потому что это правильный путь для поднятия нашей экономики, восстановления промышленного потенциала, обеспечения экономической безопасности... Почему? Потому что наши рынки сбыта, инфраструктура были ориентированы раньше и по-прежнему ориентированы преимущественно на страны бывшего Советского Союза. Это экономические реалии, и мы должны более эффективно использовать все возможности, которые потенциально есть.

Второй вопрос — конечно, наша безопасность. Это в рамках ОДКБ. Напряженность в мире растет, ни одна страна, даже великая, не может одна обеспечивать свою безопасность. Тем более в таких вопросах, как терроризм и экстремизм. Необходима международная кооперация. Должно быть очень тесное взаимодействие специальных служб и совместные согласованные действия.

В-третьих, мы живем в большом пространстве, в пространстве Евразии и обязательно — это Шанхайская организация сотрудничества. Этот орган сейчас имеет динамику, есть потенциальные новые члены, которые в этом году уже станут полноправными. Это Пакистан и Индия. Интерес к этой организации растет, и я думаю, что в перспективе к ШОС присоединится и ряд других стран.

Естественно, мы взаимодействуем и должны продолжать взаимодействовать с Китаем, Европейским союзом и другими странами и союзами, потому что у нас есть определенные взаимовыгодные направления сотрудничества, которые обязательно надо развивать. А в целом, я думаю, со всеми странами, которые нас окружают, и со всеми странами, которые имеют хорошие намерения, Киргизии надо продолжать сотрудничать как в рамках двухсторонних отношений, так и в рамках многосторонних моментов.

ИА REGNUM : Что бы вы изменили во внешней политике?

Я бы сказал, что нужно продолжать поддерживать те позитивные тенденции, которые есть. Для этого нужна твердость и последовательность в политике. Многие страны сейчас нуждаются в доверии. Если какие-то есть сомнения, то, конечно, это сразу высказывается во взаимодействии. Нужно ли резко что-то менять? Я не думаю. Тот тренд, тот вектор, который мы выбрали, испытан временем, и нам его нужно только углублять и расширять. Нужно, чтобы наша политика была стабильной и предсказуемой.

ИА REGNUM: Что вы понимаете под «стабильной политикой»?

Мы не должны шархаться из одной стороны в другую. Должна быть выверенная, четкая, понятная позиция. А эта позиция вырабатывается, исходя из принципов полезности для Киргизии. Здесь не нужно что-то заумное выдумывать. Есть экономическая, политическая и геополитическая целесообразность, исходя из которой мы должны строить внешнюю политику.

ИА REGNUM: Какие преимущества и недостатки от участия Киргизии в ЕАЭС вы видите?

Преимущества: мы вошли в союз, члены которого имеют более развитую экономику, в том числе более развитую промышленность, и покупательская способность намного выше. Для нас это открывает новые рынки, новые возможности. Евразийский экономический союз создан в первую очередь, чтобы открыть рынки своих членов, во-вторых, защитить рынок стран ЕАЭС, и в-третьих, дать возможность внутри рынка создать равную конкуренцию.

Сегодня идет критика, иногда довольно жесткая, по поводу ЕАЭС. Зачастую такая критика справедлива. Многие говорят, что мы вошли неподготовленными, и надо было сначала пройти все этапы подготовки. Но мы должны понимать, что если бы мы далее тянули, то ситуация еще бы усугубилась. Если бы не вошли, сейчас бы критики было во сто крат больше. Потому что, если не учитывать экспорт золота, то наш экспорт ориентирован почти на 70 процентов на рынки России и Казахстана. Если мы возьмем импорт, по основным видам мы полностью зависим от стран, которые входят в Таможенный союз: это нефтепродукты, зерно, лесоматериалы, строительные материалы, железо, оборудование, химическая продукция. Это надо понимать. Поэтому я об этом неоднократно говорил, это было исторически правильное и политически выверенное решение.

Что касается проблем, то мы о них знаем, и критика, еще раз повторюсь, во многом справедливая. Она мощный стимул для того, чтобы быстрыми темпами решать проблемы. Кроме того, к сожалению, присоединение Киргизии к Евразийскому экономическому союзу совпало с определенными кризисными явлениями в России и в Казахстане. Темпы роста упали, даже были отрицательные результаты, покупательная способность немного снизилась. Но, я думаю, интеграционные союзы создаются не на один день, необходимо думать стратегически и смотреть не на год, а хотя бы на 5–10 лет вперед. Сейчас идет переходный период. Киргизия еще воспользуется всеми потенциальными преимуществами этого союза.

В принципе, при вхождении мы учитывали риски и провели работу для взятия необходимых преференций, а также выработали совместные действия. Это грантовая помощь в размере 200 млн долларов со стороны Российской Федерации, которая будет направлена на адаптацию наших государственных органов и укрепление наших границ, таможенных постов по внешней границе, обучение, создание необходимых лабораторий. Это все было обговорено в договоре. Мы создали Российско-Киргизский фонд развития, который будет помогать бизнесу в адаптации к вхождению в Евразийский экономический союз. Это уже сейчас работает.

Часто спрашивают: «Можно было бы не входить?» Я могу сказать, что, конечно, можно было и не входить, но тогда мы должны были быть готовы к еще более худшему сценарию в экономике. Потому что вся наша инфраструктура и весь наш рынок ориентирован на рынок Таможенного союза, и нам нужно было бы тогда

искать другие рынки сбыта. А их найти гораздо сложнее, и конкуренция там в разы выше.

Работая еще министром экономики, мы проводили исследование и разработали три варианта развития событий: пессимистичный, базовый и оптимистичный. При оптимистичном варианте развития мы предполагали, что в первые два года рост составит 2 процента, но по итогам прошлого года он составил 3,5 процента. То есть мы опередили даже оптимистичный прогноз. Согласно базовому развитию, мы считали, рост будет от 0 до 1 процента, при пессимистичном — минус 5–6 процентов. Все-таки те меры, которые мы предприняли, несмотря на спад экономик России и Казахстана, обеспечили более мягкую форму интеграции в ЕАЭС. Адаптационный период продлится примерно 3–5 лет. Это, конечно, не значит, что спустя пять лет у нас все будет идеально. Нет. Но станет открываться все больше возможностей. Самая главная идеология ЕАЭС — это подъем внутреннего производства, подъем промышленности, коллективная защита внутреннего рынка. Вместе с тем внутри рынка идет большая конкуренция, свобода капиталов, товаров, трудовых ресурсов и услуг. При этом внешне мы достаточно жестко защищаем внутренний рынок. Это даст возможность для развития внутреннего рынка, подъема промышленности, создания новых рабочих мест и обеспечения большей свободы для наших граждан в плане передвижения и работы.

ИА REGNUM: Кто из государственных деятелей прошлого или настоящего вам кажется персонажем, у которого можно что-то позаимствовать или взять за образец?

Каждая ситуация требует своих лидеров, исходя из этого возникает вопрос, что именно в этот момент проявляется талант руководителей, которые будут возглавлять страну. Поэтому сложно сказать однозначно.

Например, во время Второй мировой войны полномочия и, соответственно, ответственность руководителей воюющих стран была очень высокой. Сейчас много критики, что кто-то из них что-то сделал неправильно. Но в то время была война, и время требовало именно таких решений. В послевоенный период восстановления, просто уму непостижимо как Советский Союз, наши отцы и деды сумели все-таки не только восстановить страну, но и за короткий срок сделать ее более сильной, более могущественной. Более того, в 1957 году Советский Союз впервые в мире запустил в космос спутник, а в 1961 — первого космонавта. Это был грандиозный прорыв во всех отношениях.

Если сравнить по времени, с момента приобретения независимости Киргизии прошло уже 25 лет, а если мы возьмем время Октябрьской революции в 1917-м году, потом еще гражданская война до 21 года, и до начала войны тоже прошло 25 лет.

Советский Союз за это время сумел пройти огромный путь и стать одним из мощнейших промышленных государств, которое победило фашистскую Германию. А мы за те же 25 лет не только не сумели развить, но мы даже не смогли сохранить былую промышленность и тот потенциал, который у нас был. Достижения СССР появились в силу комплекса причин, одной из которых были люди, включая целую плеяду руководителей, менеджеров, как сейчас принято говорить.

Есть пример азиатских стран: Южной Кореи, Малайзии, Сингапура, Китая, где ускоренное экономическое развитие также прошло в достаточно короткие сроки. И там тоже это происходило во многом благодаря неординарным личностям — руководителям государств. А есть примеры стран, где из-за безответственного отношения и неграмотности руководителей потенциально богатые страны скатывались в яму нищеты и коррупции. Поэтому личности играют очень важную роль в судьбах своих стран.

Что касается Киргизии, к сожалению, после обретения независимости мы не сумели консолидировать общество, заложить фундамент и дать тот толчок, который мог бы обеспечить быстрое развитие страны. Я считаю, что это наша упущенная выгода в масштабах целой страны. Но у Киргизии есть возможность наверстать упущенное и сделать это более быстрыми темпами. Мы прошли достаточно хороший урок, прошли две революции, мы пережили определенные шоки, у народа выработался определенный иммунитет к вранью, и все это должно дать хороший толчок для развития.

ИА REGNUM: Что бы вы передали читателям в России от себя лично?

В мире происходят бурные процессы, которые от каждого из нас требуют определенного переосмысления. Даже те страны, которые всегда били себя в грудь и кричали, что они — оплот демократии, сегодня столкнулись с невиданными ранее проблемами. Они часто стали говорить об обмане, двуличии, лицемерии, и мы начали получать уже другую информацию о процессах, происходящих там.

Если раньше от ведущих новостных, телевизионных компаний шла однобокая информация по отношению к западной демократии — положительная, а по отношению к России — отрицательная, то сейчас все меняется. Мнений стало больше, возможностей для распространения информации больше и возможностей для объективного анализа собственных сильных и слабых сторон также больше. Развитие социальных сетей, интернет, новые технологии меняют мир, а вместе с ним и наше мироощущение.

Я думаю, что мы на пороге больших изменений. В этом отношении Россия занимает очень важное место в мире. Переосмысление принципов мирового порядка, экономических отношений, где-то даже норм международных отношений, все это идет при активной роли РФ. Мы, как ближайшие союзники, тоже внимательно следим за тем, что происходит и какова позиция России.

Конечно же, мы желаем во всех благих начинаниях России и российскому народу счастья, благосостояния, экономических успехов. Мы в Киргизии нацелены на продолжение и укрепление долгосрочного стратегического партнерства и взаимовыгодного сотрудничества с Россией практически во всех сферах.

Igor Chudinov

Published on 13 January 2017 by *Region.kg*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3jxxfIP>

Context: Interview for *Region.kg*.

В 2017 году Кыргызстан будет председательствовать в ЕАЭС

Председательство в органах Евразийского экономического союза переходит от Казахстана к Кыргызстану, согласно ротации, предусмотренной общими договоренностями. Главой Совета ЕЭК в этом году утвержден вице-премьер

республики Олег Панкратов. Основными задачами Кыргызстан видит углубление экономической интеграции и снятие барьеров во взаимной торговле между государствами-членами союза.

Евразийский Экономический Союз в нынешнем составе существует уже больше года. Сегодня в его состав входят пять стран – Россия, Казахстан, Белоруссия, Армения и Кыргызстан, вступивший в объединение в 2015 году.

«Среди населения еще задолго до вступления Кыргызстана в ЕАЭС витала идея о присоединении Кыргызстана к России. Можно сказать, что вообще идея создания такого проекта принадлежит народу. Социологические исследования показывают, что больше половины взрослого населения Кыргызстана говорят о том, что до распада Советского Союза мы жили лучше, не в плане тоталитарности режима, а в том, что касается экономических преимуществ единого экономического пространства, коим был СССР. И сегодня ЕАЭС – это оптимальный вариант возвращения к такому вот единому экономическому пространству со взаимовыгодной хозяйственной кооперацией суверенных государств», – рассказал в интервью Регион.kg депутат ЖК Игорь Чудинов.

По количеству подписанных соглашений, деклараций и конвенций, а также по участию во всевозможных организациях Кыргызстан впереди планеты всей! Оно и понятно – островок демократии. Даже в ВТО мы вступили раньше своих соседей, обогнав и Казахстан, и Россию на много лет. И только дорога в ЕАЭС была долгой и тернистой. «Торговались», договаривались, «выбивали» преференции. Словом, к вопросу подошли со знанием дела. Но! Мировой кризис, спад экономик соседних стран, события на Украине, нестабильность американской валюты, войны на Ближнем Востоке... В общем, исторический момент был связан не только с перспективами, но и с серьезными проблемами.

«Не стоило рассчитывать на то, что мы получим какие-то блага, как только войдем в этот союз. Нет, этого не могло произойти в силу объективных причин. Но! Нужно воспринимать ЕАЭС как новые возможности, новый уровень, новые горизонты, которые нужно покорять. Что нам для этого нужно? Необходимо усилить, поддержать нашего производителя, чтобы он был конкурентен и у нас теперь на рынке, потому что как нам открылись «ворота» на другие рынки, так и наши «ворота» открыты для других рынков стран ЕАЭС. И поэтому, чтобы они были конкурентны и у нас, и в странах-участницах интеграционного проекта, еще предстоит много сделать», – поделился мнением с Регион.kg депутат ЖК Марат Аманкулов.

Стоит признаться, что Кыргызстан ко вступлению в ЕАЭС подошел не имея эффективной промышленно-производственной базы. Экономика во многом строилась на реэкспорте китайских товаров. Поэтому страна оказалась не готова к новым экономическим реалиям. И это, конечно, упущение наших властей. Мы ж не за один день решили вступить в Евразийский союз. А посему в процессе переговоров вполне можно было успеть подготовить техническую сторону вопроса. Элементарно, построить и оборудовать необходимые лаборатории для сельхозпродукции, отрегулировать тарифы, наладить транспортное сообщение... Если бы все эти вопросы были решены «вчера», возможно, что уже сегодня мы бы пожинали первые плоды.

«Существует внутренний негативный фактор – мы не подготовились, не провели укрепление в сельском хозяйстве, в промышленности, в бизнесе, но вынуждены были войти, подчеркиваю – были вынуждены, потому что в данном случае ни Пономарев, ни Атамбаев, ни депутат, ни министр какой-нибудь был инициатором вхождения в Таможенный союз. Это тот случай, когда изменилась внешняя среда, и внутренняя среда должна была адекватно реагировать на эти изменения, чтобы сгладить негативное влияние вызовов внешней среды», – отметил в интервью Регион.kg председатель Национального Делового Совета КР Сергей Пономарев.

При всем при этом правительство, депутаты, различные политические силы и всевозможные эксперты в один голос заверяют, что скоро, очень скоро мы почувствуем положительный результат пребывания в ЕАЭС.

«Априори создается система, в которой начинают восстанавливаться прежние экономические, и не только экономические, связи, которые были утрачены после развала Союза, пусть пока только в рамках ЕАЭС. Но это очень важный момент. Второе – это новые рынки сбыта – внешние торговые площадки. Но здесь важно понимать, что открытые внешние рынки – это только возможность, но еще не гарантия. Поэтому сейчас у государства и бизнеса много задач – что дальше делать, где объединиться, чтобы преодолеть трудности при прохождении на внешние рынки. Прежде всего, нам нужно развивать кооперацию, и не только на уровне сельского хозяйства, мы должны думать на будущее и о промышленной кооперации. Правда, в этом вопросе у нас даже на бумаге «конь не валялся», у нас даже видения по промышленной кооперации нет», – уверен Сергей Пономарев.

По мнению экспертов, ЕАЭС даст ощутимый толчок для развития малого и среднего бизнеса на территории всех пяти стран. При желании любой гражданин ЕАЭС может открыть свой бизнес в любой из стран союза.

Также, предполагается, что благодаря участию в Евразийском союзе усилено начнет развиваться сельское хозяйство. И несмотря на все горе-реформы, коих агросектор пережил великое множество за последние 20-25 лет, сельскохозяйственная отрасль «воспрянет». Фермеры будут четко осознавать спрос, ориентируясь на потребности огромного рынка ЕАЭС, так сказать. Вполне вероятно, что мелкие крестьянские хозяйства будут кооперироваться, создавая более крупные, а значит, и более устойчивые бизнес-структуры. Произойдет логическое распределение – кто, что и в каком объеме выращивает, производит, сбывает... На смену хаотичному подходу придет порядок и структурирование отрасли, как это было давным-давно в советские времена. Другой вопрос, когда это произойдет?

Планируется, что к положительным моментам можно будет отнести снижение цен на ГСМ. Стоимость нефтепродуктов снизится не только за счет отмены таможенных пошлин при ввозе их в Кыргызстан. Но и за счет увеличения объемов переработки нефтепродуктов на территории нашей страны, т.е. собственного производства горюче-смазочных материалов. Теперь заводы, расположенные в Кыргызстане, смогут выйти на рентабельность, потому что сырье для переработки станет значительно дешевле. По идее.

Кроме того в рамках ЕАЭС предусмотрена единая согласованная политика в энергетике. Это, конечно, не говорит о том, что подешевеет электричество, например. Скорее даже наоборот, но это означает, что цены на территории всех стран сравняются. И если, допустим, подорожает электроэнергия, то вероятно подешевеет природный газ. Т.е. те же казахи будут продавать нам газ по той же цене, что и на своем внутреннем рынке. Перспектива, конечно, призрачная. Но мы к этому привыкнем, должны привыкнуть, по крайней мере.

В связи со вступлением Кыргызстана в ЕАЭС прогнозируется улучшение инвестиционной ситуации в нашей стране. Уже сегодня ряд крупных российских компаний высказали заинтересованность вкладывать капиталы в нашу страну. Вероятно, со временем в рамках союза произойдет и банковская интеграция. Правда, пока мы только проигрываем за счет несогласованной валютной политики, но говорят – это временно!

Выигрывают от вступления в ЕАЭС трудовые мигранты. Теперь граждане всех пяти стран являются полноправными соискателями вакансий на всем пространстве евразийского союза. Для Кыргызстана – это очевидное благо, если учесть, что как минимум треть дееспособного населения нашей страны постоянно пребывает в трудовой миграции в России и Казахстане.

«Можно много говорить об этом, но тот факт, что на 173 миллиона долларов увеличились поступления из этих стран в Кыргызстан, говорит о том, что люди стали либо больше зарабатывать, либо их стало там больше работать. Т.е. они почувствовали преимущества. Ну, во-первых, они платят налоги так же, как и резиденты этих стран, я имею в виду подоходный налог, социальные налоги. У них отпала необходимость вставать на учет в течение тридцати дней как раньше. Они теперь не нуждаются в квотах при устройстве на работу, в том числе это касается и высококвалифицированных специалистов. Они не нуждаются в отдельной медицинской страховке сейчас, это и на медицинское обслуживание распространилось, и на наших граждан. Дипломы практически всех специальностей теперь действительны на едином экономическом пространстве. Это то, что мы успели почувствовать за первый год пребывания в ЕАЭС», – констатировал в интервью Регион.kg депутат ЖК Игорь Чудинов.

Если говорить о внешнеэкономических связях – то их участие в ЕАЭС никак не отменяет. И даже наоборот, поощряет. Для ведения торгово-экономических отношений с третьими странами созданы специальные уполномоченные структуры – уполномоченные экономические операторы и таможенные брокеры, задачей которых является именно решение «вопросов» с третьими странами. При этом на пространстве ЕАЭС все тарифы, взимаемые с таких сделок, равны и перечисляются они в общий фонд союза, из которого потом распределяются по национальным бюджетам. Кыргызстан из «общей кассы» получает 1,9 процента, что в денежном эквиваленте значительно больше тех таможенных пошлин, которые мы собирали раньше.

«Я думаю, что эти один и девять процента, на самом деле в деньгах больше, чем средства от тех сборов, которые были раньше. Но! Мы видим, что у нас снижается грузопоток. И это вопрос к таможене – почему это происходит? Почему уменьшилось количество машин, проходящих через посты Иркештам и Торугарт? Почему сегодня бизнесмены повернулись на территорию Казахстана? Значит, на таможене мы тоже сделали не все, чтобы использовать наше преимущество – два перехода из Китая на нашу территорию. Мы должны быть заинтересованы, чтобы грузопоток через нашу страну рос. Потому что через год цифра один и девять процентов – а это не «мертвая единица» – может значительно уменьшиться, когда наши партнеры по ЕАЭС увидят, что число товаров, которые проходят через границу Кыргызстана, снижается», – рассказал Игорь Чудинов.

Между тем, в феврале этого года заканчивается льготный период пребывания нашей страны в ЕАЭС, продлившийся около полутора лет. Очевидно, что окончание льготного периода принесет массу перемен, но какими они будут, эти перемены? Надеяться, что положительными – наивно. За полтора года наша страна решила далеко не все задачи, которые встали перед нами после вступления в ЕАЭС.

«Оправдался ли период в плане ожиданий? Скорее всего, не полностью, – рассуждает Игорь Чудинов. – И здесь причина не в тех условиях, которые ставит ЕАЭС. Виной тому наши внутренние проблемы – это частые смены правительства, это то, что мы не успели подготовиться к процессам интеграции. Что мы сделали для того, чтобы наш экспорт увеличивался? Практически ничего пока. Не успели в сельском хозяйстве выстроить кооперацию. Мы несколько необдуманно двигаемся в валютной политике, которую нам необходимо выстраивать совместно со странами ЕАЭС. У нас в два раза выросло производство сельхозпродукции, как показывает статистика, но экспорт при этом уменьшился. Остаются проблемы фитосанитарного контроля на границе. А это уже вопросы конкуренции. Мы стремились на единый рынок. Но конкуренцию на едином рынке, на едином пространстве никто не отменял. И мы должны завоевывать эти рынки. Но что мы видим по факту? Например, все больше швейников переезжают в Казахстан.

Почему? Наверное, потому что в соседней стране условия лучше. И здесь мы, конечно, отстаем. В этом важнейшая роль отводится правительству, которое должно создать для наших производителей лучшие условия, чтобы они быстрее интегрировались», – говорит парламентарий.

Несмотря на все недоработки и недополученные выгоды, Кыргызстан может стать положительным примером участия в ЕАЭС для Таджикистана. Нашим опытом вполне могут воспользоваться наши соседи, принимая решение по ЕАЭС, уверены многие эксперты по Центральной Азии.

«Еще до вступления КР в ЕАЭС я лично от многих компетентных людей Кыргызстана слышал такой аргумент, что «если не интегрироваться, то минусов будет гораздо больше». И 16-месячный опыт нахождения этой республики при всех минусах объективно доказывает, что это действительно так. Это относится и к Таджикистану. Проблемы есть, но они больше носят не объективный, а организационный и субъективный характер, а полученная польза, льготы и т.д. остаются вне анализа, отсюда и не бросаются в глаза. А трезвые аналитики доказывают, что за эти менее чем полтора года, что Кыргызстан находится в ЕАЭС, они в выигрыше», – рассказал лидер Социал-демократической партии Таджикистана Рахматилло Зойиров.

Сегодня все чаще обсуждается вопрос перспективы вступления в ЕАЭС Узбекистана. Пока по этому вопросу официальных переговоров Ташкент не ведет, но эксперты уверены, что кулуарно тема обсуждается. Так, сопредседатель Клуба региональных экспертов Кыргызстана Бакыт Бакетаев уверен, что одним из вопросов, которые обсуждали президенты Кыргызстана и Узбекистана во время встречи в начале этого года, был именно вопрос ЕАЭС.

«Я не исключаю, что Узбекистан присоединится к ЕАЭС, и произойдет это не позднее 2018-го года», – говорит политолог.

Наивно полагать, что ЕАЭС – панацея для всех наших социально-экономических проблем. Конечно, нет! Евразийский союз – это наш шанс и новые возможности. В этой связи весьма воодушевляет пример Белоруссии. Экономика «картофельной» страны после вступления в ЕАЭС резко пошла вверх. И это не пропаганда, не просто пафосные слова – это конкретные цифры, в которых выражается рост экономических показателей. Благоприятное влияние ЕАЭС ощутила Армения, о чем говорят их национальные эксперты и те же цифры.

А то, что жить нынче стало сложнее – это временное явление, и его проходили, да и по сей день проходят практически все страны-участницы. К слову сказать, в той же России и в Казахстане, хоть они и вступили в союз намного раньше нас, до сих пор идет процесс становления, так сказать, приспособления к новым реалиям. Как ни крути, это переломный момент для каждого из государств евразийской союзной пятерки.

Almanbet Matubraimov

Published on 14 March 2017 by *Kabar*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/2E3WicI>

Context: Round table “Kyrgyzstan on the path to Eurasian integration”.

Кыргызстан не должен продавать стратегические объекты, однако все идет наоборот. Об этом сегодня на круглом столе «Кыргызстан на пути Евразийской интеграции» заявил общественный деятель Алмамбет Матубраимов.

По его словам, на сегодняшний день Кыргызстан куда-то торопится и хочет распродать возможные стратегические объекты. «Если привести пример, то в США 70% энергоносителей существующих на территории штатов, регулируются государством, в Бельгии - более 58%. У этих стран данный показатель был на низком уровне, но они его наращивали. Только подобные принципы дадут возможность развитию экономики страны, безопасному ее регулированию.

Однако, для этого должны работать министерства, ведомства, люди и законы. Некоторые заявляют, что для этого нет полномочий, но король Испании работает же, несмотря на ограниченность своих полномочий», - сказал общественный деятель.

Aaly Karashev

Published on 8 April 2017 by *Kabar*.

Source: <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/EAES/full/104838>

Context: Extract of speech at the International Forum “Eurasian Economic Perspective” in Bishkek. The forum is attended by deputies of the Jogorku Kenesh, parliamentarians of the EAEU countries, members of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic, representatives of international organizations, the business community and academia.

«Присоединение Кыргызстана к Евразийскому экономическому союзу является событием исторического масштаба. Надо отметить, что наши отношения на евразийском пространстве развиваются с сохранением национальной идентичности», - заявил первый вице-премьер-министр КР Аалы Карашев в ходе Международного форума «Евразийская экономическая перспектива».

Первый вице-премьер-министр обозначил ряд положительных моментов, способствующих открытию новых экономических возможностей для Евразийского экономического союза. В особенности, А.Карашев отметил упрощение процессов перемещения мигрантов. «Вопросы в сфере миграции должны совместно решаться в рамках Евразийского экономического союза», - добавил он.

А.Карашев подчеркнул, что региональная интеграция будет способствовать экономическому развитию и послужит фактором стабильности в евразийском пространстве, сообщает пресс-служба парламента КР.

Напомним, что в Бишкеке сегодня, 8 апреля проходит Международный форум «Евразийская экономическая перспектива». В работе форума принимают участие депутаты Жогорку Кенеша, парламентарии стран ЕАЭС, члены Правительства КР, представители международных организаций, бизнес-сообщества и научных кругов.

Table 2.4. Actors, speeches and statements examined for Kazakhstan case.

2010

Nursultan Nazarbayev

Published on 1 July 2010.

Source: <https://bit.ly/3fNEP5>

Context: тема: выступление Президента Республики Казахстан Н.А.Назарбаева на III Астанинском экономическом форуме.

Полномасштабная интеграция Евразийского континента. Новая модель успешного развития посткризисного мира.

Два года назад в самом центре Евразии мы с вами начали очень важный разговор о проблемах и перспективах национальных экономик.

Сегодня очевидно, что ни одна страна в мире не может развиваться обособленно. Поэтому для нас крайне важны вопросы мировой экономики и ее переустройства.

Глобальная экономическая система все еще очень слаба, и мир находится в поиске новой модели для посткризисного развития.

Совсем недалёк тот день, когда мы с вами будем активными участниками процессов формирования крупных континентальных объединений. Пока же в

посткризисном развитии экономики и финансовой системы имеется достаточно большая неопределенность.

Существуют различные сценарии будущего, в чем-то совпадающие, в чем-то принципиально отличающиеся. Но общей, целостной картины посткризисного мира сегодня еще нет.

Необходима дальнейшая интеграция. Интеграция прошлых десятилетий происходила между различными континентами. Перед нами же открываются огромные возможности от

использования потенциала внутри Евразии. Ярким примером успешного объединения являются Таможенный союз и Единое Экономическое Пространство между Беларусью, Казахстаном и Россией.

... Сегодня Евразийский континент производит более половины мировой продукции. Здесь проживает две трети населения мира. В предстоящие десятилетия значимость этого континента будет только расти. Вместе с тем, интеграционные процессы на Евразийском пространстве

фокусируются в основном в отдельных, отчасти конкурирующих друг с другом региональных блоках.

Это не позволяет использовать полностью потенциал взаимодействия

Европы и Азии. Я - убежденный сторонник глубоких и последовательных интеграционных процессов на Евразийском континенте, и считаю, что необходимо разработать единый документ, отражающий основные принципы и направления Евразийской интеграции. Мне представляется, что этот процесс может быть сфокусирован на семи приоритетных направлениях.

Первое. Развитие торговли и открытость границ. Дальнейшее развитие торговли потребует дополнительных реформ для того, чтобы сделать перемещение товаров и услуг более дешевым и быстрым, что мы делаем сейчас в рамках Таможенного союза. Мы должны выработать единые справедливые правила регулирования торговых потоков, исключающие возможность регионального протекционизма.

Второе. Развитие транспортной и коммуникационной инфраструктуры

Необходимо развитие общей транспортной и коммуникационной инфраструктуры, соединяющей Европу и Азию. Мы должны сформировать глобальные транспортно-коммуникационные узлы, с применением новейших логистических и информационных технологий, стандартов, позволяющих

существенно сокращать транзакционные издержки. Третье.

Стимулирование взаимных инвестиций и технологического обмена.

Масштабная интеграция невозможна без генерирования и переориентации значительных инвестиционных потоков, необходимо создание благоприятного инвестиционного климата внутри континента. Четвертое. Общие рынки капитала. Интеграция европейских и азиатских финансовых рынков, совершенствование и гармонизация финансового регулирования, единые подходы к риск-менеджменту, позволят выстроить стабильную финансовую

систему, эффективно сопровождающую торговые и инвестиционные потоки на континенте. ... При этом наша общая задача - максимально возможное вовлечение в эту работу стран Азии. Казахстан, находясь в сердце материка, может стать инициатором и

координатором Евразийской интеграции. Успешная интеграция требует не только укрепления сотрудничества между странами, но и проведения странами согласованных внутренних реформ. Евразийская интеграция, безусловно, состоится, если каждая страна внесет в нее свой вклад.

Надеюсь, что участники Астанинского экономического форума поддержат мои инициативы и внесут свой вклад в разработку Декларации Евразийской интеграции, которую предлагаю вынести на обсуждение стран-участниц ОБСЕ для ее возможного принятия на предстоящем саммите в конце этого года. В

дальнейшем для выработки актуальных решений по реализации этой Декларации я предлагаю использовать площадку Астанинского экономического форума.

Еще раз хочу подчеркнуть, что интеграция Европы и Азии будет иметь масштабный синергетический эффект, оказывая положительное влияние на экономическое развитие и социальное благополучие не только Евразийского континента, но и нового посткризисного мира.

Уверен, что сегодня на форуме прозвучат блестящие идеи, оформится множество прорывных решений, которые послужат базой для совместных действий в мировом и национальном масштабах. Приглашаю всех вас на четвертый Астанинский форум, который предлагаю провести в мае следующего года. Желаю всем успехов и благополучия. Спасибо за внимание!

2011

Nursultan Nazarbayev

Published on 25 October 2011 by *Izvestia*.

Source: <https://iz.ru/news/504908>

Всего несколько недель отделяют нас от двух знаменательных событий, которые символично соседствуют в политическом календаре.

Во-первых, это 20-летний юбилей подписания Алматинской декларации СНГ. Она провозгласила возникновение на руинах СССР совершенно уникального в истории Евразии и всего мира межгосударственного объединения — Содружества Независимых Государств.

Во-вторых, это начало реализации с 1 января 2012 года нового проекта — Единого экономического пространства.

В них органично переплетены многолетний опыт кристаллизации национальных интересов новых независимых государств, поиска оптимальной модели евразийской интеграции и новые надежды миллионов простых людей.

Остановленный хаос дезинтеграции 21 декабря 1991 года в Алматы на саммите глав постсоветских государств, созданном по моей настойчивой инициативе, был остановлен опасный процесс хаотичного распада исчезающей супердержавы.

Как непосредственный участник тех событий, я по сей день храню в памяти их непередаваемый драматизм.

Казалось, что даже время изогнулось под тяжестью проблем и противоречий, сопутствующих тем историческим дням.

Чувства радости за обретение Казахстаном и другими республиками бывшего Союза долгожданной независимости тесно сплетались с осознанием величайшей сложности исторического вызова, выпавшего на долю наших народов.

В тот период политический кризис добивал экономику. На глазах разрывался прежде единый хозяйственный механизм. Валились набок не просто отдельные предприятия, а целые отрасли. Многие люди остались без работы и средств к существованию. Города зияли черными проемами окон квартир, оставшихся без электричества, не было элементарного тепла. Такая картина была характерна практически для всех регионов бывшего Союза.

Распространялись межнациональные конфликты, начавшиеся в последние годы существования СССР.

Сегодня можно открыто сказать о том, сколь велика и реальна была для всех постсоветских стран опасность разлома по этническим и религиозным основаниям. В этом отношении более чем показателен реальный пример параллельно шедшего распада югославской федерации.

Я, как и большинство моих коллег — лидеров новых независимых государств, осознавал пагубность такого пути, несущего нашим странам лишь братоубийственные раздоры, бездонную пропасть нищеты и высокую вероятность

оказаться на обочине истории, заняв лишь нишу сырьевого придатка мировой экономики.

Создание СНГ подвело черту под коротким, но сложным историческим периодом распада супердержавы и одновременно стало точкой начала нового интеграционного процесса на постсоветском пространстве.

И я горжусь, что 20 лет назад единственно правильное в тот период решение о создании СНГ в нынешнем, существующем до сих пор формате было принято на благодатной земле Казахстана.

Принято по казахстанской инициативе, при моем самом активном личном участии и благодаря проявленной политической мудрости всех участников той памятной исторической встречи в Алматы.

Историческая роль Содружества

За 20 лет в адрес СНГ было высказано немало острой критики. Я тоже всегда был среди тех, кто ожидал большего от развития Содружества, особенно в вопросах экономической интеграции. Потому что знал о реальных возможностях региональной интеграции для укрепления независимости страны, преодоления кризиса, подъема экономики, повышения уровня жизни людей. Потому что знал о тех высоких ожиданиях, которые связывали с Содружеством миллионы простых людей, живущих в Караганде или Новосибирске, Днепропетровске или Гродно, Нукусе или Хороге, Нахчыване или Мары, Оше или Бендерах, Батуми или Гюмри.

Такую возможность мне давала уникальная многонациональность народа Казахстана.

В ходе сессий Ассамблеи народа Казахстана, встреч с казахстанцами, из многочисленных писем от простых граждан всех стран Содружества мне передавались сильные импульсы о стремлении простых людей к сохранению тесной и прочной взаимосвязи наших государств, особенно экономик.

В 20-летней истории СНГ были моменты, когда мы вплотную подходили к решениям, которые могли стать судьбоносными для всех стран-участниц.

В сентябре 1993 года был подписан Договор о создании экономического союза. Он предполагал последовательно пройти через этапы создания зоны свободной торговли, таможенного, платежного и валютного союза и сформировать общий рынок товаров, услуг и капиталов. Но в то время центробежные тенденции оказались сильнее. Подписанное всеми лидерами государств СНГ соглашение о зоне свободной торговли ратифицировали только 6 государств, но в их числе не было ни России, ни Украины, ни Беларуси.

В 1998 году я направил всем моим коллегам по Совету глав государств СНГ свой проект полномасштабного Договора о едином экономическом пространстве. Но он так и не был рассмотрен на высоком уровне. По объективным и субъективным причинам СНГ не стало решающей структурой интеграции постсоветского пространства. И все же мир еще не знал такой организации, которая бы при отсутствии жестких наднациональных структур обеспечивала сближение позиций и принятие совместных решений по многим острым вопросам межгосударственных отношений.

Особо хочу отметить регулярные встречи глав государств, что способствовало мирному ходу размежевания государств и укрепления их независимости.

В этом смысле Содружество стало площадкой сотрудничества и взаимодействия. В его рамках регулярно проходят саммиты глав государств и правительств, действует 39 отраслевых межгосударственных органов. Показательно, что в работе некоторых из них активно участвуют Латвия, Литва, Эстония и Монголия.

