

Kazakhstan's Eurasianism as the basis of state policy

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Abstract: The concept of Eurasianism is a mainly philosophical and political definition, which in different periods of historical development has been interpreted by state and public figures, researchers based on their scientific and national political interests. In the classic version, it was proposed a century ago, but in the twenty-first century the concept has received a new impetus thanks to the initiative of First President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev taken in 1994. Over the years, the President of Kazakhstan has not only theoretically developed the conceptual foundations of Kazakhstan's Eurasianism in his writings, but emphatically promoted the formation of a real and effective structure of the Eurasian Union at all its levels and in all respects. Kazakhstan's Eurasianism has become the ideological basis of state policy, which is reflected in the domestic, regional and multi-vector foreign policy of our country. The aim of the article is to study the theoretical basis of Kazakhstan's Eurasianism and its implementation in the public policy of the country at different levels. The author focuses on the concept papers put forward by President Nursultan Nazarbayev since 1994 to the present days.

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1. Introduction

Eurasianism is a philosophical and political movement that determines the uniqueness of the Eurasian continent. It originated in the environment of post-revolutionary immigration in the early 20s of the XX century. In the thirties, Eurasianism as a movement ceased to exist. The ideas of Eurasianism were revived in the 60s by the eminent scientist L.N. Gumilev. Being an adherent of the representatives of classical Eurasianism in the person of P. Savitsky, L. Gumilev continued their tradition. In his interpretation, ethnicity, superethnos, ethnogenesis, and the theory of passionarity were main determinants in the Eurasian idea. Gumilev developed his ideas on these terms in his writings "Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere", "Millennium around the Caspian Sea", and "From Rus' to Russia", and "Rhythms of Eurasia". The ideas of secular fellowship, cohesion and unity of the Eurasian peoples have deep historical interpretation in L. Gumilev works. His ideas as the basis of the convergence of ethnic groups on the basis of cultural principles were particularly strongly supported after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In modern conditions, at this stage, due to promotion of the project to create the future of the Eurasian Union by President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev, Eurasianism acquires a new meaning in a political context. Kazakhstan's leadership understands Eurasianism as a multilateral dialogue on the basis of the integration in the economic, cultural and other spheres.

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev introduced and developed his own vision, policies, perceptions and values of Eurasianism which he has been propagating and practicing on a continuous and consistent basis. In fact, the concept of Eurasianism and Eurasian policies have turned into state ideologies which are reflected in domestic, regional and foreign policies as well as in the foundation of the recent regional integration process. Kazakhstan's vision of Eurasianism and creation of the Eurasian Union based on Eurasian solidarity is an official policy (ideology) developed, launched and being implemented by Nursultan Nazarbayev, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan that fundamentally differs from those of Russian, Turkish and others forms in terms of underlying goals, objectives, methods, directions and mechanisms of implementation [1].

Since that time domestic researchers began to pay attention to the study of the topic.

In Kazakhstan science, there are publications on theoretical and practical identity of the 'classical' Eurasianism, its transformation into a modern form of 'neo-Eurasianism', as well as the possibilities and prospects of the Eurasian project in the form of integration processes. This issue became actively investigated after the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev had stated the Project "On creation of the Eurasian Union" in 1994. His book "Eurasian Union: Ideas, Practice and Prospects" became a strategic document of the Eurasian concept of the leadership of Kazakhstan [2]. A complex work

“Nazarbayev’s Eurasian Doctrine”, in which all the speeches of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev on Eurasianism and experts’ opinions can be found, was useful for considering the evolution of the Eurasian concept of N.A. Nazarbayev and its implementation in the cultural, economic cooperation [3].

The origins of Eurasianism, the role of the Eurasian idea of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev in the modern integration processes became a hot topic for Kazakhstani researchers and politicians. Experts as Tokaev [4], Mansurov [5], Sultanov [6-7], Laumulin [8], Zhumagulov [9-10], Nyssanbaev [11], Mukhamedzhanova [12], Kasenova [13] generally consider the concept of Eurasianism and its realization by Kazakhstani leadership.

As the young researcher E. Tulegenov defended his candidate dissertation “Implementation of the ideas of the Eurasian Union in Kazakhstan” in the Kazakh language [14].

To honor the importance of Lev Nikolayevich Gumilev as the theorist of neo-Eurasianism, Eurasian National University named after L.N. Gumilev was established in Astana. To hold annual Eurasian forums or symposiums on the modern perception of his heritage is a good tradition. One of the recent events is holding the X Eurasian International Scientific Forum “Ethnos and the culture of Eurasia: Past and Present” in Astana. It was attended by scientists and politicians from a number of SIC countries and foreign ones: France, Germany, Russia, China, Turkey, Hungary, Bulgaria, Belarus, the Netherlands, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, etc.

In modern Russian, Western historiography, there are various studies devoted to the works of the classics of the movement, Lev Gumilev’s heritage and perception of Eurasian concept in modern Russia. Among them Dugin’s works have an especially great authority due to his being a leader of the Eurasian movement. In his papers and interviews, Dugin considers the works of the representatives of classical Eurasianism, their geopolitical concepts and the role of Eurasianism at the present stage. He also focuses on the importance of the Eurasian idea as a national one [15].

In the Russian science, Eurasianism issues are also widely covered in the works of A. Panarin [16-17]. In his research, Panarin focused on the preservation of the identity of Russia in the conditions of growing geopolitical challenges. Also the collective research work on Eurasianism is very important [18]

Also Eurasian issues, the works of theorists and modern views are published in the periodical Journal of Library Assembly of Eurasia.

