EURASIAN INTEGRATION – THE VIEW FROM WITHIN

Edited by Piotr Dutkiewicz and Richard Sakwa

ROUTLEDGE

Eurasian Integration – The View from Within

As Eurasia becomes more important to the world, with growing interest from neighbouring and international powers, there are increasing attempts to give institutional form to economic and security links within the region. This book includes a range of substantive work from scholars based in the region, offering contrasting perspectives on the process of Eurasian integration and its place in the world. Chapters consider economic, political, social and security developments, with notable studies of the major countries involved in the development of the Eurasian Economic Union. The work also examines the connections between the region and China, greater Asia and the European Union. It outlines the varying dynamics, with populations growing in Central Asia while at best stagnant elsewhere. The book discusses the increasing strategic significance of the region and explores how the new post-Soviet states are growing in national cohesion and political self-confidence. Above all, the book examines the concept of 'Eurasia', outlining the debates about the concept and how various aspects of the legacy of 'Eurasianism' contribute to contemporary plans for integration. The book argues that although regional integration is very much a popular idea in our age, with the potential for economic benefits and increased international influence, in practice contemporary projects for Eurasian integration have been highly ambiguous and contested. Nevertheless, significant steps have been taken towards the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union. The book analyses developments to date, noting the achievements as well as the challenges.

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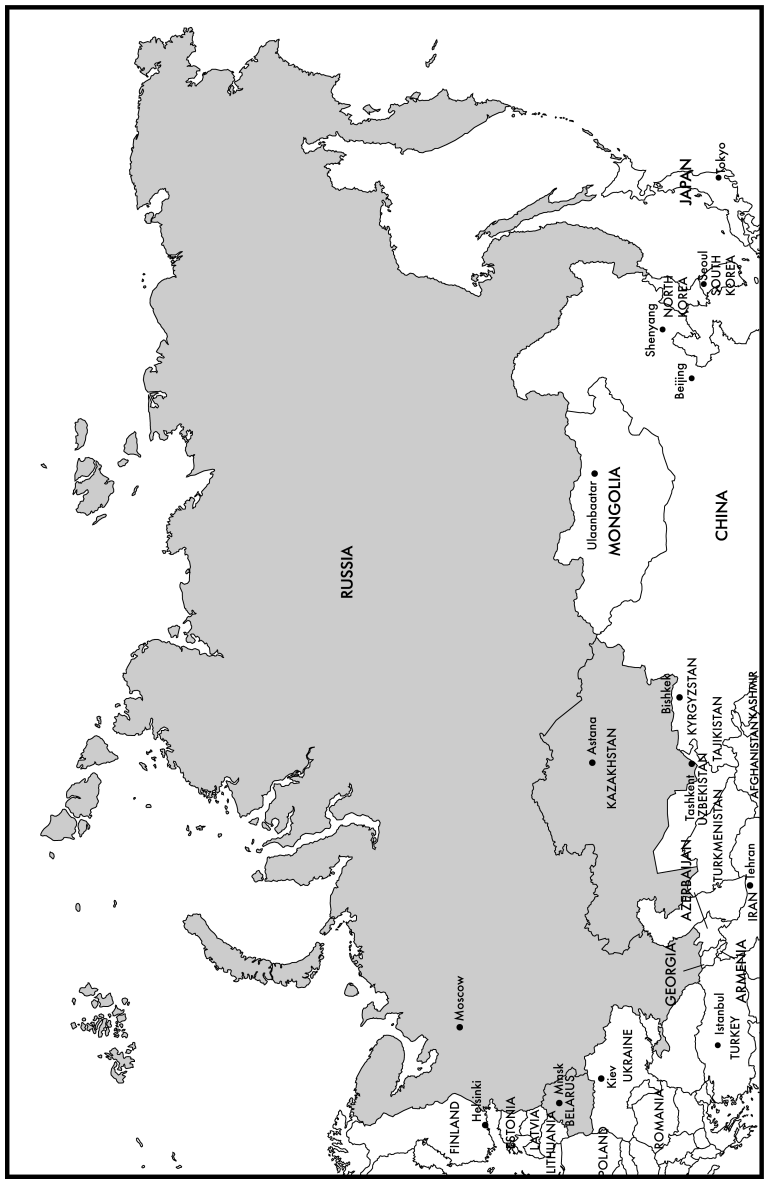
This book discusses many controversial issues related to the process of Eurasian integration, and although there are many partisan and dissenting voices, we have from the outset tried to provide a platform for open scholarly debate. In the end the book provides a relatively optimistic outlook for the long-term trajectory of Eurasian and European integration, since the alternative is the further fragmentation of economic space, more 'economic wars', more trade restrictions and regulatory barriers, not only within 'new Eurasia' but also at the continental and state levels.