Межпарламентская Ассамблея СНГ выработала более 300 модельных законов, которые активно используются в законотворчестве на национальном уровне.

Договор о коллективной безопасности — стержень военной безопасности всего СНГ даже при том, что не все государства в нем участвуют.

Энергетика, транспорт, культурно-гуманитарная сфера, взаимодействие в сфере борьбы с трансграничной преступностью, экстремизмом и терроризмом — все это перспективные направления многостороннего взаимодействия в СНГ.

Самый важный итог двух десятилетий — в рамках Содружества шлифовался наш общий опыт, что позволило со временем перейти к более результативным формам разноформатной и разнотемпной региональной интеграции.

Евразийская инициатива

Сегодня уже привычно называть процесс сближения государств, образовавшихся после распада СССР, евразийской интеграцией.

Это понятие широко используется аналитиками и экспертами, и, что важно, оно стало органичной частью лексикона политических элит и в ближнем, и в дальнем зарубежье.

Сейчас уже не вызывает отторжения и никого не удивляет идея формирования Евразийского союза. Более того, о ней говорят на самом высоком уровне как о ближайшей цели и конкретном интеграционном проекте.

А ведь всего семнадцать лет назад было совсем иначе.

В марте 1994 года я впервые предложил создать на пространстве СНГ качественно новое интеграционное объединение — Евразийский Союз Государств.

Эта идея была не случайно обнаружена мной в академической аудитории Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова. Я напрямую обратился к интеллектуальной элите всего Содружества с твердой решимостью вывести из ступора процесс многосторонней интеграции, в котором он оказался уже через два года после создания СНГ.

Я откровенно сказал, что СНГ не отвечает объективным требованиям времени и не обеспечивает интеграцию стран-участников, в которой так остро нуждаются наши народы. Поэтому назрела необходимость создания нового межгосударственного объединения, которое бы действовало на более четких принципах.

Мне всегда импонировали взгляды выдающегося российского мыслителя Льва Гумилева, который пошел дальше всех последователей «школы евразийства», возникшей в среде русских эмигрантов первой половины XX века. Он концептуально обосновал единство географических и культурно-исторических связей народов огромной части Северной и Центральной Евразии. Имя этого ученого носит созданный в Астане по моей инициативе Евразийский национальный университет.

Мой подход к евразийству, преломленный к конкретным историческим условиям рубежа XX и XXI веков, базировался на следующих принципах.

Во-первых, не отрицая значения культурных и цивилизационных факторов, я предлагал строить интеграцию прежде всего на основе экономического прагматизма.

Экономические интересы, а не абстрактные геополитические идеи и лозунги — главный двигатель интеграционных процессов.

Поэтому первооснова будущего Евразийского Союза — Единое экономическое пространство как масштабный ареал совместного успешного развития наших народов.

Во-вторых, я всегда был и остаюсь сторонником добровольности интеграции. Каждое государство и общество должны самостоятельно прийти к пониманию, что в глобализирующемся мире нет смысла бесконечно упиваться собственной самобытностью и замыкаться в своих границах.

Добровольная интеграция, исходя из интересов народа и страны, — вот кратчайший путь к процветанию.

В-третьих, Евразийский Союз я изначально видел как объединение государств на основе принципов равенства, невмешательства во внутренние дела друг друга, уважения суверенитета и неприкосновенности государственных границ.

В-четвертых, я предлагал создать наднациональные органы Евразийского Союза, которые бы действовали на основе консенсуса, с учетом интересов каждой страны-участницы, обладали четкими и реальными полномочиями. Но это никоим образом не предполагает передачу политического суверенитета. Это аксиома. Именно таким был успешный опыт создания Европейского союза, основой которого было равенство партнеров по интеграции.

Все эти аспекты были детально изложены в пакете моих предложений, направленных всем главам государств СНГ.

В те дни я получил многочисленные позитивные отклики на мою евразийскую инициативу от общественности практически всех постсоветских стран. Но ее оказались не готовы предметно обсуждать политики.

Возможно, это было закономерно. Волна эйфории от обретения долгожданной независимости не позволила тому поколению лидеров стран СНГ увидеть долгосрочный потенциал идеи евразийской интеграции.

Но нельзя не увидеть, что эта инициатива стала прорывом для интеграционного процесса на пространстве СНГ. В последующие годы она поэтапно воплощалась в жизнь в создании целого ряда успешных межгосударственных структур — Организации Договора о коллективной безопасности, Евразийского экономического сообщества, Таможенного союза Казахстана, Беларуси и России.

Шаги навстречу простым людям

Осенью 2010 года у меня состоялась встреча с группой молодых российских журналистов. Наша беседа неожиданно началась с их благодарности в мой адрес за то, что впервые за многие годы они приехали в Казахстан, не проходя изнуряющего таможенного контроля на границе.

Я ответил, что такие же слова они должны обязательно сказать и российским лидерам — Владимиру Путину, с которым в 2007 году мы подписали договор о создании трехстороннего — с участием наших стран и Беларуси — Таможенного союза, и Дмитрию Медведеву, который лично много сделал для того, чтобы этот интеграционный проект окончательно стал реальностью.

Я всегда считал, что объективно Казахстан и Россия — это локомотивы евразийской интеграции. Также хотел бы отметить огромный вклад в создание Таможенного союза наших белорусских партнеров и лично президента Беларуси Александра Лукашенко.

Мы вместе провели колоссальную работу. Менее чем за три года разработан и принят единый Таможенный кодекс трех стран, создан наднациональный орган — Комиссия Таможенного союза.

Согласовано более 11 тысяч товарных позиций для применения унифицированного тарифа в торговле со странами вне единой таможенной территории.

Уже сегодня очевиден макроэкономический эффект создания Таможенного союза.

Только в первом полугодии 2011 года на треть вырос общий товарооборот трех стран. Прогнозируется, что по итогам года он достигнет уровня \$100 млрд, что будет на 13% больше прошлогоднего показателя. Причем наиболее быстро растут объемы приграничной торговли между Казахстаном и Россией — более чем на 40%.

Убежден, что подведение итогов первого года полноценной работы Таможенного союза даст более точные цифры позитивной динамики по всем

ключевым показателям — приросту национальных ВВП, привлечению иностранных инвестиций, снижению себестоимости продукции и так далее.

Безусловно, мы предвидели и определенные трудности, связанные с периодом адаптации экономических субъектов трех стран к унифицированным таможенным тарифам и импортным пошлинам. Есть отдельные нестыковки между национальными таможенными администрациями, которые методично устраняются работой Комиссии Таможенного союза.

Таможенный союз расширил до Бреста и Владивостока границы рынка сбыта для казахстанских производителей. В 2011 году наш экспорт в Россию вырос на 60%, а в Беларусь — более чем в 2,3 раза. Отменены ограничения на перемещение внутри единой таможенной территории иностранной валюты. Это же произошло для товаропроизводителей России и Беларуси.

Все это реальные плюсы прежде всего для всех казахстанцев, россиян и белорусов.

В 1998 году я предложил программу «Десять простых шагов навстречу простым людям». Многие ее положения уже реализованы в двустороннем и многостороннем форматах. Наши совместные границы становятся прозрачными для беспрепятственного пересечения гражданами наших стран.

Таможенный союз Казахстана, России и Беларуси — это первая на пространстве всего СНГ действительно добровольная и равноправная форма интеграции.

Она впервые в истории сближает народы наших стран на основе взаимоуважения, сохранения национальной самобытности и осознания неразрывности общего будущего.

Последовательная трансформация Таможенного союза в Единое экономическое пространство, а со временем, в чем я абсолютно уверен, в Евразийский экономический союз станет мощным стимулом для процветания наших народов, выведет наши страны на ведущие позиции в глобальном мире.

Евразийское сообщество

Таможенный союз Казахстана, Беларуси и России логично вырос из Евразийского экономического сообщества. Его создание в 2000 году в формате пяти стран — Беларуси, Казахстана, Кыргызстана, России и Таджикистана — стало переломным моментом в практике евразийской интеграции.

Всего за 11 лет в рамках ЕврАзЭС сформировалась разветвленная структура механизмов по различным измерениям интеграционного процесса. Причем они учреждаются не только на межгосударственном уровне, но и снизу по инициативе бизнесменов, деятелей науки, образования и культуры, НПО, молодежи.

Своевременным с учетом глобального финансово-экономического кризиса было создание Евразийского банка развития и Антикризисного фонда. Сегодня это дает возможность не только финансировать конкретные экономические проекты в ряде стран ЕврАзЭС, но и оказывать срочную помощь, например, белорусской экономике, остро переживающей последствия мирового кризиса.

Показательно, что, например, в формате Таможенного союза трех стран быстро возникают отраслевые ассоциации производителей.

Наши предприниматели интегрируются для согласования своих интересов, выработки правил внутренней конкуренции и взаимной поддержки.

Предметно работают Евразийский медиафорум, Евразийская ассоциация телевидения и радио. Традицией становятся евразийские фестивали кино и театра, различные конференции, молодежные форумы.

На Санкт-Петербургском экономическом форуме я отметил, что сегодня раздвигают горизонты интеграции образовательного и научного пространства Евразийская ассоциация университетов, Евразийский клуб ученых, Международный центр высоких технологий, созданные по моей инициативе.

Иными словами, идет процесс вертикальной интеграции, пронизывающей всю глубину жизни наших обществ.

Не это ли проявление жизненной силы евразийской интеграционной идеи?

Сегодня наши народы все более ощущают себя частью формирующейся евразийской идентичности с ее культурным, религиозным и языковым многообразием, но с общим стремлением к плодотворному экономическому взаимодействию и добрососедству.

Мы все являемся свидетелями рождения нового уникального евразийского сообщества наций, у которого не только богатый опыт совместного прошлого, но и неделимая общая история будущего.

Новое прочтение евразийской идеи в XXI веке

В моей идее о создании Евразийского Союза никогда не было и нет ни маниловщины, ни заслоняющего будущее политического ностальгизма.

В ее основе всегда был и остается прагматичный подход, отрицающий любые формы насилия политики над экономикой, какими бы благими намерениями или целесообразностями они не прикрывались.

В евразийском проекте недальновидно видеть только лишь возможность коллективно закрыться от внешних экономических, военных, политических, информационных, технологических, экологических и других угроз.

При таком узком понимании исторической перспективы ЕАС велик будет соблазн выкраивания нового подобию «железного занавеса», но уже по другим геополитическим лекалам. Это абсолютно недопустимо и неприемлемо.

Мы рассматриваем Евразийский Союз как открытый проект. Его нельзя представить без широкого взаимодействия, например, с Евросоюзом, другими объединениями.

Никакой «реставрации» или «реинкарнации» СССР нет и не будет. Это лишь фантомы прошлого, домыслы и спекуляции. И в этом наши взгляды с руководством России, Беларуси и других стран полностью совпадают.

Сегодня надо преодолеть страхи от слова «союз» и пресловутого «наступления империи». Важно, что об этом писал В. Путин в своей статье в «Известиях». Североатлантическая интеграция в рамках НАФТА состоит также из трех стран — США, Канады, Мексики. Но никто не говорит об имперских амбициях США.

Некоторые западные эксперты поторопились заявить, что Евразийский Союз призван стать защитой от так называемой китайской экономической экспансии.

Нет ничего более далекого от истины, чем такое утверждение.

Напротив, КНР на протяжении двух последних десятилетий является стратегическим партнером и России, и Казахстана, и Беларуси. Мы поддерживаем интенсивный политический диалог и тесное экономическое сотрудничество. Мы также тесно взаимодействуем в рамках ШОС и СВМДА.

В то же время важно добавить к тем принципам евразийской интеграции, о которых я говорил 17 лет назад, положение об ответственности каждой страны-участницы за устойчивость внутреннего развития, результативность национальной экономической, кредитно-финансовой и социальной политики.

Это особенно важно с учетом опыта нынешнего преодоления трудностей в экономике Евросоюза, пример которого для нас является очень полезным.

С 2009 года мы ведем детальную проработку всех юридических вопросов формирования Единого экономического пространства Казахстана, Беларуси и России. До конца нынешнего года на уровне правительств будут заключены соответствующие соглашения.

С 1 января 2012 года начинается практический этап создания Единого экономического пространства.

Последовательно станут реальностью механизмы согласования экономической политики трех стран и обеспечения трансграничного свободного

движения услуг, капиталов и трудовых ресурсов, унифицированное законодательство. Национальные субъекты бизнеса получают равный доступ к инфраструктуре в каждом государстве, участвующем в ЕЭП. В перспективе сложатся единые транспортные, энергетические и информационные системы.

ЕЭП станет прочной основой для перехода к более высокой ступени интеграции — Евразийскому экономическому союзу.

Это будет мощное объединение. Совокупный ВВП трех стран составляет почти \$2 трлн, промышленный

потенциал оценивается в \$600 млрд, объем выпуска продукции сельского хозяйства — порядка \$112 млрд, а общий потребительский рынок — более 165 млн чело- век.

В XXI столетии невозможно представить, чтобы Евразийский Союз состоялся как успешный центр глобальной силы вне четко прослеживающихся трендов глобального развития.

В текущем столетии регионализация стала обще- мировой тенденцией. Европейский союз в ближайшие годы планирует дальнейшее расширение за счет вступ- ления в него Хорватии, а в перспективе — Сербии, Чер- ногории и других стран.

В Восточной Азии создается крупнейшая на плане- те зона свободной торговли с участием Китая и стран АСЕАН с охватом сразу двух миллиардов потребителей. В финансово-экономическом плане самоорганизуется регион Персидского залива. Укрепляется интеграция стран Северной и Южной Америки, Африки.

За 20 лет суверенного развития экономики России, Казахстана и других участников евразийской интеграции стали частью глобальной экономики.

Сегодня важным условием модернизации наших стран, создания наукоемких инновационных экономик является активное наращивание инвестиционного и технологического сотрудничества с США, Евросоюзом, Китаем, странами Азиатско-Тихоокеанского экономического сообщества.

Следует учитывать и важные аспекты процесса кон- струирования новой глобальной системы безопасности. В принятой почти год назад по моей настойчивой инициативе Астанинской декларации саммита ОБСЕ впервые была обозначена цель создать единое и неделимое пространство евроатлантической и евразийской безопасности.

Поэтому сегодня актуально новое прочтение идеи евразийской интеграции, устремленной далеко в будущее XXI, а возможно, и последующих веков!

Евразийский союз — это мегапроект, соизмеримый со сложными вызовами настоящего и будущего.

Он имеет все шансы стать органичной частью новой мировой архитектуры, формирование которой началось под воздействием самого мощного в истории глобального финансово-экономического кризиса.

Для этого всем участникам евразийской интеграции необходимо иметь ясную и четкую стратегию действий.

Первое. Евразийский Союз должен изначально создаваться как конкурентоспособное глобальное экономическое объединение.

Нас не могут удовлетворить ни узкая перспектива быть совокупностью стран, развивающихся лишь на принципах «догоняющей модернизации», ни участь вечно оставаться большим периферийным экспортером природных ресурсов для остального мира.

Мир стоит на пороге новой технологической рево- люции. Сегодня Казахстан взял курс форсированного индустриально-инновационного развития.

Мы создаем новую структуру современных произ- водительных сил как основу будущей национальной инновационной экономики. Аналогичные задачи ставятся в России и других странах СНГ.

Поэтому важно, чтобы наше Единое экономическое пространство было территорией инноваций и мощного технологического прорыва.

Для этого необходимо выстроить общий алгоритм модернизации и инновационного развития наших стран.

Я предлагаю оперативно разработать и принять совместную Программу евразийской инновационно-технологической кооперации, рассчитанную на перспективу 10–15 лет.

В этом плане показателен пример Франции, Германии и Великобритании, создавшими еще в 1970 году крупнейший международный авиастроительный консорциум AIRBUS. Позднее к ним присоединилась Испания.

По итогам 2010 года AIRBUS существенно опередил американские компании «Боинг» и «Локхид» по числу поставок и заказов на новые самолеты. Ежегодный доход AIRBUS приближается к €30 млрд. На предприятиях компании, расположенных по всей Европе, трудятся 53 тыс. человек.

С 2006 года весь пакет акций AIRBUS принадлежит европейскому аэрокосмическому консорциуму EADS, который, в свою очередь, финансируется правительствами и национальными компаниями стран ЕС.

Дания и Швеция создали совместный инновационный центр в Сконе — «медиконовую долину».

Сегодня это самый мощный в Европе кластер, где сосредоточены лаборатории, коммерческие структуры, промышленные предприятия.

Здесь действует 7 научных парков, куда входят 300 различных компаний, 14 университетов, 26 медицинских клиник.

Таким же путем идут ряд стран, поощряющих создание международных инновационных центров, заключающих двусторонние договоры по отдельным аспектам совместной разработки новейших технологий.

Второе. Евразийский союз должен формироваться как прочное звено, сцепляющее евроатлантический и азиатский ареалы развития.

В экономическом плане мы можем стать мостом, соединяющим динамичные экономики Евросоюза, Восточной, Юго-Восточной и Южной Азии.

Сегодня реализуется проект международного транспортного автомобильного коридора «Западная Европа — Западный Китай».

Со временем вдоль этого маршрута выстроится современная транспортно-логистическая система, которая обеспечит сокращение сроков поставок товаров на европейский и китайский рынки более чем в

3,5 раза. Безусловно, перспективным видится создание в будущем трансевразийской скоростной железной дороги.

Нам взаимовыгодно расширение сотрудничества между Единым экономическим пространством с Европейским союзом, Китайской Народной Республикой, Японией, Индией.

Третье. Евразийский союз должен формироваться как самодостаточное региональное финансовое объединение, которое будет частью новой глобальной валютно-финансовой системы.

Как показывает опыт Евросоюза, создание общей платежной системы, а затем и единой валюты — закономерный этап интеграции.

В современных условиях этот процесс должен также учитывать тенденции, развивающиеся вследствие мирового кризиса.

Как бы ни критиковали сегодня ЕС и еврозону, они показывают собственную жизнеспособность и прочную стойкость к кризисам. Мы видим, какую мощную поддержку оказывает ЕС тем странам, которые оказались в труднейшем положении.

Три года назад я предложил начать проработку вопроса об учреждении евразийской наднациональной расчетной единицы — ЕНРЕ как первоосновы для сильной региональной резервной валюты.

Сейчас, учитывая вероятность новой волны глобальной рецессии с еще более серьезными последствиями, эта идея остается не просто актуальной, она требует практических решений.

Хочу особо отметить, что создание валютного союза в рамках ЕЭП — это тот Рубикон, преодолев который, мы вплотную подойдем к новому уровню интеграции, близкому к нынешнему состоянию Европейского союза.

Наша главная задача — убедить на практике наших соседей в важности и жизнеспособности нашего союза. Тогда нас может стать намного больше, чем три государства.

Четвертое. Геоэкономическое, а в перспективе и геополитическое возмужание евразийской интеграции должно идти исключительно эволюционным и добро-вольным путем.

Неприемлемы никакие формы искусственного ускорения и подстегивания к ней отдельных стран. Не будем забывать, что единый европейский рынок создавался почти 40 лет.

Сегодня платформа евразийской интеграции достаточно широка.

Она включает разные по форме, целям и задачам межгосударственные объединения — СНГ, ЕврАзЭС, ОДКБ, Таможенный союз — ЕЭП Казахстана, Беларуси и России и прочие.

Вполне возможно возникновение и других структур. Я, например, остаюсь сторонником создания Центрально-Азиатского союза. Вижу в нем прежде всего огромные возможности для совместного решения проблем и выравнивания уровней социально-экономического развития всех стран региона. Это способствовало бы улучшению благосостояния всех граждан стран Центральной Азии и помогло бы решению сложных проблем региона.

Участие в различных региональных организациях помогает каждому государству выбрать наиболее оптимальный путь интеграции.

Поэтому важно наращивать потенциал всех евразийских объединений, постепенно способствуя сближению их форматов и содержания.

Пятое. Создание Евразийского Союза возможно только на основе широкой общественной поддержки.

Вполне закономерно, что уже сейчас в наших странах есть и свои «евразеооптимисты» и «евразоскептики». Полемика между ними только помогает видеть и последовательно устранять издержки интеграционного процесса.

Я думаю, что уже в недалеком будущем их дебаты будут вестись с трибуны Евразийской ассамблеи — наднациональной структуры, объединяющей парламентариев наших стран.

Вместе с тем важно укреплять народную вертикаль евразийской интеграции. Речь идет о расширении числа евразийских общественных объединений.

Например, на базе Делового совета ЕврАзЭС можно создать Евразийский конгресс промышленников и предпринимателей.

В формате трех стран Таможенного союза целесообразно создать Евразийскую торгово-промышленную палату. Их офисы могли бы разместиться в Астане.

Надо начать работу по созданию круглосуточного новостного канала «Евразия-24». Это важно с точки зрения объективного и полного информирования граждан наших стран о преимуществах и ходе интеграции.

Я предлагаю разместить исполнительные органы Евразийского экономического пространства в Астане, городе находящемся в географическом центре Евразийского субматерика. Здесь нет никаких амбиций. Это было бы серьезной нагрузкой для нас. И вместе с тем стало бы справедливой данью признательности Казахстану как инициатору идеи евразийской интеграции. Нахождение центрального офиса в Казахстане избавит новое интеграционное объединение от подозрений, имеющихся как внутри наших стран, так и за предела-

ми нашего объединения. Это вызовет большое доверие к нашей организации, которая делает первые шаги.

Именно этим было продиктовано в свое время наше решение разместить штаб-квартиру СНГ в Минске. Не случайно, что штаб-квартира Европейского союза находится в Брюсселе.

В начале второго десятилетия XXI века идея евразийской интеграции обретает реальные черты Единого экономического пространства.

Она доказала свою историческую перспективность как верный путь к процветанию и благополучию наших стран и народов.

Приняты ключевые политические решения.

Предстоит решить немало масштабных задач, чтобы создать экономически мощный, стабильный и выгодный всем Евразийский Союз. Именно в этом — наша общая стратегическая цель!

Nursultan Nazarbayev

Published on 19 November 2011 by *RIA Novosti and INTERFAX*.

Source: <http://repository.enu.kz/bitstream/handle/123456789/6900/evraziiskii-soyuz.pdf>; <https://bit.ly/39hn8n0>

Context: Интервью Президента Казахстана Н.А. Назарбаева информационным агентствам RIA Novosti and INTERFAX.

- Нурсултан Абишевич, разрешите вас поздравить с тем, что идея, озвученная вами еще в 1994 году о создании Евразийского сообщества на территории наших государств, получила свою реализацию. С чем связано, что именно на данном этапе так быстро и эффективно реализуется ваша инициатива? И что необходимо сделать, чтобы не повторить ошибок, которые были допущены при формировании прежних наднациональных формирований на территории наших государств?

- Как известно, идеи часто опережают свое время. Как говорил известный классик, они должны овладеть массами, чтобы стать практикой. Наверное, нужно было время после развала Советского Союза, чтобы все государства почувствовали свою независимость, оглянулись и осознали, в чем заключается интерес каждого из них, и как они будут развиваться дальше.

В современном глобализующемся мире невозможно представить себе государство, замкнутое в своих границах. Это тупик, это стагнация для любой страны. Не случайно, сегодня в мире существует 240 интеграционных объединений. Самые крупные из них - Европейский Союз, североамериканская NAFTA, южно-американский MERCOSUR, Шанхайская организация сотрудничества, АТЭС. Самое серьезное, крупное объединение постсоветского пространства - Таможенный союз, а теперь Единое экономическое пространство. Прошло 17 лет с тех пор, как я высказал интеграционную идею в стенах Московского государственного университета. Тогда элита всех наших стран и главы государств не поддержали ее, хотя народы поддерживали всегда. И вот, наконец, она осуществилось. Практический запуск стал возможен при активной поддержке Президента России Дмитрия Медведева. И еще: в 2005 году в Сочи, когда Президентом был Владимир Путин, мы говорили о создании Таможенного союза. То есть за пять лет мы прошли путь, на который Европейский Союз потратил 40 лет. Для этого принято и ратифицировано колоссальное число законов. Теперь мы переходим ко второму этапу интеграции: единому экономическому пространству. С этой целью принято 17 договоренностей, выполнение которых создаст условия для функционирования ЕЭП. Нам остается принять законы о согласовании макроэкономических показателей - размер государственного долга, уровень инфляции, уровень безработицы, согласовать единые тарифы на услуги инфраструктурных монополий. Этот процесс

завершается в 2015 году, и тогда мы подойдем к созданию Евразийского экономического союза. На данном этапе всего три государства оказались способны и имели политическую волю к созданию необходимого для нас союза.

- Часто сравнивают Евразийский экономический союз и ЕС. Можно ли сказать, что ЕС - это некий флагман для Евразийского экономического союза? Цель, к которой идут Россия, Казахстан и Белоруссия?

- Я выскажу свое персональное мнение. Европейский союз всегда должен быть заинтересован в сотрудничестве с нами - с Единым экономическим пространством и Евразийским союзом, который мы создаем, потому что здесь рынки и ресурсы. Именно отсюда Европа «питается» энергоресурсами.

Все зависит от воли европейских лидеров, но я убежден, что будущее Европы заключается в том, чтобы сотрудничать с нашим Евразийским союзом.

- А какая валюта может ходить в Евразийском союзе? Уже существующая или новая?

- Мы об этом сейчас пока не говорили. Интеграционное объединение начинается с создания зоны свободной торговли, Таможенного союза, единого экономического пространства. Затем строится экономический союз, и только после этого вводится расчетная единица, как в Европе "экю" (European Currency Unit - Европейская валютная единица, клиринговая валюта, существовавшая для расчетов внутри ЕС до введения евро - РИА Новости). Надо пройти первые этапы интеграции, а потом будем думать о единой валюте. Но уже сейчас создается основа, чтобы между Казахстаном и Россией торговля шла по крупным позициям товаров не в долларах, а в рублях и тенге. Мы были в банке ВТБ. Ежедневно через него проходит 600-800 миллионов тенге. Казахская валюта на второй позиции после рубля. Когда мы торгуем между собой, надо использовать национальные деньги. Это будет первый шаг. Сначала нам надо доказать для себя выгодность и равноправность нашего экономического пространства. После этого обязательно встанет вопрос о единой валюте. Но я считаю, что, ни одна национальная валюта, включая такую мощную, как рубль, не годится на эту роль. Должно быть другое название, другая валюта.

- Казахстан стоит на пороге парламентских выборов. Почему вы поддержали предложение депутатов распустить Парламент? Ожидаются ли перемены в правительстве?

- В этом году в политической жизни страны произошло много событий. Во-первых, по инициативе снизу был предложен референдум о продлении моих полномочий. Я поблагодарил всех граждан Казахстана, но не пошел на референдум, были проведены досрочные выборы Президента. Они состоялись 3 апреля. И уже тогда депутаты начали говорить о том, что нынешний Парламент желательно распустить. Главный их аргумент заключается в том, что принятые изменения в Конституции страны предполагают наличие в главном законодательном органе страны не менее двух партий. Сейчас есть разные политические движения, но одна партия - "Нур Отан" - доминирует. Второй аргумент - все мы читаем и видим, что надвигается вторая волна кризиса. Мы ее ощущаем кожей. Кризиса, может, и не будет. Но, судя по тому, что происходит в Европе, Америке и других странах, он вполне возможен. И парламентарии говорили о том, что нам в 2012 году не надо отвлекать силы на выборы, а надо заниматься делом.

Третье - Казахстан осуществляет мощную программу индустриализации. Только за два года будет введено 350 предприятий, и обрабатывающая промышленность уже начинает преобладать в экономике. Это огромная работа для всей страны и для всех граждан. Депутаты считают, что для ее осуществления надо приводить в Парламент новых людей, которые будут принимать новые законы. И я не мог с этим не согласиться. Тем более, что этот Парламент работает последнюю свою сессию.

Я согласился с аргументами в пользу роспуска. Согласно Конституции, Президент имеет право даже без обращения парламентариев это делать по согласованию с лидерами парламента. Это нормально, конституционно, законно.

- России и Казахстану не удалось синхронизировать процессы вступления в ВТО. Россия вступает первой. Не отразится ли это на отношениях России и Казахстана и на интеграционных процессах на евразийском пространстве?

- Мы с самого начала создания Таможенного союза поднимали эту тему. И сегодня практически закончили переговоры: к концу 2012 года Казахстан тоже будет готов к приему в Организацию. Однако такого прецедента как коллективное вступление ВТО не существует.

Для Казахстана очень важно, чтобы сначала Россия вступила в ВТО. Все наши транспортные коридоры в Европу идут через территорию Российской Федерации. Если Россия не вступит, то мы будем в положении Кыргызстана, который присоединился к ВТО, но находится среди государств, не являющихся членами этой организации. Кроме того, мы договорились втроем (Россия, Казахстан, Беларусь), и между Казахстаном и Россией подписано соглашение, что Москва, став членом ВТО, будет по всем позициям поддерживать наше вступление. Условия, на которых входит в Организацию Россия, для Казахстана очень выгодны, потому что российская сторона выторговала для себя более высокие тарифы, чем те, что сейчас у нас имеются. Считаю нормальным, что Казахстан станет членом ВТО после России. И это никак не повлияет на наш Таможенный союз.

- Как Казахстан относится к перспективам расширения Шанхайской организации сотрудничества, и в частности, вступления в нее Ирана?

- Сегодня шесть государств являются наблюдателями или партнерами Шанхайской организации сотрудничества, включая Иран. Поскольку решения подобных вопросов принимаются на основе консенсуса с участием всех государств, есть проблемы. Я лично сторонник, чтобы принять и Индию, и Пакистан, и впоследствии, возможно, Иран. Но вы знаете политические проблемы, которые существуют по этим направлениям. В принципе я лично не против расширения ШОС, но это решается коллегиально всеми государствами. Отмечая 10-летие Шанхайской организации сотрудничества в Астане, мы говорили об этом, рассматривали условия приема государств в эту Организацию. Мы хотим, чтобы она была крепкой, солидной.

- В последний год по территории многих стран, прежде всего, арабских, прокатилась целая волна выступлений, направленных против правительств этих государств. Как вы считаете, какие выводы могли бы сделать для себя правительства стран пост-советского пространства после этих событий?

- Мы наблюдаем массовые выступления не только в Северной Африке, но и в США, Великобритании, других странах Европы. Это все вопросы, касающиеся справедливости. У нас два слова на слуху: свобода и справедливость. Понятно, свобода нужна. Но сейчас вопрос идет о справедливости, о все более углубляющейся разнице между очень богатыми и очень бедными. Кризис вскрыл большие расхождения между этими социальными группами. И как раз ухудшение жизненного уровня людей, спровоцированного кризисом, послужило катализатором таких выступлений. Поэтому вопрос социальной справедливости, повышения жизненного уровня народа, поворота экономики именно в эту сторону я считаю самым главным сейчас.

Конечно, из-за кризиса, которого никто не ожидал, очень сильно просела экономика, сокращаются социальные расходы, страдают простые люди. Это главный вопрос. Параллельно с этим развивается и терроризм во всем мире. Теперь, как вы знаете, и в Казахстане произошли подобные события. Правда, они не имеют организованных корней и не связаны с выступлениями оппозиции, и резко осуждаются народом. У нас это, скорее, похоже на норвежский случай.

Терроризм не имеет линию фронта, государства должны совместно бороться с этим злом.

- Ваше отношение к попыткам Запада ввести санкции против Тегерана? Иран - это не очень далекий регион от вас.

- Санкций к Ирану применено уже достаточно, однако страна живет. И трудится. Государство нормально функционирует. Что касается иранской ядерной программы, я сторонник продолжения дипломатической работы. Ведь если мы говорим об иранской ядерной программе, то почему не говорим о такой же программе в Пакистане, почему не говорим об Израиле, который фактически имеет ядерное оружие? Тут нельзя асимметрично подходить. Иран утверждает, что занимается мирным атомом. Причем, МАГАТЭ говорит, что у них все нормально, а затем вдруг сообщает о каких-то скрытых намерениях. Все это вызывает сомнения. Поэтому надо продолжать переговоры, необходимо требовать от Ирана, чтобы они допустили ко всем объектам инспекторов МАГАТЭ, чтобы они доказали миру, что ведут действительно мирную ядерную программу. Я считаю, что никакие силовые методы решения вопроса Ирана не должны применяться, потому что это чревато тяжелыми последствиями для всего мира, и для этого региона, прежде всего.

- Сейчас обсуждаются санкции применительно не только к Тегерану, но и к Сирии. Ваш комментарий.

- К сожалению, мы наблюдали, как ООН принял по Ливии одно решение - просто следить за небом, а фактически это закончилось атаками и убийством Каддафи. Я не сторонник Каддафи, я не собираюсь его защищать. Но нельзя оставлять без внимания тот факт, что искажены решения Совета безопасности ООН. Был превышен мандат, произошло вмешательство во внутренние дела государства. Этот опыт говорит о том, что подобные меры нельзя применять в отношении другого независимого государства, например, Сирии. Мировое сообщество осуждает то, что там происходит гибель людей, и мы должны работать над решением этой проблемы. Казахстан является председателем Организации исламского сотрудничества. Под нашим председательством пройдет заседание ОИС, где этот вопрос также будет обсужден.

- Казахстан - мощная энергетическая держава. Как вы считаете, на мировом энергетическом рынке Россия и Казахстан - это союзники или соперники?

- Россия - огромная нефтяная и газовая страна. Она добывает больше 500 миллионов тонн нефти и более 500 миллиардов кубометров газа в год. Казахстан 20 лет назад добывал 20 миллионов тонн нефти, сейчас - 80 миллионов тонн. Мы добываем 25 миллиардов кубометров газа, а к 2020 году выйдем на уровень 100 миллиардов в год. Поэтому я, например, сейчас не ощущаю конкуренции.

Мы используем российские газопроводы, продаем России сырье на границе, она дальше экспортирует его. Кроме этого, у нас есть маршруты транспортировки нефти и газа в Китай. Мы диверсифицируем маршруты. И не было такого, чтобы мы перебегали друг другу дорогу, закрывали рынки. То, что наши два государства производят одинаковую продукцию, больше ощущается по пшенице в нынешний урожайный год. России и Казахстану не хватает зерновозов для экспорта, это есть. В рамках Единого экономического пространства, когда макроэкономические и внешнеторговые показатели будут согласованы, мы будем находить баланс интересов обоих государств, и конкуренции не будет.

- Какой газотранспортный путь - Транскаспийский или Прикаспийский - является приоритетным для Казахстана?

- Казахстан сейчас активно сотрудничает с Россией в этом направлении. Через Казахстан проходят трубопроводы "Средняя Азия - Центр", "Средняя Азия - Урал", туркменский и узбекский газ. Казахстанский газ тоже проходит через Россию. Однако для любого государства важен экономический интерес. Если нам будет выгодно экспортировать газ через Россию, будем работать в этом ключе.

Если это станет невыгодно, мы будем гнать газ в сторону Китая. Мы уже строим газопровод - от Каспия до юга страны, который потом состыкуется с имеющимся газопроводом «Туркменистан - Узбекистан - Казахстан – Китай».

- А как вы оцениваете будущее Транскаспийского газопровода из Туркмении в Азербайджан в обход России?

- Перспективы его очень туманные. Проект существует на уровне разговоров. Речь идет о том, чтобы по дну Каспия проложить газопровод в Баку. Вопрос этот не решен.

Я считаю, что интересы России заключаются в том, чтобы пропускать туркменский газ через свою территорию, что было по непонятным для меня причинам приостановлено. Почему это произошло, я не могу сказать. Но Туркменистан сейчас фактически перестал подавать газ в газопроводную систему России.

Сегодня построен газопровод пропускной способностью 30-40 миллиардов кубов от Туркменистана через Казахстан до Китая. Сейчас я знаю, Туркменистан работает над тем, чтобы пройти через Афганистан в Пакистан. Недавно подписали даже соглашение о намерениях, несмотря на трудности. Это попытка Туркменистана решить свои проблемы.

Я могу вспомнить историю с казахстанской нефтью, когда северо-каспийский нефтепровод до Новороссийска мне пришлось согласовывать несколько лет. Это было во времена Ельцина и Черномырдина, когда я доказывал, что Россия теряет полтора миллиарда долларов только на транспортировке. Мы этот вопрос решили только спустя 4 – 5 лет, после того, как сказали, что Казахстан "пойдет" на "Баку - Джейхан", когда мы построили порт и начали танкерами возить нефть в Азербайджан. И Таможенный союз, и Единое экономическое пространство такие вопросы будут снимать.