Eurasianism is also a matter of interest for Western researchers who have devoted to it both research articles and monographs. In her work, Marlene Laruelle assesses the concept of Eurasianism, studies the works of theorists and modern accents of Eurasianism in Russia, Kazakhstan and Turkey [19]. Authors like Erickson [20], Shlapentokh [21, 22], and Koshino Go [23], Bassin [24], Gleason [25], Cutler [26], Weitz [27], Olcott [28], Sengupta [29], Golam [1], Gente [30], and others can be included to this group.

All these issues are, to some extent, covered in the domestic and foreign studies on the Eurasian topics. However, at present there are very few works devoted to the study of a new understanding of the concept of Kazakhstan’s Eurasianism in a political perspective. The governments of Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus regard the Eurasian concept as the basis of regional economic integration. In practice, Eurasianism, as a unifying idea, has already acquired a political character. In this regard, this article is an attempt to study the theoretical framework of the Eurasian idea and its new understanding of Kazakhstan’s leadership as the basis of state policy.

2. Material and Methods

Research methods are based on empirical data as works of theorists of Eurasian Movement and President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev. Taking into account that the future of Eurasian continent is determined by the tendencies of the world development, the study was conducted with the use of the methods of a particular branch of knowledge, namely the internationally forecasting. For example, in the analysis of the present stage of evolution of Eurasianism concept, objective and time analogy methods, the collective expert assessment and scenario, the method of possible or desirable model have also proved themselves useful. In the study, special attention will be paid to descriptive and prescriptive (normative) prognoses.

For carrying out our research we used the materials of electronic mass media, to be exact the Internet site representing statistical information as an informative base.

Classical Eurasianism is a social and philosophical teaching of ideological and political movement of the Russian émigré community that manifested itself the most actively in the 1920s and 1930s of the last century. It determines the uniqueness of the Eurasian continent [31].

According to Russian geo-politicians, it is important to distinguish two stages in the development of the Eurasian movement.

The first one is the appearance of the Eurasian idea in the environment of post-revolutionary immigration in the early 20’s. The

representatives of the various sciences are considered the founders of the Eurasian movement; they are linguist and philologist Prince N.S. Trubetskoy (1890-1938), geographer and economist P.N. Savitsky (1895-1968), an Orthodox theologian, later a priest and historian of culture G.V. Florovsky (1893-1979), fine art expert P.P. Suvchinsky (1892-1985), historian G. Vernadsky, jurispudent and political scientist N.N. Alekseev, historian of culture, literary critic and theologian V.N. Ilyin, historian Erenzhen Khara-Davan.

Eurasian movement emerged in the conditions of reforming the political system of Russia. Fledgling Soviet power had to take into consideration the opinion of the world community. To 'save face' and avoid being branded an unnecessarily cruel supporter of terrorist methods of solving the ideological and political problems, the power 'allowed' its opponents to go abroad. Russian emigrants, who were expelled from Soviet Russia in the 20s of the last century, tried to understand the reasons which led to the October Revolution of 1917. Their opinions were divided. Their findings were inconsistent too. Some of them regarded the revolution as a logic process and hoped that Russia would take the path of capitalism. They believed that it was going to become a parliamentary republic, copying the model of the Anglo-French democracy. Others rated the event as an unfortunate mistake in the historical development of the country. And more enlightened people tried to ground a model cultural and political development of Russia, which was entirely new for the world community and based on the Eurasian concept put forward by them [32]. It was the N.S. Trubetskoy, P.N. Savitsky, G. Vernadsky, N. Toll, and E. Khara Davan.

In their writings, Eurasianists paid great attention to the role of Russia on the Eurasian continent. They continued the tradition of the Slavophiles, such as K. Leontiev, N. Danilevsky who emphasized the uniqueness of the Russian Empire through the prism the world history of existing empires. According to K. Leontiev's work «Byzantinism and the Slavism», he considered the resolution of Eastern question and occupation of Constantinople to be one of the ways of salvation of Russia. It was the city, with which cherished, 'crazy' dreams of that part of Russian society, which thought Russia to be the heiress of Byzantium, were associated. The pan-Slavist Konstantin Leontiev (1831-1891) was one of the first authors to introduce naturalist elements in his philosophy of history: according to him, there was one unique law that determined the development of plant, animal, and human worlds, and therefore of history. Convinced of historical fatalism, he denounced European

anthropocentrism, the biological weakening of the West caused by Democratization. He called Russia to react and claim an autocracy, to refuse social leveling in the name of material well-being [33].

The ideas of N. Danilevsky had the most significant influence on the formation of the Eurasian concept. He formulated the theory of cultural-historical types as the antithesis of universalistic conceptions of history, which were of clearly Eurocentric character. The Eurocentrism was based on the rationalist theory of progress with its interpretation of history as a one-dimensional linear process.

In his writings, Danilevsky contrasted Russia and Europe from a geopolitical point of view and in a historical context, wondering, «Why is Europe hostile to Russia?»: «The fact is that Europe does not acknowledge our being its part. It reckons Russia and the Slavs in general as something foreign to it, and at the same time, as something that cannot be simple material from which it could derive its benefits, as it derives them from China, India, Africa, most of America, etc. Therefore, Europe sees Russia in Rus' and reckons the Slavs as not only alien, but hostile nature» [34]. Thus, in the major works, the Slavophiles bound up the future of Russia with the fortunes of the Orthodoxy, thereby emphasizing the uniqueness and peculiarity of Russian culture. Also, they were opponents of Eurocentrism, considering that Eurocentric approach did not provide objective scientific explanation of the history of Russia.