Piotr Dutkiewicz and Richard Sakwa
Ottawa and Canterbury, 4 June 2014

Maps



Map 1 The Eurasian Economic Union

Map 2 Central and Eastern Europe

Map 3 Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

Map 4 Greater Eurasia

Introduction

Eu–Ru–Asian integration?

Piotr Dutkiewicz

This book is about the enormous space between the European core and China. It is about its potential for both the creation of wealth and peripheral degradation, for both cooperation and – as events in Ukraine from 2013 onward have demonstrated – conflict, for both further economic integration and new barriers between neighbours. It is about one of the very few 'last frontiers' for economic expansion on a truly massive scale. Eurasia is quickly transforming into an increasingly interconnected economic and – to a limited extent – political space and a concept that is becoming the main focus of civilian and military strategic planners for years to come. As Dmitry Trenin has argued, 'Within Eurasia, we see how the weight and role of key components of the world's largest region is changing'.[1] Thus, quite naturally, it involves the clash of many national and international interests. The recent revival of approaching international relations in predominantly geopolitical terms leads many, like Zbigniew Brzezinski, to think that 'A power that dominates Eurasia would control two of the world's three most advanced and economically productive regions'.[2]

Eurasia from within

Indeed, the combined economic potential of the Eurasian countries looks staggering (even if economic statistics alone can be sometimes misleading).[3] With a daily production of crude oil – by the key partners in the Eurasian Economic Union – reaching almost 13 million barrels/day (and proven reserves of 90 billion barrels), a population of 175 million (and 218 million, if Ukraine is included), natural gas reserves of 2,177.800 trillion cubic feet[4] (the world's biggest), and China waiting eagerly to be included in the regional integration projects with its massive economy, the weight of the Eurasian region cannot be overestimated.

However, extractive resources aside, as the contributors to this book show, there is a wealth of both positive and negative potential in Eurasia, stemming from a variety of sources, including available human and natural resources, ethnic, social and religious diversity, and perceptions of the future deeply rooted in its rich history. For the editors, closer Eurasian integration is definitely a

desirable outcome not only in its economic sense but in linking very diverse systems in a web of common economic activities, common rules and institutions, enabling movement of people, and guaranteeing more rights to its citizens. In short, we still believe that creating and maintaining an economically viable, dense web of interactions will keep national states interested and willing to cooperate rather than confront each other. We also side with those who say with some confidence that – despite the international chill created by the absorption of Crimea by the Russian Federation and its inevitably negative consequences for involving Ukraine/the European Union (EU) in further integration processes in the short and even medium term – closer economic cooperation in that space is an ongoing process.

In short, this book examines the case for wise and carefully dosed further economic integration. We began to work on this volume with at least four main goals in mind. We start with the premise that the recent re-emergence of Eurasia as the 'global engine of change' calls (a) for a revision of established concepts (for instance of what constitutes 'Eurasia'), and (b) approaches (for instance, conceptualizing modern Russia in terms of purely neo-imperial Eurasian power). This includes also – among other things – rethinking the terms and notions we use to describe the spatial delineation of the region, given that the interpretation of (neo-)Eurasia as little more than the territory of the former Russian Empire and the former Soviet Union is now outdated. It will also involve redefining the concept of regional integration and its institutional set-up because if, how and when it proceeds, it will hardly be rooted in mimicry of the EU.

Second, our goal is to show Eurasia's complexity as *seen from 'within'* by inviting contributions from experts who live and work in that macro-region, thereby offering multi-cultural and multi-national answers to the question of *what* Eurasia is today and which integration path(s) it may take in the near future. We hope that our approach – unique among existing English-language academic literature – will provide a better understanding of the national interest and drivers for closer cooperation as well as more clarity on the specific issues that divide countries already involved in this process.

Third, we will discuss and outline *how* to achieve a higher level of cooperation within a (new) Eurasian space among its main political and economic actors.

Fourth, we would like to propose a new, more pragmatic, '*inclusive-Eurasianism*' approach to regional integration. What we argue is that if we are going to be able to limit growing confrontation for the sake of regional prosperity and peace, Eurasian integration cannot be confined to Russia's backyard and must therefore – in a medium-to-long term – include China and the EU. For this to be achieved there has to be a move from treating Eurasia as the object of a chess game to making its constitutive nations subjects of the game. We believe that only countries that are more self-confident in using their political subjectivity (sovereignty) will be able pragmatically to approach greater regional integration. At the same time, this volume will show many centrifugal issues that are present in the region and need to be discussed, as

well as many gaps (and outright conflicts) that need to be bridged while contemplating such integration. In that sense, the present volume is a policy-oriented inventory of things to be discussed and done on the path to closer economic Eurasian integration.