- В эти дни исполняется 20 лет со дня, когда неудачно завершились переговоры об обновлении бывшего Союза, следующая дата - 20-летие СНГ. Вы были участником этих процессов.

- О развале Советского Союза не будем говорить. Об этом много сказано. Это отдельная тема. Развал Союза тяжелое время - коллапс, катастрофа для всех государств. Оборвались все связи, остановилась экономика.

В этих условиях я предложил создать Содружество независимых государств в другом формате (в более широком, чем тот, который был при подписании Беловежских соглашений 8 декабря 1991 года – прим. редакции «КП»). Если помните, это случилось 21 декабря 1991 года в Алматы. С первых дней я ратовал за то, чтобы СНГ стало нормальным, эффективным объединением.

Чуть позже я предложил создать Евразийский союз, с тем, чтобы наладить более тесную интеграцию. На этой почве было создано ЕврАзЭС. С 1 января 2012 года начнется практическая работа в рамках Единого экономического пространства. Процесс закончится в 2014-2015 годах. Тогда мы заявим, что единое экономическое пространство состоялось, и перейдем к созданию Евразийского экономического союза. Вот такая история.

Я поблагодарил Д.Медведева за то, что мы специально собрались, чтобы объявить об этом важном решении. Роль России была очень важной.

Хотел бы сказать еще вот что. Россия сейчас находится в большой и сложной электоральной компании - сначала состоятся выборы в Думу, затем выборы Президента.

Мне импонирует, что именно Владимир Путин выдвинут в Президенты. Мы помним, что в 2000 году, когда он пришел к власти, Россия была на грани развала и гражданской войны. Путину удалось установить порядок. Считаю также, что и Дмитрий Медведев проявил государственную мудрость. Стабильность в России очень важна. Сейчас не то время, чтобы в этом тандеме затевать какой-то спор.

Считаю, оба этих политика проявили большое государственное мужество, и собственные амбиции положили на алтарь интересов России и российского народа. Я желаю обоим больших успехов, спокойствия и процветания России.

Nursultan Nazarbayev

Published on 19 November 2011.

Source: Источник: Н.А.Назарбаев и Евразийство: сборник избранных статей и выступлений Главы Государства / под ред. Е.Б. Сыдыкова. – Астана: Издательство ЕНУ им. Л.Н. Гумилева, 2012. – 222 С.

Context: Выступление Н.А. НАЗАРБАЕВА в Московском Государственном Университете имени М.В. Ломоносова г. Москва.

Разумное понимание интеграции – это не столько взгляд, обращенный в прошлое, безусловно впечатляющее, сколько взгляд в будущее. И весьма проблемное будущее. Надо признать и то, что это будущее становится все более вариативным, и все больше альтернатив появляется на горизонте. Единственное, что может гарантировать трезвый политик сегодня на постсоветском пространстве, это отсутствие фатальности как для безудержного оптимизма, так и для прорицаний мрачно-эсхатологического толка. Интеграция базируется на нескольких основополагающих принципах. Во-первых, речь идет не о реинтеграции, но именно о новой интеграции. Кстати, радикально настроенные противники и сторонники реинтеграции спорят, сознательно или лукаво, совсем не о том, что происходит на деле. На деле же идет поиск структур и механизмов новой интеграции, а не воссоздание СССР. Во-вторых, залогом успешной интеграции может стать эволюционное наращивание институтов, ее каналов. Создание мощной институциональной базы интеграции в сфере экономики, культуры, науки, образования потребует времени и серьезных инвестиций. Потребуется той реальной работы, которую демонстрирует, например, коллектив МГУ. В-третьих, интеграция состоится только при учете культурно- цивилизованных особенностей этносов и уважения государственных суверенитетов.

Karim Massimov

Published on 20 December 2011.

Source: <http://mk-kz.kz/articles/2011/12/20/654786-karim-masimov-premerministr-kazahstana-alternativyi-integratsii-net.html>

В дни празднования 20-летнего юбилея независимости республики в Астане прошла презентация Государственной книги Казахстана-2011

В неё включены выступления глав государств и правительств разных стран, в том числе и нашей. Редакция издания любезно предоставила читателям "МК в Казахстане" возможность ознакомиться с интервью премьер-министра РК Карима Масимова.

– Карим Кажимканович, в юбилей принято подводить итоги. С какими достижениями правительство Казахстана подошло к знаменательной дате – 20-й годовщине провозглашения суверенитета?

– Сегодня, когда вся страна празднует знаменательный юбилей – 20-летие нашей независимости, мы вправе говорить о главном результате государственной политики – кардинальном улучшении жизни казахстанцев. Результаты решения тех важнейших задач социально-экономического развития и процветания Казахстана, которые ставит перед нами наш лидер – Нурсултан Абишевич Назарбаев, убедительны.

С 2007 года обеспечен положительный рост ВВП Казахстана. Даже в самый тяжёлый период мирового финансово-экономического кризиса в Казахстане удалось удержать ВВП в "психологическом плюсе", обеспечив его увеличение в 2009 году на 1,2%. (Для сравнения: в 2009 году падение экономики США

составило 2,6%, российской – 7,9%, украинской – 15,1%.) А уже в 2010 году у нас прирост ВВП составил 7,3%. В 2010 году наш ВВП превысил \$148 млрд, что вдвое больше суммарного ВВП четырёх других центральноазиатских государств. С начала 2011 года экономика продолжила расти теми же темпами – в первом полугодии ВВП в реальном выражении вырос на 7%. По итогам года мы ожидаем, что этот показатель не изменится.

Сегодня Казахстан уверенно занимает позицию в лидирующей группе стран со средним уровнем дохода, таких как Бразилия, Малайзия, Турция.

Значительно выросли доходы казахстанцев. Доля населения с доходами ниже прожиточного минимума сократилась вдвое – до 6,5% в 2010 году. Средняя заработная плата работников бюджетной сферы увеличилась более чем в 2 раза и с 1 июля 2011 года превысила 67 тысяч тенге. Вклады населения в банках второго уровня в сентябре 2011 года превысили 2,6 трлн тенге, увеличившись на 1,5 трлн тенге в сравнении с январём 2007 года.

Мы обеспечили высокую занятость населения. Существенно снижен уровень безработицы – с 7,3% в 2007 году до чуть более 5%. За период с 2007 года по настоящее время создано более

1 млн 200 тыс. рабочих мест.

Последовательно решается проблема обеспечения граждан жильём. По Государственной программе жилищного строительства на 2008–2010 годы введено в эксплуатацию 19,7 млн. кв. метров жилья, почти 535 тыс. казахстанцев улучшили свои жилищные условия.

Мы активно развиваем систему социальной защиты населения. Средний размер пенсий за четыре года вырос в 2,5 раза и достиг 27 640 тенге. В разы увеличены размеры единовременного пособия на рождение ребёнка, пособия по уходу за ребёнком до одного года, размер пособия на рождение четвёртого и более ребёнка увеличен более чем в 4,6 раза по сравнению с 2007 годом.

Правительство постоянно работает над улучшением инфраструктуры и качества образования. Практически в 2 раза увеличились расходы на финансирование образования, в 2011 году они превысят 898 млрд. тенге. Растёт сеть дошкольных организаций, строятся новые школы и учебные заведения технического и профессионального образования. Планомерно повышалась оплата труда педагогических работников. Их должностные оклады увеличились на 25% в 2009 и 2010 годах и ещё на 20,2% – в 2011-м.

Мы продолжили работу по улучшению медицинского обслуживания. Расходы государственного бюджета 2011 года на финансирование здравоохранения выросли более чем в 2 раза – до 640 млрд тенге. Медицинским организациям выделено около 100 млрд. тенге для приобретения современного оборудования.

Комплекс принятых мер позволил за два года увеличить ожидаемую продолжительность жизни: с 66,3 года в 2007 году до 68,4 в 2010-м.

Валовой внешний долг банковского сектора Казахстана сократился с \$46 млрд в декабре 2007 года до \$18,6 млрд. в июне 2011-го. Произошло снижение внешнего долга банков второго уровня на \$27,4 млрд.

Чистые резервы Национального банка и средства Национального фонда в октябре 2011 года составили \$74,3 млрд.

– Карим Кажимканович, не можем не задать вопрос о тех интеграционных процессах, которые в последнее время очень активно идут на постсоветском пространстве: создан Таможенный союз, формируется Единое экономическое пространство, а сейчас объявлено о Евразийском союзе. В союзах, как правило, кто-то бывает донором, кто-то реципиентом. В отношении Казахстана многие считают, что тот уровень экономического развития, который страна демонстрирует в последнее десятилетие, позволяет ему интегрироваться с другими более сильными экономиками на партнёрских, взаимовыгодных условиях. Расскажите о евразийских интеграционных перспективах.

– Президент Казахстана понимает, что альтернативы реализации наших интеграционных планов в современном мире нет. Сейчас уже не вызывает отторжения и никого не удивляет идея формирования Евразийского союза. Но вспомните, что было семнадцать лет назад. В марте 1994 года Н. Назарбаев впервые предложил создать на пространстве СНГ качественно новое интеграционное объединение – Евразийский Союз Государств. Эта идея была обнародована им в академической аудитории Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова.

Сегодня мы планомерно подходим к реализации этой идеи. Создан Таможенный союз Казахстана, России и Белоруссии. С 1 января 2012 года начинается практический этап создания Единого экономического пространства (ЕЭП).

Наш президент считает, что ЕЭП станет прочной основой для перехода к более высокой ступени интеграции – Евразийскому экономическому союзу. Это будет мощное объединение. Н. Назарбаев уверен, что Евразийский союз – это "мегапроект, соизмеримый со сложными вызовами настоящего и будущего".

Совокупный ВВП трёх стран составляет почти два триллиона долларов, промышленный потенциал оценивается в 600 миллиардов долларов, объём выпуска продукции сельского хозяйства – порядка 112 миллиардов долларов, а общий потребительский рынок – более 165 миллионов человек.

Мы в Казахстане, как и наши партнёры, полагаем, что Евразийский союз должен изначально создаваться как конкурентоспособное глобальное экономическое объединение.

И на уровне правительств Казахстана, России и Белоруссии нам за последние годы очень многое удалось сделать. Мы, безусловно, являемся очень значимыми партнёрами друг для друга. И наши правительства прикладывают максимум усилий для того, чтобы развивать как интеграционное поле в целом, так и наши двусторонние взаимовыгодные отношения.

У казахстанско-российских и казахстанско-белорусских совместных предприятий есть не только большой наработанный опыт, но и очень значительный потенциал. Сотрудничество и возможность создания совместных проектов, например в атомной энергетике, позволят этим российским и казахстанским компаниям быть конкурентоспособными в мире и иметь возможность задавать тон во всей мировой экономике. Возможность кооперации и создание транснациональных корпораций, в том числе в газовой сфере, тоже даёт очень крупные возможности и в Центральной Азии, и в Европе. И это тоже может быть таким очень важным совместным проектом.

Традиционная сфера нашего сотрудничества в области космических технологий: Байконур на территории Казахстана, совместные проекты по развитию в космической отрасли – это тоже то, что может быть номером один в мире. Это очень большие возможности.

Я думаю, что новые направления, которые сейчас возникают, например, в области нанотехнологий, сотрудничество в области микробиологии, совместные проекты в некоторых вопросах финансовой сферы – это то, что традиционно сильно и в России, и набирает новую мощь в Казахстане. По некоторым отраслям машиностроения, которые в силу исторических причин не так сильно были развиты на территории Казахстана, мы будем иметь возможность привлекать новые передовые технологии, создавая совместные предприятия и транснациональные корпорации на территории Казахстана.

С Белоруссией у нас тоже есть ряд совместных проектов, которые мы сейчас осуществляем на территории Казахстана. В сфере сельхозмашиностроения – а белорусское сельхозмашиностроение достаточно высоко конкурентоспособное, в области пищевой промышленности и в некоторых других направлениях. Это стало возможным, если посмотреть последние два-три года, когда мы начали активно

продвигаться и реально Таможенный союз заработал. Это открыло новые возможности. В особенности наши отношения с Белоруссией за последние два года сделали сильный рывок. И это только начало.

Я уверен, что это даст нам новые возможности больше доверять друг другу и больше совместно работать.

Считаю, этапность создания интеграционных объединений – это не только политическая декларация, но это вопрос прагматический, реализация очень конкретных шагов. Сначала мы договорились создать Таможенный союз, он заработал, и мы видим те практические результаты в интересах наших народов. Сейчас переходим к следующему этапу – Единое экономическое пространство. И здесь мы тоже должны полностью выработать все те новые возможности и преимущества, которые нам даются.

В этом очень показателен опыт европейского объединения. Надо понимать: если иногда мы из политической конъюнктуры чересчур забегаем вперед и принимаем те решения, которые сами потом не можем выполнить, как в некоторых европейских странах сейчас происходит, то не всегда всё хорошо получается.

Мы идём очень последовательно, стабильно, взвешиваем все шаги. Если какие-то решения принимаем, выполняем их. Если какие-то не можем выполнить, мы честно, открыто друг другу говорим: это мы примем чуть позже. Это добровольное, прагматическое, выгодное для всех сторон сотрудничество. Тем оно нас и привлекает – по крайней мере, Казахстан, но думаю, и всех партнёров по этим объединениям.

Альтернативы интеграции, альтернативы объединению, альтернативы такому свободному передвижению товаров нет. Думаю, что та экономическая ситуация, которая сейчас складывается, в ближайшее время покажет, что мы на правильном пути и другого просто быть не может.

Несмотря на то, что есть и положительные стороны, есть и некоторые минусы, есть и критика – и вне, и внутри наших интеграционных объединений, считаю, что это один из тех краеугольных моментов, о котором впоследствии будут говорить, что он был принят абсолютно верно и вовремя. Я лично в этом уверен.

2012

Nursultan Nazarbayev

Published on 24 April 2012.

Source: <http://www.netref.ru/otchet-o-vipolnenii-media-plana-po-v-astaninskому-ekonomichesk.html?page=16>

В ходе расширенной коллегии Министерства иностранных дел республики в минувшую пятницу президент Казахстана заявил, что евразийская интеграция является осознанным выбором республики, и в ближайшее время она останется основополагающим вектором внешней политики страны. Одновременно казахстанским дипломатам было поручено усилить работу по привлечению современных технологий и инновационных разработок в экономику страны, а также развернуть систему полномасштабной поддержки продвижению казахстанской продукции за рубежом.

«Казахстан выступает как автор идей, локомотив создания Евразийского экономического союза, потому что географическое, геополитическое месторасположение нашей страны, без выхода к морям, располагает к тому, чтобы открывать рынки близлежащих государств. Без этого, без расширения торговли наши стремления увеличивать экономику, строить новые предприятия будут обречены», – заметил на коллегии Нурсултан Назарбаев. В этой связи, по его словам, дальнейшая интеграция с двумя государствами, участвующими в проекте по созданию Евразийского союза – Россией и Белоруссией – будет продолжена. Однако, как подчеркнул президент, с переходом к Евразийскому экономическому

союзу Казахстан продолжит «внешнеполитическую линию по развитию сбалансированных отношений с другими странами».

При этом внешние сношения с другими государствами – как в рамках Евразийского союза, так и вне его – должны приносить дивиденды экономике. Прежде всего – в плане привлечения в страну самых передовых технологий и инноваций. Нурсултан Назарбаев поручил Министерству иностранных дел активизировать работу по привлечению в страну инвесторов, располагающих такими технологиями, а также обеспечить поддержку отечественного бизнеса за рубежом. Он отметил, что внешняя политика должна быть нацелена на активное содействие социальноэкономическому развитию страны, повышению конкурентоспособности экономики. «В среднесрочной перспективе перед нами стоит задача войти в круг индустриально развитых государств, стать активной частью постиндустриального мира, – напомнил глава государства. – Поэтому следует активизировать работу по привлечению мировых технологий, инноваций в экономику – мы знаем, что никто просто так технологии нам не предоставит на блюдечке.

Отечественная дипломатия должна активно способствовать общественной политической модернизации, качественному росту человеческого капитала, повышению уровня образования и здравоохранения», – озвучил задачи МИДа президент.

И одновременно поручил дипломатам обеспечивать интересы страны и отечественного бизнеса за рубежом. «Задача по расширению экспорта, поддержке национальных экспортеров должна занять приоритетное место», – отметил Назарбаев. При этом дипкорпусу следует учитывать реалии сегодняшнего дня, когда центры экономического роста смещаются, а в условиях кризиса в Евроне и долговой неурядицы в США повышается значимость Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, считает глава государства. В связи с этим он напомнил, что в одной из своих публикаций призывал создавать региональные расчетные единицы, а затем выйти на создание новой мировой валюты, действующей в интересах всех стран. «Конечно, это не простое решение, но мы видим, что к этому придется прийти», – заметил президент. По его словам, на Астанинском экономическом форуме в мае этого года будут обсуждаться итоги всемирного диалога по проекту создания масштабной экономической площадки G-global. Главными же внешнеполитическими целями страны глава государства назвал обеспечение безопасности, суверенитета, территориальной целостности, укрепление международного авторитета республики.

Говоря о ситуации в мире, казахстанский лидер заострил внимание на положении арабских государств, в которых произошли процессы трансформации власти. По его мнению, международное сообщество должно помочь странам, пережившим «арабскую весну», получить от этой трансформации больше приобретений, чем потерь. При этом никто не должен навязывать им пути дальнейшего развития: как отметил Нурсултан Назарбаев, «арабская весна» наглядно продемонстрировала всему миру, что общество не готово к восприятию ценностных ориентиров культуры западных масс-медиа. «На примере «арабской весны» мы видим эрозию международного права, право силы торжествует все больше, – констатировал президент. – Мы должны препятствовать нарушению международного права. Никакие цели не могут достигаться за счет манипулирования решениями ООН и Совета безопасности. Демократия – это выбор, который должны делать сами государства, конституционный выбор без трагических потрясений и революций. Не бывает одной модели демократии для всех, народы должны сами определять свое будущее в соответствии с их культурами, традициями, политическими системами, никто не должен навязывать изменения. Страны, в которых

свершились перевороты, шагнули назад в экономическом плане на 10–15, а то и более лет», – заключил он.

В понедельник же на правительственном часе в мажилисе министр иностранных дел Ержан Казыханов рассказал парламентариям, как его ведомство собирается выполнять поручения президента. По его словам, МИД РК ставит перед собой задачу превратить Алматы в субрегиональный хаб многосторонней дипломатии. «Экономический рост страны выводит Казахстан в разряд государств с уровнем развития выше среднего. По уровню ВВП на душу населения мы постепенно выходим на показатели стран Восточной Европы. Соответственно, меняется и статус нашей страны – от реципиента к донору международной помощи, – заметил глава казахстанского форинфиса. – В этих условиях мы ставим перед собой задачу по превращению города Алматы в субрегиональный хаб многосторонней дипломатии и открытию крупного офиса Секретариата ООН в Алматы», – подчеркнул он. Кроме того, сообщил глава внешнеполитического ведомства, МИД ставит перед собой цель стать непостоянным членом Совета безопасности ООН на период 2017–2018 годов и Совета ООН по правам человека в 2013–2015 годах. При этом, возвращаясь к вопросу об «арабской весне», Казыханов заявил, что Казахстан готов активно участвовать в работе по формированию механизмов поддержки сирийского государства в транзитный период. «Под нашим председательством в Джидде состоялось чрезвычайное заседание исполкома Организации исламского сотрудничества по Сирии на уровне министров иностранных дел. По итогам встречи было принято итоговое коммюнике, в котором отражены основные принципы ОИС по урегулированию ситуации в Сирии», – напомнил глава МИД. Это коммюнике включает призывы к прекращению насилия, началу мирного диалога и недопущению иностранного вмешательства в Сирию. «Данная встреча также способствовала принятию Дамаском международных наблюдателей и совместной миссии ОИС–ООН по оценке гуманитарной ситуации в стране», – добавил Казыханов. Он также отметил, что в качестве председателя ОИС Казахстан поддержал недавние решения Совета безопасности ООН по Сирии и присоединился к призыву международного сообщества к неукоснительному и своевременному выполнению плана спецпредставителя ООН и ЛАГ Кофи Аннана по прекращению огня и перемирию.

Что до вопроса о привлечении технологий и инноваций в страну, то этому должны поспособствовать новые диппредставительства Казахстана за рубежом. По словам министра, в этом году Казахстан откроет свои генеральные консульства в городах Ош, Ходжент, Брест и Казань. «Также будем открывать диппредставительства в Индонезии, в Бразилии, в Финляндии – мы будем расширять географию представительств», – заключил Казыханов.

Erlan Idrissov

Published on 29 November 2012 by RIA Novosti.

Source: <https://ria.ru/20121129/912795237.html>

Context: О приоритетах работы внешнеполитического ведомства Республики Казахстан в интервью РИА Новости рассказал министр иностранных дел РК Ерлан Идрисов.

- При назначении нового кабинета министров президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев заявил о преемственности курса правительства. В какой мере это относится к возглавляемому Вами министерству? Появились ли новые вызовы, задачи, которые требуют изменения внешнеполитических приоритетов?

— Если говорить о долгосрочных целях и стратегических приоритетах нашего внешнеполитического курса, то они остаются неизменными и направлены на дальнейшее укрепление дружественных и взаимовыгодных отношений

со всеми странами мирового сообщества. Они не нуждаются в пересмотре или коренном изменении своего содержания. Поэтому мы продолжим сохранять преемственность этой нашей линии в международных отношениях. Но, в то же время, мы живем в динамично развивающемся мире и, следовательно, наша внешняя политика должна быть способна адаптироваться к меняющимся условиям с учетом необходимости адекватного и своевременного реагирования на возникающие вызовы и угрозы. Например, глобальный финансово-экономический кризис требует концентрации наших усилий на укреплении экономической составляющей в деятельности МИД, активизации «экономической» дипломатии.

- Не могли бы вы коротко сформулировать основные составляющие внешней политики Казахстана и, соответственно, направления деятельности МИД страны?

— Еще в самом начале становления суверенного Казахстана президент Нурсултан Назарбаев выдвинул главный принцип: внешняя политика Республики Казахстан есть продолжение ее внутренней политики, инструмент внешнеполитического обеспечения общественно-политической стабильности, национальной безопасности, создания благоприятных внешних условий для дальнейшего экономического, социального, интеллектуального и культурного развития и реформирования страны. Следуя этому принципу, мы добились значительных результатов. Казахстан вплотную приблизился к качественному уровню социально-экономического развития государств Центральной и Восточной Европы. Есть ощутимое продвижение вперед в диверсификации экономики, ее инновационно-технологическом обновлении.

Сегодня Казахстан приступает к осуществлению политики социально-экономической модернизации, предложенной главой государства. Цель модернизации — подготовка общества к жизни в условиях новой индустриально-инновационной экономики, поддержание баланса между форсированным экономическим развитием Казахстана и широким обеспечением граждан общественными благами, утверждение социальных отношений, основанных на принципах права и справедливости. МИД Казахстана видит свою основную задачу в обеспечении внешнеполитических условий, способствующих эффективной реализации этой политики, изучении и использовании соответствующего международного опыта.

Ключевое направление нашей внешней политики — углубление партнерства и тесного взаимодействия в нашем ближайшем окружении, на пространстве СНГ, в Центральной Азии. Вместе с Россией и Беларусью мы сформировали Таможенный союз, Единое экономическое пространство, проводим работу по созданию Евразийского экономического союза. Считаем, что развитие интеграционных процессов отвечает национальным интересам всех его участников. Интеграция способствует модернизации и взаимодополняемости экономик стран — участников ЕЭП, повышению нашей конкурентоспособности на мировых рынках, росту уровня жизни населения.

Не может быть эффективной внешней политики, если она с запозданием реагирует на процессы, события и изменения, происходящие в мире. Президент Нурсултан Назарбаев определил текущее состояние международных отношений как переходную эпоху. Мир меняется, но зачастую многие международные институты, да и отдельные государства, отстают от этих перемен, не вполне учитывают их в своей политике.

Казахстан не может игнорировать такое положение вещей. Глава нашего государства выдвинул целый ряд инициатив, направленных на совершенствование мирового порядка, чтобы он сполна отвечал складывающимся политическим, экономическим, социальным, экологическим реалиям. Их продвижение на международной арене, практическую реализацию

наше министерство рассматривает как важнейшее направление своей деятельности.

- Какие инициативы вы считаете ключевыми сегодня и в обозримом будущем?

— Первостепенное внимание МИД Казахстана уделяет активному участию нашего государства в многосторонних усилиях по укреплению мира, региональной и международной безопасности. У нашей страны сложилась прочная репутация лидера процесса разоружения и нераспространения оружия массового уничтожения, модератора в диалоге культур, религий и цивилизаций. Мы выступили с конкретными предложениями по обеспечению глобальной ядерной безопасности, принятию Всеобщей декларации безъядерного мира. Будем последовательно добиваться их претворения в жизнь. Продолжим работу по реализации Глобальной энергоэкологической стратегии, провозглашенной нашей страной, а также Астанинской инициативы «Зеленый мост», направленной на трансферт «зеленых» технологий.

За последние годы Казахстан стал центром сосредоточения региональных структур ООН, других международных организаций. В связи с этим Казахстан выступает за формирование в Алматы своего рода хаба международной дипломатии. Недавно наша страна в непростой борьбе выиграла заявку на проведение Всемирной выставки «ЭКСПО-2017» по теме «Энергия будущего» — это масштабный национальный проект, и его успешной реализации будет уделено особое внимание.

Будем продолжать сбалансированную внешнюю политику «по всем азимутам», тесно взаимодействуя не только с ближайшими соседями и странами СНГ, но и с государствами Азии, Запада, исламского мира.

В этом году исполнилось 20 лет инициативе казахстанского лидера о созыве Совещания по взаимодействию и мерам доверия в Азии — СВМДА. Сегодня оно рассматривается мировым сообществом как новая уникальная межгосударственная площадка для проведения диалога и консультаций, согласования мер на основе консенсуса по проблемам безопасности и сотрудничества на Азиатском континенте. Главой нашего государства предложено трансформировать Совещание в полноценную международную организацию, над чем казахстанская дипломатия будет работать в ближайшие годы со своими партнерами по СВМДА.

Продолжается работа по реализации проектов в рамках Совета сотрудничества тюркоязычных государств. В частности, в 2012 году Астана является культурной столицей тюркского мира, также как и СНГ.

В середине ноября текущего года мы успешно завершили председательство в Совете министров иностранных дел Организации исламского сотрудничества (ОИС), в декабре заканчивается наше руководство в Организации Договора о коллективной безопасности (ОДКБ). В будущем предстоит реализация наших инициатив, получивших поддержку в ОИС. Наша страна намерена и впредь прилагать усилия по развитию взаимодействия в рамках ШОС. Мы активно участвуем в деятельности ОДКБ в целях обеспечения мира и стабильности в регионе. Есть и другие задачи.

Подытоживая, скажу: наша дипломатия многовекторна — мы будем продолжать укреплять взаимовыгодные и дружественные отношения со всеми государствами мира и международными организациями, придерживаясь последовательной, сбалансированной и предсказуемой внешней политики.

- Вы долгое время работали послом Казахстана в Европе, а в последние годы — в США. Можно ли говорить о том, что «американский фактор» становится более значимым во внешней политике вашей страны? Насколько это связано с выводом войск коалиции из Афганистана в 2014 году и новым раскладом сил на геополитической арене?

— Американское направление было и остается одним из главных приоритетов нашей внешней политики. За годы независимости мы достигли высокого уровня взаимопонимания с США практически по всему спектру нашего стратегического партнерства. Мы намерены поднимать эту планку выше, но не в ущерб нашим добрым отношениям с другими странами.

Что касается Афганистана, то безопасность и дальнейшее благополучное развитие Центральной Азии неразрывно связаны с ситуацией в этой многострадальной стране. Казахстан глубоко заинтересован в долгосрочном решении афганской проблемы, сохранении в Афганистане стабильности после 2014 года. Исходя из этого, мы намерены и далее быть надежным партнером международной коалиции в обеспечении безопасности и реконструкции ИРА. В апреле следующего года Казахстан проведет Министерскую конференцию «Стамбульского процесса», участниками которой будут страны, принимающие участие в стабилизации Афганистана.

Мы также выступаем за интеграцию Афганистана в систему международных торгово-экономических отношений, в частности в Центральной Азии. Этим объясняется наша поддержка инициативы «Новый Шелковый Путь», которая нацелена на дальнейшее развитие внешнеэкономических связей Афганистана со странами Центральной и Южной Азии.

- Как вы оцениваете российско-казахстанские отношения, их перспективы?

— В этом году мы отметили 20-летие установления дипломатических отношений между Республикой Казахстан и Российской Федерацией. Президент Казахстана Нурсултан Назарбаев в статье «Дружба на века», опубликованной в «Российской газете» в октябре 2012 года, отметил: «20-летие установления дипломатических отношений Казахстан и Россия встречают как стратегические партнеры, самые близкие союзники и друзья. Два десятилетия продуктивных отношений наши страны заложили прочную основу для их уверенного и последовательного развития в интересах наших народов. Впервые в своей истории Казахстан и Россия выстроили взаимодействие как соседние независимые государства, полноправные члены ООН, объединенные не только общностью исторического прошлого, но и схожим видением настоящего и будущего развития всего евразийского региона и мира. Казахстанско-российские отношения стали привлекательной моделью не только для стран СНГ, но и показательным примером того, как должны развиваться двусторонние отношения между государствами в XXI веке».

Перед Казахстаном никогда не стояла проблема выбора своего основного партнера и союзника в современном мире. Он определен географически и исторически. Дружба и добрососедство с соседями, прежде всего, с Россией — ключевой приоритет внешней политики нашего государства. Этот принципиальный курс прочно закреплен в казахстанско-российской Декларации о вечной дружбе и союзничестве. В основе стратегического партнерства Казахстана и России — взаимное уважение, равноправие и высокий уровень доверия между лидерами наших государств Нурсултаном Назарбаевым и Владимиром Путиным.

Сегодня Казахстан и Россия — крупнейшие торговые партнеры. Объем взаимного товарооборота по итогам 2011 года составил порядка 24 миллиардов долларов, по сравнению с 2010 годом рост составил около 33%. В рамках подписанного Плана совместных действий на ближайшие годы — так называемой «дорожной карты», мы реализуем многие масштабные проекты в топливно-энергетической отрасли, атомной энергетике, космической, транспортной сферах, агропромышленном комплексе и во многих других областях. В настоящее время мы совместно ведем подготовку к подписанию нового Договора о добрососедстве и союзничестве Казахстана и России в XXI веке.

Особое внимание уделяется дальнейшему укреплению и развитию казахстанско-российского межрегионального и приграничного сотрудничества. Более 70 российских регионов активно взаимодействуют с казахстанскими партнерами. Между регионами Казахстана и России заключено более 200 соглашений о сотрудничестве в различных областях.

Ежегодно под председательством глав государств проводятся Форумы межрегионального сотрудничества с участием руководителей областей Казахстана и регионов России. Проведение этих форумов способствует решению вопросов взаимодействия власти и бизнеса по обеспечению экономического роста, повышения конкурентоспособности экономики и социального благополучия населения, налаживанию более тесных деловых контактов между предприятиями Казахстана и России, развитию производственной кооперации и взаимной торговли. МИД Казахстана будет и далее делать все, чтобы наши отношения развивались по восходящей линии. Это в долгосрочных национальных интересах Казахстана и России, народов наших братских стран.

- Вы говорили о том, что в связи с реализацией Казахстаном программы индустриально-инновационного развития, МИД должен уделять больше внимания реализации важных внешнеэкономических проектов...

— Да, это так. В настоящее время, как я уже отмечал ранее, усиление экономической дипломатии в дельности МИД Казахстана выдвигается на первый план. Это продиктовано самой жизнью. Положительная динамика роста экономики у нас наблюдалась даже в кризисные 2008-2009 годы. За короткий исторический срок ВВП на одного жителя страны вырос с 700 до 12,5 тысяч долларов, то есть более чем в 15 раз. Вместе с КНР и Катаром, по международным оценкам, наша страна образует тройку самых быстрорастущих экономик мира. Казахстан — также один из лидеров на постсоветском пространстве по объему привлеченного в экономику иностранного капитала. Естественно, задача МИД — дипломатическими средствами поддерживать набранную динамику развития.

В рамках Таможенного союза и ЕЭП Казахстан вместе с Россией и Беларусью может выступить в качестве экономического центра для освоения гигантского рынка с населением почти в 170 миллионов человек. И это уже происходит.

Очень важная задача МИД — содействовать привлечению качественных инвестиций и передовых технологий из-за рубежа. Вместе с блоком экономических ведомств Казахстана МИД принимает участие в работе Совета иностранных инвесторов при Президенте Республики Казахстан и Совете по улучшению инвестиционного климата под председательством премьер-министра Казахстана. Защита прав инвесторов, стабильность законодательства и транспарентность — таковы императивы нашей совместной деятельности в этой сфере.

- В последнее время становится интенсивнее взаимодействие между государствами региона по линии ОДКБ. Как вы считаете, может ли ОДКБ стать полноценной региональной структурой, занимающейся вопросами региональной безопасности, а возможно, и аналогом НАТО в восточном полушарии?

— В этом году Организации Договора о коллективной безопасности исполнилось 10 лет. Сделано, по нашему мнению, немало. Усилена военная составляющая путем создания Коллективных сил оперативного реагирования (КСОР). Эта стало возможным благодаря инициативе президента Нурсултана Назарбаева, озвученной на неформальном саммите глав государств-членов Организации в декабре 2008 года. Приняты нормативные акты, предусматривающие порядок реагирования ОДКБ на кризисные ситуации. Согласован механизм совместных мер по предотвращению (урегулированию) кризисных ситуаций, последовательности действий механизмов Организации и государств-членов ОДКБ и их взаимодействия.

В декабре 2011 года председательство в Организации было передано Казахстану. Глава нашего государства сформулировал в этой связи пять приоритетов: защита информационного пространства государств-членов ОДКБ, дальнейшее развитие КСОР, коллективная защита воздушного пространства Центрально-Азиатского региона ОДКБ, формирование антинаркотической стратегии ОДКБ, развитие полигона «Скальный город — Астана» в интересах ОДКБ. Эти приоритеты стали основой нашей работы.

Теперь о международном статусе ОДКБ. В марте 2010 года Генеральная Ассамблея ООН приняла резолюцию «Сотрудничество между Организацией Объединенных Наций и Организацией Договора о коллективной безопасности». Таким образом, ОДКБ стала международно-признанной структурой, стремящейся сотрудничать со своими партнерскими организациями в области обеспечения безопасности, в частности, в нашем регионе. Но я не стал бы проводить параллели между ОДКБ и НАТО.

- В прошлом году Казахстан завершил годичное председательство в Шанхайской организации сотрудничества. В каких вопросах удалось продвинуться за этот период, какое развитие получили инициативы Казахстана сегодня?

— В течение года под руководством казахстанской стороны в рамках ШОС было проведено 120 мероприятий различного уровня и формата. Период председательства Казахстана в ШОС, по признанию многих, стал очередной точкой отсчета развития этой региональной структуры, придав ей новые импульсы, позволяющие еще шире раскрыть потенциал ШОС.

Участники Саммита ШОС в Астане подвели итоги деятельности Организации в течение десятилетнего периода, констатировали поступательное движение вперед и обсудили перспективы дальнейшего развития этой межгосударственной структуры.

В своем выступлении президент Казахстана отметил, что, преодолев большой путь от Шанхая до Астаны, ШОС превратилась в уникальный институт международных отношений. Глава государства подчеркнул, что сегодня ШОС объединяет наиболее перспективные мировые экономики, государства, которые представляют разные культуры и цивилизации. Коснувшись экономического блока, он отметил, что за прошедшие годы товарооборот внутри ШОС вырос в 7 раз, сформирована стратегическая основа для расширения экономического сотрудничества и интеграции.

Четко просматривается тенденция к расширению ШОС. Четыре государства — Монголия, Пакистан, Иран и Индия — получили статус наблюдателей, а Белоруссия и Шри-Ланка — статус партнеров по диалогу. Если со временем они станут полноправными членами, то и «вес» ШОС возрастет.