The beginning of the Eurasian movement is considered to be the publication of Trubetskoy's book 'Europe and Mankind' in Sofia in 1920. In this book, he, following Danilevsky's tradition, opposes the uniqueness of the Roman-German European culture: «The revolution in the minds of the intellectuals of the non-Roman-Germanic peoples will inevitably be fatal to universal Europeanization Now, if they understand and are deeply aware that Europeanization is absolute evil, and cosmopolitanism is brazen deception, then they will stop helping the Roman-Germans.... We must always keep firmly in mind that the opposition of the Slavs to Germans or the Turans to Aryans has not given a true solution to the problem and that there is only one true opposition: the Roman-Germans - and all the other nations of the world, Europe and humanity» [35].

Unlike the Slavophiles, Trubetskoy's main objection lay in the fact that he noted the presence of the Asian element in the Russian blood, «Uniting itself of almost the entire territory of modern Russia under the rule of one state was first made not by the Russian Slavs, but the Turanians-Mongols. Russians' moving to the East was the result of Russification of a number of Turanian tribes; the cohabitation Russians with Turanians has threaded Russian history. If the

coupling the Eastern Slavs with Turanians is the basic fact of Russian history, if it is difficult to find a Great Russian, who has not got any Turan blood, and much of the blood flows in the veins of the Little Russians, it is clear that we, Russians, need to study our brothers Turan for the right national self-knowledge» [35, pp. 78-79].

Trubetskoy's views were supported by Pyotr Savitsky, another bright representative of the Eurasian movement.

Geographer and economist P.N.Savitsky should be considered as one of those ardent theorists of the Eurasian Movement and the chief founder of the Eurasian movement. As a person interested in geopolitics, P. Savitsky reflected his views in his writings: «Turn to the East», «The assertion of the Eurasianists», «Steppe and the settled way of life», «The geographical and geopolitical foundations of Eurasianism», etc. After reviewing his main work, it is possible to define the following theses:

First, «Russia itself is neither Asia nor Europe - this is the main geopolitical thesis of Eurasianists. Therefore, there is no 'European' and 'Asian' Russia, but there are its parts that lie to the west and east of the Yenisei River, etc... Russia ... is a specific geographic world».

Secondly, Russia is the median state, which is a special form of civilization. «Russia has much more reasons to be called the 'Middle Kingdom' than China has... The force of fatal facts called the Russian world to play a unifying role within the Old World. All the totality of the diverse cultures of the Old Continent can become and is becoming an organic whole only to the extent in which Russia-Eurasia fulfills the vocation of it» [36].

Third, Russia-Eurasia is a synthesis of world culture and history of the world, deployed in space and time. Being a special type of civilization, it has developed on the basis of several cultures and traditions, such as the Aryan-Slavic, Turkic nomadic and Orthodox.

Fourth, P. Savitsky considers Turan as a part of the Russia-Eurasia and justifies the Mongol overlordship. He notes, «Russia is the successor of Great Khans, the successor of Genghis and Timur's deeds, the unifier of Asia It combines both historical "settled" and "steppe" elements». Thus, Russia-Eurasia is shown by him as a synthesis of the European Forest and Asian Steppe.

Fifth, P. Savitsky offers the principle of ideocracy, regarding it as a term that integrates all forms of non-democratic, non-liberal government based on non-materialistic and non-utilitarian motivations. It should be noted that Savitsky pays attention to the fact that ideocracy is inherent to the

Land, while the Sea is characterized by a liberal democracy.

The Eurasian movement, which gained its actual features on the base of P. Savitsky's works, began to spread in Europe. It was the second period of the Eurasian movement. Paris became its main center in Europe. Even in the 1920s, Eurasianism didn't have a real common ideological platform; it was an atmosphere, an outlook on the world. The acceptance of the Soviet regime accelerated the division of the Eurasian movements into two factions. The first faction is based in Prague (Savitsky, Alekseev, Trubetskoy), kept its distance from the USSR; while the second faction (Karsavin, Suvchinsky) based in Paris, was close to the new regime. The latter published the Marxist weekly *Evrasiia* (Eurasia) in 1928-29, and a Belgian version, *Evraziets* (The Eurasian) - which often limited itself to republishing articles from *Pravda* - from 1929 until 1934. From 1924 the Eurasianist movement was infiltrated by the Stated Political Directorate [19, p. 21]. In 1938, with Prince N.S. Trubetskoy's death, the stage of classical Eurasianism ended.

However, the clerisy of Russia did not lose interest in the Eurasian idea. It was revived in the 60s, when Eurasianism assumed a new meaning due to Lev Gumilev, a great scientist and a versatile personality, who is often cited as the founder of the Neo-Eurasianism.

Being a follower of P. Savitsky and a representative of Neo-Eurasianism, Lev Gumilev continued the tradition of his predecessors.