The logic of the work and definition of terms

The editors are aware that – for some – advocating cooperation/integration while part of the Eurasian space (as is the case of Russian-Ukrainian relations) is disintegrating is swimming against a tidal wave. We do that not only because a certain level of 'utopia' in our thinking is the obvious defence of the necessary against the supposedly 'realistic', but also because our contributors provide a powerful case for multi-layer cooperation as the only route toward the betterment of their societies. Let me offer three notes to provide a background for easier reading of this volume.

Note on terminology

We are enslaved by the terms we use. Eurasia is one such term. It is emotionally charged and invokes a certain element of political essentialism (for instance, Eurasia as – former – empire) in addition to its primary spatial/geographical meaning.[5] Marlène Laruelle – one of the most competent experts on the subject – has even proposed that 'Eurasianism, [is] a movement promoting an ideology of Russian-Asian greatness […] Eurasianism purports to tell Russians what is unalterably important about them and why it can only be expressed in an empire'.[6]

Do we have other options that will provide us with a more nuanced understanding? Can we bypass these entrenched boundaries of meaning? Can we – by revisiting and revising the meaning of the term 'Eurasia' (and 'Eurasianism') – shift the debate into a more pragmatic and policy-oriented approach to Eurasia? The authors who contributed to this volume convincingly demonstrate that we can, choosing another approach (see below) that seeks to link 'Eurasia/Eurasianism' with a range of other signifiers such as 'integration', 'space', 'institutions' and 'economy'.

Let me briefly go through the main approaches to define Eurasia. The first – noted above – equates Eurasia with a post-Soviet Russian neo-empire. The second meaning is based on the variety of approaches to Eurasia developed during (a) the Soviet period (Lev N. Gumilev and followers), (b) the post-Soviet incarnation of neo-Eurasianism (for instance Alexander Dugin and Alexander Panarin), and (c) the post-transformation and integrationists' approaches (for example Sergei Glazyev, Yuri Popkov, Evgenii Vinokurov, Alexei Podberezkin, Valery Badmaev, G. Sitnyansky, Olzhas Suleimenov). The review of 'Soviet School' approaches of Eurasia/Eurasians – offered in our volume in the chapters by Badmaev, and Podberezkin and Podberezkina – shows the ambiguity of the term(s) from its re-invention in the 1920s into a theory and ideological tool

for Russian expansionism. They are based in the historical understanding of the term (mainly linked to the philosophy of empire developed in the 1920s and 1930 by a group of Russian émigrés). Despite a quite artificial consensus among its founders (N.S. Trubetskoi, P.N. Savitsky, P.P. Suvchinsky, G.V. Florovsky and others) of what it constitutes beyond its messianic overtones, suspicion of the West, anti-liberalism and a strong belief in statism, in short it became the nucleus of Russian imperial ideology.

The second group of definitions/terms came from the group of scholars working in the Soviet and immediate post-Soviet period, the so-called (neo-)Eurasianist school. It includes such contrasting intellectual positions as Lev Gumilev (championing ethical relativism, acceptance of European values and political multi-polarity) and Alexander Dugin (extreme, imperial geopolitics combined with neo-totalitarianism). Most probably what unites them is the fact that 'Neo-Eurasianism in not simply a short-term psychological compensation for the disappearance of the Soviet Union […] [B]y insisting that empire is the natural political form of Eurasia, its adherents hope to demonstrate that any secession is destined to fail, and the new states have no choice but to revert to a unified political entity'.[7]

The post-transformation and integrationist approaches are the most recent and nuanced incarnations of (neo-)Eurasianism and deserve closer attention as – for the first time in the history of this ideological formation – they are not only policy-relevant but are also at the centre of new Eurasian regional institutions and coalitions, ranging from security (i.e. the Collective Security Treaty Organization – CSTO), to predominantly political (i.e. the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation – SCO), and economic (i.e. EurAsEC Customs Union). They can be divided (albeit a bit artificially) into two streams: (a) pragmatic, which we may also call 'integrationist' as it mainly emphasizes the potential (if not necessity) and benefits of deeper regional economic integration; and (b) a liberal-democratic one underlining symbiotic (historical, cultural, social) relations among Eurasian nationalities, openness to Europe, freedom of association, and welcoming soft-Eurasian nationalisms while also calling for closer political ties within the post-Soviet space.