В период председательства Астаны определены приоритеты и задачи ШОС на будущее. В числе инициированных Казахстаном документов — Алматинская хартия, меморандум по борьбе с наркотиками, программа экономического сотрудничества на 10 лет, программа борьбы с нелегальной миграцией и торговлей людьми, предложения по продовольственной проблеме.

- Какие сложности возникают при развитии Таможенного союза, формировании Единого экономического пространства (ЕЭП) и Евразийского союза?

— Как я уже сказал, в основе казахстанской внешней политики лежит принцип приоритета национальных интересов страны. Именно под этим углом зрения мы оцениваем ход интеграционных процессов на евразийском пространстве, свое участие в них. В целом наша оценка того, что достигнуто, позитивная.

В целях дальнейшего углубления интеграционных процессов на евразийском пространстве главы Республики Казахстан, Республики Беларусь и Российской Федерации 18 ноября 2011 года приняли Декларацию о евразийской интеграции. В ней четко сказано, что Стороны будут стремиться завершить к 1 января 2015 года кодификацию международных договоров, составляющих нормативно-

правовую базу Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства и на этой основе создать Евразийский экономический союз. Он должен знаменовать собой качественно новую ступень интеграции. Шаг, сами понимаете, очень ответственный.

Вот почему очень важно избегать поспешных шагов и действий, которые бы поставили под сомнение реалистичность и плодотворность самого проекта интеграции. Особенно в вопросах обеспечения баланса интересов участников интеграции и оптимальности системы наднациональных органов. Политический суверенитет ни одного из государств ЕЭП и будущего ЕЭС не должен быть ни в коей мере ущемлен. Именно так строился Европейский Союз, в основе которого лежит принцип полного равноправия и суверенности партнеров по интеграции. Иными словами, всем нам необходимо руководствоваться знаменитым принципом Гиппократа: «Не навреди». Или русской поговоркой: «Семь раз отмерь, один раз отрежь».

По мнению нашей страны, следует определиться по ключевым экономическим вопросам, так как еще не завершена работа по формированию Единого экономического пространства. Необходимо все взвесить, проанализировать и определить основные параметры экономического развития. Полагаю, не стоит сейчас разводить риторику об умозрительных наднациональных органах, правильнее сосредоточиться на совершенствовании деятельности существующих органов.

Imangali Tasmagambetov

Published on 5 June 2012.

Source: <http://newstravel.kz/news/astana-serdce-evrazii-i-vorota-v-tamozhenyj-soyuz/>

«Мы прекрасно понимаем, что любого инвестора интересуют два важнейших вопроса: «каковы преимущества нашей экономики, и каковы гарантии для его капитала?», — сказал он в приветственном выступлении на первом пленарном заседании «Астана – сердце Евразии и ворота в Таможенный Союз».

Одним из основных преимуществ Астаны, по его словам, является наличие «устоявшейся инвестиционной площадки для развития современного производства» в виде Специальной экономической зоны «Астана – новый город». Аким подчеркнул, что участники СЭЗ получают бесплатные земельные участки на ее территории и полностью освобождены от налогов на землю и имущество, а также корпоративного подоходного налога. В ускоренном порядке осуществляется оформление документов по аренде земельных площадей, прохождение государственной экспертизы, оформление и доставка груз и специалистов.

2013

Serik Akhmetov

Published on 25 September 2013.

Source: <https://primeminister.kz/ru/news/14/-kazakhstan-prodolzhit-vzveshennuju-politiku-po-ukrepleniju-ts-i-cep-serik-ahmetov->

В Астане состоялось заседание Высшего Евразийского экономического совета на уровне глав Правительств, передает сайт премьер-министра РК.

В мероприятии приняли участие Премьер-Министр Казахстана Серик Ахметов, Председатель Правительства России Дмитрий Медведев, Премьер-Министр Беларуси Михаил Мясникович, в качестве наблюдателей - Премьер-Министры Украины Николай Азаров и Кыргызстана Жанторо Сатыбалдиев.

В ходе заседаний в узком и расширенном составах рассмотрены наиболее актуальные вопросы и перспективы дальнейшего развития Таможенного союза и

Единого экономического пространства, формирования Евразийского экономического союза.

По окончании заседаний Премьер-Министр РК Серик Ахметов и Председатель коллегии ЕЭК Виктор Христенко провели брифинг для представителей СМИ.

Глава Правительства РК сообщил о принятии решения о направлениях дальнейшего развития интеграционных процессов, в которых закреплены основы для формирования и развития Евразийского экономического союза.

«Важным итогом сегодняшней встречи также стало подписание решения по вопросам гражданских пассажирских самолетов и зерноуборочных комбайнов и их модулей, ввозимых на единую таможенную территорию ТС», - сообщил С.Ахметов.

По его мнению, данный документ позволит нашим трём государствам активно развивать такие сектора экономики как воздушно-транспортный, сельскохозяйственный и промышленный.

Кроме того, главами Правительств одобрены итоги применения в 2011 и 2012 годах механизма зачисления и распределения ввозных таможенных пошлин.

«Совместная работа в этих направлениях является ярким показателем высокого уровня интеграции между нашими странами, приверженности наших государств к эффективному использованию всего потенциала партнерских отношений», - подчеркнул С.Ахметов.

«Мы удовлетворены результатами сегодняшней встречи и намерены продолжать взвешенную политику по укреплению Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства», - заключил Премьер-Министр Казахстана.

Serik Akhmetov

Published on 25 September 2013.

Source: <https://strategy2050.kz/ru/news/1512>

Context: в рамках заседания Высшего Евразийского Экономического Совета Серик Ахметов провел встречу с главами правительств России и Кыргызстана.

Сегодня в первой половине дня Премьер-Министр Казахстана Серик Ахметов встретился с Председателем Правительства России Дмитрием Медведевым, Премьер-Министром Кыргызстана Жанторо Сатыбалдиевым, прибывшими в Астану на заседание Высшего Евразийского экономического совета.

В ходе переговоров с российской коллегой, С.Ахметов отметил «интенсивность взаимодействия между двумя странами по актуальным вопросам казахстанско-российских отношений, оперативное решение вопросов в рамках Таможенного союза».

Д.Медведев также отметил успешность и динамичность развития двусторонних связей.

«Отношения между Казахстаном и Россией развиваются успешно и динамично», - сказал глава Правительства РФ.

В ходе встречи состоялся обмен мнениями по широкому спектру актуальных вопросов торгово-экономического сотрудничества. В частности, обсужден ход реализации совместных проектов в транспортной сфере, энергетике.

Также обсуждены актуальные вопросы развития взаимодействия в условиях ТС.

На встрече с Премьер-Министром Кыргызстана Жанторо Сатыбалдиевым рассмотрены вопросы дальнейшего укрепления казахстанско-кыргызских

двусторонних отношений в торгово-экономической и инвестиционной сфере, транзитно-транспортном секторе, водно-энергетическом, топливном секторе, приграничном сотрудничестве.

«По итогам 2012 года объем торгово-экономического товарооборота превысил миллиард долларов», - сказал С.Ахметов и отметил наличие большого потенциала в дальнейшем росте взаимной торговли.

В свою очередь, Ж.Сатыбалдиев высказался за активное наращивание партнерских связей, «имеющих большие возможности для успешной реализации межгосударственных договоренностей».

Serik Akhmetov

Published on 25 September 2013.

Source: <https://bit.ly/37dqYeV>

Context: Главы правительств стран ТС одобрили механизм зачисления и распределения таможенных пошлин

“Нами одобрены итоги применения в 2011-2012 годах механизма зачисления и распределения ввозных таможенных пошлин. При этом данный механизм показал свою эффективность и адекватность”, – заявил премьер-министр Казахстана Серик Ахметов на брифинге после заседания.

Он подчеркнул, что “совместные работы в этом направлении являются ярким показателем высокого уровня интеграции между нашими странами, приверженности наших государств эффективному использованию всего потенциала партнерских отношений”.

“И, понятно, главная цель – это формирование Евразийского экономического союза. В первую очередь я хотел бы отметить принятие решения о направлении дальнейшего развития интеграционных процессов”, – заметил С.Ахметов.

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 5 December 2013 by *Belta.by*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/30CsgxW>

Context: Министры транспорта стран таможенного союза утвердили перечень мероприятий по сокращению барьеров в транспортной сфере на состоявшемся в Москве Совещания руководителей транспортных ведомств стран — участниц ТС.

5 декабря, Москва /Эдуард Пивовар - БЕЛТА/. Министры транспорта стран Таможенного союза утвердили перечень мероприятий по сокращению барьеров в транспортной сфере. Об этом сообщил журналистам министр по энергетике и инфраструктуре Евразийской экономической комиссии Даниал Ахметов по итогам состоявшегося сегодня в Москве совещания руководителей транспортных ведомств стран - участниц ТС, передает корреспондент БЕЛТА. Даниал Ахметов отметил, что устранение транспортных барьеров не может произойти в одночасье. "Проблемы, которые накапливались годами, не могут быть решены быстро, - сказал он. - Но поставлена задача к 1 января 2015 года войти в создаваемый Евразийский экономический союз без изъятий и ограничений". Министр сообщил, что на совещании обсуждался проект договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе в части, касающейся транспортной сферы. По его словам, сторонам удалось согласовать общие решения по данному вопросу. Министры транспорта обсудили также вопрос о создании единого евразийского неба. По словам Даниала Ахметова, в данном вопросе необходимо вначале сформулировать концептуальные подходы к его решению, а лишь затем переходить к разработке нормативных актов. Он напомнил, что европейские страны шли к созданию единого воздушного пространства более 30 лет, приняв при этом свыше 200

различных нормативных актов. "Это очень глубокий и сложный вопрос, мы находимся только в начале пути", - сказал Даниал Ахметов. Кроме того, на совещании была рассмотрена реализация соглашения о регулировании доступа к услугам железнодорожного транспорта, включая основы тарифной политики, и соглашения об осуществлении транспортного контроля на внешней границе Таможенного союза.

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 22 January 2013 by *Azattyq*.

Source: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/24880136.html>

Член коллегии по энергетике и инфраструктуре Евразийской экономической комиссии, бывший премьер-министр Казахстана Даниал Ахметов был принят сегодня в Астане премьер-министром Казахстана Сериком Ахметовым.

Даниал Ахметов проинформировал премьер-министра о работе Евразийской экономической комиссии.

«Хочу еще раз подчеркнуть, что во всех интеграционных процессах, безусловно, будут принимать участие наши казахстанские специалисты. Любое экономическое соглашение основывается на принципах равенства, конкурентности, добросовестности и культуры справедливых отношений, поэтому результаты работы Казахстана в рамках Таможенного союза на лицо. Мы имеем значительный рост товарооборота», - сказал Даниал Ахметов.

Akezhan Kazhegeldin

Published on 14 March 2013.

Source: <http://www.ca-portal.ru/article:5665>

Context: Экс-премьер-министр Казахстана и бывший советник президента Нурсултана Назарбаева, доктор экономических наук Акежан Кажегельдин ответил на вопросы "Утра" о проблемах и перспективах Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства.

"Утро": Как повлияет развитие Единого экономического пространства на экономические отношения стран-участниц с ЕС и США?

Акежан Кажегельдин: Экономические отношения России, Белоруссии и Казахстана, учредивших Единое экономическое пространство (ЕЭП), с США и Европейским союзом от самого факта создания нового объединения вряд ли резко изменятся. Экспортеры сырья и энергоресурсов будут по-прежнему их вывозить, импортеры промышленной продукции - продолжать покупать то, что требуют национальные рынки. Никаких рывков или провалов ожидать в краткосрочной перспективе не следует.

Но в то же время ЕЭП создает некую "новую размерность" общего рынка, которая, в первую очередь, укрепит позиции импортеров. Понятно, что они пытаются использовать Белоруссию и Казахстан как окно для беспопытного ввоза товаров на российский рынок, который в любом случае будет оставаться ключевым.

Существуют ли угрозы развитию ТС в условиях активного вмешательства Запада в экономические отношения между странами СНГ?

Я не вижу возможности для активного вмешательства Запада в экономические отношения между странами Таможенного союза. Если Казахстан решится, например, стать важным поставщиком электроэнергии для Сибири и Урала (а я всячески продвигаю эту идею), то как Запад может этому помешать? И зачем? Предложить альтернативный рынок в регионе невозможно, доплачивать за заведомо невыгодные сделки никто не станет. Наоборот, западные компании будут еще активнее стремиться войти в наши проекты в качестве партнеров и поставщиков технологий.

Какое влияние окажет вывод войск НАТО из Афганистана на внутривосточную ситуацию в регионе?

Понятно, что спокойнее не станет. Даже Казахстан в последние годы стал ареной выступлений вооруженных исламистов. Что уж говорить о Таджикистане или Узбекистане, которые непосредственно граничат с Афганистаном. До сих пор силы НАТО сдерживали и оттягивали на себя агрессивный потенциал "Талибана". За это блоку должны быть благодарны, в первую очередь, власти в Душанбе, Ташкенте, Ашхабаде и Бишкеке. Астана тоже пользовалась плодами международной операции в Афганистане. В какой степени власти центральноазиатских стран смогут контролировать проникновение вооруженных людей из Афганистана на свои территории – важнейший вопрос для всех государств СНГ.

Каковы перспективы развития экономических отношений между странами, входящими в Таможенный союз, с учетом проводимых в Казахстане и Белоруссии экономических преобразований?

Трудно рассуждать о рыночных преобразованиях в Белоруссии, когда там имеют место директивные цены и государственные задания. В Казахстане, действительно, проведены реформы и заложены правовые и организационные основы свободной рыночной экономики. Точно так же различна степень участия государства в экономике. Например, в России оно намного больше, чем в Казахстане. Однако в этих различиях заключаются не только риски для ТС, но и источники новых импульсов развития. Неравномерность условий для ведения бизнеса заставляет капитал течь туда, где он сможет эффективнее работать. Несовершенство правового обеспечения бизнеса будет компенсироваться падением цены рабочей силы. Точно так же к перетоку капитала приведут чрезмерные коррупционные издержки. Национальные правительства и бизнес-элиты должны будут заботиться о конкурентоспособности не столько в масштабах мирового рынка, сколько внутри экономического союза – внутривидовая борьба гораздо жестче, чем межвидовая. Одно дело, когда Россия в принципе конкурирует с Бразилией за инвестиции, а другое, когда рассматривается вопрос, где поставить завод стиральных машин – в Орше, Чите или Талды-Кургане.

Какова главная проблема политических элит стран-участниц Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства в процессе продвижения экономической интеграции?

В перечне законов и решений, которые нужно принять для успешной реализации проекта экономической интеграции, наверняка несколько сотен позиций. Со временем их станет только больше. Так, например, в определенный момент интеграция в ЕС пошла так глубоко, что добралась до унификации сортов сыра, которых сотни и сотни. Но главная угроза для ЕЭП и ТС не в этом. Она в том, что тема интеграции не стала общей для простых людей этих стран, она вообще по большей части им не известна. Вот в чем драматическое отличие ситуации в союзе Европейском от ситуации в союзе Евразийском.

Простой европеец знает, что дает ему "общий рынок" и что он на нем рискует потерять. Простой евразиец не знает. Русский, казах, белорус – все воспринимают усилия правительств как политику "внешнюю", к которой они отношения иметь не будут.

Причина этого не в несознательности или необразованности граждан. Просто они помнят, как мало в их повседневную жизнь внесли предыдущие интеграционные

инициативы. Ведь нынешний Таможенный союз – не первый. В 1995 г. мы подписали договор о создании точно такого же объединения, к которому потом присоединился Кыргызстан, а затем Узбекистан и Таджикистан. К сожалению, тот союз не смог преодолеть эгоизма национальных элит, в связи с чем так и остался "верхушечным" проектом.

Необходимо наверстать упущенное и срочно предоставить под тему экономической интеграции площадки для общественной дискуссии. Европейскому союзу почти 60 лет; тем не менее, каждый вечер в ток-шоу на европейских телеканалах обсуждаются его проблемы и перспективы. Роль России в вопросе евразийского просвещения должна быть ключевой. Российские СМИ занимают видное место в медиапространстве всех наших стран, русское экспертное сообщество обладает гораздо большим потенциалом. Именно в российских ток-шоу могла бы развернуться самая острая и содержательная дискуссия по этим вопросам. Естественно, с участием евразийских энтузиастов и скептиков из наших стран. Полемические программы о евразийской интеграции будут не менее захватывающими, чем те, что посвящены концу света. Тем более что конца света в этот раз удалось избежать, тогда как экономической интеграции в краткосрочной перспективе нет альтернативы.

2014

Karim Massimov

Published on March 2014 by *Eurasiancommission*.

Source:

http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕЕК%2020%20years.pdf

Идея евразийской интеграции на постсоветском пространстве впервые была выдвинута Президентом Республики Казахстан Нурсултаном Назарбаевым в марте 1994 года в стенах Московского государственного университета имени М.В.Ломоносова.

Именно на данном переломном этапе нашей общей истории начали формироваться важные интеграционные принципы, в основу которых закладывались такие принципы, как добровольность, равенство и прагматизм, разноскоростная и многоуровневая интеграция. В инициативе казахстанского лидера излагались конкретные предложения по выходу из затянувшегося кризиса национальных экономик и дальнейшему обеспечению устойчивого развития стран СНГ.

Вполне естественно, что к 20-летию евразийской идеи Нурсултана Назарбаева каждое из государств Содружества подошло с разными результатами в сфере социально-экономического развития, со своими ориентирами во внутренней и внешней политике. Вместе с тем идея евразийской экономической интеграции не только не потеряла свою актуальность, но и перешла в плоскость практической реализации.

Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство стали квинтэссенцией активного сотрудничества Казахстана, России и Беларуси. На основе лучшей международной практики и правил Всемирной торговой организации сформирован общий рынок трех государств емкостью порядка 170 миллионов человек и с совокупным валовым продуктом, превышающим 2,2 триллиона долларов. По расчетам казахстанских экспертов, до 2030 года экономики трех стран получат ежегодный дополнительный прирост на 2,5%, или в целом за 15–17 лет – более 600 миллиардов долларов.

Оценка эффекта, разумеется, предварительна, поскольку экономическая картина, также как и степень интегрированности рынков, будут претерпевать изменения. Но генеральный вектор в любом случае связан с растущим позитивным

влиянием на национальные экономики. Это отвечает и общемировым тенденциям развития региональных интеграционных объединений для устранения торговых барьеров, расширения рыночных возможностей.

Евразийская интеграция – это осознанный выбор Казахстана. Он продиктован нашими национальными интересами и направлен на повышение благосостояния простых граждан, рост конкурентоспособности отечественных предприятий.

Аналогичные цели преследуют и другие государства-участники, и такой прагматичный подход к интеграционным процессам позволяет избегать революционных идей и радикальных мер по сближению национальных экономик.

В Казахстане есть твердая уверенность в том, что создаваемый Евразийский экономический союз будет способствовать формированию мощного экономического интеграционного пространства от Западной Европы до Юго-Восточной Азии. Этот союз должен стать стабильным экономическим ареалом с безопасными и наиболее короткими сухопутными трансевразийскими магистралями.

Наши страны стремятся создать сильное, эффективное и об-разцовое экономическое объединение. Не следует допускать политизации интеграционного процесса, которая чревата потерей управляемости, снижением деловой активности и не достигением изначально задуманных задач. В итоге могут пострадать интересы как населения, так и бизнес-кругов всех стран-участниц.

В этом контексте весьма уместным будет напомнить жизненное кредо нашего Президента, которое легло в основу модели государственного строительства независимого Казахстана: «Сначала экономика, потом политика».

Имеющийся опыт и существующая международная практика дают убедительные основания считать избранную сегодня модель ТС – ЕЭП – ЕАЭС наиболее перспективной.

Предметно ощущается положительный эффект от функционирования Таможенного союза: Казахстан расширил рынок сбыта для отечественных товаропроизводителей, в структуре экспорта с каждым годом растет доля обработанной продукции, т.е. снижается удельный вес сырьевого экспорта. В то же время бизнес начал чувствовать более высокую конкуренцию, что стимулирует компании повышать качество продукции и сдерживать себестоимость. Отечественные предприятия, получив опыт работы в Таможенном союзе, станут более подготовленными к вступлению Казахстана в ВТО.

Участие в ЕЭП осуществляется в целях создания общего рынка, углубления сотрудничества в промышленной, транспортной, энергетической и аграрной сферах, развития производственной кооперации, что позволит нашим странам выйти на новые этапы экономического развития.

2014 год является не только юбилейным годом евразийской инициативы, но и ключевым с точки зрения выхода на качественно новый этап интеграции – создание Евразийского экономического союза.

Мы полны уверенности, что ЕАЭС станет авторитетной международной организацией, открытой для сотрудничества со всеми государствами и объединениями мира, заложит основу интеграционного взаимодействия в духе дружбы, добрососедства и стратегического партнерства на ближайшую перспективу.

Karim Massimov

Published on 15 December 2014 by *RIA Novosti*.

Source: <https://ria.ru/20141215/1038294357.html>

Context: из выступления на заседании совета глав правительств ШОС в расширенном составе

АСТАНА, 15 дек — РИА Новости. Участники Шанхайской организации сотрудничества (ШОС) могут перейти к взаиморасчетам в национальных валютах, считает премьер-министр Казахстана Карим Масимов.

"Считаем возможным приступить к взаиморасчетам в национальных валютах, у нас уже есть наработки на двустороннем уровне, которые можно было бы перевести в плоскость всей организации", — сказал Масимов в понедельник на заседании Совета глав правительств ШОС в расширенном составе.

Он предложил деловому совету ШОС и межбанковскому объединению организации подключиться к работе над проектами двух документов в сфере торгово-экономического сотрудничества, плана мероприятия по выполнению программы многостороннего торгово-экономического сотрудничества и перечня мероприятий по дальнейшему развитию проектной деятельности в рамках ШОС на период 2017-2021 годы.

"Сегодня важно эффективное использование имеющихся ресурсов для максимальной минимизации последствий глобальных финансово-экономических потрясений, необходима интенсификация многостороннего практического сотрудничества в рамках ШОС в целях обеспечения устойчивого социально-экономического роста участников организации", — отметил премьер, слова которого приводит агентство "[Новости-Казахстан](#)".

Перспективы будущего расширения ШОС, продолжил Масимов, обуславливают необходимость более масштабной экономической интеграции на пространстве организации. "В этом плане евразийская интеграция может стать новым фактором, способным дополнить и укрепить экономическую составляющую ШОС", — заметил он.

По мнению главы казахстанского правительства, интересной представляется инициатива председателя КНР по налаживанию экономического пояса Шелкового пути. "Полагаем возможным синхронизировать этот проект с другими в рамках ШОС. Подчеркну, что мы выступаем за то, чтобы созданные и создаваемые интеграционные объединения и экономические союзы не противопоставлялись друг другу, а плодотворно и конструктивно сотрудничали", — подчеркнул Масимов.

Karim Massimov

Published on 16 December 2014 by *Kazpravda*.

Source: <https://www.kazpravda.kz/fresh/view/shos-na-puti-k-dostizheniu-prakticheskikh-rezultatov>

В Астане состоялось очередное заседание Совета глав правительств государств – членов Шанхайской организации сотрудничества.

В заседании приняли участие Премьер-Министр Казахстана Карим Масимов, Премьер Государственного совета Китая Ли Кэцян, Премьер-Министр Кыргызстана Джоомарт Оторбаев, Председатель Правительства России Дмитрий Медведев, Премьер-Министр Таджикистана Кохир Расулзода, первый заместитель Премьер-Министра Узбекистана Рустам Азимов. Государства – наблюдатели ШОС представляли Глава исполнительной власти Афганистана Абдулла Абдулла, государственный министр иностранных дел Индии Виджай Кумар Сингх, министр сельского хозяйства Ирана Махмуд Ходжати Наджаф Абади, посол Монголии в РК Жагир Сухээ, советник Премьер-Министра Пакистана по национальной безопасности и международным делам Сартадж Азиз.

В ходе переговоров в узком и расширенном составе совета обсуждались вопросы укрепления торгово-экономических и гуманитарных связей между государствами – членами ШОС. Особое внимание уделялось таким вопросам, как разработка механизма эффективного финансового обеспечения проектной деятельности

ШОС, деятельности Делового совета и Межбанковского объединения ШОС. В центре внимания были также вопросы продовольственной безопасности, привлечения инвестиций, взаимодействия бизнеса стран ШОС, а также сотрудничества в транспортной сфере и образовании.

Итогом заседания СГП ШОС стало подписание Совместного коммюнике и Решения Совета глав правительств ШОС.

Выступая на заседании в расширенном формате, глава казахстанского Правительства отметил, что в условиях продолжающейся турбулентности мировой экономики, наблюдаемого снижения темпов экономической активности, роста безработицы и социальной напряженности в мире ШОС ведется поиск путей своего дальнейшего развития.

– Нам предстоит провести комплексную работу по разработке Стратегии развития ШОС до 2025 года, которая позволит раскрыть потенциал организации, сделать ее более сильной, способной своевременно реагировать на современные вызовы и угрозы. Тем самым удастся придать динамику деятельности организации, – сказал К. Масимов.

Премьер-Министр Казахстана отметил огромный экономический, финансовый, энергетический, транспортный и научно-технический потенциал организации.

– Сегодня важно эффективное использование имеющихся ресурсов для максимальной минимизации последствий глобальных финансово-экономических потрясений. Необходима интенсификация многостороннего практического сотрудничества в рамках ШОС в целях обеспечения устойчивого социально-экономического роста государств – членов организации, – считает К. Масимов.

Перспективы будущего расширения ШОС, продолжил глава Правительства РК, обуславливают необходимость более масштабной экономической интеграции на пространстве организации. В этом плане евразийская интеграция, уверен он, может стать новым фактором, способным дополнить и укрепить экономическую составляющую ШОС.

Как заметил казахстанский Премьер, интересной представляется инициатива Председателя КНР по налаживанию экономического пояса Шелкового пути.

– Полагаем возможным синхронизировать этот проект с другими в рамках ШОС. Подчеркну, что мы выступаем за то, чтобы созданные и создаваемые интеграционные объединения и экономические союзы не противопоставлялись друг другу, а плодотворно и конструктивно сотрудничали, – отметил К. Масимов. Напомнив о том, что казахстанской стороной ранее неоднократно делался акцент на необходимость реализации экономических проектов, способных продемонстрировать практичность организации, Премьер-Министр РК отметил, что наша страна выступает за скорейший запуск механизмов финансового сопровождения проектной деятельности в рамках ШОС, Казахстан открыт к диалогу по поискам оптимальных форматов такого механизма.

В то же время Карим Масимов высказал мнение о возможности приступить к взаиморасчетам в национальных валютах. Тем более у участников ШОС уже есть наработки на двустороннем уровне, которые можно было бы перевести в плоскость всей организации.

– Вновь обращаем внимание на необходимость перевода работы делового совета

ШОС и межбанковского объединения организации в практическую плоскость, – добавил он. – Предлагаем этим двум структурам подключиться к работе над проектами двух документов в сфере торгово-экономического сотрудничества, плана мероприятий по выполнению программы многостороннего торгово-экономического сотрудничества и перечня мероприятий по дальнейшему развитию проектной деятельности в рамках ШОС на период с 2017 по 2021 год. Одним из важнейших условий дальнейшей экономической интеграции в рамках ШОС, по мнению К. Масимова, является развитие современной транспортно-коммуникационной инфраструктуры.

– Казахстан в рамках объявленной Президентом страны Нурсултаном Назарбаевым новой экономической политики "Нұрлы жол" в ближайшие несколько лет планирует вложить крупные средства в строительство автомобильных дорог. Вкупе с уже строящейся автомагистралью Западная Европа – Западный Китай мы готовы стать важной составной частью транзитного коридора на пространстве ШОС, – подчеркнул он.

– Казахстан рассматривает гуманитарное сотрудничество в качестве основного элемента, способствующего укреплению добрососедства, дружбы и взаимопонимания на пространстве ШОС, – продолжил К. Масимов. – Полагаем, что именно гуманитарные контакты между нашими странами способны обеспечить преемственность "шанхайского духа", являющегося одним из основных принципов деятельности нашей организации.

Глава Правительства РК выразил уверенность в том, что активизация экономического сотрудничества должна стать краеугольным камнем развития ШОС на десятилетия вперед.

– Со своей стороны Казахстан готов к совместной работе, направленной на совершенствование организации, интенсификацию взаимовыгодного сотрудничества и достижение практических результатов, – заключил К. Масимов. Поздравив граждан Казахстана с наступающим Днем Независимости, Премьер Госсовета КНР Ли Кэцян отметил необходимость создания в регионе прочного слоя стабильности и безопасности. По его мнению, в настоящее время происходят очень сложные перемены в политической и экономической области, не теряют актуальности наркотрафик, организованная преступность, киберпреступления.

– Мы должны быть осторожными и бдительными к этим угрозам, – констатировал он. – Китайская сторона призывает как можно скорее подписать Конвенцию о борьбе с экстремизмом и наделить ШОС антинаркотическими функциями, создав на этой основе центр по вопросам вызовов и угроз в области безопасности. Мы должны поддерживать стабильность в Афганистане, а также усилия Правительства этой страны по национальному примирению и экономическому развитию.

Посетовав на недостаток стимулов для восстановления мировой экономики, Ли Кэцян отметил, что многие страны находятся под давлением экономического спада. Поэтому необходимо прилагать совместные усилия для "выявления новых ярких моментов в нашем сотрудничестве", а также новых точек экономического роста. В то же время, по его мнению, перед членами организации, находящимися на переходном этапе развития, стоит важная задача по стабилизации роста и урегулированию структуры.

Как сообщил Премьер Госсовета КНР, в ходе его нынешнего визита достигнута договоренность с руководством Казахстана о продвижении сотрудничества по производственным мощностям. Обе стороны готовятся разработать рамочное соглашение по сотрудничеству в этом направлении, в частности Китай, который

очень силен в области оборудования и технологий, готов создать на территории Казахстана заводы по производству стекла, цемента и переработке сельхозпродукции, что очень созвучно с концепцией программы "Нұрлы жол". Кроме того, Ли Кэцян подчеркнул готовность Китая в создании благоприятных условий для стимулирования торгово-экономического сотрудничества в рамках организации, притока инвестиций в целях более успешного противостояния сложной ситуации в мировой экономике.

Выступая на заседании СГП ШОС в расширенном составе, Председатель Правительства РФ Дмитрий Медведев отметил, что мир полон вызовов, и заседание Совета глав правительств проходит на фоне усиления кризисных явлений в мировой экономике. Есть проблемы политического плана, есть проблемы, связанные с безопасностью, в том числе в регионе, и проверке на прочность подвергается весь периметр безопасности пространства ШОС.

– В этих непростых условиях нам необходимо определить совместные шаги для дальнейшего сотрудничества по всем направлениям – и на экономическом треке, и по вопросам безопасности, и, естественно, для того чтобы в целом поддерживать социально-экономическую стабильность в наших государствах, – сказал он.

Д. Медведев остановился на направлениях, на которых Россия будет акцентировать внимание, председательствуя в Шанхайской организации сотрудничества в 2015 году. Так, планируется усилить экономическое взаимодействие государств путем достижения нового качества проектной деятельности внутри организации. Как заметил глава российского Правительства, ШОС работает уже достаточно давно, но все-таки крупных проектов пока не было, хотя к этому есть стремление, есть желание всех участников.

– Ключевая задача – придать максимально практическую направленность нашей программе работы и перечню мероприятий по дальнейшему развитию проектной деятельности на период до 2016 года, – заметил он. – Необходимо переработать их в соответствии с реальными потребностями, реально сложившейся ситуацией. Конечно, в это дело, в этот процесс могло бы внести свой вклад и бизнес-сообщество по линии Делового совета и Межбанковского объединения нашей организации.

На рассмотрении партнеров по ШОС находится ряд документов в области информации, телекоммуникационных технологий. Один из них касается снижения тарифов на услуги электросвязи в роуминге, второй – обмена данными для удостоверения электронных подписей. По мнению Д. Медведева, эти инициативы имеют большое значение и затрагивают интересы значительного количества людей.

С учетом текущих колебаний на мировых рынках сырья, прежде всего нефти и газа, новые возможности открываются для Энергетического клуба. Поэтому российский Премьер призвал активнее использовать эту площадку для рассмотрения вопросов энергетической безопасности и для сближения позиций всех участников рынка. Имеются в виду и производители энергии, и транзитные государства, и потребители энергоресурсов.

Отметив, что укреплению организации будет способствовать расширение связей с многосторонними организациями и форумами, такими как АТЭС, АСЕАН, Премьер-Министр РФ выразил надежду, что Шанхайская организация получит дополнительные дивиденды, установив сотрудничество с Евразийским экономическим союзом, который начнет работу в 2015 году.

На заседании также выступили Премьер-Министр Кыргызстана Джоомарт Оторбаев, Премьер-Министр Таджикистана Кохир Расулзода, первый заместитель Премьер-Министра Узбекистана Рустам Азимов, представители государств – наблюдателей Делового совета и Межбанковского объединения ШОС.

...На пресс-конференции по итогам заседания Совета глав правительств ШОС Премьер-Министр РК Карим Масимов подчеркнул, что в ходе встречи обсужден широкий спектр вопросов торгово-экономического и гуманитарного сотрудничества на пространстве ШОС. Рассмотрены основные результаты деятельности организации за прошедший год, а также вопросы многостороннего взаимодействия.

– У нас состоялся весьма доверительный обмен мнениями по международным вопросам, а также о перспективах дальнейшего развития Шанхайской организации. Мы были едины во мнении активизировать именно практическое сотрудничество в рамках ШОС, что, на мой взгляд, особенно важно в нынешней ситуации, – отметил глава Правительства.

По словам К. Масимова, все договоренности зафиксированы в подписанном Совместном коммюнике, которое наряду с Душанбинской декларацией станет руководством к действию государств – членов Шанхайской организации в ближайшей перспективе.

– Мы едины во мнении о необходимости дальнейшей активизации торгово-экономического и инвестиционного сотрудничества с государствами-наблюдателями и партнерами по диалогу, а также с международными и региональными структурами, – продолжил Премьер-Министр.

По итогам заседания подписан ряд документов, касающихся деятельности организации и совершенствования нормативно-правовой базы ШОС. К. Масимов высказал уверенность, что все принятые решения будут способствовать дальнейшей активизации деятельности организации по всем ключевым направлениям, что соответствует интересам наших государств и народов, а также способствует укреплению мира и безопасности на пространстве ШОС.

Глава Правительства также сообщил, что в двустороннем формате китайской стороной предложен проект по переносу мощностей в несырьевом секторе на территорию Казахстана.

– Речь идет о десятках предприятий несырьевого сектора на многомиллиардные контракты. Мы с благодарностью его приняли и думаем, что в условиях замедления экономической активности это очень хорошее предложение, – высказал мнение К. Масимов.

Генеральный секретарь Шанхайской организации сотрудничества Дмитрий Мезенцев в свою очередь отметил дружескую откровенную атмосферу, тональность прошедшей встречи, назвав этапным для организации разговор, состоявшийся на заседании СГП ШОС по тематике торгово-экономического и культурно-гуманитарного сотрудничества. Он проинформировал, что 11 ноября текущего года на 69-й сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН была принята содержательная резолюция о взаимоотношениях ШОС и ООН, что дает участникам организации право выстраивать отношения как собственно с ООН, так и с ее институтами, программами, учреждениями и фондами, опираясь на основные положения новой резолюции. Это формат нового качества, позиционирования ШОС в регионе, в том числе в рамках возможного влияния на вопросы международной повестки дня.

Следующее заседание Совета глав правительств состоится в 2015 году в Китае.

Bakhytzhan Sagintayev

Published on March 2014 by *Eurasian Commission*.

Source:

http://www.eurasiancommission.org/ru/act/integr_i_makroec/dep_razv_integr/Documents/Издания/ЕЕК%2020%20years.pdf

В марте 1994 года Президент Республики Казахстан Нурсултан Назарбаев, выступая перед профессурой и студентами МГУ имени М.В.Ломоносова, впервые заявил о необходимости развития евразийской интеграции.

Революционная идея, озвученная в эпоху дезинтеграции и системного экономического кризиса стран постсоветского пространства, была многими воспринята неоднозначно. Но время доказало, что Евразийский союз это не фантастика, а вполне реальная и достижимая цель.