Contemporary Russia's nostalgia for the lost empire in some regard encourages the revival of the Eurasianist tradition, on which the peculiar historian Lev Gumilev (1912-1992) had a great influence. He was born of the famous persecuted poets Anna Ahmatova and Nikolai Gumilev and was twice committed to labor camps in the Stalin period (1938-43 and 1949-56). His early historical works were mainly about Eurasian steppe people, such as the Huns, Turks, and Mongols. Like Eurasianists in the 1920s, preferring to connect Russian historical fate with Asia rather than Europe, Gumilev also asserted that the so-called Mongol-Tatar yoke did not exist in Russia's past. In his opinion, old Rus' and the steppe nomads coexisted in mutual dependence [23, p. 182].

In his writings, L. Gumilev combined several sciences, including natural and human sciences such as geography and history. It is his main merit. He gives an appraisal of world historical development of various ethnoses in terms of geographic terms. L.N. Gumilev advocated rapprochement between the humanities and natural sciences. He considered it necessary to take into consideration the natural and geographical factor (that is what we call habitat) in the

ethnic history. He introduced the key concepts of modern ethnology into science. They are 'passionarity', 'passionary waves', 'phases of ethnogenesis', and many others. The ideas in regard to the terms were developed by him in 'Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere', 'Millennium around the Caspian Sea' and 'From Rus' to Russia', 'Rhythms of Eurasia', etc. 'Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere' is the most important of them.

Thus, the great scientist L. Gumilev, with the use of a systematic approach, carried out an in-depth analysis of the development of the global history of ethnoses. His object of study includes Alexander the Great and Napoleon as passionaries. He is the author of the deep, innovative research on the history and culture of the nomads of the Middle and Central Asia from III B.C. to AC, historical geography, he is the founder of the theory of Ethnogenesis and the Biosphere, orientalist. His work has contributed greatly to the development of world science and laid the foundations for the formation of new ideas aimed at the unification of the Eurasian peoples. The ideas of the representatives of classical Eurasianism and Gumilev have acquired a new meaning. Particularly great attention to the Eurasian concept has been paid by Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

In 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, new sovereign states, among which was Kazakhstan, appeared. The very first initiatives of independent Kazakhstan showed the world the peaceful nature of the foreign policy of our country. Initially, the leadership of the state that did not have access to the open sea, but had sufficient energy and mineral resources, recognized that it was irrational to close itself in the certain regional framework, on the contrary, it was crucial to actively develop relations with all countries of the world, especially with neighboring countries. The importance of the Eurasian direction in Kazakhstan's foreign policy became notably obvious. As early as December 2, 1991, at a press conference on the results of the presidential elections, N.A. Nazarbayev said that «Kazakhstan, which has a central position in the region, should become a bridge between Europe and Asia» [6, p. 12-13].

In subsequent years, Kazakhstan's leadership developed a conceptual framework of Eurasianism that takes on a new meaning in modern conditions. In Kazakhstan, Eurasianism is reckoned an idea that promotes integration, convergence of the people, states in different spheres. The first promising steps in this direction were taken in 1991, when the leaders of the five republics gathered in Almaty on December 20, 1991. They announced the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Eurasian idea was officially stated by the President in his speeches at the Royal Institute of International Affairs Chatham House on March 22, 1994. He noted, «The prevailing conditions dictate the need to abandon the desire to keep all the states within the CIS. In our view, it is advisable to build a real working alliance of states based on the 'core' which can be named 'Euro-Asian Union». Other states could join it provided that they would fulfill certain conditions: cessation of hostilities, strict observance of international agreements, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders, refusal of any form of economic pressure, etc. [2, pp. 23-24].

The idea to create a Eurasian Union was later developed by President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev at the Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov on March 29, 1994. The President drew attention to 'the need for a transition to a qualitatively new level of relations between our countries on the basis of intergovernmental association formed on the principles of voluntary participation and equality. The Eurasian Union (EEU) could become such an association. It should be based on the principles other than those of the CIS, for the basis of the new association should include supranational bodies to address two key issues: the formation of a single economic space and ensuring joint defense policy' [2, pp. 32-38].

As the real project the Eurasian concept was officially formulated by the Kazakh leadership on June 3, 1994. This document became the basis of state policy, oriented for cooperation with the regional actors and world community in general.

According to the project of June 3, 1994, the following important points were:

1) Development of international relations necessitates the strengthening of intergovernmental integration processes. Taking into consideration the differences in the levels of development of the market economy, the democratization of the political process, it is proposed the formation of an additional integration structure - the Eurasian Union.

2) The Eurasian Union will be a union of equal independent states, aimed at implementing national interests of each member country and their collective integration potential.

3) The Eurasian Union is seen as a form of integration of sovereign states to strengthen stability and security, social and economic modernization in the post-Soviet space.

4) The implementation of this objective requires the creation of supra-national bodies such as the Council of Heads of State and Heads of Government of the Eurasian Union - the supreme body of the political leadership; the parliament, which shall coordinate the legislative activities of the

countries included in the Eurasian Union; the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which shall coordinate foreign policy; the Council of Ministers of Defense to create a real military complex; the Interstate Executive Committee of the Eurasian Union as a permanent executive and supervisory authority .

5) A common document or citizenship for all the countries of the Eurasian Union and mandatory development of agreed programs of economic reforms are expected [3, p. 5-6].

The project envisages cooperation in economy, science, culture, education, defense, and environment. Thus, the Eurasian project of Nursultan Nazarbayev was aimed at cooperation in various levels.

Suggesting the idea of a Eurasian Union is one of the greatest merits of N.A. Nazarbayev, who is a deeply thinking leader of our time. For the precedent years, the President of Kazakhstan has been developing the conceptual framework of the Eurasian doctrine in his theoretical works and emphatically promoted the formation of a real and an effective structure of the Eurasian Union at all its levels and in all respects. Thus, the project of President Nazarbayev proposed in 1994 to create the Eurasian Union became the basis for the convergence of the Eurasian states through integration. It should be noted that the Eurasian idea of Nazarbayev is not limited by this project. To date, he has developed a conceptual framework of Eurasianism of Kazakhstan in his speeches and interviews. One of their latest examples is Nazarbayev's in the newspaper 'Izvestia' on the theme 'Eurasian Union: from the idea to the history of the future'. The President continued to the debate between the President of Russia Vladimir Putin and President of Belarus Lukashenko on the prospects of Eurasian integration.

President V. Putin presented his project on October 3, 2011, published in the newspaper 'Izvestia'. The author reasons the creation of Eurasian Union on the basis of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, stating the Union 'capable of becoming one of the poles of the modern world'. The following steps are planned:

1. to create a model of a powerful supranational union capable of becoming one of the poles of the modern world and playing the role of an effective 'link' between Europe and the dynamic Asia-Pacific region. It is necessary to use the Customs Union and Common Economic Space as the base for closer coordination of economic and monetary policy and to create a full-fledged economic union.

2. The Eurasian Union will serve as a center for further integration. That is, the formation of the Union will happen through the gradual merging of the

existing structures - the Customs Union and Common Economic Space.

3. Russia and its partners of the Eurasian Union intend to work actively to improve the institutions of the CIS, to launch concrete attractive initiatives and joint programs. There must be significant progress in harmonizing the positions under the Treaty on the free trade area, based on the principles of the World Trade Organization and aimed at a full-scale withdrawal of all sorts of barriers.

4. The Eurasian Union welcomes other partners who want to accede to it, particularly the countries of the Commonwealth. The Eurasian Union will be based on the universal principles of integration as an integral part of Greater Europe. Thus, the entry into the Eurasian Union, apart from direct economic benefits, will enable each of its members to integrate into Europe more quickly and in a stronger position. Then Prime Minister Vladimir Putin said in an interview with the newspaper 'Izvestia': 'Now, we are taking a step from the Customs Union towards the Common Economic Space. We are creating a huge market with over 165 million consumers with unified laws, free movement of capital, services and labor' [37].

The project of Vladimir Putin's Eurasian Union received support from the leadership of Kazakhstan. For example, President Nursultan Nazarbayev in the article, published on October 26, 2011 expressed confidence in the prospect of the Eurasian Union, and identified the following clear and concise strategy for action:

First, the Eurasian Union should initially be created as a competitive global economic union.

Second, the Eurasian Union should be formed as a solid unit, linking Euro-Atlantic and Asian areas of development.

Third, the Eurasian Union should be formed as a self-sufficient regional financial institution, which will be a part of a new global monetary and financial system.

Fourth, geo-economic, and in perspective geo-political, maturing of the Eurasian integration should be exclusively evolutionary and voluntary.

Fifth, the establishment of the Eurasian Union is possible only on the basis of broad public support.

The main difference of this article from Nazarbayev's early statements is that it assessed the real situation of the integration associations in the post-Soviet space and made predictions about the interaction between Kazakhstan and Europe and Asia as a whole. In this way the president N. Nazarbayev is continuing to develop the Eurasian concept from Kazakhstan's view.

President Nazarbayev described the principles of his vision of Eurasianism in an article in

the Russian Newspaper Izvestiya published on October 25, 2011. According to him, the Eurasian Union should be based on and follow four basic principles; (1) it must be built on economic pragmatism, (2) it must be based on voluntary participation of member countries who must decide independently whether they want to be locked in within their own boundaries or join the globalized world; (3) it should be created on the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and not interference into domestic affairs of others; (4) each member country should create its own national institutions on the principles of consensus of all participants without giving up national sovereignty. The President also reiterated that the creation of the Eurasian Union will be, in no way, restoration or recreation of the former USSR [38].

In Kazakhstan's understanding, Eurasianism is a policy of joining of people, development of multilateral regional partnership.

Kazakhstan is a multinational state that implies a symbiosis of different nationalities. Respect for any race, any nation is the basic principle enshrined in the Constitution of Kazakhstan. The rights of different nations are implemented within the framework of the Assembly of Peoples, which is a unique alliance in the post-Soviet space. It has become the basis of the mechanism for the development of an inter-cultural, inter-religious dialogue. The Congress of World Religions is very important too. Being the head of state and politician, Nursultan Nazarbayev is fully aware of the increased role of religion in society. He was the initiator of holding the forum of world and traditional religions in the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan - Astana. The first Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions were held on 23-24 September 2003. It was followed by three more, at which the representatives of several confessions of faiths and religions discussed issues of inter-religious cooperation. On this way, Kazakhstan is holding inter-faith, inter-religious, inter-ethnic and inter-civilization dialog on a regular basis by bringing together representatives of different civilizations, ethnic groups, religious sects and beliefs. The National Unity Doctrine, initiated in October 2008 and adapted in May 2010, is designed to reflect the common ideals consolidating all citizens of the country into a single nation and to create a cohesive, united nation based on ethnic, religious, national and other socio-cultural harmony and peace [1].