Первым серьезным шагом на пути к объединению стало Евразийское экономическое сообщество. Именно под его эгидой были запущены пробные механизмы финансовой и научно-технической интеграции (Евразийский банк развития, Антикризисный фонд, Центр высоких технологий), приняты различные межгосударственные программы, выдвинута знаменитая инициатива Нурсултана Назарбаева «Десять простых шагов навстречу простым людям».

Интеграционные проекты 90-х годов прошлого века заложили прочный фундамент доверительного партнерства. Именно тогда пришлось осознать то, что смелые инициативы казахстанского лидера можно и нужно воплотить в жизнь. Что очень важно, Нурсултан Назарбаев не только выдвинул идею, но и представил прагматичный план, как добиться нужного результата. Первые ростки интеграции вдохновили ее участников, и начался новый этап – создание Таможенного союза и Единого экономического пространства. Локомотивами интеграции стали Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия.

Ситуация развивалась стремительно, но каждый новый шаг навстречу друг другу был основан, прежде всего, на трезвом и выверенном экономическом расчете. В результате «евразийской тройке» удалось совершить, казалось бы, невозможное. Меньше чем за два десятилетия Беларусь, Казахстан и Россия преодолели примерно такой же интеграционный путь, на который у стран Европейского союза ушло более полувека.

Кстати, сегодня Евразийский экономический союз часто сравнивают с Европейским. Но у двух этих структур одно ключевое различие. ЕЭС – не политическое объединение. Речь идет только об экономике.

Наша цель – общий рынок и свободная торговля. В настоящее время три страны формируют единый рынок с населением более чем в 170 млн человек, планируется предоставление друг другу равного доступа к инфраструктуре, равных условий конкуренции, свободного движения товаров, капитала и рабочей силы. Такое объединение однозначно резко повысит привлекательность наших стран для инвестиций и предпринимательской активности.

Например, расширяется география инвесторов – увеличиваются объемы инвестиций из высокоразвитых стран-членов ОЭСР, таких как Канада, Франция, Германия, Корея, Япония и других. В Беларусь, Казахстан и Россию приходят мировые технологические лидеры.

Также на 67-й сессии Генассамблеи ООН одобрена резолюция, касающаяся развития сотрудничества между ООН и Евразийским экономическим сообществом, в которой отмечена позитивная роль ТС и ЕЭП в укреплении региональной экономической интеграции.

Таким образом, можно констатировать, что на сегодняшний день ТС и ЕЭП стали реальностью и воспринимаются в мире, как один из динамично развивающихся экономических проектов.

От нашего общего дела мы ожидаем получить мощный синергетический эффект и значительный рост конкурентоспособности наших экономик на мировом рынке. При этом главным остается постулат: «Все усилия – для повышения благосостояния наших граждан».

Президент Казахстана убежден, что в экономическом плане мы можем стать мостом, соединяющим динамичные экономики Евросоюза, Восточной, Юго-Восточной и Южной Азии.

Таким образом, формирование экономического союза – это объективный и естественный процесс, продиктованный исключительно экономическими интересами.

Bakhytzhhan Sagintayev

Published on 8 April 2014 by *Kazakhstan Today*.

Source:

https://www.kt.kz/rus/state/v_ramkah_eaes_ne_obsuzhdaetsja_vopros_sozdaniya_edinoj_valjuti_sagintaev_1153587001.html

Астана. 8 апреля. *Kazakhstan Today* - Сегодня в ходе брифинга в Службе центральных коммуникаций при президенте РК заместитель премьер-министра Казахстана Бакытжан Сагинтаев сообщил, что в рамках создания Евразийского экономического союза не идет речь о создании единой валюты стран-участниц, передает *Kazakhstan Today*.

По словам первого вице-преьера, вопрос о единой валюте для Казахстана, России и Беларуси не обсуждается.

"Не знаю, откуда берутся эти разговоры. Вопрос о создании единой валюты мы не обсуждали. У нас остается тенге", - сказал Б. Сагинтаев. Он также заявил, что Евразийский экономический союз не является политическим объединением.

"Евразийский экономический союз не является политическим объединением - это самое главное. Предметом договора являются вопросы исключительно экономического сотрудничества. В ходе переговоров наша команда полностью отстояла позицию о недопустимости политизации союза и обсуждения в его рамках вопросов, затрагивающих национальную компетенцию и государственный суверенитет", - сказал он.

По словам Б. Сагинтаева, договор о Евразийском экономическом союзе исключает всякую возможность доминирования какого-либо государства.

"С образованием Евразийского экономического союза возврата к СССР не будет. Обеспечен принцип суверенного равенства, равноправия и учета национальных интересов всех сторон. В проекте договора заложен четкий механизм консенсуса при принятии стратегически важных вопросов и решения на всех уровнях, что исключает всякую возможность доминирования какого-либо государства", - сказал первый вице-премьер.

Bakhytzhhan Sagintayev

Published on 28 May 2014 by *Zakon.kz*.

Source: <https://www.zakon.kz/4627589-eajes-vazhnyjj-strategicheskijj-proekt.html>

Нынешний год можно назвать знаковым для процесса интеграции. Буквально на днях президентами Казахстана, России и Беларуси будет подписан Договор о создании Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС).

Идею формирования ЕАЭС Глава нашего государства выдвинул 20 лет назад. И все эти годы мы поступательно движемся обозначенным курсом по пути углубления экономической интеграции. Успешно построив Таможенный союз и Единое экономическое пространство, мы стоим на пороге создания Евразийского экономического союза. 29 мая главами государств интеграционной «тройки» планируется подписать соответствующий договор. Таким образом, стратегическое видение Елбасы воплощается в реальные дела, позволяет вывести отношения наших стран на качественно новый уровень.

Подготовка к этому событию ведется уже давно. Еще в ноябре 2011 года президенты Казахстана, России и Беларуси обозначили задачу - завершить к 1 января 2015 года кодификацию международных договоров Таможенного союза и

Единого экономического пространства и на этой основе создать Евразийский экономический союз.

С тех пор проведена большая работа по подготовке, совершенствованию и согласованию проекта всеобъемлющего договора, который в настоящее время уже готов к подписанию.

Говоря о сути интеграционного объединения, хотелось бы отметить следующее: сегодня в обществе возникают вопросы и даже опасения того, что ЕАЭС может стать «испытанием» для суверенитета союзных государств. Звучат опасения о неком воссоздании СССР.

В связи с этим важно понимать следующее.

Первое - Евразийский экономический союз не является политическим объединением. Предметом договора являются вопросы исключительно экономического сотрудничества.

В ходе переговоров мы отстаивали позицию о недопустимости политизации союза и обсуждения в его рамках вопросов, затрагивающих национальные компетенции и государственный суверенитет.

Несмотря на предложения наших партнеров, мы не стали рассматривать нормы о сотрудничестве сторон в неэкономических сферах, связанных с гражданством, правовой помощью, охраной границ, общим парламентом, паспортно-визовой политикой, экспортным контролем, общей миграцией, обороной, безопасностью, здравоохранением, образованием, наукой и культурой.

Их в проекте договора нет.

Исключены также по многим направлениям положения, предполагающие всеобъемлющее введение единых политик с передачей регуляторных функций комиссии (к примеру, положения о единой денежно-кредитной, налоговой политике).

Второе - с образованием Евразийского экономического союза возврата к СССР не будет. Обеспечен принцип суверенного равенства, равноправия и учета национальных интересов сторон.

В проекте договора заложен четкий механизм консенсуса при принятии стратегически значимых решений на всех уровнях, что исключает, наряду с другими мерами, всякую возможность доминирования какого-либо государства.

Например, в коллегии комиссии, которая, по сути, является наднациональным органом, заложен механизм принятия решений консенсусом и квалифицированным большинством. Консенсусом принимаются решения по наиболее чувствительным вопросам. По остальным - квалифицированным большинством в две трети голосов.

Более того, любой вопрос, который принимает коллегия, может быть заблокирован Советом комиссии, где решения принимаются только консенсусом. Но даже и эти решения комиссии в случае их несоответствия интересам отдельного государства могут быть пересмотрены на уровне Межправительственного и Высшего советов на уровне глав государств.

И, как последняя инстанция, любой вопрос может быть оспорен в создаваемом Суде союза.

Таким образом, обеспечивается принцип обязательного учета интересов всех стран-участниц при принятии решений.

Третье - важно подчеркнуть, что согласно договору ничто не запрещает нам заключать договоры с третьими государствами и международными организациями.

Важнейший принцип многовекторной внешней политики, проводимой Казахстаном, сохраняется и возможность ее самостоятельного проведения или изменения в дальнейшем остается неоспоримой.

Мы также отстаивали включение в договор положение о безусловном соблюдении принципа верховенства конституционных прав и свобод человека и

гражданина.

Тем самым права любого казахстанца защищены Основным законом страны - Конституцией Республики Казахстан. И каждый человек - гражданин нашей страны - должен это четко знать и понимать.

Четвертое - Казахстан на должном уровне будет представлен в органах союза.

В союзе будут два постоянно действующих органа - Евразийская экономическая комиссия и суд, в которых также будет обеспечено равенство сторон.

Комиссия состоит из двух уровней - совета и коллегии. Совет представлен тремя заместителями премьер-министров. В коллегия входят по три представителя от каждого из государств «тройки».

То же самое и в суде союза, куда назначаются по два судьи от каждого из государств.

Что касается структурных подразделений, как комиссии, так и суда союза, то, по нашему предложению, в договоре предусматривается, что должности директоров и заместителей директоров будут занимать представители сторон с учетом соблюдения принципа их равной представленности.

Отбор кандидатур будет проводиться конкурсной комиссией, в которую войдут члены коллегии комиссии. Остальные сотрудники будут назначаться пропорционально доле участия сторон в финансировании этих органов.

Хочу отметить, что мы выходим на принципиально новый уровень равноправного экономического партнерства, который открывает большие возможности для экономики нашей страны.

Можно с уверенностью сказать, что процесс Евразийской экономической интеграции уже привел к позитивным сдвигам в экономике Казахстана.

Так, с момента создания Таможенного союза почти вдвое возросли объемы иностранных инвестиций в обрабатывающую промышленность Казахстана: до 3,4 млрд. долларов в 2012 году против 1,8 млрд. долларов в 2009 году.

При этом общие объемы прямых иностранных инвестиций выросли на 34% и достигли 28 млрд. долл.

Это указывает на то, что значительно повысилась инвестиционная привлекательность нашей страны.

Что касается торговли, то в 2013 году товарооборот Казахстана с Россией и Беларусью превысил 24 млрд. долларов (2011 г. - 23,0 млрд. долл., 2012 г. - 23,8 млрд. долл.).

В целом за весь период функционирования Таможенного союза, начиная с 2009 года по настоящее время, товарооборот со странами - партнерами по Таможенному союзу вырос на 88,3%.

В период с 2010 по 2013 год среднегодовой темп роста товарооборота составил 18,4%.

При этом не стоит верить заявлениям о том, что мы проигрываем торговую конкуренцию: у нас увеличился экспорт кондитерских изделий и шоколада в 3 раза, в 11 раз возросли объемы экспорта трансформаторов. В 17 раз повысились объемы поставок в Россию и Беларусь наших малотоннажных грузовиков. В 16 раз увеличился экспорт цемента. И это только некоторые примеры.

В целом с момента создания Таможенного союза экспорт в страны-партнеры увеличился на 62,7%. Доля обработанных товаров в общем объеме экспорта в страны Таможенного союза выросла с 44% до 54% (3,2 млрд. долл. США в 2013 году).

Это отличная тенденция, которую мы намерены поддерживать.

Наблюдаются положительные сдвиги в развитии производства транспортных средств, готовых изделий из черных металлов, пластмассы, резины,

бумаги, бытовой техники.

Существуют опасения, что под давлением предприятий России и Беларуси и их антиконкурентных действий отечественные производители не выстоят и будут вытеснены с рынка.

Однако хочу отметить, что договорно-правовая база Евразийского экономического союза обеспечивает равноконкурентные условия экономической деятельности. Это означает, что исключаются возможности для неправомерного ущемления интересов казахстанских предпринимателей.

Как известно, обеспечение реализации внутренних индустриальных программ является приоритетом для Казахстана.

В связи с этим были пересмотрены ранее существовавшие договоренности в рамках Единого экономического пространства, и мы добились права применять специфические промышленные субсидии (поддержки отдельным предприятиям или группам предприятий) без предварительного согласования с комиссией.

При этом в рамках экономического союза мы будем развивать промышленные кооперации. Это позволит Казахстану создавать крупные совместные производства и развивать производственно-кооперационные цепочки.

В дальнейшем это даст возможность нашим крупным предприятиям конкурировать с мировыми производителями на международных рынках.

Также отмечу, что Казахстан добился договоренностей о разработке к 2016 году новой методики расчета господдержки в сельском хозяйстве, основанной на международных принципах.

Казахстан является страной, отдаленной от основных рынков сбыта и не имеющей выхода к морским портам.

В связи с этим для нас важно, что будет открыт доступ казахстанским экспортерам к транспортной инфраструктуре стран-партнеров.

Данная возможность позволит сократить транспортные издержки и, соответственно, повысить конкурентоспособность казахстанской продукции на рынках третьих стран.

Предоставление доступа автомобильным перевозчикам на внутренний рынок каждого из государств-членов будет осуществляться поэтапно. Подробнее этот момент будет отражен в Программе либерализации перевозок, которая будет разработана до 1 июля 2015 года. Либерализация будет осуществляться с 2016 по 2025 год. В частности, Казахстан предоставит доступ на внутренний рынок с 2025 года.

Мы договорились, что формирование общего рынка нефти и нефтепродуктов будет осуществлено поэтапно к 2025 году.

В результате во взаимной торговле не будут применяться экспортные таможенные пошлины и ограничения.

Кроме того, будет открыт доступ к газотранспортной инфраструктуре.

В целом поэтапность формирования общего рынка нефти и нефтепродуктов и предоставления доступа к газотранспортной инфраструктуре будет осуществлена на основе последовательной разработки концепции, программы и соответствующих соглашений.

Общий электроэнергетический рынок планируется сформировать к 2019 году путем интеграции национальных рынков электроэнергии Казахстана, России и Беларуси.

В рамках поэтапного формирования общего электроэнергетического рынка будут разработаны концепция (до 1 июля 2015 г.) и программа формирования общего электроэнергетического рынка (до 1 июля 2016 г.), которые будут утверждаться Высшим экономическим советом на уровне глав государств.

После утверждения концепции и программы государства-члены заключат международный договор о формировании общего электроэнергетического рынка.

Нами предусмотрено, что общий рынок лекарственных средств будет

функционировать с 2016 года. При этом казахстанская сторона отстояла необходимость формирования данного рынка на основе стандартов надлежащих фармацевтических практик. Соответствующее соглашение будет разработано и подписано не позднее 1 января 2015 года.

Не стоит забывать еще одно исключительно новое направление работы для казахстанского бизнеса - это рынок госзакупок России и Беларуси, который превышает отечественный в 26 раз. Речь идет о 198 млрд. долларов ежегодно. Это очевидный потенциал для развития отечественных товаропроизводителей.

В рамках Евразийского экономического союза предусмотрено поэтапное формирование рынков услуг.

Либерализацию предполагается осуществлять на основе «дорожных карт» в соответствии с решениями на уровне глав государств.

Также отмечу, что мы договорились зафиксировать непосредственно в договоре перечни секторов услуг, не подлежащих либерализации.

В их число вошли сектора услуг связи и горизонтальные ограничения, которые распространяются на все сектора услуг (например: ограничения по владению землей, бюджетные субсидии, местное содержание).

Для реализации внутренних индустриальных программ мы добились пересмотра ранее существовавших договоренностей и права применять специфические промышленные субсидии без предварительного согласования с комиссией.

Таким образом, Евразийский экономический союз представляет для экономики Казахстана исключительный экономический интерес.

Нам необходимо понимать, чтобы развиваться дальше, стране нужно расширять рынки сбыта. Евразийский экономический союз - это идеальный вариант.

На протяжении всего процесса работы над проектом договора мы активно сотрудничали и совместно рассматривали все положения с бизнес-сообществом в лице Национальной палаты предпринимателей, объединяющей более 800 тыс. предпринимателей.

Хочу подчеркнуть, что Евразийская интеграция поможет реализовать стратегическую задачу, обозначенную Главой нашего государства, - вывести Казахстан в число 30 мировых лидеров.

В заключение хотел бы отметить, Президент Нурсултан Назарбаев четко обозначил, что «Экономическая интеграция позволит укрепить национальную государственность, сделать Казахстан еще более устойчивым через развитие экономики».

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 3 October 2014 by *Zakon.kz*.

Source: <https://www.zakon.kz/4657519-danial-akhmetov-ejek-luchshe.html>

29 и 30 сентября одновременно с казахстанско-российской встречей в Атырау с участием президентов в Алматы состоялись заседания консультативных комитетов ЕЭК по транспорту и естественным монополиям. Возможно, демонстрация того, как реально работают интеграционные механизмы и процедуры согласования интересов трех стран является определенным противовесом аргументации противников участия Казахстана в ЕАЭС.

Казахстанский министр ЕЭК по энергетике и инфраструктуре Даниал Ахметов на брифинге, пожалуй, чаще всего повторял фразу о том, что создание объединенных рынков во всех сферах будет осуществляться с учетом национальных традиций. Во многих ситуациях не будет меняться также национальное законодательство, и объединение рынков будет происходить достаточно долго, министр видит в этом скорей благо, сказав, что лучше

«неторопливая основательность, чем излишняя поспешность». Что касается прошедших обсуждений в сфере транспорта, то, по словам спикера, они представляли собой выяснение подходов и взглядов правительств на развитие транспортной сферы и инфраструктуры, обеспечение свободного доступа хозяйствующих субъектов всех стран к перевозкам и определение общих стандартов предоставления услуг в сфере транспорта. Концепция будет разрабатываться до 1 июля, а первый этап создания единого рынка должен завершиться до 2020 года. Вклад в рост ВВП от создания единого транспортного рынка будет наибольшим у Беларуси, он был оценен в 1,1% ВВП, несколько меньше он у Казахстана - 0,7% и еще меньше, очевидно, в силу масштабов экономики в России. Г-н АХМЕТОВ подчеркнул, что это сугубо рамочные цифры. В сфере транспорта особо обсуждается мультипликативный эффект, который могут дать инфраструктурные проекты. Должны появляться не только транспортные магистрали, но связанные с ними промышленные коридоры. В этой связи особо изучается опыт Японии, а также «грандиозный коридор Дели - Мумбай». Кроме того, стороны хотят найти критерии, в соответствии с которыми могут формироваться транспортно-логистические центры.

Заседание по естественным монополиям должно было начаться после брифинга, и г-н Ахметов ограничился комментарием о том, что любые общие подходы в этой сфере могут приниматься лишь с позиции экономических выгод для каждой из стран. При этом создание какого-то общего пространства здесь также является достаточно отдаленной перспективой. Наиболее оживленно министр комментировал, однако, тему создания общего электроэнергетического рынка внутри ЕАЭС, хотя формально она на сей раз не была предметом отдельного обсуждения. Спикер отметил, что именно по рынку электроэнергетики в Договоре о создании ЕАЭС обозначены конкретные сроки создания общего рынка. И здесь движение вперед наиболее реально, а создание общего рынка дополнительно консолидирует ЕАЭС. Говоря о главных экономических резонах объединения, он упомянул о преобладании в белорусской электроэнергетике газовых электростанций, на которых вырабатывается 92% электроэнергии. Экономический смысл, учитывая высокие цены на газ, очевиден. Российские производители газа также, вероятно, предпочли бы поставлять его по \$360-450 за тысячу кубометров на экспорт, чем по \$60-80 на свои газовые электростанции. Г-н Ахметов отметил, что у Казахстана в альянсе может быть очень хорошая позиция благодаря наличию первоклассных угольных станций, работающих на экибастузских и шубаркольских углях. В целом же электроэнергетика является одним из секторов, где ЕЭП безусловно конкурентоспособно благодаря наличию сырья и столь же современных технологий, как применяемые в развитых странах.

ЕС, создавший единый рынок электроэнергии, развивает межгосударственные ЛЭП за счет европейского бюджета, уже существующие межгосударственные линии на постсоветском пространстве загружены в очень незначительной степени. При этом речь не идет о каких-то структурных реформах в связи с интеграцией в электроэнергетике даже в Беларуси, хотя, по признанию спикера, структура электроэнергетического рынка там примерно такая, как существовала в Казахстане в 1992-96 годах. Казахстан пока также не намерен принимать российскую модель электроэнергетического рынка. По словам г-на Ахметова, каждая из моделей, существующая в разных странах, имеет свои плюсы и минусы.

Что касается рынка нефти и газа, то для него сроком создания был назван 2025 год. По мнению г-на Ахметова, на каком этапе можно будет говорить об общей энергетической политике стран, которая опять-таки должна будет учитывать национальную специфику и интересы, определит будущее.

В общем, речь идет пока о довольно «усыпляющей» интеграции, пока не дающей оснований говорить, что во всех сферах дело дойдет до реального создания единых рынков, поскольку доминировать будут интересы, а не

принципы, связанные, например, с последовательным и быстрым допуском всех участников к инфраструктуре на одинаковых и транспарентных условиях.

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 19 June 2014.

Source: <https://camonitor.kz/11904-.html>

Context: Общий электроэнергетический рынок Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) будет создан в 2016 году. Об этом на брифинге в Астане в рамках VII Астанинского экономического форума сообщил министр по энергетике и инфраструктуре Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК)

Даниал Ахметов. Общеизвестно, что и Казахстан, и Россия, и Беларусь обладают большим энергетическим потенциалом. Кроме того, независимые ныне республики бывшего Союза имеют общую техническую и технологическую базу, так как работали в советское время в единой энергетической системе. - С учетом новых реалий, с созданием Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС), все это позволяет нам с уверенностью говорить о создании общего электроэнергетического рынка, - сказал, открывая пресс-конференцию, член коллегии (министр) по энергетике и инфраструктуре Евразийской экономической комиссии (ЕЭК) Даниал Ахметов. По его информации, к середине 2015 года уже должна быть разработана концепция создания единого электроэнергетического рынка Казахстана, России и Беларуси, а в 2016 году программа по его созданию уже должна заработать. - Уверен, что от общего электроэнергетического рынка получат дивиденды не только Казахстан, но и Россия, и Беларусь. Так, за счет перетока из Казахстана в Россию высвободятся крайне нужные, необходимые объемы газа, которые сегодня идут на выработку электроэнергии, - отметил министр энергетики ЕЭК. Он напомнил, что средняя мировая цена на газ за тысячу кубометров составляет 380 долларов США, а стоимость угля, запасы которого огромны в Казахстане, намного меньше. Кроме того, со снятием барьеров и принятием соответствующих документов, которые регулируют вопросы совместного производства и передачи электроэнергии, устраняется существовавшая ранее дискриминация в поставках электроэнергии из одной страны в другую. - Мы уже сейчас прекрасно понимаем, каковы будут позитивные результаты действия общего электроэнергетического рынка, - резюмировал Ахметов. Так, электроэнергия, вырабатываемая в Казахстане на двух экибастузских ГРЭС, может через Россию поступать в Беларусь. Отвечая на вопросы журналистов, Даниал Ахметов подробно рассказал и о создании единого рынка углеводородов будущего экономического союза. - В 2025 году будет положено начало функционированию общего рынка ЕАЭС в области нефти, газа и нефтепродуктов. Это станет одним из важнейших решений в области интеграции, - сказал Ахметов. По его мнению, создание единого рынка углеводородов позволит странам Евразийского экономического союза быть более конкурентоспособными на мировых рынках, как с точки зрения ценообразования, так и с точки зрения получения продукции с высокой добавленной стоимостью. Он отметил, что в рамках создания общего рынка партнерами будут подготовлены программы, так как каждая страна имеет собственное видение развития этих секторов экономики. - Часто возникает вопрос: не будут ли конкурировать наши страны на рынках третьих государств? Безусловно, нет, - подчеркнул министр ЕЭК. В качестве иллюстрации он рассказал о планах стран-партнеров по развитию газовой отрасли. - Казахстан имеет собственную стратегию развития этой отрасли. Основной объем газа будет направлен на газохимию. Это задача, поставленная президентом нашей страны. Казахстан будет получать продукт высокой добавленной стоимости и реализовывать его на рынках Европы и Юго-Восточной Азии, - пояснил Даниал Ахметов. Кроме этого, наша республика имеет программу газификации центральной и северной части Казахстана, что потребует больших

объемов газа. До 2030 года весь газ, производимый в стране, будет идти на внутренний рынок. По словам министра ЕЭП, Россия выбирает другую стратегию газовой отрасли - это реализация "голубого топлива" в сыром варианте. - Россия в газовой сфере обладает огромным потенциалом и будет ориентироваться на рынок Европы, сохраняя и в будущем, мы надеемся, свои позиции. К тому же есть огромный рынок Юго-Восточной Азии, где потребность в газе тоже велика. Поэтому в ближайшие 20 лет не может быть речи ни о какой конкуренции между странами-партнерами в этой сфере, - отметил министр энергетики ЕЭП. По его мнению, ЕАЭС - это шаг к глубокой интеграции. - ЕАЭС - это новый вектор развития не только трех стран - Беларуси, России и Казахстана, но и новый уровень развития мировой цивилизации, - резюмировал Даниал Ахметов.

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 22 May 2014 by *Zakon.kz*.

Source: <https://www.zakon.kz/4626094-d.-akhmetov-kazakhstan-i-rossija-ne.html>

Казахстан и Россия не станут конкурентами на общем рынке углеводородов ЕАЭС, который начнет функционировать с 2025 года, сообщает *Zakon.kz*

«Мы прекрасно понимаем, что Россия обладая огромным потенциалом, вторым в мире запасами газа, будет ориентироваться и продолжать ориентирование на рынок Европы, сохраняя, мы будем надеется свои позиции. Безусловно, возможны какие-то движения, перемены, потому что реальный газовый сланцевый прорыв произошел. Соединенные Штаты и ряд других стран обладают серьезным потенциалом в развитии именно этой технологии. Но я глубоко убежден, что здесь на этом рынке будет в достаточной степени все стабильно. Поскольку есть огромный рынок Юго-Восточной Азии, где потребность в газе существует», - сказал министр по энергетике и инфраструктуре ЕЭК Даниал Ахметов.

Тем временем, основной объем казахстанского газа будет ориентирован на внутренний рынок.

«На сегодня Казахстан имеет точную стратегию, и основной объем газа будет направлен на газохимию. Это является реализацией программы Президента, в результате которой Казахстан будет получать продукт высокой добавленной стоимости. (...) Поэтому в ближайшие обозримые 20 лет на этом рынке мы вообще не говорим о какой-то конкурентности. Более того, Казахстан имеет программу, результатом которой будет являться газификация центральной и северной части Казахстана, которая потребует большого объема газа. И до 2030 года весь практически газ, который будет вырабатываться в Казахстане, он будет в основном направляться на внутреннюю потребность», - прогнозирует Ахметов.

Скоординированная политика по единому энергетическому рынку будет выработана к 2030 году.

«Никаких опасений в этой сфере, во всяком случае мы не видим. Мы видим только то, что будет создан общий рынок в сфере углеводородов, мы видим, что у нас будет более глубокая координация, которая позволит быть нам более конкурентными как с точки зрения ценообразования, так и с точки зрения получения продукции с высокой добавленной стоимостью на этом очень интересном и я, глубоко убежден, важном для нас рынке, результатом которого будет являться рост валового внутреннего продукта», - добавил Даниал Ахметов.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

Published on 17 June 2014 by *Nezavissimaya Gazeta*.

Source: http://www.ng.ru/cis/2014-06-17/6_evraz.html

Председатель Сената парламента Казахстана Касым-Жомарт ТОКАЕВ в интервью обозревателю «Независимой газеты» Виктории ПАНФИЛОВОЙ рассказал о

перспективах Евразийского экономического союза и историческом значении его возникновения.

– Договор о создании Евразийского экономического союза подписан президентами России, Казахстана, Белоруссии и должен вступить в силу 1 января 2015 года. Как вы оцениваете перспективы этого интеграционного объединения?

– Еще 20 лет назад в своей знаменитой лекции в МГУ и последующей деятельности в качестве главы Казахстана президент Нурсултан Назарбаев неоднократно и предметно объяснял все позитивное значение такой интеграции. ЕАЭС может стать мощным фактором глобальной экономики и занять ведущее место среди интеграционных структур мира. Для этого есть серьезные предпосылки, и в немалой степени то, что три страны в недавнем прошлом находились в составе единого государства, их экономики, следовательно, сильно взаимосвязаны. Кроме того, страны ЕАЭС обладают четвертью мировых запасов природных ресурсов. Свободное передвижение товаров, капитала, рабочей силы, создание совместных предприятий, углубление человеческих контактов – все это будет приносить очевидную пользу для наших стран. Евразийский экономический союз – это, по сути, достойный ответ на финансово-экономический кризис, последствия которого до сих пор ощущает весь мир.

Но успех нашего интеграционного проекта целиком зависит от того, насколько продуктивно мы будем работать над его реализацией как на национальном уровне, так и в рамках Евразийской экономической комиссии.

– Авторство евразийской интеграции, как вы упомянули, принадлежит президенту Нурсултану Назарбаеву. Высказанная им 20 лет назад идея материализуется лишь теперь. По мнению главы Казахстана, документ получился «взвешенным и грамотным, учитывающим интересы всех государств». В нем зафиксированы «принципы суверенного равенства государств, территориальной целостности, а также уважение особенностей политического устройства государств – членов Союза». Как вы считаете, в этом плане договор получился идеальным или в нем все же есть пункты, требующие доработки?

– Идеального в этом мире ничего нет, но договор действительно получился добротным, поскольку в значительной степени учитывает интересы государств-участников. В ходе сложных переговоров возобладали компромисс, ответственность, профессионализм. Здесь хотел бы отметить решающий вклад всех государств и особую роль президента Назарбаева. Не будь он столь последовательным и решительным, подписание договора могло бы не состояться. Договор о создании ЕАЭС является уникальным документом, он имеет поистине историческое значение. Не случайно его подписание стало событием глобального масштаба. Действительно, речь идет о создании общего рынка, имеющего огромный потенциал. При этом новое интеграционное объединение настроено на взаимовыгодное сотрудничество с другими подобными организациями, в том числе Европейским союзом.

– После подписания Договора о ЕАЭС президенты стран-участниц единодушно заявляли о необходимости «синхронной» ратификации парламентами трех стран. Как, на ваш взгляд, будет проходить этот процесс, ведете ли вы консультации с коллегами-спикерами?

– Я и мой коллега, председатель Мажилиса, находимся в постоянном контакте с главами палат парламентов России и Белоруссии. Мы работаем в рамках двусторонних комиссий по межпарламентскому взаимодействию, где периодически «сверяем часы» по вопросам законодательного обеспечения интеграции, а также в парламентских ассамблеях СНГ и ОДКБ. Казахстанский депутатский корпус поддерживает договор, поэтому с ратификацией проблем не будет. Наше правительство намерено внести договор в парламент в сентябре. С 1 января Евразийский экономический союз станет реальностью.

– Постоянно подчеркивается, что интеграция в формате Евразийского экономического союза носит сугубо экономический характер, а политический аспект отсутствует. При этом на протяжении лет лидеры будущего объединения говорили, что ЕАЭС создается по лекалам Европейского союза (ЕС), в котором сильна и политическая составляющая. ЕАЭС к тому же предполагает создание наднационального органа. Можно ли с учетом всего этого считать, что в ЕАЭС действительно нет политического элемента?

– Все зависит от того, что понимать под словом «политика». Договор подписан на высшем политическом уровне. Он будет определять экономическую политику на огромном пространстве с населением в 170 миллионов человек. В то же время о политизации этого процесса речи быть не может. На первый план выходят прежде всего экономические интересы государств. Три президента во время недавней встречи в Астане подтвердили предварительную договоренность об экономическом характере ЕАЭС.

Что касается Евросоюза, то и он остается в основном экономической организацией, несмотря на политическую надстройку, возведенную Лиссабонским договором. Потенциал и привлекательность этой организации базируются прежде всего на экономической основе и выгодах, которые дает общий рынок. В Европе имеется немало политических разногласий. Помнится, Франция, будучи членом еще Европейского экономического сообщества, на продолжительное время вышла из НАТО, но осталась приверженной европейской экономической интеграции. Между Германией и Францией возникли серьезные разногласия по поводу преодоления кризиса евро. Сейчас Великобритания протестует против назначения бывшего премьер-министра Люксембурга на пост председателя экономической комиссии. Проблем в ЕС существует немало. Поражает забюрократизированность этой организации, что влечет за собой громадные расходы. По Лиссабонскому договору создана внешнеполитическая служба ЕС, которую сейчас возглавляет Кэтрин Эштон. Работая в Швейцарии, я с удивлением узнал, что представительство ЕС при Женевском отделении ООН насчитывает более 90 сотрудников, при этом их зарплата больше, чем денежное довольствие сотрудников ООН. Мне также сказали, что только на конференционное обслуживание Европарламента расходуется около 3 миллиардов евро в год.

ЕАЭС следует учитывать недостатки ЕС и в то же время заимствовать его полезный опыт. Безусловный приоритет – это эффективность нового Союза, к которому приковано внимание всего мира. Любая оплошность только на руку недоброжелателям, коих, следует признать, сейчас больше, чем друзей.

– Да, на Западе настороженно относятся к новому Союзу, опасаясь воссоздания СССР. Стоит ли ожидать попыток помешать деятельности ЕАЭС со стороны западных стран? Если да, то какие это может принять формы? Могут ли быть это только экономические действия или не исключены шаги по политической дестабилизации как внутри ЕАЭС, так и по его периметру?

– Успех интеграционного проекта будет зависеть прежде всего от нас самих, от эффективной работы координирующих органов, а также государственных, общественных, экспертных институтов, бизнес-сообщества.

Что касается Запада, то он в лице ЕАЭС получает не только сильного экономического конкурента, но и партнера. Мы в Казахстане, проводя разностороннюю политику, считаем сотрудничество с Россией и Белоруссией в рамках ЕАЭС безусловным приоритетом, но хотели бы использовать потенциал связей как с Западом, так и с растущим Востоком. Не следует забывать о Китае, Японии, Индии, Иране, странах Ближнего Востока, АСЕАН. Одна лишь география ЕАЭС, его транзитный потенциал позволяют получать большую выгоду от торговли между Европой и Азией. Экономистами подсчитано, что контейнерные суда из Китая в Европу загружаются медленнее и идут дольше, чем

транспортировка грузов железнодорожным транспортом через Евразию. Теперь все зависит от качества инфраструктуры и межгосударственной кооперации. Пока же львиная доля торговли идет в обход нас, это недопустимо.

А вот разговоры о возрождении СССР абсолютно беспочвенны. Тот, кто не жалеет об исчезновении СССР, не имеет сердца, а тот, кто мечтает о его восстановлении, не имеет головы.

– Президент США Барак Обама на днях в Афганистане заявил, что миссия США в этой стране выполнена и теперь «не дело США патрулировать города и горы». Насколько высока вероятность дестабилизации ситуации в странах Центральной Азии, граничащих с Афганистаном?

– Афганистан – это государство, которое в последние три десятилетия доставило немало проблем мировому сообществу, став источником распространения наркотрафика и экстремизма. Присутствие в Афганистане международной коалиции во главе с США было полезным на первом этапе контртеррористической операции, но, к сожалению, не решило эти проблемы, а что касается наркотрафика, даже усугубило его опасность. Поэтому Афганистану нужно помогать – обучать национальные кадры для экономики и образования, содействовать развитию инфраструктуры. Казахстан активно участвует в этой важной работе, поскольку она способствует обеспечению региональной безопасности. Думаю, такие авторитетные региональные организации, как ШОС и ОДКБ, обратят более пристальное внимание на афганскую проблематику с целью недопущения распространения идеологии и практики экстремизма и терроризма.

Yerzhan Kazykhanov

Published on 8 July 2014 by *Kazpravda*.

Source: <https://www.kazpravda.kz/news/prezident2/vzaimodeistvuya-so-vsem-mirom>

Активная международная деятельность Президента Казахстана в первой половине 2014 года была ознаменована целым рядом знаковых и ярких внешнеполитических мероприятий.