For the modern Kazakhstan as a multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religious society, the understanding of the Eurasian state as "the cathedral of the peoples or nations" and "the cathedral of faiths" is particularly true. It can be said that the Kazakh model of interethnic and inter-religious harmony,

where the representatives of different peoples and ethno-cultural communities make the comprehensive state and the political, cultural and historical whole is particularly true, to a certain extent, is the implementation and development of the ideas of the Eurasianists. [3, p. 364]

The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan has also put emphasis on the Eurasian civilization, which has a wholeness that does not overwhelm and assimilate the uniqueness of people, but feeds on its diversity. Modern Eurasia is characterized by ethno-cultural richness and symbiosis of the elements of the Orthodoxy-Slavic, Islam-Turkic, Buddhist-Mongolian civilizations, whose relations are based on equal rights to leadership and on their mutual complementarity. In one of his books President Nazarbayev emphasized the importance of building a united Kazakhstani culture on the basis of multi-ethnicity by building bridges among cultures of different national, ethnic and religious groups [40, p. 117-144].

The President's Eurasian Doctrine is a symbol of the union of the peoples of Eurasia in the cultural and humanitarian sphere too. For example, Eurasian University Association (EUA) was created on the basis of the Association of Universities of the USSR. It deals with the preservation of a unified educational space in the region. At present, the Association has 98 members. They are universities of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. It is the personal merit of President Nursultan Nazarbayev that the main National University in Astana was named after Russian thinker Lev Gumilev. The program of exchange with undergraduates between the KNU and the People's Friendship University, University of Shanghai Cooperation Organization makes a great contribution to the process.

Nazarbayev also regularly makes Eurasianist speeches at the Lev N. Gumilev Eurasianist University in Astana, brandished as an example of Kazakhstan's integrationist goodwill, but also the institutionalization of Eurasianism as the official ideology of independent Kazakhstan. This new university, founded in 1996 by presidential decree, is in fact the city's former Pedagogical Institute, now rebranded as an elite institution.

The project of Kazakhstan's Eurasianism is more realizing now in the regional economic organizations in the post-Soviet space. The Eurasianism of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev is unique because it is based on the principles of economic benefits and multi-vector integration. The work of a number of intergovernmental structures such as EEC, CSTO, SCO and the Common Economic Space, TURKSOI,

the Customs Union, etc. has become the real embodiment of the Eurasian integration.

First, the Central Asian Economic Union was created in 1994. However, the lack of preparation of the national economies of the republics of Central Asia, the civil war in Tajikistan and the indecision of the countries themselves to integrate slowed down the process of economic integration [31, p. 380].

Second, attempts to create the Customs Union within the framework of the CIS were made in the early 90s. Next, on the basis of the Customs Union, the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was established within the framework of the CIS in 2000. The EurAsEC incorporated Central Asian countries and Uzbekistan. The Treaty of establishment of the EurAsEC contains the concept of close and effective economic and trade cooperation to achieve the goals and objectives previously defined by the Treaty on the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space of February 26, 1999. It should be noted that, despite the volatile Uzbekistan's position in the organization, the activities of the EurAsEC facilitates the transition to a new level of economic integration and increasing the economic interdependence of Member States.

Third, the first real practical step towards the formation of the Eurasian Union was the creation of the Customs Union within Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia in 2010. Being a form of exclusively economic integration, the Customs Union was aimed at the economic cooperation the states.

Concordance of the positions of the Member States of the Customs Union resulted in their further interaction. The three countries signed an agreement on the Common Economic Space, which entered into force in 2012. On November 18, 2011, the heads of member states of the Customs Union signed the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Commission. The Common Economic Space (1 January 2012) launched a new supranational body - the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC), which replaced the Commission of the Customs Union.

In accordance with Article 4 of the Treaty on EEC, the Committee consists of the Board of the Commission and the College of the Commission. The Board of the Commission provides overall control of the integration processes in the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space, as well as the general management of the Commission. The Board of the Commission shall be composed of one representative from each Party, who is the deputy head of government, vested with the necessary authority under the laws of that Party. Since the establishment of the Board, a number of important issues have been discussed.

The signing of Declaration on the establishment of the Eurasian Union by the leaders of Russia,

Kazakhstan and Belarus on November 18, 2011 should undoubtedly be called the main achievement of the realization of the Eurasian idea in the economic area. At meetings of the Eurasian Economic Commission, the Heads of State discuss the signing of the document on the establishment of the Eurasian Union.

For example, a recent meeting of this year of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council in Minsk on October 24 was attended by President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, and Chairman of the Board of the Eurasian Economic Commission Viktor Khristenko.

The meeting continued in an expanded format with the participation of President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan, President of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, First vice Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan Djoomart Otorbaev.

During the meeting, the participants discussed the dynamics and prospects of further development of integration within the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space. In particular, the heads of the state discussed finalizing the draft agreement on the formation of the Eurasian Economic Union by January 1, 2015. They also paid attention to the problems encountered. In President Nazarbayev's opinion, one of the 'is the similarity of the mechanisms of the Eurasian Economic Community and the Common Economic Space. It is necessary to merge the two organizations.' His proposal was supported by President of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin who noted the importance of studying the similarities of the legislative framework of the two organizations.

3. Results

Thus, we can conclude that the modern Kazakhstan's Eurasianism has significantly expanded its context. Thanks to the efforts of the President, sovereign Kazakhstan has become an active subject, the true actor of Eurasianism, equal and important member of the international Eurasian dialogue. This positive trend is not limited to Kazakhstan. The expansion of the Eurasian dialogue and partnership has led to the peer inclusion of the entire Central Asian region in the discussion of Eurasianism issues. Nazarbayev's initiative has opened the way to the Eurasianist dialogue for all the countries of the CIS. Kazakhstan's Eurasian is not a dry ideological scheme; it is a broad international and inter-civilizational approach.

In general, the Eurasian idea as the basis of state policy strategy of Kazakhstan's President N.A. Nazarbayev has been developed for years. The source

of modern Eurasian integration has become the “project of the formation of the Eurasian Union of states” proposed by the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in March 1994. This project is not only the actual integration idea, but also a practical guide for action for the increase of the cooperation of the post-Soviet countries in order to conserve the economic, political, transportation, and social ties between the peoples of Eurasia existing for a long historical period and to put them at a new level.

President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has outlined ‘Eurasianism’ not as a theoretical approach, but as a vector of practical politics. For Kazakhstan, ‘Eurasianism’ is a policy of integration, the development of multilateral regional partnership. The theory of ‘Eurasianism’ comes from the fact that in today’s world there is a need for a dialogue of national cultures and their rapprochement.

Kazakhstan today is actually positioned in a global world, not only as an Asian country, but also as a European one. It may seem that the ‘road to Europe’ contradicts the classical Eurasianist idea, but such understanding would be true only if the old Eurasianism of the first half of the twentieth century has been dogmatically followed. In N.A. Nazarbayev’s real policy, Europe is becoming an integral part of Eurasia. Perhaps the global importance of Kazakhstan is precisely to give the world a lesson of organic and efficient synthesis of Asian and European principles.

Thus, the priority of Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev in a meaningful extension of the Eurasian discourse is undeniable. The significant contribution to the development of Eurasianism made by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan convinces us that the overall evolution of Eurasianism as an intellectual tendency in the twentieth century is not in contraction, but in expansion of spacial and contentual round of the Eurasianism issues.

The uniqueness of the Eurasianism of Kazakhstan’s President Nursultan Nazarbayev lies in the fact that it is based on principles of economic benefits and multi-vector integration. Especially as the exact example of the realization of Kazakhstan Eurasianism strategy can be considered the activity of Customs Union.

This idea can be used to unite the country itself, as well as to facilitate cooperation with regional states and the outside world in general. According to Nursultan Nazarbayev’s project, Kazakhstan’s Eurasianism focuses chiefly on economic integration, which has been gradually implemented. Now the member states of the Customs Union - Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus are in the process of signing the treaty to create the Eurasian Union.

At the latest December SEEC meeting Presidents of Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus focused

on the currently drafted agreement on establishing the Eurasian Economic Union, some aspects of which are to be harmonized between the respective governments. They are willing to continue cooperation. Nursultan Nazarbayev, Vladimir Putin and Alexander Lukashenko see more prospects, intending to expand economic cooperation with the countries of Asia-Pacific, Europe and other continents. However, the activities of the Eurasian Union should meet the requirements of economic integration, although there is a supranational body in the face of the Commission. In this Union, areas of cooperation and mechanisms of action must be clearly defined. All States should be represented on equal levels. As the President of Kazakhstan noted, it is necessary to pay attention to the superposition principle, first to prepare the foundation for the integration, and then move to deeper forms of interaction. In connection with this, in his opinion, at this stage it would be more useful to focus on coordinated or harmonized policy, on forming a common market in the areas that are of interest to all participants.

“In the areas where we have reached the level of a single policy, such as trade policy towards third countries, it should certainly be maintained. But in other areas, I find it unnecessary to fix the comprehensive application of the ‘single policy’ and ‘common market’ concepts”, - said Nursultan Nazarbayev and emphasized the inadmissibility of the politicization of the process. – We are building an economic union. Therefore, the task of the commission is not to include provisions that go beyond economic integration in the Treaty, - stated the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan [42].

In this regard, economic cooperation is becoming a really important and topical area of cooperation for us in the Eurasian Union. And the very European idea of integration begins with cooperation among European states in a particular economic sector, i.e. at first European states created the ECSC, then developed economic cooperation within the EEC. Only then, in the early 90s, they were ready to build the three pillars of the European Union, namely economy, security and humanitarian sphere. So for the Eurasian Union, we need to focus on the development of economic integration. Only then the organization will be effective and find great potential.

4. Discussions

Indeed, experts say that given the pace of integration of the customs ‘trio’ has the most positive trend in the post-Soviet space. In 2010, the Customs Union was created, in 2012, they established the Common Economic Space, in 2015, it is planned to establish the Eurasian Economic Union. The rates of Kazakh-Russian cooperation say “pro” this

cooperation. Thus, last year the trade turnover between Kazakhstan and Russia increased by 42.3 % (compared with 2010) and constituted \$ 23.8 milliard. The growth of Kazakhstan's exports amounted to 47.7 %, import from Russia - 39.9 % [41].