2 июля исполнилось 22 года с момента создания Дипломатической службы Республики Казахстан. Эта дата не только положила начало становлению казахстанской дипломатии, но и стала одним из символов новейшей истории нашей страны, формирования субъектности Казахстана как молодого независимого государства на международной арене. Благодаря высокому авторитету и лидерским качествам Президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева, а также всеобщей поддержке граждан нашей страны Казахстан сегодня – надежный и уважаемый член международного сообщества, государство с сильными гражданскими институтами, мощной экономикой и далеко идущими планами на будущее.

В январе текущего года в своем ежегодном Послании народу Президент поставил новые задачи по реализации Стратегии Казахстана до 2050 года. Ее основная цель – вхождение нашей страны в 30 самых развитых государств мира. Важно понимать, что вступление в "клуб развитых государств" для нас не самоцель, а качественно новый этап эволюции, способный поднять нашу страну и наш народ на более высокую ступень развития. Эта цель, как отметил Глава государства, должна стать национальной идеей Казахстана, поскольку она имеет огромный мобилизующий и консолидирующий потенциал. Только наличие великой цели может обеспечить реальное продвижение той или иной нации в условиях глобальной конкуренции и развития.

Вместе с тем выполнение этой ответственной задачи требует максимальной отдачи от всех государственных и негосударственных институтов и, прежде всего, казахстанских дипломатов, так как в основе этой работы – привлечение лучшего

передового опыта и знаний ведущих стран мира. Поэтому, продвигая Стратегию-2050, Президент Н. А. Назарбаев отводит особую роль казахстанской дипломатии и лично уделяет большое внимание внешнеполитической деятельности, последовательно укрепляя взаимовыгодные и дружественные отношения Казахстана со всеми государствами мира.

...Активная международная деятельность Президента Казахстана в первой половине 2014 года была ознаменована целым рядом знаковых и ярких внешнеполитических мероприятий. Так, с начала нынешнего года состоялось более 50 международных мероприятий с участием Главы государства. Казахстан посетили лидеры Катара, Бахрейна, Малайзии, Республики Кореи, Италии, Кыргызстана, Иордании и Албании. Глава государства совершил 3 зарубежных визита в Китай, Россию и Нидерланды – страны, которые являются ведущими торговыми и инвестиционными партнерами нашей страны. В течение полугодия Президент Нурсултан Назарбаев принял участие в 11 крупных международных мероприятиях. Это ежегодная встреча Всемирного Давосского экономического форума; церемония открытия XXII зимних Олимпийских игр в Сочи; заседание Высшего Евразийского экономического совета; Гаагский саммит по ядерной безопасности; 47-е ежегодное заседание Совета управляющих Азиатского банка развития; IV Саммит Совещания по взаимодействию и мерам доверия в Азии; VII Астанинский экономический форум; IV Саммит Совета сотрудничества тюркоязычных государств; заседание Совета иностранных инвесторов и другие.

С учетом важности продвижения национальных интересов была продолжена работа по расширению внешнеполитического присутствия нашей страны за рубежом. В начале текущего года подписаны указы Президента об открытии новых посольств Казахстана в Кувейте, Мексике и Эфиопии. Частично обновился и состав дипломатического корпуса, расположенного в Астане. В январе Главе государства вручили верительные грамоты новые послы Афганистана, Пакистана, Нидерландов, Японии и Омана с резиденцией в Республике Казахстан.

Набирает популярность практика ежегодных встреч Президента РК с главами зарубежных дипломатических миссий, аккредитованных в Казахстане. В феврале на очередной встрече с иностранными дипломатами Нурсултан Назарбаев поделился планами будущего развития государства и обозначил ключевые приоритеты нашей страны в рамках принятой Концепции внешней политики Республики Казахстан на 2014–2020 годы.

...Центральное место во внешнеполитической деятельности Главы государства в нынешнем году было отведено дальнейшему продвижению евразийской экономической интеграции с участием Казахстана, России и Беларуси. Яркой страницей в историю Казахстана вошла церемония подписания в Астане Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе. По словам Главы государства: "Евразийский экономический союз – это новые возможности для миллионов граждан наших стран. Это благоприятные условия для развития бизнеса в странах – участницах ЕАЭС. Это объединение рынков трудовых ресурсов, что является важным фактором повышения профессионального уровня и роста производительности труда. Это формирование равных условий доступа к образовательным услугам и социальной инфраструктуре каждого государства Евразийского экономического союза". Таким образом, можно с уверенностью сказать, что Казахстан, Россия и Беларусь вступили в новый этап экономического взаимодействия, сформировав крупнейший на пространстве СНГ единый рынок – свыше 170 млн человек с

огромным производственным, научным и технологическим потенциалом. Здесь также надо отметить, что ЕАЭС – это сугубо экономическое объединение, которое не посягает на независимость государств-членов и не затрагивает их суверенитет.

...Другим важным направлением деятельности Главы государства стало укрепление прочных, конструктивных и взаимовыгодных двусторонних отношений с государствами ближнего и дальнего зарубежья.

Традиционно интенсивный характер взаимодействия поддерживался с Российской Федерацией. В ходе апрельского визита Президента Нурсултана Назарбаева в Москву лидеры двух государств подчеркнули преемственность курса на всестороннее укрепление стратегического партнерства, приверженность букве и духу Декларации о вечной дружбе и союзничестве между Казахстаном и Россией. Подтверждено твердое намерение совместно работать над укреплением двусторонних отношений на принципах высокого доверия и равноправия. Сегодня в основе наших отношений разноплановые экономические контакты, развитие высоких и наукоемких технологий, сотрудничество в сфере энергетики, космоса, образования, а также укрепление культурных связей между нашими народами, переплетенных многовековой историей. В текущем году заметно активизировался азиатский вектор сотрудничества. Важным событием на этом направлении стал государственный визит Президента Казахстана в Китайскую Народную Республику. Казахстан и Китай активно сотрудничают в области промышленности, развития инфраструктуры, транзитной торговли и энергетики. Быстрыми темпами растут масштабы взаимодействия наших стран в научной и образовательной сферах.

По итогам майских переговоров Главы государства с Председателем КНР Си Цзиньпином было подписано 15 двусторонних документов на общую сумму около 8 млрд. долларов. Значимой договоренностью стало начало строительства первой очереди терминала в порту Ляньюньган для экспорта казахстанской продукции на мировые рынки. Ожидается, что в будущем проект будет играть ведущую роль в реализации планов по развитию транспортно-логистического потенциала РК. В контексте инвестиционного сотрудничества достигнута договоренность об участии Казахстана в создании Азиатского банка инфраструктурных инвестиций. Успешно продвигается взаимодействие Казахстана с Южной Кореей. В ходе июньского визита Президента Пак Кын Хе в Астану достигнута договоренность по реализации проектов в сфере энергетики, автомобиле- и машиностроения, строительства, горнорудной промышленности, здравоохранения, образования и науки. Сегодня совместно с корейскими партнерами уже реализуются 15 совместных индустриальных проектов на сумму 22 млрд. долларов. Из них можно отметить строительство Балхашской ТЭС, газохимического комплекса в Атырауской области и освоение месторождения Жамбыл.

Позитивная динамика наблюдалась и в ходе визита в Астану Премьер-министра Малайзии Н. Разака, по итогам которого подписан солидный пакет коммерческих контрактов на сумму более 1 млрд долларов.

В текущем году наметился серьезный прорыв в отношениях Казахстана со странами арабского мира. Состоявшиеся в нынешнем году официальные визиты Эмира Катара шейха Тамима бен Хамада Аль Тани, Короля Бахрейна Шейха Хамада бен Исы Аль Халифа и рабочий визит Короля Иордании Абдаллы II бен аль-Хусейна открыли новую страницу двусторонних отношений, а также стали свидетельством признания вклада нашей страны в решение сложных региональных и международных проблем.

Значительный импульс общеазиатскому сотрудничеству придал IV Саммит Совещания по взаимодействию и мерам доверия в Азии (Шанхай), в котором приняли участие представители 47 государств и международных организаций. Данный форум стал наиболее представительным за всю историю развития совещания. В ходе саммита были приняты два новых члена – Катар и Бангладеш, тем самым количество участников СВМДА возросло до 26, что в очередной раз подтверждает своевременность и востребованность казахстанской инициативы. Выступая на пленарном заседании саммита, Президент Нурсултан Назарбаев предложил преобразовать СВМДА в Организацию по безопасности и развитию Азии – своеобразный аналог ОБСЕ в Азиатском регионе. По мнению Главы государства, это не только повысит уровень СВМДА, но и превратит совещание в полноценную международную региональную организацию для обеспечения стабильности и безопасности в Азии. ...Особое внимание Глава государства уделил расширению полномасштабного сотрудничества с европейскими государствами и США.

В январе 2014 года состоялся визит Президента Казахстана в Швейцарскую Конфедерацию в рамках участия во Всемирном экономическом форуме в Давосе. Сегодня Швейцария занимает одно из ведущих мест в списке крупнейших торговых партнеров Казахстана в Европе. У нас в стране работают такие флагманы швейцарской экономики, как Algroup, Rieter, Glencore, и другие компании. На переговорах Главы государства с Президентом Швейцарии Д. Буркхальтером были обсуждены перспективы сотрудничества в торгово-экономической, финансовой и банковской сферах. Подтверждена готовность Казахстана и Швейцарии к углублению взаимодействия в рамках международных финансовых институтов и организаций. На встрече с президентом Европейской комиссии Ж. Баррозу (в Давосе) достигнута договоренность об активизации переговорного процесса по подписанию Соглашения о расширенном партнерстве и сотрудничестве РК – ЕС, призванного вывести казахстанско-европейские отношения на качественно новый уровень.

Наряду с этим Глава государства отметил важность скорейшего завершения переговоров по вступлению Казахстана во Всемирную торговую организацию, что станет серьезной основой для углубления торгово-экономического сотрудничества между РК и ЕС. Знаковым событием текущего года стало участие Президента Нурсултана Назарбаева в Гаагском саммите по ядерной безопасности, в очередной раз подтвердившем ведущую роль нашей страны в сфере ядерного разоружения и нераспространения. В ходе саммита Глава государства встретился с лидерами США, Великобритании, Франции и Финляндии, с которыми обсудил перспективы двустороннего сотрудничества и актуальные международные проблемы, включая ситуацию в Украине, Центральной Азии, Афганистане, на Ближнем и Среднем Востоке.

В частности, на встрече с Президентом США Б. Обамой была подчеркнута долгосрочная приверженность стратегическому партнерству между Астаной и Вашингтоном, а также принято Совместное заявление о сотрудничестве в сфере нераспространения и усиления ядерной безопасности. Выражена обоюдная заинтересованность в дальнейшем расширении торгово-экономических и инвестиционных связей между нашими странами. Президентом США высказана поддержка и готовность оказать содействие в скорейшем вступлении Казахстана в ВТО.

Особое внимание Глава государства уделил развитию отношений с Италией, заступившей с 1 июля на пост председателя Европейского союза. На встрече с Президентом Нурсултаном Назарбаевым в июне текущего года (Боровое) Премьер-министр Италии М. Ренци заверил, что Рим будет всецело содействовать активизации взаимодействия ЕС с Казахстаном и Центрально-Азиатским регионом в целом. По итогам визита главы итальянского правительства подписан ряд коммерческих соглашений, достигнута договоренность о совместной координации работ по проведению ЭКСПО-2015 в Милане и ЭКСПО-2017 в Астане.

Еще одним событием на европейском треке стал первый в истории визит Премьер-министра Албании Эди Рамы в нашу страну. Для более эффективного продвижения казахстанско-албанских отношений достигнуты договоренности об активизации деловых контактов между нашими государствами, а также подготовке и подписанию базовых соглашений в области экономического сотрудничества.

На фоне сложной международной обстановки отдельное внимание Главы государства было уделено решению актуальных вопросов глобальной политики. В частности, с первых дней эскалации напряженности в Украине Президент Казахстана принимал активное участие в поиске приемлемых решений по урегулированию кризиса в этой стране. В период обострения ситуации вокруг украинских событий состоялись телефонные переговоры Президента Нурсултана Назарбаева с лидерами США, России, Германии, Великобритании и ряда других европейских государств, что стало ярким свидетельством высокого авторитета и роли Главы государства в развитии диалога между Востоком и Западом.

...В целом внешнеполитическая деятельность Главы государства в первом полугодии 2014 года способствовала дальнейшему продвижению национальных интересов и укреплению позиций Казахстана как надежного и ответственного партнера в обеспечении международной стабильности и безопасности. Среди крупных международных мероприятий предстоящего полугодия 2014 года можно выделить: очередное заседание Совета глав государств ШОС, саммит глав прикаспийских государств, форум межрегионального сотрудничества РК – РФ, заседание Совета глав государств СНГ, визиты в Казахстан президентов: Ирана – Х. Рухани, Чехии – М. Земана, Кыргызстана – А. Атамбаева и Франции – Ф. Олланда, а также визит Главы государства в Туркменистан. Приоритетное внимание будет уделено завершению переговорных процессов по вступлению Казахстана в ВТО, согласованию Соглашения о расширенном партнерстве с Евросоюзом, избранию нашей страны в состав непостоянных членов Совета безопасности ООН, а также ратификации Договора о ЕАЭС.

Реализация этих и многих других внешнеполитических задач под руководством Главы государства позволит Казахстану и далее усиливать свои международные позиции, укреплять государственность и независимость, а также создавать благоприятные внешние условия, необходимые для устойчивого развития страны в рамках Стратегии "Казахстан-2050".

Marat Tazhin

Published on 19 December 2014 by *Kazpravda*.

Source: <https://www.kazpravda.kz/news/politika/v-moskve-posol-rk-v-rf-vstretilsya-s-zhurnalistami-vedushchih-rossiiskih-i-kazah>

В Москве Посол РК в РФ встретился с журналистами ведущих российских и казахстанских СМИ

Чрезвычайный и Полномочный Посол Республики Казахстан в Российской Федерации Марат Тажин провел встречу с представителями ведущих российских и казахстанских средств массовой информации – РТР, "Радио России", "Россия сегодня", газет "Аргументы и факты", "Комсомольская правда", "Новые известия", "Коммерсант", журнала "Огонек", ТРК "Казахстан", Казахского радио, газеты "Егемен Қазақстан", сообщает Kazpravda.kz.

Открывая мероприятие, посол подчеркнул особую роль СМИ в адекватном освещении российско-казахстанских отношений, в частности, в информационном сопровождении процесса создания Евразийского экономического союза. По его мнению, интеграционные объединения как законченный продукт не встречаются нигде в мире, поэтому не стоит пугаться возникающих на тернистом пути их формирования трудностей. Значит, ЕАЭС – не простая декларация, а реально работающая структура, подчеркнул посол.

В то же время, заметил он, когда сам процесс непонятен, возникает соблазн искажения происходящего. В связи с этим глава дипмиссии призвал журналистов объективно подходить к освещению интеграционных процессов на евразийском пространстве, в том числе уделять пристальное внимание межгосударственным гуманитарным проектам. Посол отметил, что на нынешней встрече собрались известные, авторитетные журналисты, которые своим каждодневным трудом вносят весомый вклад в дальнейшее укрепление дружбы и сотрудничества между двумя братскими государствами.

Со своей стороны представители СМИ, поблагодарив посла за теплый прием и откровенную, содержательную беседу, выразили готовность совместно работать над новыми творческими проектами, профессионально и целенаправленно содействовать дальнейшему сближению Казахстана и России.

В рамках встречи Марат Тажин вручил нескольким российским и казахстанским журналистам благодарственные дипломы "За вклад в развитие казахстанско-российских отношений в информационной сфере".

Marat Tazhin

Published on 1 July 2014 by *Tengrinews.kz*.

Source: <https://tengrinews.kz/russia/stranam-eaes-neobhodimo-uluchshit-delovoy-klimat-tajin-257937/>

В Москве посол Республики Казахстан в Российской Федерации Марат Тажин принял участие в заседании интеграционного клуба при председателе Совета Федерации РФ, передает Tengrinews.kz со ссылкой на пресс-службу МИД Казахстана. Тема заседания - "Евразийский экономический союз: новые вызовы и перспективы". Марат Тажин в своем выступлении отметил важность парламентских процедур, связанных с ратификацией подписанного Договора о создании Евразийского экономического союза, причем не только на уровне законов, но и подзаконных актов. Казахский дипломат подчеркнул, что в условиях снижения экономической активности в странах ЕАЭС государствам-членам необходимо предпринять серьезные усилия для роста взаимной торговли, стимулирования инвестиционных трендов и улучшения бизнес-климата.

Председатель Совета Федерации Валентина Матвиенко отметила, что важнейшим событием последних лет стало выделение в содружестве "интеграционного ядра" в составе России, Беларуси и Казахстана, что привело к созданию Таможенного союза и формированию Единого экономического пространства с перспективой

выхода на стратегическую цель - Евразийский экономический союз. "Говоря о современном состоянии экономического взаимодействия в тройке лидеров, важно отметить, что интеграция - это не абстрактный проект, а уникальная возможность более эффективного развития экономики наших государств, улучшения благосостояния их граждан. Достижения интеграции побуждают другие страны СНГ присоединиться к тройке лидеров. Примером могут служить Армения и Кыргызстан. Кроме того, растет интерес к нашим интеграционным процессам и со стороны многих стран вне пространства СНГ", - сказала Матвиенко. Особое внимание участники заседания Клуба уделили вопросу необходимости создания общего медийного пространства, в котором бы системно велось разъяснение происходящих интеграционных процессов и популяризировались выгоды, которые несет Евразийский Экономический Союз рядовым гражданам государств-членов.

2015

Daniyal Akhmetov

Published on 5 June 2015 by *YK-news.kz*.

Source: <https://bit.ly/38jETAk>

В Усть-Каменогорске прошла конференция на тему: «Антимонопольное регулирование в Евразийском экономическом союзе» с участием представителей стран Евразийского экономического союза, передает корреспондент *YK-news.kz* со ссылкой на Информационный центр ВКО.

Конференция прошла под председательством акима ВКО, Даниала Ахметова.

- Союз объединяет свыше 175 млн. человек, более 20 млн. кв. км, 15% мировой суши. Страны ЕАЭС успешно реализуют совместные антикризисные меры: функционируют Евразийский банк развития, Антикризисный фонд, Центр высоких технологий. Более 40 стран выразили интерес к сотрудничеству в рамках Евразийского экономического союза, - отметил Даниал Ахметов.

В своем выступлении член Коллегии (Министр) по конкуренции и антимонопольному регулированию Нурлан Алдабергенов рассказал, о том, что около 20 миллионов человек проживает в приграничных регионах Казахстана и России. Большинство из них зачастую отмечает, что необходимые продукты и товары очень дороги.

В завершение участниками конференции отмечена необходимость регулярной работы по разъяснению целей и задач антимонопольного регулирования и конкурентной политики в ЕАЭС, норм Договора о ЕАЭС о правилах конкуренции и последствиях их нарушения, а также постоянного взаимодействия бизнеса Казахстана с ЕЭК по вопросам развития конкуренции и антимонопольного регулирования.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

Published on 18 June 2015 by *Kazgazeta*.

Source: <http://mysl.kazgazeta.kz/?p=6196>

ПРИОРИТЕТЫ В МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ ПОЛИТИКЕ КАЗАХСТАНА
(ВЫСТУПЛЕНИЕ ПЕРЕД ПРОФЕССОРСКО-ПРЕПОДАВАТЕЛЬСКИМ
СОСТАВОМ И СЛУШАТЕЛЯМИ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ АКАДЕМИИ МИД
РФ)

Касым-Жомарт ТОКАЕВ, председатель Сената Парламента Республики Казахстан (Выступление перед профессорско-преподавательским составом и слушателями Дипломатической Академии МИД РФ)

В системе мировых координат Казахстан утвердился как успешное, стабильное государство, являющееся второй экономикой в СНГ и обладающее устойчивой политической системой.

В своей международной деятельности Казахстан исходит из национальных интересов: обеспечение и укрепление безопасности, суверенитета и территориальной целостности, политической стабильности и устойчивого экономического развития страны.

Внешнеполитические усилия Казахстана сфокусированы на вопросах укрепления региональной и глобальной безопасности, установления справедливого мирового порядка при центральной и координирующей роли Организации Объединенных Наций.

Казахстан проводит сбалансированную, прагматичную внешнюю политику. По определению нашего Президента Нурсултана Назарбаева, «сбалансированность внешней политики означает развитие дружественных и предсказуемых отношений со всеми государствами, играющими существенную роль в мировых делах и представляющих для Казахстана практический интерес».

Казахстан в короткий по историческим меркам период сумел решить ряд стратегических задач. Прежде всего, достигнуто международное признание нашего государства как надежного партнера, со всей ответственностью подходящего к своим международным обязательствам. Кроме того, юридически оформлена граница протяженностью более 11 тысяч километров девятой в мире территории. Это позволило снять с повестки дня возникновение пограничных споров во взаимоотношениях с соседними государствами, заложить основу стратегического партнерства и взаимовыгодного сотрудничества. Далее, Казахстан заявил о своей приверженности режиму нераспространения и в настоящее время рассматривается в качестве лидера глобального движения за ядерное разоружение. Наша страна сумела выстроить свою внешнюю политику таким образом, чтобы уйти от конфронтации с кем-либо из государств, будь-то соседних или далеко стоящих, выстроить с ними дружественные отношения на равноправной и взаимовыгодной основе. Такая политика полностью соответствует национальным интересам Казахстана, крупного евразийского государства.

Миролюбивая, конструктивная внешняя политика нашей страны, также как и внутренняя стабильность, базирующаяся на устойчивом экономическом развитии, все это является серьезным вкладом Казахстана в международную безопасность. Новой геэкономической реальностью, привлекающей внимание всего мирового сообщества, стало возникновение Евразийского Экономического Союза. Созданный Казахстаном, Россией, Беларусью на базе Таможенного Союза, он пополнился недавно Арменией и Кыргызстаном. ЕАЭС стал реальным воплощением идеи Президента Казахстана о евразийской интеграции, высказанной им еще в 1994 году в лекции в Московском Государственном университете.

Сегодня Казахстан ставит перед собой новую цель войти в группу 30-ти самых развитых государств мира. Матрицу нашего движения к искомой цели составляют: Стратегия развития Республики Казахстан до 2050 года, Новая экономическая политика «Нурлы жол – путь в будущее» и программа 5 институциональных реформ. Сутью этих документов является обеспечение устойчивой динамики экономического, политического и социального развития страны.

Стратегия «Казахстан-2050» нацеливает на создание общества благоденствия на основе конкурентоспособной экономики и социальной справедливости, она предусматривает обновление всего промышленного и аграрного потенциала, внедрение инновационных технологий, развитие человеческого капитала, укрепление единства общества. Мироззренческой сердцевиной Стратегии

является сформулированная Президентом Нурсултаном Назарбаевым национальная идея «Мәңгілік Ел» («Вечного народа»), которая подразумевает гражданское равенство, трудолюбие, культ науки и образования, толерантность, патриотизм.

Президентом обнародован новый экономический курс «Нурлы жол» («Светлый путь»), включающий в себя меры антикризисного характера с упором на модернизацию и развитие инфраструктурных проектов. Данная программа позволит превратить Казахстан в ключевой транспортно-логистический хаб евразийских коммуникаций по направлениям Запад-Восток и Север-Юг. В ближайшие пять лет на ее реализацию будет выделено 24 миллиарда долларов, 9 млрд. долларов предоставят ведущие финансовые институты: Всемирный Банк, ЕБРР, АБР, ИБР. Эта программа органично сочетается со второй пятилеткой индустриально-инновационного развития страны.

Смысл программы институциональных реформ, названной Президентом Планом нации, – модернизация государства на основе передовых ценностей в материальной и духовной сферах. Реформы включают в себя 5 направлений: формирование профессионального государственного аппарата; реформа судебной системы и обеспечение верховенства закона; индустриализация и диверсификация экономики; построение нации единого будущего; построение транспарентного и подотчетного народу государства. Осуществление всех указанных реформ позволит поднять нашу страну на уровень самых развитых государств мира.

Мы понимаем, что реализация стратегических планов будет происходить в условиях турбулентности международной ситуации. Значительные изменения происходят в геополитике и геоэкономике. Мир потрясают экономические кризисы, войны и конфликты, что чревато подрывом основ всей системы международных отношений, основанной Ялтинскими соглашениями. Все более отчетливо проявляется столкновение позиций относительно мирового порядка. В то же время на международной арене появились несистемные игроки: «Исламское государство», другие экстремистские организации и незаконные вооруженные группировки, с которыми не считаться нельзя. Усиливаются глобальные экологические угрозы и социальные проблемы. На этом фоне положительной тенденцией, на наш взгляд, является подъем экономического могущества Азии во главе с Китаем.

Выполнение стратегических задач в таких сложных условиях потребует значительной активизации дипломатии, нацеленной на обеспечение более глубокой вовлеченности Казахстана в международное сотрудничество и региональные интеграционные процессы. Приоритетное направление – это реализация огромного потенциала Евразийского Экономического Союза. Мы считаем, что данное интеграционное объединение выводит страны-участницы на принципиально новый уровень сотрудничества при сохранении их государственного суверенитета. Союз обладает большой перспективой, о чем свидетельствует заинтересованность более 40 стран мира в создании с ним зон свободной торговли. По мнению Президента Казахстана, создание ЕАЭС – это адекватный ответ на глобальные вызовы современности, в том числе и на угрозу мирового экономического кризиса. Мы воздаем должное и китайской концепции Экономического пояса вдоль Великого Шелкового пути («и да, и лу»), поскольку для Казахстана, самого крупного государства в мире, не имеющего выхода к открытому морю, но занимающего выгодное геостратегическое положение в центре Евразийского

материка, этот проект имеет особое значение в плане укрепления стратегических позиций как транзитной территории, соединяющей Запад и Восток, Север и Юг евразийского континента.

Крайне выгодным и стратегически важным является сопряжение двух мегапроектов – ЕАЭС и китайского Экономического пояса вдоль Шелкового пути. В случае удачного решения данной проблемы возникнет беспрецедентное по своим масштабам общее торгово-экономическое пространство с неограниченными возможностями на благо наших стран.

Наглядный пример потенциала такого экономического сотрудничества – это строящийся автомобильный коридор «Западная Европа – Западный Китай» протяженностью 8445 километров, в том числе через Казахстан – 2787 километров, а также развитие железнодорожной сети в рамках евразийских магистральных маршрутов. К 2020 году по коридору «Западная Европа – Западный Китай» железнодорожным и автомобильным транспортом ежегодно будет перевозиться около 330 миллионов тонн грузов.

Широкие экономические перспективы открывает новая железнодорожная линия, кратчайшим путем соединяющая Китай через территорию Казахстана с регионом Каспийского моря и Персидского залива. Значительный рост межрегиональной торговли может произойти с вводом в действие мультимодального, высокоскоростного евразийского трансконтинентального коридора, который Казахстан планирует построить в направлении Европы, Китая и стран бассейна Индийского океана. В случае снятия санкций с Ирана этот проект может стать одним из наиболее востребованных в мировой экономике.

Важное значение для развития экономического потенциала Казахстана имеет международное сотрудничество в топливно-энергетической сфере. Наша страна принимает самое активное участие в проектах ИНОГЕЙТ (Межгосударственная транспортировка нефти и газа в Европу). Казахстан является третьим крупнейшим поставщиком энергоносителей в Европу из стран – не членов ОПЕК, после России и Норвегии. В ряде государств Европы доля поставок казахстанской нефти достаточно высока. В Австрии она составляет 25%, Румынии – 30%. Казахстан является четвертым по объемам поставщиком энергоресурсов в Германию. Каждый третий литр бензина в Германии и Австрии производится из казахстанской нефти.

Казахстан проводит политику диверсификации поставок энергосырья, развивая свою трубопроводную сеть в разных направлениях. Большие возможности дает транспортировка нефти в Китай. По построенной в 2003–2013 годах трубопроводной системе Казахстан-Китай протяженностью 2835 километров и пропускной мощностью до 20 миллионов тонн в год на рынок Поднебесной в прошлом году было поставлено более 12 миллионов тонн нефти, включая 7 миллионов тонн российской нефти, полученной на компенсационной основе.

Казахстан является также центрально-азиатским газопроводным хабом, обеспечивающим транзит туркменского и узбекского газа в Китай и Россию. За 2014 год объем международного транзита газа по территории нашей страны превысил 91 миллиард кубометров газа.

Наша страна открыта для зарубежных инвестиций – это важное направление государственной политики. За годы независимости в страну поступило 190 миллиардов долларов прямых инвестиций. Недавно принят новый закон по вопросам совершенствования инвестиционного климата, по которому иностранным инвесторам предоставляются дополнительные льготы, начиная с визовых льгот и заканчивая налоговыми преференциями.

Казахстан занимает шестое место в мире по запасам природных ресурсов. Минерально-сырьевая база Казахстана состоит из 5000 разведанных месторождений, прогнозная стоимость которых составляет около 46 триллионов

долларов. С учетом нашей заинтересованности в индустриальной модернизации и развитии высоких технологий мы теперь придерживаемся новой стратегии: «сырье в обмен на технологии». В стране работает более 20 тысяч предприятий с участием иностранного капитала, в том числе крупнейшие транснациональные компании в нефтегазовой сфере, энергетике, транспортном машиностроении, электронике, финансовом менеджменте.

В числе важных партнеров Казахстана – крупнейшие финансовые организации мира – Всемирный Банк, ЕБРР, АБР, ИБР, которые, как было сказано выше, недавно обязались совместно участвовать в реализации программы индустриализации путем выделения кредитов на сумму более 9 миллиардов долларов сроком на 25 лет на выгодных условиях, и это свидетельствует о доверии к нашей стране со стороны международного финансового сообщества. Мы придаем большое значение укреплению глобальной и региональной безопасности и поэтому Казахстан принимает активное участие в деятельности ООН, ОБСЕ, СВМДА, ОДКБ, ШОС.

По нашему твердому мнению, ООН является универсальной и безальтернативной площадкой для ведения переговоров и дискуссий по всем проблемам, стоящим перед человечеством. В наше сложное время крайне важно укреплять центральную роль ООН в международных отношениях.

Казахстан является автором ряда инициатив, которые способствуют эффективности многомерной деятельности ООН. Это – Совещание по взаимодействию и мерам доверия в Азии; Съезд лидеров мировых и традиционных религий; создание Регионального центра по превентивной дипломатии в Центральной Азии; формирование Специальной программы ООН для экономик Центральной Азии (СПЕКА); региональные миротворческие силы с участием казахстанского батальона «Казбат» под эгидой ООН; принятие резолюций Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН о провозглашении 29 августа, дня закрытия Семипалатинского полигона, Международным днем действий против ядерных испытаний, а также сближении культур государств-членов ООН. Казахстан выдвинул свою кандидатуру на место непостоянного члена Совета Безопасности ООН. Сейчас проводится активная кампания в этом направлении. Мы считаем, что если Казахстан будет избран, хотя ситуация неоднозначная, поскольку на это же место претендует и Таиланд, то у Казахстана появится возможность внести в повестку дня или, во всяком случае, обратить внимание на такие сложные вопросы, которые стоят в Центральной Азии, как борьба с терроризмом и наркотрафиком, энергетическая и продовольственная безопасность, дефицит воды, религиозный экстремизм. Что касается ОБСЕ. В 2010 году Казахстан председательствовал в этой организации и благодаря поддержке государств-членов ОБСЕ, здесь я хотел бы выделить особую роль России, нам удалось после 11-летнего перерыва провести саммит ОБСЕ в Астане, где была принята Декларация. В соответствии с этой Декларацией наши дипломаты сейчас работают над внедрением концепции неделимой безопасности на Евро-Атлантическом и Евразийском пространстве. Считаем, что ОБСЕ должна себя проявить в полной мере. Пока этого не происходит. Во всяком случае, на данном этапе ОБСЕ должна вплотную заняться вопросом урегулирования украинского кризиса, который, можно сказать, подверг испытанию всю систему международного права.

Вам известна инициатива нашего Президента о созыве Совещания по взаимодействию и мерам доверия в Азии. Эта инициатива была высказана в 1992 году на Генеральной Ассамблее ООН. С тех пор работа по созыву СВМДА активно набирала обороты. Последний саммит в прошлом году СВМДА в Шанхае был очень успешным. Катар и Бангладеш вступили в ряды СВМДА, теперь там

находится 26 азиатских государств, форум поддержан ООН. Сегодня в ареале СВМДА – 90% территории Азии с населением более 3,5 миллиарда человек. Исполнительный Секретариат СВМДА находится в Казахстане, в настоящее время его возглавляет известный китайский дипломат. Надо признать, что без поддержки Китая и России, конечно же, эта инициатива не получила бы должного развития.

Что касается Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества, то это тоже наш приоритет. Президент Казахстана уделяет большое внимание активной деятельности Казахстана в рамках этой организации. Действительно, Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества уникальна тем, что обладает очень обширной повесткой дня, начиная от борьбы против так называемых «трех зол», то есть политических проблем, и заканчивая вопросами торгово-экономического, инвестиционного сотрудничества, гуманитарными связями. Казахстан председательствовал и в Организации Исламского Сотрудничества, провел у себя целый ряд конференций. Сейчас мы работаем над тем, чтобы создать филиал Организации Исламского Сотрудничества по вопросам продовольственной безопасности со штаб-квартирой в Астане.

Отдельно хотел бы остановиться на вопросах нераспространения. Для нас это вопрос приоритетной важности. Как было сказано выше, Казахстан рассматривается в международном сообществе как лидер нераспространения. В 1992 году Президент Казахстана принял решение о присоединении к Договору о нераспространении ядерного оружия. Это был очень сложный период, мы активно консультировались со всеми основными державами, в том числе, и с Российской Федерацией. В конечном счете, было принято решение навсегда отказаться от четвертого по своей мощности ядерного арсенала в мире. Кроме того, мы присоединились к Договору о всеобщем запрещении ядерных испытаний. В 2005 году, будучи министром иностранных дел, я по поручению Президента подписал Договор в Семипалатинске, где располагался ядерный полигон, о создании зоны, свободной от ядерного оружия, в Центральной Азии. Казахстан активно работает с МАГАТЭ. В самое ближайшее время на территории страны будет учрежден банк ядерного топлива под контролем МАГАТЭ. Это очень крупный, беспрецедентный в мировом сообществе проект. Все государства, активно развивающие свои мирные ядерные программы под контролем МАГАТЭ, смогут получать необходимое ядерное топливо согласно соответствующим квотам.

Особое внимание Казахстан уделяет проблеме международного терроризма. Надеемся, что здесь ШОС скажет свое веское слово. Казахстанские представители приняли участие в Вашингтонском саммите по проблемам международного терроризма. Ожидается, что на Генеральной Ассамблее осенью нынешнего года будет принят План действий против насильственного экстремизма, Казахстан присоединяется к этому Плану и готов работать под эгидой ООН в этом направлении.

Отдельно хотел бы упомянуть инициативу нашего Президента о созыве Съездов лидеров мировых и традиционных религий. Ситуация в мире неоднозначная, очень сложная, по-сути дела происходит столкновение мировоззрений, религий. Считаем, что деструктивные действия, по-сути, террористические акции «Исламского государства», чреватые дестабилизацией международной ситуации, поэтому надо срочно принимать коллективные меры. В первой половине июня с.г. в Астане состоится V Съезд лидеров мировых и традиционных религий, в нем примут участие Генеральный Секретарь ООН, Главы ряда государств. Ожидаем серьезную дискуссию по острым проблемам современности с рекомендациями по разрешению конфликтных ситуаций. Что касается Центральной Азии, то «Исламское государство» активизировало свою деятельность в Афганистане, где оно фактически объединилось с Талибаном.

Но надо понимать, что «Исламское государство» с точки зрения военной мощи и продвижения своих целей более изощреннее, чем Талибан, поскольку там находятся люди, приехавшие из Европы, владеющие информационными технологиями, поэтому это очень опасная сила, на которую всему мировому сообществу необходимо обратить самое пристальное внимание. Казахстан не только обеспокоен действиями «Исламского государства», но и предпринимает самые активные действия, будь, то на национальном уровне или в международном формате.

Казахстан оказывает помощь Афганистану продовольствием, строительством больниц и школ, бесплатным обучением афганских студентов и подготовкой полицейских. Общая стоимость оказанной помощи превысила 250 миллионов долларов.

О вопросах Каспийского моря. Вы знаете, проблема очень сложная. Недавно в Астрахани усилиями дипломатов пяти прибрежных государств было достигнуто прорывное Соглашение. Считаем, что Астраханское Соглашение может стать основой будущей Конвенции о правовом статусе Каспийского моря. Относительно странового аспекта международной политики Казахстана. Для нас безусловным приоритетом является стратегическое партнерство и союзничество с Российской Федерацией. В Екатеринбурге 11 ноября 2013 года был подписан соответствующий Договор. Сенат Парламента Казахстана единогласно ратифицировал этот Договор, который является основой союзнических взаимоотношений между нашими странами. Активно развиваются и приграничные связи, межрегиональные контакты на основе более 200 Соглашений. Полагаем, что альтернативы союзническим взаимоотношениям Казахстана и Российской Федерации не существует. Это основное направление во внешней политике Казахстана.

Что касается Китая. У нас общая граница протяженностью 1700 км. Она была делимитирована, демаркирована. Сейчас Китай является одним из основных партнеров Казахстана в торгово-экономической сфере. Недавно с Китаем были подписаны 59 экономических соглашений на сумму почти 55 миллиардов долларов. Китай, как торговый партнер Казахстана, находится на третьем месте. Объем торговли в прошлом году, несмотря на ухудшение конъюнктуры, составил 18 миллиардов долларов. Россия находится на втором месте с 20 млрд. долларов, а на первом месте находится Европейский Союз с 55 миллиардами долларов. Казахстан присоединился к Азиатскому банку инфраструктурных инвестиций с фондом в 100 млрд. долларов. Этот банк рассматривается как некая альтернатива Всемирному банку и Международному валютному фонду. Сегодня мы активно сотрудничаем со 147 государствами всех регионов планеты. Казахстан – крупное евразийское государство. За рубежом Казахстан называют лидером центрально-азиатского региона. Поэтому наша страна в хорошем смысле слова обречена на разностороннюю и сбалансированную внешнюю политику. Цель такой политики – создание благоприятных внешних условий реформам внутри Казахстана. Наша страна находится на пороге фундаментальной трансформации, поэтому крайне важно обеспечить внутреннюю стабильность, без которой реформы невозможны.

Москва

19 мая 2015 года

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

Published on 24 October 2015 by *Interfax*.

Source: https://www.interfax.kz/?lang=rus&int_id=13&news_id=270

24 октября ООН отпразднует 70-летний юбилей. В преддверии этого события спикер сената парламента Касым-Жомарт ТОКАЕВ в интервью агентству “Интерфакс-Казахстан” поделился своим мнением о роли

Организации в разрешении современных международных угроз, об усилиях Казахстана в установлении мира в зонах конфликта.

- Касым-Жомарт Кемелевич, 24 октября Организация Объединенных Наций отмечает 70-летний юбилей. Вы более двух лет совмещали несколько высоких постов в ООН – заместителя генерального секретаря, генерального директора отделения ООН в Женеве, генерального секретаря конференции по разоружению. На Ваш взгляд, насколько сегодня организация способна справиться с актуальными международными угрозами? Как восприняло международное сообщество инициативы президента Казахстана Нурсултана Назарбаева на юбилейной сессии Генассамблеи ООН по реформированию?

- ООН продолжает оставаться универсальной и безальтернативной международной организацией, отражающей волю всего мирового сообщества. Имея в своих рядах 193 государства, ООН обладает уникальным мандатом деятельности, охватывающим вопросы безопасности, экономического и социального развития, защиты прав человека, охраны окружающей среды.

Президент Казахстана, выступая на юбилейной сессии Генеральной Ассамблеи, подчеркнул, что благодаря ООН в мире не было глобальных войн, проблемы безопасности и развития с трудом, но все же находили решения.

Современный мировой порядок, конечно, далек от совершенства, мир раздирают противоречия, вызовы и застарелые проблемы. Но надо понимать, что без ООН мир был бы гораздо хуже, более опасен для жизни и благополучия человечества. ООН справедливо критикуют за излишнюю бюрократию, неповоротливость при урегулировании экстренных ситуаций, к тому же в последние годы Совет Безопасности, к сожалению, не в состоянии принимать решения, ведущие к урегулированию острейших проблем современности. И, тем не менее, ООН по-прежнему является организацией, на которую с большой надеждой обращают свои взоры миллионы людей во многих странах.

В повестке дня ООН остаются проблемы урегулирования международных конфликтов, контроля над вооружениями, ядерного нераспространения, изменения глобального климата и ухудшения экологии, борьбы с бедностью и пандемиями, противодействия киберпреступности, наркотрафику, торговле людьми. Без ООН эти проблемы никак не решить, потому что требуются масштабные международные действия.

С другой стороны, ООН – это мы: государства, народы, неправительственные организации и движения. Без нашего активного вовлечения в процессы решения острых международных вопросов ООН сама по себе с ними не справится. Позиция стороннего наблюдателя здесь неуместна.

Поэтому Нурсултан Назарбаев, будучи одним из самых опытных политиков современности и имеющий несомненные заслуги перед мировым сообществом в деле ядерного разоружения, выступил в ООН с интересными, свежими и далеко идущими инициативами, направленными на снижение международной напряженности и улучшение благосостояния народов. Казахский лидер, можно сказать, заглянул за горизонт времени, предложил разработать в рамках ООН концепцию “Новое будущее” (“New Future”), приуроченную к 100-летию ООН. Здесь нет никакого прожектерства, это предложение продиктовано желанием сделать мир более безопасным для наших детей и внуков.

Исходя из этих соображений, Нурсултан Абишевич предложил также создать всемирную сеть противодействия международному терроризму. Эта угроза благополучию граждан практически всех стран выходит на первый план, с ней надо бороться сообща.

В условиях глобальной нестабильности крайне важно подтвердить верховенство международного права. И здесь роль ООН не может подвергаться сомнению. Поэтому глава государства с трибуны ООН предложил созвать представительную конференцию по международному праву.

ООН должна играть центральную роль в международных делах. Казахстан в лице его лидера, президента Назарбаева, вновь заявил об исключительной важности всемерной поддержки целей и задач ООН, соблюдения ее Устава, ведь именно ООН – гарантия прочного мира.

- Конфликт в Сирии продолжается уже несколько лет. По-Вашему, в чем кроются истоки кризиса, каким Вы видите его исход? Учитывая, что официальная Астана – сторонник мирного урегулирования сирийского конфликта, поддерживает ли Казахстан действия российских ВКС в Сирии, и какова роль военной операции РФ? Какой, по мнению нашего государства, должна быть Сирия после урегулирования конфликта?

- Сирийский узел противоречий складывался не один год. Затянувшийся конфликт имеет внутреннее, региональное, глобальное измерения. Сегодня в этой стране переплелись интересы целого ряда стран. Генеральный секретарь ООН Пан Ги Мун, открывая общие дебаты Генеральной Ассамблеи, выделил пять стран – США, Саудовскую Аравию, Россию, Иран и Турцию, от которых сегодня зависит урегулирование сирийского кризиса и будущее Сирии как государства. Будучи главой Женевского Отделения ООН, я занимался организацией первой международной конференции по Сирии “Женева-1”, состоявшейся 30 июня 2012 года. Итогом той встречи стало Женевское коммюнике “Группы действий по Сирии”, этот документ является единственной институциональной договоренностью по сирийскому конфликту. Дальнейшие переговоры, двусторонние и многосторонние усилия не принесли результатов. Более того, за это время появился и развернул свою преступную деятельность крупнейший в истории террористический интернационал под названием “ДАИШ/ИГИЛ”.

В этой ситуации нельзя не согласиться с мнением российского руководства, что с террористами, кроме армии Башара Асада и курдского ополчения, реально никто не боролся. Военная операция России проводится по просьбе законного правительства Сирии, на основе международного права. Поэтому есть основания считать, что эта акция против террористов в Сирии является своевременной и необходимой.

В то же время всем прикаспийским странам нужно позаботиться о том, чтобы в будущем сделать этот уникальный водоем морем дружбы и сотрудничества и не допустить его милитаризации.

Возвращаясь к Ближнему Востоку, нужно подчеркнуть, что крайне важно подавить терроризм, в противном случае будущего у Сирии как целостного государства не будет. Нужно помочь сирийскому народу выйти на путь мирного строительства. Эта страна, безусловно, нуждается и в политических, и в экономических реформах, но они могут начаться только после ликвидации

террористической угрозы, при посредничестве и согласии ведущих держав. Сирия должна стать демократическим государством, в котором будут уважаться права и свободы человека, в том числе строго соблюдаться права национальных и религиозных меньшинств.

- Астана в этом году дважды приняла у себя переговоры представителей сирийской оппозиции, а в 2013 году в Казахстане были проведены два раунда переговоров по иранской ядерной программе. Как Вы считаете, помогут ли усилия нашей страны в решении международных конфликтов и не станут ли эти шаги лишь “пиаром” Казахстана, как утверждают некоторые скептики?

- Стабилизация обстановки в Сирии, урегулирование иранской ядерной проблемы – это вопросы, имеющие отношение к национальной безопасности Казахстана. Мы заинтересованы в мире и стабильности вокруг наших границ, на достижение этой цели сориентирована казахстанская внешняя политика. Казахстан достиг заметных успехов на международной арене как государство, последовательно выступающее за ядерное разоружение, укрепление евроазиатской безопасности, взаимовыгодное сотрудничество со всеми заинтересованными странами. В этом очевидная заслуга нашего лидера, который, разумеется, не нуждается в “пиаре”, тем более по такому запутанному вопросу, как межсирийское урегулирование. Казахстан руководствуется единственным желанием помочь сирийскому народу обрести достойное будущее.

- Проблема религиозного экстремизма, активная деятельность так называемого “Исламского государства” ставит под угрозу международную безопасность. Какие меры необходимо принять мировому сообществу в борьбе с этим злом?

- Терроризм угрожает фундаментальным устоям международной безопасности. Через глобальные вербовочные сети в ряды радикалов вовлекаются молодые люди из многих государств мира. Псевдорелигиозная риторика служит оправданию чудовищных актов, шокирующих все человечество.

Необходимо консолидироваться против этого зла, и здесь свое слово должны сказать не только политики и военные, но и религиозные лидеры. Они должны призвать всех людей осудить злодеяния террористов, встать на защиту фундаментальных ценностей современной цивилизации.

Главный фактор нерешенности этой проблемы – разобщенность различных государств. Поэтому президент Казахстана предложил объединить усилия государств в противодействии международному терроризму и экстремизму. Речь идет не только о силовом противостоянии, но и эффективной координации спецслужб с целью пресечения деятельности экстремистских группировок, совместной работе дипломатических ведомств для выработки общих документов в международных организациях, в первую очередь в ООН.

Очень важно изъять религиозный фактор из современных конфликтов, что невозможно сделать без прямого вовлечения духовных лидеров. Поэтому недавний Съезд лидеров мировых и традиционных религий в Астане был посвящен диалогу политических и религиозных деятелей. На достижение этой цели направлена и инициатива президентов Казахстана и России о создании форума “Ислам против терроризма”, высказанная на днях в Астане.

- Можете ли Вы отметить некий прогресс в решении украинского кризиса?

- На сегодня единственной платформой для прекращения конфликта являются Минские договоренности, основанные на уважении суверенитета и территориальной целостности Украины. Несмотря на имеющиеся разногласия по выполнению Минских соглашений, можно говорить о стремлении сторон к продолжению диалога.

В последние недели поступает информация о том, что перемирие стало относительно устойчивым. Но отказ от вооруженных действий и отвод вооружений – это лишь первые шаги в урегулировании ситуации. Нужно выполнить Минские соглашения в полном объеме. Следует отметить, что глава нашего государства предпринял активные усилия, чтобы прекратить противостояние на Украине. По-сути, первая встреча в Минске состоялась по его инициативе.

- Давайте поговорим об интеграции в рамках СНГ. Со дня создания Евразийского экономического союза прошло уже более года, и сейчас намечаются конкретные шаги по сотрудничеству ЕАЭС с Европейским Союзом. На Ваш взгляд, что положительного для Казахстана даст этот интеграционный процесс, и на чем нужно сконцентрироваться в первую очередь?

- На сегодня все государства ЕАЭС испытывают сложности, связанные с экономическим кризисом. Снижение цен на сырье, девальвация валют, падение фондовых рынков – все это требует быстрого и квалифицированного реагирования. На днях президент дал поручение правительству подготовить антикризисный план. Но любой кризис – это не только спад экономики и негативные последствия для общества, но и возможность осуществить структурные преобразования. Все мы должны извлечь уроки из этого кризиса, чтобы усилить нашу способность своевременно принимать эффективные меры для ограждения наших экономик от катаклизмов, а наших граждан – от трудностей и потрясений.

Для Казахстана Европейский Союз является крупнейшим торговым партнером, далее следуют Россия и Китай, поэтому мы заинтересованы в сотрудничестве с ЕС при том понимании, что это будет выгодно как Казахстану, так и всем нашим партнерам по ЕАЭС.

Продвигая евразийскую экономическую интеграцию, мы не должны забывать о ее фундаментальных принципах: свободное передвижение товаров, капитала, рабочей силы, создание совместных предприятий, углубление человеческих контактов. Успех этого мегапроекта целиком зависит от того, насколько продуктивно мы будем работать над его реализацией, как на национальном уровне, так и в рамках Евразийской экономической комиссии. А работы очень много, ведь мы прошли только начальный этап становления ЕАЭС.

- На недавнем форуме “Евразийская экономическая перспектива” было много заявлений о необходимости наращивать взаимодействие с Китаем, о перспективах сопряжения ЕАЭС и “Экономического пояса Шелкового пути”. Какие возможности откроются при реализации этих инициатив для Казахстана?

- Огромный потенциал китайского рынка и международные проекты Китая представляют большие перспективы для ЕАЭС. Китай сегодня предлагает миру такие возможности в сфере торговли и инвестиций, какие не может предоставить ни одна другая страна. Взять, к примеру, инициативу “Экономического пояса

Шелкового пути”, выдвинутую председателем Си Цзиньпинем два года назад в Астане. Китай активно развивает свои западные провинции и в этой связи еще больше заинтересован в укреплении торгово-экономических отношений с Центральной Азией и Россией. Нам же нужно принять участие в транзите товаров между Китаем и Западной Европой. Поэтому взаимодействие с КНР – это возможность модернизировать транспортно-коммуникационную инфраструктуру ЕАЭС и стать важным связующим звеном в торговле между Европой и Азией.

- В рамках поручений главы государства по реализации “Плана нации – 100 конкретных шагов” перед парламентом поставлена задача в оперативном порядке обеспечить реформы необходимой законодательной базой, принять несколько десятков новых законов. Как отразятся на казахстанцах претворяемые в жизнь данные законодательные инициативы?

- Пять институциональных реформ – не просто предвыборная платформа Елбасы, это комплексный план, который обеспечит новый рывок в развитии Казахстана на фоне серьезных потрясений в мировой экономике и политике.

Хотел бы напомнить, что аналогичную масштабную модернизацию законодательства страны президент осуществил в середине 1990-х годов, когда за короткое время издал пакет указов, имеющих силу закона и направленных на ускорение рыночных реформ. Именно тогда была либерализована экономика, обеспечена свобода и поддержка предпринимательства, получила динамичное развитие банковская система, привлечен крупный иностранный капитал.

Сегодня в приоритетах главы государства увеличить долю среднего класса, сбалансировать развитие регионов, искоренить коррупцию, создать новые рабочие места и укрепить единство нации. Без законодательного обеспечения невозможно гарантировать прочное лидерство нашей страны в реформах. Парламент Казахстана в тесном взаимодействии с правительством успешно справляется с данной масштабной задачей. Работа по реализации плана нации “100 шагов” ведется уже более полугода, мы планируем завершить законотворческий этап реформ к первой половине ноября.

- Спасибо за интервью!

Sergey Tereshchenko

Published on 27 February 2015 by *Caravan*.

Source: <https://www.caravan.kz/gazeta/sergejj-tereshhenko-o-zakhvate-rynkov-polze-bezroboticy-i-politicheskom-proshlom-83100/>

Сергей ТЕРЕЩЕНКО – личность, бесспорно, заслуживающая внимания. Первый Премьер-министр суверенного Казахстана, искушенный политик, а ныне успешный предприниматель рассказал “КАРАВАНУ” о том, как он живет сегодня и почему не боится кризиса.

И не такое видали

– Страна – в ожидании девальвации, все говорят о проблемах экономики. Как вы оцениваете сложившуюся сегодня ситуацию?

– Глава Нацбанка Кайрат Келимбетов сказал, что шоковой девальвации в 220–240 тенге за доллар не будет. Понятно, что сейчас нужно переходить на другой режим. Ясно, что в экономике – непростые времена, особенно для тех, кто работает с экспортом. Обесценился российский рубль. Паниковать не стоит, но меры принимать необходимо. Когда мы начинали 23 года назад, было намного хуже. Деньги – тогда у нас были рубли – превратились в пыль. 1992 год даже вспоминать страшно. Сегодня ситуация совершенно другая. Мы пережили кризис 2007–2009

годов и этот переживем. Главное – чтобы государство выполняло свои функции, особенно если это касается социальной сферы.

Понятно, что нефть упала в цене почти в два раза. Но это шанс переориентировать экономику. На первый план может выйти сельское хозяйство. Сложности будут, доходы упали. Но, чтобы сохранить рабочие места, нужно открывать производства. Есть же у нас государственные программы, есть инвестиции из Китая...

– Многие сетуют, что при небольшом экспортном потенциале нам сложно будет выкарабкаться. Что мы экспортируем и где ниши для перспектив?

– Мы экспортируем нефть, металлы, пшеницу, мед. Если говорить о потенциале и нишах, то это все виды сельскохозяйственной продукции: мясо, молоко, овощи и фрукты. Философией нашего рынка должна быть экспансия. Мы должны сидеть на чужих рынках. У нас большая страна с маленьким населением и огромным потенциалом. Но прежде чем говорить о выходе на чужие рынки, надо свой наполнить. Вот, например, возьмем китайцев. У них во время кризиса разворачивается все производство и начинает работать на внутренний рынок – а там десятки миллионов потребителей. Нам проще, у нас население небольшое. Можем и себя накормить, и на чужие рынки пойти. Задача импортозамещения – это лишь первый этап, нужно продавать за границу. Сейчас стараемся, делаем, но пока плохо. Почему? Тут много проблем.

Неконкурентоспособны

– Как быть малому бизнесу в такие времена? Кризис для него – это новые возможности или сложности?

– Малому бизнесу всегда нужно подстраиваться, держать ухо востро, чутко реагировать на любые изменения. То, что ты сегодня можешь продать, завтра уже не покупается. Бизнес – это всегда риск. Сам не раз сталкивался со сложностями. Произведенное мясо птицы отправляли на экспорт, а тут девальвация рубля. На рынок хлынула продукция из России, а наша лежит на складе. В эти трудные времена власть должна очень четко работать с бизнесом. Нужно, чтобы акимы и их помощники добирались до каждого производителя – крупного, мелкого – знали их проблемы, помогали в их решении. У нас столько структур, которые закупают ту же продукцию – армия, больницы, школы. Ну не покупайте импортное, возьмите казахстанское! Поддержите своего производителя со сбытом. Нужно сейчас решить эти проблемы.

– Вы большое внимание уделяете сельскохозяйственной сфере. Каковы здесь основные проблемы?

– Они в том, что сегодня нет людей, которые бы эффективно работали в сельском хозяйстве. Везде очень низкая производительность труда. Производство нашей продукции в разы меньше, чем в других странах. Результат – наша продукция очень дорогая. Например, в Израиле 12 тысяч литров надаивают с коровы, у нас – всего 3 тысячи. При этом наши затраты значительно выше. Мы – неконкурентоспособны. Или производство зерновых – топчемся вокруг 12 центнеров с гектара, а мир получает 40–50 центнеров. Для мяса и молока нам нужна серьезная кормовая база. Прежде всего, это кукуруза и соя. Мы делаем мизер. Американцы вырабатывают 100 миллионов тонн сои – это белок, основа производства комбикормов. На севере Казахстана соя может расти без полива. Нужно проводить поощряющую политику, чтобы людям выгодно было этим заниматься.

Чем полезна безработица?

– Эксперты прогнозируют приток мигрантов в Казахстан. Это благо или не очень?

– Мигранты – это проблема, которая есть во всех государствах. Свои плюсы есть: люди приезжают и работают в тех нишах, где наши граждане не хотят. Это, как правило, низкооплачиваемая грязная работа. Но есть и много минусов. Например, рост преступности. С другой стороны, у нас уровень безработицы всего 5

процентов. Но в рыночных условиях, как бы это жестко ни прозвучало, безработица просто необходима. Нужны конкуренция, стимул. В мире хотели бы работать около 5 миллиардов человек, а лишь 1 миллиард 200 миллионов из них могут выполнять квалифицированную работу. У нас в эти годы трясло рынок труда. В сложный период потеряно много профессионалов. Все помнят, как наши ученые, инженеры становились торговцами. Потом был бум на юристов и экономистов. Сегодня пожинаем плоды этих перекосов.

– В чем основной порок нашего общества? Что мешает нам развиваться?

– Природа человека такова, что он всегда ропщет. В Казахстане созданы шикарные условия для бизнеса, но при этом все равно все плачут. Незачем вести разговоры – берись и делай. Вот взяли и запустили в производство казы из индюка. Захотели сделать мед – делаем, собрали пчеловодов. Сажаем сады, займемся рыбой. Не жду манны небесной. У меня своя госпрограмма, которую выполняю. В каждый дом казахстанца – 20 граммов меда в день, две рыбины в неделю, одного индюка. Я ни у кого ничего не спрашиваю, сам делаю. Другой порок общества – это, конечно, коррупция, она все тормозит.

Испытание интеграцией

– В 1991–1994 годах вы были Премьер-министром Казахстана. Какие три главные задачи стояли тогда и какова ситуация сейчас?

– Когда был Премьер-министром, стояли далеко не три задачи – много всего надо было решать. Главное – выжить. Вторая задача – сделать атрибуты нового государства. Третья – выбрать правильный курс. Ведь что было? Пустые полки в магазинах, безработные. Но благодаря терпению народа и верному курсу Президента у нас сегодня другая ситуация. Сейчас три основные задачи – удержаться на уровне, которого достигли, приспособиться работать в кризисных условиях и развивать новые производства для наполнения бюджета.

– Вы возглавляли Евразийский экономический форум. Многие ругают всевозможные интеграции. Что они реально дают экономике нашей страны?

– ЕАЭС (Евразийский экономический союз) – это идея нашего Президента, которую он озвучил еще 20 лет назад, выступая в Москве перед студентами МГУ. Спустя годы она воплотилась в жизнь. Так получилось, что это совпало с политическим кризисом, в котором находится сейчас Россия, и с экономическим кризисом, в котором пребывает весь мир. Понятно, что такие интеграции – это не только плюсы, но и определенные испытания. Если будем работать хорошо, то получим огромный рынок. Бояться интеграции не надо. Некоторые думают: появится какой-то центр, который будет командовать, как это было в советское время, – 93 процента предприятий в Казахстане были союзной и союзно-республиканской собственностью. Но сегодня другая ситуация.

– 2015 год – особенный для Ассамблеи народа Казахстана. Вы были заместителем председателя много лет. Как считаете, какие трудности сегодня возникают в нашем многонациональном обществе?

– Этот вопрос очень сложный, на него должны ответить ученые. В Казахстане в мире и согласии проживает огромное количество наций. Это, конечно, уникальная ситуация. Обычно проблемы в этом вопросе начинаются на бытовом уровне, поэтому очень важно, чтобы у людей были достаток, работа, достойная жизнь. Тогда не будет никаких проблем.

Об ошибках и иллюзиях

– Если оглянуться на вашу жизнь – политическую, предпринимательскую, она очень бурная. Что бы хотели исправить? Были ли ошибки, за которые себя ругаете?

– Не люблю сослагательное наклонение – что было бы, если бы. У человека нет шанса прожить свою жизнь заново. Меня всегда учил отец: где бы ты ни был, какой бы пост ни занимал – оставайся человеком. Я – человек простой в общении

и всегда учусь. Учусь у тех, кто старше, и у тех, кто младше. Молодым всегда говорю: не бойтесь ошибок.

– Вы – автор книги о развитии рынка в Казахстане. Что из того, что было написано тогда, хотели бы сегодня подкорректировать?

– Это было давно – я написал эту книгу в 1993 году. И теперь хочу написать новую книгу, она будет называться “Во власти и в бизнесе”. В 1993 году мы только начинали строить государство и рынок себе представляли так: делай все, что хочешь, и продавай, а государство уйди в сторону и не мешай. Тогда это было правильно. Бизнесмены появлялись как класс. Все, кто сегодня управляет миллиардными проектами, свои дела начинали именно тогда. Но сейчас ситуация круто поменялась. Стало понятно, что нужна грань, где государство должно и не должно вмешиваться. Без государства все-таки не обойтись. Сегодня идет вторая волна приватизации, крупные государственные компании вышли на IPO, сейчас любой имеет возможность получить дивиденды. Каждый казахстанец может стать акционером или бизнесменом.

– Кем в детстве мечтали быть? Какие иллюзии развеялись, когда вы выросли и стали политиком?

– В наше время все мечтали стать летчиками или моряками. Но у меня из-за проблем со зрением и с ногой этому не суждено было сбыться. Но любовь к тельняшкам осталась на всю жизнь. Мой дядя был моряком, и мне перепали иногда его “трофеи”. Я поступил в сельскохозяйственный институт. А что касается иллюзий, то еще не стал взрослым. Мне до этого очень далеко. Человек умирает тогда, когда в нем исчезает последняя капля детства. Мне иногда и похулиганить хочется. Жизнь заставила пойти в политику, но это не мое, мое – это реальное хозяйство. Впрочем, одна иллюзия развеялась – узнал, что в жизни есть предательство. И оправиться от него очень сложно.

Sergey Tereshchenko

Published on 27 February 2015 by *Itv.kz*.

Source: <http://old.1tv.kz/ru/projects/analytica/watch/040916/6>

СЕРГЕЙ ТЕРЕЩЕНКО, ПРЕМЬЕР-МИНИСТР РК В 1991-1994 Г.Г.:

Ниязов, он ему говорит: «слушай, Нурсултан, зачем тебе эта интеграция? Зачем тебе это нужно? Но давай поживем. Ты сам принимаешь решение». «Нет», - сказал он. Предвидел.

Нужно было не только это. Казахстан закрепляет за собой неофициальный статус интегратора интеграторов. Демонстративно подчеркивая: мы открыты миру. Мир, откройся нам. Уже определены границы между Казахстаном и Россией. Мирно определены. На очереди еще один большой сосед. В 94-м году Нурсултан Назарбаев и председатель госсовета КНР очертят на карте границы своих стран. И уже теперь по-настоящему начнется большая торговля.

Вроде не плох! Ну, так итальянский костюмчик, все-таки. Можно на важные переговоры идти. Дипломаты, то есть работники министерства иностранных дел становятся первыми лицами Казахстана, в смысле первыми, кого видят руководители других государств, крупных компаний. Чтобы привлекать большие деньги, нужно уметь производить впечатление. И вот, что решили: в 94-м году всем казахстанским дипломатам стали выплачивать деньги на спецэкипировку: строгие, но дорогие костюмы, сорочки, галстуки. На авральное переобмундирование выдаются сразу по три с половиной оклада. Правда, недолго это продолжалось. Дальше - только за свой счет.

И сейчас даже удивительно, как на фоне соседей, оглядываясь на Узбекистан и Таджикистан, Грузию, Армению и Азербайджан, даже на Россию, как Казахстану в этих условиях удалось сохранить стабильность?

2016

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

В воскресенье в Республике Казахстан (РК) пройдут досрочные выборы депутатов нижней палаты парламента - Мажилиса, а также местных представительных органов - маслихатов. Решение о самороспуске действующий состав Мажилиса, состоящего из 107 депутатов, принял сам еще 14 января, основываясь в том числе на данных социологических опросов, которые показывали желание граждан видеть в парламенте новые лица и новые партии. О том, зачем нужны досрочные выборы, каковы стратегические задачи нового парламента и как это отразится на внутренней и внешней политике республики, "Российская газета" спросила председателя сената, верхней палаты парламента, Касым-Жомарта Токаева.

Уважаемый Касым-Жомарт Кемелулы, досрочные парламентские выборы всегда экстраординарное событие для политической системы страны, своеобразный стресс-тест. Что, кроме соображений бюджетной экономии, заставило депутатов нынешнего Мажилиса решиться на самороспуск?

Токаев: Предстоящие выборы в Казахстане досрочными можно считать номинально, поскольку они в любом случае должны были состояться в этом году. В мировой парламентской истории было немало подобных случаев, когда правящие партии инициировали проведение досрочных выборов. Экстраординарность данному событию придает не сам факт выборов, а весьма сложная и даже непредсказуемая ситуация в глобальной экономике и политике. Генрих Гейне говорил, что "у всякой эпохи свои задачи". Историческая миссия парламента прежнего созыва выполнена достойно, особенно в части качественного законодательного обеспечения нового этапа реформ в Казахстане - президентского плана нации "100 шагов". Показательно, что инициатива депутатов о досрочных выборах была с одобрением воспринята в обществе, люди понимают важность непрерывного движения вперед по пути реформ, в противном случае застой.

Много говорится, что политическую систему Казахстана ожидает переход от президентской к президентско-парламентской республике. Учитывается ли при этом риск популизма и национализма, сопровождающих глобальный кризис, влияние которого испытывает и Казахстан?

Токаев: Процесс усиления роли парламента в системе государственной власти начался не вчера. Еще в ходе конституционной реформы 2007 года полномочия парламента были значительно расширены, заметно возросла роль политических партий в формировании законодательного органа, укрепилось влияние местных представительных органов. Сегодня парламент помимо законодательных функций принимает непосредственное участие в кадровой политике государства путем дачи согласия на назначение президентом премьер-министра, главы национального банка, генерального прокурора, председателя комитета национальной безопасности, избирает и освобождает председателя и судей верховного суда и других важных должностных лиц.

Парламент Казахстана тщательно анализирует участие страны в экономических объединениях

На мой взгляд, роль парламента в Казахстане будет возрастать. Такая уверенность зиждется на стратегии президента Нурсултана Назарбаева, без преувеличения, выдающегося реформатора современности. Мы в Казахстане считаем, что политические реформы должны осуществляться выверенно, по мере становления среднего класса и развития гражданского общества. Упомянутые вами популизм и национализм являются не просто нежелательными, но и разрушительными "побочными явлениями" поспешных

реформ. Мы сторонники эволюционного развития государственности. Поэтому не исключаю, что в будущем Казахстан может перейти к парламентско-президентской системе, где наряду с сильным и полномочным парламентом будет действовать ответственное, транспарентное и подотчетное правительство. Разумеется, это лишь мое личное предположение, решающее слово за президентом и обществом.

Следовательно, окончательного выбора политической модели в Казахстане пока не сделано?

Токаев: Вопрос о том, какая политическая модель наиболее подходящая, беспокоил все народы во все времена. Казахстан как президентская республика достиг огромных успехов в социально-экономическом развитии, сумел "поставить" себя на карту мира как авторитетное государство. Другими словами, в период становления государственности президентская система полностью оправдала себя. Казахстан уверенно шел и идет вперед по пути реформ под сильным лидерством президента Нурсултана Назарбаева. Парламент неизменно играл в этом сложном процессе большую роль, принимая необходимые законы для юридического обеспечения государственной стратегии.

Что касается влияния парламента на внешнеполитический курс страны, отмечу, что согласно Конституции парламент решает вопросы войны и мира; принимает по предложению президента решения об использовании вооруженных сил для выполнения международных обязательств по поддержанию мира и безопасности; решает вопросы о государственных займах и оказании экономической и иной помощи; ратифицирует и денонсирует международные договоры. Но парламентское влияние на внешнюю политику государства осуществляется через президента, который является главным должностным лицом, определяющим внешнеполитический курс страны.

Какие изменения на новом политическом этапе претерпела программа лидирующей партии "Нур Отан"? Возможны ли пересмотр и дополнения президентской программы "100 конкретных шагов" и стратегии "Казахстан-2050" новым составом Мажилиса?

Токаев: Нынешняя предвыборная кампания отличается многообразием политических платформ. Персоналии кандидатов имеют большое, но не определяющее значение, так как граждан больше заботят ответы на ключевые вопросы дальнейшего развития страны в условиях экономического кризиса. Вполне закономерно, что тон кампании задает партия власти "Нур Отан" во главе с ее лидером президентом Нурсултаном Назарбаевым, который имеет четкое понимание текущего политического контекста и видение перспективы с точки зрения безболезненного выхода из сложной экономической ситуации, порожденной в основном противоречиями держав на глобальной арене. Предвыборный сезон интересен тем, что предоставляет возможность для общенационального диспута по ключевым вопросам развития. Я бы не хотел комментировать программы всех шести партий, участвующих в выборах. Однако не исключаю, что некоторые конструктивные предложения партий будут приняты на вооружение властью вне зависимости от исхода выборов. Все, что продиктовано реальной заботой о будущем государства, как правило, востребовано в политической жизни. Особенно если речь идет о борьбе с коррупцией, защите предпринимательства, развитии села, социальном обеспечении, модернизации образования, улучшении здравоохранения.

Существуют ли в Казахстане политические силы, имеющие альтернативный взгляд на участие Казахстана в евразийских интеграционных процессах и международных институтах?

Токаев: Альтернатива региональной кооперации - самоизоляция. Вряд ли такая перспектива получит шансы на широкую поддержку населения. Другое дело - качество интеграции. Работу, например, Евразийской экономической комиссии

сейчас справедливо критикуют не только в Казахстане, но и в других государствах - участниках ЕАЭС. От этого объединения как международной экономической организации ожидают большего. Следует своевременно выработать слаженный и эффективный алгоритм действий в интересах всех стран, вошедших в ЕАЭС. В этом суть работы Евразийской экономической комиссии, которой главы государств дали широкие полномочия.

Важно также не забегать вперед с разного рода публичными инициативами, которые лишь затрудняют текущую работу и препятствуют постепенному развитию ЕАЭС, укреплению его потенциала. Интеграция должна способствовать повышению благосостояния граждан, выведению наших стран на ведущие позиции в мировой экономике. Парламент Казахстана тщательно анализирует участие страны в экономических объединениях. В апреле этого года в сенате состоятся парламентские слушания по вопросу конкурентоспособности отечественного аграрного сектора в условиях ЕАЭС и ВТО. Ожидаем откровенный и конструктивный разговор с правительством с соответствующими практическими выводами.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

Published on 2 April 2016.

Source: http://www.dipacademy.ru/upload/iblock/1bb/vestnik_da-2_8-15-23.pdf

... В свое время Казахстан выступил инициатором создания Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС). Ныне ЕАЭС — экономический мегапроект, основанный на прагматизме и взаимной выгоде.

По предложению Казахстана 2016 год объявлен годом углубления экономических отношений ЕАЭС с другими государствами и интеграционными объединениями, включая АСЕАН. В прошлом году Вьетнам подписал соглашение о свободной торговле с ЕАЭС. Сингапур также выразил интерес к заключению подобного соглашения. Запуск ЕАЭС открывает для стран Азии возможность создавать совместные предприятия в Казахстане с выходом на рынки всех пяти стран ново- го объединения с более чем ставосьмидесятимиллионным населением и ВВП в 2,2 трлн долларов.

Kassym-Jomart Tokayev

Published on March 2016.

Source: http://www.dipacademy.ru/upload/iblock/72e/vestnik_da-2_8-24-27.pdf

Отмечается и растущий интерес целого ряда государств к деятельности нового интеграционного объединения — Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС), который в перспективе может стать важнейшим компонентом мировой экономики.

Роль и значение ЕАЭС тоже уже отмечалась в статье о четырех основных, на наш взгляд, трансформациях в Евразии. Следует, пожалуй, лишь добавить, что, говоря о более тесной интеграции в рамках ЕАЭС, нужно уже сейчас готовить молодежь к новому укладу экономики, где ключевую роль будут играть новейшие технологии и роботы. Отставание в этой сфере чревато тяжелыми последствиями для наших государств. Тем более, что уже сейчас из 210 млн безработных в мире более 75 млн — это молодежь не старше 25 лет.

Akezhan Kazhegeldin

Published on 23 September 2016 by *NewsEurasia*.

Source: <https://www.neweurasia.info/extra-1/6822-prezident-znaet-no-nehochet>

Предлагаем на суд читателей интервью Акежана Кажегельдина, которое ещё в июле этого года он дал газете «Караван», но которое так и не увидело свет в этом издании.