Nowadays it is continuing the discussion about the perspective of the activity of the Eurasian Economic Union. For example, Regis Gente believes that the term of Eurasianism came to Kazakhstan as response to a primordial preoccupation with Russian influence in the region and internationally it shows the attempts of Kazakhstan to form the new republic's geopolitical ambitions, foreign policy objectives and its official posture on the world scene. The young Kazakh republic has adopted a "multi-dimensional" foreign policy to protect its independence, a self-defense mechanism which counterbalances Russian influence with that of other powers. The Eurasian paradigm justifies ties with China, the West (the US, the EU and other European countries), Asia (Singapore, South Korea, Malaysia) and the Middle East. Kazakhstan wants to be seen as a bridge between Asia and Europe. It also pursues multilateral ambitions via the OSCE, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and so on. By such means it demonstrates a real opening up to the world [30]. According to the view of M. Olcott, through an active Eurasian policy of engagement, Kazakhstan intends to turn the 'curse' of geography into strength and advantage by maintaining and balancing relations with all major actors in the world [28].

Despite all attempts to prove and justify that Kazakhstan's policy of Eurasianism is an objective, neutral and positive category with no inherent contradictions that serves interests of all stakeholders; both internal and external, there are skeptics for whom Eurasianism in Kazakhstan is a state oriented nationalism. M. Laruelle, a French expert on Central Asia, claims that the concept of "Eurasianism" from a Kazakh stands is a hidden form of nationalism. The case of Kazakhstan illustrates a second kind of non-Russian Eurasianism, one that is more ideological and more nationalist and emulates the Russian model. The case of Kazakhstan is special among attempts to reclaim Eurasianism for non-Russians – first of all because Kazakhstan is an independent republic rather than region of the Russian Federation, but also because it is the only Central Asian state to have paid attention to this issue, which leaves, for example, Uzbekistan or Tajikistan indifferent. [19, p: 171-172]

The project of the President Nazarbayev's Eurasianism is not inherently anti-Western. On the contrary, this idea serves as the main tool of

convergence of Europe and Asia. It promotes dialogue between Kazakhstan and both Asia and Europe, paving the 'way to Europe'. Kazakhstan's chairmanship of the OSCE, chairmanship in the OIC, realization of the program 'Path to Europe' are prime examples of Eurasianist strategy of our country. Nazarbayev's Eurasianism concept envisages integration of independent members on the basis of voluntariness, equality, common interests excluding any pressure and the use of force. The main role in these processes is given to Kazakhstan as a bridge between Europe and Asia. Thanks to N.A. Nazarbayev's efforts, Eurasianism today is not alienation from Europe, but, on the contrary, it is an active cooperation with Europe on a new inter-governmental and inter-regional level. Kazakhstan is also an integral part of the Turkic world. That is why the initiatives of the President of Kazakhstan open the way to Eurasianism both for the Turkic-speaking countries, including Turkey, and for the broader Muslim community. According to view of N. Kasanova, a lack of noticeable changes in Kazakhstan's multivector foreign policy also seems to indicate that the tilt toward Russia has been smaller than it appeared in 2009-10. On a trip to Turkey in October 2012 Nazarbayev even allowed himself statements critical of Russia's historical role in the region saying that in 150 years of being the colony of the Russian empire and then the Soviet Union, Kazakhs almost lost their traditions, customs, language and religion. He called on Turkic peoples to unite and become an effective force in the world. Thus, Kazakhstan wants to benefit from opportunities that cooperation with China presents, but it is hesitant to find itself in the full embrace of its eastern neighbor. From this perspective, Eurasian integration can serve as a useful counterbalance [13]. In this regard considering the fact that, the representatives of the Eurasian movement focused on the concept of a 'middle position', the geographical location of Kazakhstan in the heart of Eurasia provides a great opportunity for Kazakhstan to develop the relations on the base of multivector policy.

Kazakhstan's Eurasian policy is designed to serve multiple goals and purposes; externally to improve relations with Russia and other regional countries based on Eurasian solidarity, balancing relations with Asia and Europe by playing the role of a 'bridge between Asia and Europe' and claiming as a bastion of peace, stability and neutrality, and domestically to create a successful multi-ethnic, multi-national peaceful and harmonious nation with stability and harmony [1].

Thus, it is safe to say that Nursultan Nazarbayev's idea of Eurasianism introduced in 1994 has become a symbol or image of the country in the

international community. Prior to N.A. Nazarbayev, Eurasianism had been associated mainly with Russian issues. Now the new Eurasianism is inextricably linked with Kazakhstan too. Eurasianism today is not a monologue, but a multi-stakeholder dialogue. It has laid the foundations for the development of relations with the countries of 'Eurasia' on the principles of economic feasibility, safety joint efforts and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. It became the basis of state policy.

The basis of Kazakhstan leadership's idea of the Eurasian Union was the principle of integration on the basis of economic feasibility for its member states. Formation of economic relations based on mutual partnership and the application of the same criteria and principles plays the main role. Economic interests determine the approximation of independent states. According to N. Nazarbayev, the multi-vector integration should be primarily based on the regional integration.

As mentioned in the work of N. Kasenova analysis of the possible motives (economic, political and geopolitical) for the Kazakhstani leadership's decision to privilege integration with Russia over joining the WTO shows that economic reasons - emphasized in the official discourse did not play the main role. Political reasons (primarily, the concern with security) seem to have been more prominent. In geopolitical terms, the formation of the CU and SES has not affected noticeably the traditional multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan. The lack of internal dynamism and resources of the Eurasian economic integration project means that it does not constitute a major challenge to Europe and China, two major trade partners of Kazakhstan. However, it does, to some extent, re-establish Russia's traditional role as Kazakhstan's "window to Europe" [13]

The region is characterized by a unique combination of natural geographic, demographic and economic conditions. A rich resource and economic potential of the Eurasian space is an important factor in the development not only of the region but also the entire world economy.

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