Стране для начала реформ необходимы, как минимум, две приблизительно равносильные политические партии. Исторический долг Нурсултана Назарбаева – оставить после себя хотя бы такую систему. Для этого хватит всего четырёх простых шагов президента навстречу демократии: выйти из «Нур Отана», поддержать возникновение второй партии, объявить досрочные парламентские выборы и дать возможность избраться кандидатам, как минимум, от двух партий.

Но для ясности ситуации предлагаем небольшую переписку автора интервью журналиста Айгуль Омаровой с Акежаном Магжановичем.

Итак, «Добрый день, Акежан Магжанович! Извините, что интервью не появилось ещё на страницах газеты. Всё дело в том, что Айдара Жумабаева – генерального директора Фонда первого президента (учредителя газеты) – нет в стране. То он был в отпуске, потом в командировке, теперь опять уехал. Он просил не публиковать без него. Так что ещё придётся подождать. Ещё раз извините! С уважением, Айгуль».

Ответ Кажегельдина: «Уважаемая Айгуль! Мне не знаком господин Жумабаев, я никогда о нем не слышал. Поэтому не считаю нужным связывать своё выступление в СМИ с географией его путешествий. Если редактор газеты «Караван» не имеет права публиковать без разрешения актуальные материалы, то стоит ему посочувствовать. Мы облегчим его нелёгкую участь, заберём интервью из «Каравана» и поищем такую газету, которой не потребуется разрешения Фонда первого президента Казахстана или других контор. Наши тексты живут своей жизнью в реальном времени. Охотно дам Вам, Айгуль, новое интервью, когда у Вас будут интерес и возможность. С уважением, Акежан Кажегельдин».

Экс-премьер переадресовал нам своё интервью с пометкой: «Я надеюсь, «ДАТ» не будет спрашивать разрешения у своих начальников и учредителей, т.к. у вас таковых нет».

И впрямь, разрешения нам спрашивать не у кого, а потому публикуем его интервью на страницах своего издания, естественно, при этом поставив в известность автора интервью.

На наш взгляд, ответы Акежана Кажегельдина настолько глубокие и сущностные, что интервью несколько не устарело по сути и содержанию. С учётом того, что, как известно, буквально недавно в Казахстане произошли серьёзные кадровые перестановки в органах исполнительной ветви власти, которые тем не менее оптимизма народу не прибавили. Дела по-прежнему дрянь. «Надо проводить реформы! – призывает Акежан Кажегельдин. – Пока же всё происходящее напоминает перестановку стульев на палубе «Титаника».

Накануне публикации мы, в свою очередь, взяли небольшой комментарий к этому интервью.

ДАТ: С того дня, как Вы дали это интервью газете «Караван», прошло почти два месяца. За это время в Казахстане появилось новое правительство, девятое за 25 лет независимости. Вносит ли это какие-то коррективы в те ответы, которые уже дал

Акежан

Кажегельдин?

Акежан Кажегельдин: Если бы девятое правительство чем-то отличалось от восьмого, восьмое – от седьмого и так далее, то на эту тему можно было бы подумать. Но они все одинаковые. Тем более, что разговор у меня идёт о принципиальных вещах, а не о том, как расставлять стулья на «Титанике».

Д: Ситуацию в стране можно сравнить с «Титаником»?

А.К.: Если придерживаться морских сравнений, то сравнивать надо, скорее, с пароходом «Челюскин», который дрейфовал в Ледовитом океане, скованный льдами. Пока не был ими раздавлен.

Д: Президент Назарбаев уверен, что в 2020 году в Казахстане «всё будет хорошо», потому что цены на нефть вырастут и начнётся добыча нефти на Кашагане. Возможно такое?

А.К.: Возможно и такое, возможно и прямо противоположное: цены могут упасть, ввод Кашагана опять отложат до лучших времён. Если не проводить новой индустриализации, не использовать имеющийся потенциал для привлечения инвестиций и технологий с мировых рынков, то Казахстан останется прикованным к нефтяной трубе. Гадания на нефтяной жиже – недостойное занятие для современного государства. Если бы глава Сингапура Ли Куан Ю в 50-е и 60-е годы ждал, что цена на природный каучук, который там заготавливали, снова повысится, и ничего бы не делал, то граждане Сингапура до сих пор бы ходили в набедренных повязках.

А в остальном – читайте интервью, там всё сказано достаточно ясно.

– Акежан Магжанович, давайте начнём нашу беседу с события, которое произошло недавно. Казахстан избран непостоянным членом Совета безопасности ООН. Что это может дать нашей стране, на Ваш взгляд? В то же время такое признание ценно в свете планов НАТО о расширении на Восток. Ваш комментарий?

– Непостоянное, то есть временное членство Республики Казахстан в Совете безопасности ООН – это результат очередной ротации в соответствии с Уставом ООН. Все государства время от времени занимают места в различных институтах ООН. В том числе – в Совете безопасности.

Само по себе это не является никаким особым признанием. До нас членом Совбеза была Ливия. Вместе с нами избраны Боливия и Эфиопия. Эти страны на признание мирового сообщества не претендуют. Потом на это место изберут Зимбабве. И что тогда нашим пропагандистам говорить? Вместо того, чтобы любоваться собой, МИДу бы стоило подумать, какие вопросы мировой политики, пользуясь возможностью, надо поставить на обсуждение в Совбезе. Я бы отказался от космических инициатив, которые с подачи западных консультантов остаются «фишкой» казахской дипломатии. Надо решать проблемы безопасности, предотвращения конфликтов из-за воды, которые ждут Центральную Азию в ближайшем будущем. Вернее, они уже разворачиваются, но пока не в форме вооружённых столкновений.

С расширением НАТО на Восток членство Казахстана в Совбезе ООН никак не связано. О членстве Казахстана в НАТО никто в здравом уме рассуждать не будет. Как минимум, в ближайшие 30 лет. Да и то, если перед нами в Североатлантический альянс вступит Россия. Но Казахстан давно является участником программы НАТО «Партнёрство во имя мира». В 1994 году Канат Саудабаев, тогдашний министр иностранных дел, подписал соглашение с НАТО – успел на месяц раньше российского министра Козырева.

Сотрудничество с НАТО важно и полезно с точки зрения военного образования и профессионального развития: офицеры из молодых государств общаются с коллегами, обмениваются с ними опытом, знакомятся с достижениями евроатлантической военной науки. Насколько мне известно, во вред это сотрудничество пошло только однажды, когда в 2004 году в Будапеште азербайджанский офицер, будучи на курсах НАТО, зарубил топором офицера из Армении.

– Процессы глобализации не обходят стороной и нас. Само геополитическое расположение Казахстана диктует необходимость интеграции. Сейчас это Евразийский экономический союз. Ваше отношение к ЕАЭС? Несмотря на то, что ЕАЭС действует уже несколько лет, многие начинания остаются без продолжения. Сам союз задумывался как инструмент для свободного прохождения товаров, рабочей силы, инноваций, технологий. Но барьеры в виде законодательных барьеров, бюрократических рогаток мешают свободе действий. На Ваш взгляд, что необходимо предпринять для реализации задуманного и того, чтобы ЕАЭС заработал в полную силу?

– Идея экономической интеграции соседних государств, тем более – связанных десятилетиями советского «разделения труда», занимала умы политиков с первых

дней независимости. Напомню, что первый договор о Таможенном союзе был подписан в 1994 году. Тогда в него вошли Россия, Казахстан и Белоруссия. Потом Россия пролоббировала вступление Кыргызстана. Тот Таможенный союз-1 так и не заработал, потому что напоролся на яростный саботаж чиновников всех стран – в первую очередь, пограничников и таможенников. Для них это означало «жить на одну зарплату», и они похоронили идею.

Хочется надеяться, что нынешний Таможенный союз-2, договор о котором был подписан в 2007 году, будет реализован в полном объёме – без «временных» изъятий, произвольных исключений, односторонних ограничений. Тут все зависит не столько от соглашений, сколько от процедуры их реализации. Серьёзно они продуманы? Метко прописаны?

Союзный договор 1922 года, на основании которого был создан СССР, предусматривал декларативное право выхода для республик, но не предлагал чёткую процедуру. Когда в 1989 году балтийские республики СССР попытались использовать это право, то непонятно было, как это сделать. Они начали действовать односторонне и встретились с насилием со стороны центральной власти. В результате после путча 1991 года все другие республики просто разбежались без всякой процедуры, без обязательств друг перед другом. Потом возникла цепь проблем с иностранными долгами, советским заграничным имуществом, территориальными противоречиями, вопросами двойного гражданства, пенсионного обеспечения, доступа к трубопроводам и транспортной инфраструктуре...

Месяц назад прошёл референдум в Британии о выходе из Европейского союза. С моей точки зрения, было принято ошибочное решение. Но надо заметить, что ни одно государство ЕС не попыталось оспорить право Великобритании на выход. Это важно. Никто не боится, что при «разводе» что-то не так поделят. Потому что все правила разработаны заранее, они известны. Более того, их ратифицировали по отдельности парламенты всех стран.

Евразийскому экономическому союзу очень важно не стать жертвой неработающих механизмов и непрозрачных договорённостей. Уверен, что граждане России, Казахстана, Белоруссии (и уж тем более – Кыргызстана) просто не знают условий Договора о Евразийском экономическом союзе, не читали текста, не слышали дискуссий, сами не участвовали в обсуждении. Этот основополагающий документ не обсуждался в обществе. Не было и нет площадок для споров евразийских энтузиастов и скептиков.

В Европейском союзе ежегодно происходят сотни споров между странами по любым вопросам – по квотам ловли рыбы, субсидиям фермерам, стандартам на пищевые продукты и так далее. Все 28 стран преследуют свои, зачастую противоречивые, интересы. Все хотят больше продавать, меньше платить, получать субсидии, не сталкиваясь с ограничениями. При этом каждый спор разрешается институтами ЕС в соответствии с процедурой, которая была заранее согласована. Всё так или иначе утрясается: что-то на совещании чиновников, что-то на заседании комитета соответствующих министров, что-то главами правительств или решением Европарламента, что-то в Европейском суде. Самые сложные вопросы выносятся на референдум.

Если мы стремимся к такому же уровню интеграции в ЕврАзЭС, то прежде всего необходимо «выровнять» национальные правила регулирования инвестиций, законы о защите конкуренции и борьбе с монополизмом, правила госзакупок, нормы работы госкорпораций. Это очень важно в силу того, что в странах ЕврАзЭС именно государства являются главными экономическими агентами, госорганы и госкомпаний выступают главными заказчиками. Надо, чтобы у казахской фирмы, производящей программное обеспечение, были такие же шансы на поставку своего продукта любому российскому министерству, вплоть до Минобороны. И наоборот – любая российская компания должна изначально иметь

право участвовать в конкурсе на поставки чего угодно «Темир жолы» или «Казатомпрому». Пока же, если такое случается, то либо в результате договорённостей на государственном уровне, либо за рекордный откат.

Для частного бизнеса важна гармонизация трудового и природоохранного законодательства. Чтобы можно было размещать производства там, где это экономически более целесообразно, без оглядки на «национальную специфику».

Но предметом нашей заботы, в первую очередь, должны являться народы. Они примут идею интеграции только, когда её поймут. Хотя все соглашения уже ратифицированы, необходимо провести референдумы в странах ЕврАзЭС, на которых народы должны сказать ясное «да» союзу на понятных им условиях.

После этого интеграция примет необратимый характер. Она перестанет зависеть от настроения Александра Григорьевича, Владимира Владимировича или Нурсултана Абишевича. Никакой следующий глава государства не сможет просто отменить эти договорённости, не рискнёт извратить их суть. После референдумов и простые люди, и бизнес смогут поверить, что евразийская интеграция – надолго. Может быть, навсегда. Во всяком случае, до тех пор, пока они сами не решат все изменить и не проголосуют за это на новом референдуме.

– В одном из интервью Вы сказали, что президент Назарбаев знает, как действовать в условиях экономического кризиса. Одним из условий выхода из него Вы назвали активные целенаправленные реформы. Актуально ли это и сегодня? Способно ли, на Ваш взгляд, нынешнее правительство вытащить страну из тупика, или нужно менять кадры? Один из способов укрепить экономику – инвестиции. Вы не однажды упоминали в интервью различным СМИ, что иностранные инвесторы должны сами выстраиваться в очередь в Казахстане. Чем обосновываете это?

– Уверен, что президент Назарбаев знает, что надо делать. Но не может решиться. Президент знает, как это делать. Но не хочет. Потому что надо прилагать последовательные усилия, надо мобилизовать интеллектуальные ресурсы, встряхнуть аппарат и заставить его работать. Надо быть готовым расставаться с привычными, но бесполезными кадрами и привлекать новых людей, не таких покорных и услужливых.

Правительство и обслуга из ближайшего окружения президента тоже убеждают его, что всё не так плохо, что чудо случится уже завтра. Может, нефть подорожает вдвое. Может, китайцы дадут кредит в 100 миллиардов. Может, шейхи из Залива инвестируют 200 миллиардов... Пока же проедают накопления из Фонда будущих поколений. Так и нынешнему поколению ничего не останется.

Реформы актуальны всегда, потому что изменение – это форма развития, а «стабильность» – форма упадка. Франклин Рузвельт, президент США, говорил своим соратникам в годы Великого кризиса: «Если вы хотите уцелеть – проводите реформы». А у нас надеются уцелеть, ничего не делая.

Программы типа «Казахстан-2030» и последующие при всей прогрессистской риторике были направлены на консервацию ситуации в стране, а не на её развитие. Ещё немного застоя – и президенту не удастся сохранить даже того исторического наследия, которое образовалось в результате обретения независимости и становления государства.

Реформы конца 90-х были прерваны произвольно – и только по политическим причинам. Их продолжение должно было привести к появлению в Казахстане сильного класса национальных собственников. Ближний круг президента был против. В начале 2000-х реформы были невозможны, потому что всё его окружение занималось разбором собственности. После кризиса 2008–2009 годов непреодолимым барьером для реформ стало правительство. По сути, оно было и остаётся единственным «бенефициаром» кризиса. Все страдают, кроме них.

Сегодня противников реформ нет. Все понимают, что без них экономика рухнет в течение года, вообще нечем будет платить бюджетникам и пенсионерам. Но нет института, способного провести реформы. Смотрите сами: правительство – самое бездарное за всю историю. По сравнению с ними, в кабинете Сергея Терещенко были сплошь афинские мудрецы.

Парламент – пустышка, второго такого собрания случайных людей даже на автовокзале в Каскелене не встретить. Если можно председателя парламента за полчаса пересадить в кресло председателя союза ветеранов, то так же можно было назначить его председателем союза ветеринаров. А ветеринара оттуда поставить в парламент... Депутаты сами это понимают и все время пытаются досрочно «самораспуститься».

Политические партии – пустые оболочки. Не имеет смысла их обсуждать. Профессиональные и общественно-политические сообщества – ложные величины. Точно так же, как организации бизнесменов или профсоюзы. Когда-то они были реальной силой. Вероятно, в будущем опять ею станут. Но пока это – чистая фикция.

В качестве возможных двигателей реформы остаются два субъекта общественной жизни: президент и народ. Других игроков на площадке нет. У президента остаётся возможность инициативы. Если он её упустит, процесс запустит народ – через массовые протесты. Кто видел последние акции протеста, понимает, что у нашего народа есть силы добиться своего.

Без реформ не будет подъёма в экономике. Те иностранные инвестиции, что были мобилизованы в 90-х годах, уже потратили, проели, украли. Внутренних источников инвестиций в стране не создали. Значит, надо опять привлекать капиталы с мирового рынка. Деньги на нем есть, но почему владельцы должны вкладывать в Казахстан? Раньше мы привлекали их рыночной экономикой, приватизированной промышленностью, устойчивой валютой, образованными кадрами, преимуществами правового государства и доступными природными богатствами. Теперь из всех преимуществ остались только природные богатства, да и на те цены упали. Нужна новая программа инвестиций, которая привлечёт капитал новыми возможностями, решающими для бизнеса в XXI веке. Такая программа у меня есть, она выполнима.

Первые инвестиции пришли в Казахстан на волне реальной приватизации. То, что идет сейчас, – это мнимая приватизация. Например, «Казтелеком»: одни якобы иностранные инвесторы продают доли другим, якобы иностранным инвесторам. Поскольку это одни и те же наши земляки, никаких денег от такой «приватизации» бюджет не получит. За их манипуляциями просматривается попытка спрятать концы в воду. Вряд ли получится, учитывая то, что расследования ведут американские и европейские агентства.

Давайте следить за скандалом с малайзийским премьер-министром, который вдруг стал владельцем почти миллиарда долларов. Он уверял, что это не взятки, а пожертвования арабского шейха. Вроде даже шейх нашёлся, подтвердил свой подарок. Но американские прокуроры проследили все транзакции и заявили, что деньги – коррупционного происхождения. Казахский премьер (имеет в виду Карима Масимова – «D») своими манипуляциями с активами «Казтелекома» может навлечь на страну позор не меньше малайзийского коллеги.

– Всё новое – это хорошо забытое старое. В Казахстане собираются возродить ФОМС. Но мы помним, как всё печально когда-то закончилось с попыткой введения этого новшества. Что надо делать сейчас, чтобы избежать повторения ошибок?

– Чтобы избежать повторения ошибок, не надо их повторять. Если они повторяются, то это уже не ошибки, а корыстные интересы чиновников, отвечающих за медицину и социальное страхование. Системы обязательного

медицинского страхования прекрасно работают во многих странах, не только богатых. В Руанде, например.

Первая и самая жёсткая рекомендация: никакой банк не должен превратить деньги ФОМС в свой актив. Правительство и законодатель должны разработать такие правила, чтобы даже ни «Нурбанк», даже ни «Народный банк» не имели доступа к деньгам фонда. А дальше надо просто взять и исполнить то, что давно продумано социал-демократическими правительствами западных стран. Если это ещё не сделано, значит, люди в правительстве заинтересованы в нынешней системе, при которой богатые лечатся за границей, а бедные страдают от болезней и недоступности современной медицинской помощи.

– Другой резерв – возвращение в страну денег отечественных бизнесменов, выведенных в офшоры. Помнится, Вы активно включались в процесс возвращения таких денег. Как сейчас обстоят дела?

– В прошлом году я опубликовал в казахской прессе несколько статей, в которых чётко изложил свой подход к возвращению капиталов в страну. Надо только уточнить: владельцами огромной части 150 миллиардов долларов, вывезенных за рубеж, являются не бизнесмены. Где вы видели столько таких богатых предпринимателей?

Большая часть зарубежных богатств принадлежит бизнесменам при власти, которые зарабатывают за счёт своих покровителей в правительстве и администрации. Зарабатывают на бюджете и заказах госкорпораций. Понятно, что одни с другими делятся. Но самые богатые наши заграничные клочки – это чиновники. Высшие чиновники богаты сказочно, средние – очень, низшие – просто богаты.

Мы с коллегами достигли прогресса в расследовании ситуации с казахскими деньгами и собственностью на Западе. Доказательства найдены, несколько имён и банков названы. Можно было объявить и других владельцев активов. Но вопрос упирается в позицию государства: что оно намерено с этими деньгами делать? В соцсетях развернулась дискуссия, и преобладает мнение, что вернуть эти деньги сейчас в страну – значит дать их разграбить снова.

Поэтому прежде надо принять правильный закон о репатриации капиталов и обеспечить реальный общественный контроль, чтобы поступающие деньги стали локомотивом новой модернизации экономики. Причём делать это надо очень быстро. В противном случае власти западных стран конфискуют сомнительные средства наших богачей в бюджеты тех стран, где они сейчас спрятаны. Да ещё и наложат 100-процентные штрафы, как на Гульнару Каримову и её партнёров по телекоммуникационному бизнесу в Узбекистане.

– Во время Вашего премьерства страна начала переходить на новую пенсионную систему. Помнится, уже тогда предлагалось повысить возраст выхода на пенсию, однако тогда на это не пошли, но решили через 20 лет реализовать те планы и вызвали недовольство населения. Как это прокомментируете?

– Современная пенсионная система – это не столько пенсии, сколько механизм генерирования доходов, из которых эти пенсии выплачиваются. До сих пор в Казахстане деньги на пенсии берутся не из доходов пенсионной системы, а из зарплаты работающих. Поколение родителей выходит на пенсии, государство платит им не из доходов, а из зарплаты детей. Когда дети выйдут на пенсию, из чего будет им платить? Вроде как из зарплаты внуков. Но где гарантии, что они достаточно заработают? В кризисы доходы работающих падают, скрытая и явная безработица порождает серый рынок труда, где никто никаких отчислений не платит и гарантий не даёт. Тут хоть повышай пенсионный возраст, хоть понижай. Как говорится, «денег нет, но вы держитесь»!

Мы начинали создавать пенсионную систему, которая не только распределяет деньги, но и сама их зарабатывает. Если бы президент Назарбаев не поддался на запугивания тех, кто боялся возникновения крупного национального инвестора в

стране, наша экономика сегодня была бы в принципиально другом состоянии. Десять лет высоких цен на сырье бесцельно потеряны, в пенсионных фондах не накопилось активов, которые могли бы генерировать прибыль, достаточную для выплаты достойных пенсий.

Но это не безнадежно: надо превратить пенсионные фонды в институты развития экономики. Для этого придется национализировать нынешние национальные компании и передать их акции в собственность пенсионных фондов. Отчисления граждан в пенсионные фонды будут инвестироваться в экономику и станут ресурсом внутреннего развития. А дивиденды нацкомпаний пойдут не на заоблачные зарплаты менеджеров, а на обеспечение достойной старости.

Так будет. Другого пути в постиндустриальную эпоху просто нет. Норвежские пенсионеры не страдают от того, что цена на нефть упала вдвое. Не должны страдать и казахские пенсионеры.

– В мае этого года вспыхнули страсти по возможной продаже земли иностранцам. Дальнейшую эскалацию удалось остановить указом президента о моратории на отдельные статьи Земельного кодекса. Что сейчас конкретно нужно делать, чтобы земля использовалась эффективно и появились настоящие хозяева земли?

– Народ высказался внятно и однозначно: надо отменить Земельный кодекс целиком и всенародно обсудить его новый вариант. Продажа земли иностранцам и продажа вообще невозможны. Так считает народ. Точка.

Замечательно, что президент Назарбаев созвал общественную комиссию для обсуждения земельного законодательства. Она доказала свою работоспособность. Практически это – первый случай общественной экспертизы важного государственного акта за двадцать лет. До сих пор дрессированные «одобрятели» поддерживали любые действия властей. Теперь появилась группа людей, пользующихся общественным доверием, которая сказала: «Подождите! Надо разобраться. Народ считает по-другому...».

Для того, чтобы казахский аул и русское село не умирали, необходимо остановить монополизацию земли помещиками-латифундистами. Они грабят фермеров, ставят их в безвыходную ситуацию: отдать свою продукцию за бесценок или умереть с голоду. Чтобы крестьяне голодали при мировом росте цен на продовольствия – это как надо извратить законы свободного рынка?!

Фермерам нужны доступные кредиты и конкурентная система закупок. Дайте возможность независимым предпринимателям строить новые элеваторы – и закупочные цены на зерно моментально вырастут. Из возросших доходов крестьяне смогут выплачивать банкам кредиты. Важным моментом развития сельского хозяйства является сохранение малых и средних городов. Искусственное стимулирование городов-миллионников – это ошибка. Если жизнь уйдет из малых городов Казахстана, то аулы просто одичают, страна опустеет. У нас же хотят, чтобы население всей страны металось между тремя «мегаполисами»: Алматы, Астаной и почему-то Шымкентом.

В сельскохозяйственных штатах США огромное число малых городков, никто их не укрупняет. В них перерабатывают продукцию с ферм, ремонтируют технику, там люди учатся, лечатся, совершают покупки, смотрят кино, занимаются спортом.

– Акежан Магжанович, не могу не спросить Вас, чем конкретно Вы занимаетесь сейчас, живя за рубежом? Говорили, что Вы являетесь советником правительств многих стран, в частности, Аргентины. Это так? Некоторые СМИ писали о том, что Вы играете на бирже. Якобы Вас видели в Лондоне, Стамбуле, Сингапуре за этим занятием. Насколько эти сведения достоверны или это – слухи?

– Когда говорят, что кто-то консультирует правительства, то это не значит, что человек ходит с утра в Дом правительства и там до вечера всем что-то советует, советует... В случаях, когда правительствам или корпорациям надо оценить какую-

то ситуацию перед принятием решения, они иногда обращаются ко мне. Как правило, это касается Ближнего Востока и Центральной Азии.

Я никогда не консультировал правительство Аргентины. Эта огромная страна, похожая по территории на нашу, население интернациональное по происхождению и очень трудолюбивое. Но Аргентина долго управлялась одной семьёй социалистов по фамилии Кишнер: сначала президентом был муж, потом жена. Они довели страну до дефолта. Надеюсь, что новому правительству удастся оживить экономику и оздоровить финансы. Слухи о моем сотрудничестве с правительством Аргентины возникли, вероятно, от того, что я консультировал крупных инвесторов в горнодобывающую промышленность и привёл туда специалистов из России, моих бывших коллег – геологов и горняков. Что касается биржи, то она не похожа на казино. Там люди не играют, а работают. Возраст тех, кто выдерживает эту работу, редко превышает 40 лет. Так что я давно хотя бы по возрасту «перерос» эту деятельность. Но знаю устройство и принципы работы биржи, знаю хорошо.

– Во всемирной паутине сегодня немало материалов о так называемом панамском деле. Упоминается и Ваша фамилия. Как Вы это прокомментируете?

– История в интернете меня самого сначала удивила, а потом стало понятно, что это отголоски какой-то чужой битвы: одна журналистка решила разоблачить одного адвоката, который представлял одну компанию. Но получилась история о том, как из блохи пытались пошить голенище. Да кожи не хватило.

Учитывая многолетнее внимание, которое проявляли к моей персоне всевозможные органы, многократно проверено и засвидетельствовано, что у меня нет оффшорных счетов и оффшорных компаний. Ни в Панаме, ни в других юрисдикциях. Я получаю доходы и аккуратно плачу налоги там, где живу и работаю.

– В своё время Вы были одним из тех управленцев, кто считал, что сначала экономика, а потом политические реформы. Изменились ли Ваши взгляды сегодня? Многие годы Вы пребываете в разных странах, приобрели бесценный опыт и знания, можете сравнивать. Чего недостаёт нам? Как Казахстану встать в один строй с цивилизованными странами мира?

– Мы с единомышленниками, действительно, считали, что рывок в экономических реформах позволит возникнуть той социальной группе, которая станет сторонником и опорой демократического тренда в политическом развитии страны. И тогда произойдет настоящее разделение ветвей власти, установится настоящее верховенство закона. Это было предметом спора в руководстве Казахстана, в результате которого я ушёл из правительства.

В наших условиях демократия – это не вопрос вкуса или приличий. Казахстану, чтобы сохранить независимость и целостность, необходима ответственная и подотчётная власть. Для этого требуется парламент, избираемый на условиях конкуренции в одномандатных округах, а не так, как сейчас – по партийным спискам, да ещё и при однопартийной по сути системе!

Стране для начала реформ необходимы, как минимум, две приблизительно равносильные политические партии. Исторический долг Нурсултана Назарбаева – оставить после себя хотя бы такую систему. Для этого хватит всего четырёх простых шагов президента навстречу демократии: выйти из «Нур Отана», поддержать возникновение второй партии, объявить досрочные парламентские выборы и дать возможность избраться кандидатам, как минимум, от двух партий. Предвыборная борьба сама потребует свободы прессы для представления позиций противоборствующих партий. Вслед за этим на местах возникнет настоящее самоуправление, потому что люди должны решать свои проблемы сами. Самостоятельный парламент призовет к ответу правительство. И министрам не останется ничего иного, как эффективно руководить своими ведомствами. Звучит,

как сказка, но ведь именно так живут многие страны и народы. Казахстан может переместиться из позорного круга отсталых режимов в сообщество современных государств в течение нескольких месяцев. Вопрос: произойдет это по инициативе и под руководством президента Назарбаева или уже без его участия?

2017

Bakhytzhn Sagintayev

Published on 7 March 2017 by *Knews.kg*

Source: <http://knews.kg/2017/03/bakytzhan-sagintaev-eaes-za-dva-goda-sostoyalsya-kak-effektivnoe-integratsionnoe-obedinenie/>

Context: At a meeting of the Eurasian Intergovernmental Council in Bishkek, Prime Minister of Kazakhstan Bakytzhan Sagintayev.

ЕАЭС за два года состоялся как эффективное интеграционное объединение, сказал на заседании Евразийского межправсовета в Бишкеке премьер-министр Казахстана Бакытжан Сагинтаев.

Он отметил, что эти годы были непростыми для стран союза, сказывается влияние внешних факторов и нестабильность на финансовых и торговых рынках. По его словам, торговля снизилась на 0,7%, взаимный товарооборот снизился на 11%.

«В такой обстановке важно консолидировать усилия для наращивания торговли между нашими странами. Ключевыми вопросами в этой деятельности становятся вопросы устранения барьеров и ограничений. Эту работу необходимо осуществлять системно и поэтапно. Комиссиями экспертов государств уже проделана значительная работа в этом направлении. Так, согласован реестр из более чем 60 барьеров и ограничений. В дальнейшем будут разработаны дорожные карты по их устранению, что позволит значительно упростить доступ для наших предприятий на общие рынки, а также создать условия для их развития», – сказал Сагинтаев.

Еще одним направлением работы является создание лучших условий работы для бизнеса и производителей.

«Предприниматели ожидают позитивного эффекта от создания общего рынка в рамках интеграции наших стран. Поэтому важно разработать общие правила игры. В этой связи бизнес наших стран ожидает скорейшего принятия Таможенного кодекса. Мы надеемся, что уже в ближайшее время кодекс будет подписан всеми странами союза и до конца этого года вступит в силу. При этом мы заинтересованы в совместном решении всего комплекса вопросов, возникающих в сфере таможенной очистки. Так, по оценкам таможенных служб намечаются возможные риски недостаточного налогового администрирования при перетоке китайских товаров на территорию Кыргызстана. Об этом свидетельствует в частности рост транзитных перевозок через Казахстан в 2016 году по сравнению с 2015 годом в 9,5 раза. В узком составе об этом говорили и есть поручение комиссии нашей о создании рабочей группы и о том, чтобы на майском встрече нам об этом доложили», – добавил премьер-министр РК.

Kairat Abdrakhmanov

Published on 22 April 2017 by *Kabar*.

Source: <http://kabar.kg/news/glavy-mid-kyrgyzstana-i-kazakhstana-obsudili-ispolzovanie-tek-v-regione/>

Министр иностранных дел Республики Казахстан Кайрат Абдрахманов встретился с министром иностранных дел Кыргызской Республики Эрланом Абдылдаевым. По сообщению пресс-службы МИД Казахстана, министр Э. Абдылдаев находится в Астане для участия в заседании Совета министров иностранных дел Шанхайской организации сотрудничества.

«Кыргызстан для Казахстана - стратегический партнер и союзник. Сегодня наблюдается высокая динамика развития двустороннего сотрудничества между нашими странами», - открывая двустороннюю встречу, подчеркнул Кайрат Абдрахманов. В ходе беседы министры в конструктивном и доверительном ключе рассмотрели актуальные вопросы казахстанско-кыргызской повестки дня. Особое внимание было уделено вопросам рационального использования водных ресурсов в Центральной Азии. Собеседники договорились активизировать совместную работу по расширению приграничного сотрудничества и созданию благоприятных условий для взаимных поездок и общения граждан двух стран. Главы внешнеполитических ведомств также обсудили взаимодействие в рамках Евразийского экономического союза и реализацию договоренностей, достигнутых между главами государств в ходе заседания Высшего Евразийского экономического совета в Бишкеке 14 апреля. Стороны также подчеркнули значимость продолжения координации по продвижению общих интересов Центральной Азии на глобальном уровне, в том числе в контексте членства Казахстана в Совете безопасности ООН в 2017-2018 годы.

Appendix 3

Table 3.1. Table for national role conceptions.

#	NATIONAL ROLE CONCEPTION	EXPLANATION
1.	Committed member	This is one of the most basic role conceptions, this role implies that a member state will continue to contribute and fulfil its obligations in a vague sense. There are no specific practical tasks that result from this role, but it exerts a general pressure upon policy.
2.	Leader	This role conception implies that a state is willing to be the most dominant and vocal member within a given integration initiative. It is not necessarily compatible with the equal / voluntary union promoter role as the state that expresses this role may view themselves as more important than their partners, or at least more able to contribute to the integration initiative.
3.	Center of the integration	This role is associated with states that perceive themselves to be in a prime geographical location that they can use to their advantage and also to the benefit of their partners. It also relates to the potential contribution the state feels it can make economically and politically.
4.	Integration driver	This role implies unconditional enthusiasm for the integration initiative and the desire to ensure that all member states share this enthusiasm while also meeting their commitments. A state inhabiting this role will seek to motivate partners and push through policy.
5.	Coordinator	This role requires the state to ensure the efforts of member states are as effective as they can be. It is related to the integration driver role, but differs insofar as it relates to more day-to-day administration. It is a subset of the leader role.
6.	Progenitor / Initiator	This role is also related to the leadership role. It concerns to the desire for status by ensuring partner states recognize the value of their contribution to the region.
7.	Equal / voluntary union promoter	A state occupying this role will always attempt to push through a narrative of voluntary association between members based on the assumption that all members share an equal status in the union. It is not necessarily compatible with the leader role
8.	Economic union promoter	This role relates to the desire to ensure economics, and not politics or military security is prioritized. A state expressing the desire to play this role is likely to be assertive in terms of the tone of their rhetoric as others may need to be convinced of the merits of this direction.

9.	Full-spectrum integration promoter	This role is the antithesis to the economic union promoter role. It implies that a state sees its function as convincing other partners that the most viable and efficient option is for deeper integration across all spheres of action. A state expressing the desire to play this role is likely to be assertive in terms of the tone of their rhetoric as others may need to be convinced of the merits of this direction.
10.	Global Competitor / Competitor to Europe	This role relates to the desire to promote and drive competition with other political associations.
11.	Bridging state	A state that connects the political or economic interests of otherwise disparate unions. For example, connecting the interests of the East and the West. It is usually expressed by states in a favorable geographical location.
12.	Transit State	Geography also plays an important part in this role. It is exhibited by states that wish to act as a thoroughfare for goods, services, and people in the hope that they will receive some economic benefit as a result. States that have historically acted in this capacity are more likely to exhibit this role
13.	Defender of the integration	As the name implies, this is a rhetorically-defensive role. States adopting this role take it upon themselves to defend the integration from criticisms from non-members.
14.	Integration facilitator	This role is another derivative of the leader role. A state playing this role desires to be seen as the “go-to” for launching new initiatives or accepting new members. It implies that that state sees itself as relatively authoritative.
15.	Equal member	This role is the expression of the desire to be on a level playing field with the other member states in the union. It implies that they have no desire to be pressured into making decisions by other, more economically, politically, or militarily, powerful states
16.	Industrial base / hub	This role would be exhibited by states who feel they have a strong manufacturing industry and the ambition to build stronger industry in the future. It implies that regional industrial projects and R&D could be based in that country.
17.	Investment haven	This role is likely to be displayed by a state that has a strong or burgeoning financial services sector to the extent that they are confident of attracting large investments either from partners or from countries outside of the union.
18.	Peripheral partner	This role is the antithesis of the committed partner role. It is the expression of the desire to remain in the integration, but without being tied into its institutions. This would allow that state

		to simultaneously pursue opportunities elsewhere.
19.	Subordinate	This role is the antithesis of the equal member. It is also the only arguably negative role conception on the list. A state exhibiting this role is likely to be a weaker state comparative to others in the union, that recognizes its lower status, and is content with playing a more passive role in the decision-making processes of the union.
20.	Problem solver	Barriers to growth are inevitable when forming any union and a state that expresses the desire to play this role feels confident in its ability to overcome these barriers for the collective good.
21.	Pioneer / innovator	This role relates to the state's ability to create new and constructive initiatives that are mutually beneficial to all member states. A state expressing this role has confidence in the maturity and experience of its policy makers and, thus, will likely be a more politically-stable state.
22.	Russia's right-hand man	This role is in some respects related to the subordinate role in that it recognizes the importance of the hegemon (in this case Russia). By attempting to be viewed as the right-hand man, it implies a role as second in command.