Pragmatic Eurasianism – in this book represented by S. Glazyev, B. Sultanov and Andrei A. Kazantsev – is aimed at securing 'integration from below', meaning that free movement of goods, services, labour and capital is seen as a guarantee of long-term stability and is crucial for the success of integration. This approach endorses the view that a Eurasian Union growing out of a customs union is predominantly a utilitarian undertaking with the main objective of expanding the market (and definitely not re-building an empire). It is an ideology of open regionalism that does not shrink into itself, but is based on 'consolidation' across the continent, both towards the West and the East. Integration is just a tool to achieve these objectives. As Yevgeny Vinokurov points out, 'For CIS and Common European Space economies (Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan), modernization is the objective. This goal implies a more advantageous place in the international division of labor, less dependence on

oil and gas, and increasing industrial strength based on cooperation. […] In the social sphere, the key objective of integration is to reach lasting international and inter-religious peace, and secure a comfortable environment in order to maintain family ties between citizens of the countries involved'.[8]

The 'liberal Eurasian' approach advocates more openness to (or even integration with) Europe and rejects the imperial ambitions of Russia. Its main position is that Eurasia is a place where cultural symbiosis occurs among civilizations that occupy its vast space, freedom to decide the level of closeness to Russia and openness to Western values can provide a new push for development. It might help also to reconcile an important cultural question of self-description, whether Russians are 'Asian or Europeans' paving the road to 'become Europeans, being – simultaneously – Euroasians'.[9]

The most recent approach – a 'Trans Euro-Asian Development Belt' – was proposed in early 2014 by V.I. Yakunin (President of the Russian Railways and President of the World Public Forum) during a special meeting of the Russian Academy of Science.[10] The essence of this approach is to mobilize multinational resources to create a 'development belt' consisting of an integrated system of transportation, resource extraction and manufacturing running from the EU via Russia (mostly engaging Siberian resources) to Asia, and to include China, South Korea and Japan. If taken beyond the planning stage such a mega-project would mean a deep shift in both regional development of Russia (re-focusing on Siberia) and re-industrialization of Russia's east.

In all those approaches Russia is at the centre of this project, as it borders all countries potentially involved in different aspects of the integrative process and has deep-rooted historical, cultural, economic and social regional ties. Editors – providing space for different, nationally based approaches that are represented in this volume by scholars from a majority of Eurasian countries – would like to see as much of an inclusive *Eurasianism.* That is to stress two points:

The first is that Eurasia (or Euro-Asia as some Russian experts propose) can be redefined in classical geographic, spatial, 'supra-territorial' or 'transnational' terms, so it 'does not belong' to and is not 'embodied by' any particular state. In other words, Eurasia is not embodied by Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine or Germany, thus nobody in that vast space will be portrayed and treated – by each other – as trespassers in a territory beyond their natural habitat.

Second, while this book offers a fairly extensive theoretical debate about the politics/economics of the Eurasian space, it advocates focusing on concrete policy ideas and ways to transform those ideas into regional policies and institutions that can make this region – despite events in Ukraine – more integrated, peaceful and stable.

Note on Eurasian integration

Since this work defines Eurasian integration in broad, mostly geographical and inclusive terms, we (deliberately) did not specifically focus this volume on

the regional conflicts, suspicion, scepticism and rivalry that, quite naturally, is present in any such grand project (some of those are discussed, however, in the chapters by Della Sala, Fesenko, Glazyev and Tkachuk, and others). It will be intellectually fair to outline at least the contours of those aspects of the debate as well. In a nutshell, there are six ('sceptical') prevalent approaches in the global community to the Eurasian space/Eurasian integration:

1 For many in the West, Russian actions in Crimea and the Donbass in 2014 are further proof of Russia's neo-imperial ambitions;[11] for some in this volume, however, the Eurasian Union and, more broadly, the Eurasian Economic Space, is surely Russia's most ambitious political programme since the end of the Soviet Union. As President Putin's brainchild, it is likely to become one of the top priorities of his presidency until 2018. In his programmatic article 'A New Integration Project for Eurasia: The Future in the Making', Putin stated that '[t]his project is, without exaggeration, a historic milestone for all three countries and for the broader post-Soviet space. Soon the Customs Union, and later the Eurasian Union, will join the dialogue with the EU. As a result, apart from bringing direct economic benefits, accession to the Eurasian Union will also help countries integrate into Europe sooner and from a stronger position'.[12] Thus this integration project is motivated in part by Russia's desire to gain additional strategic weight and resources for a more equal relationship with the EU, and in part to offset domestic economic weaknesses. It also may serve as a strategic bargaining chip in relations with China and the EU (as Russian leaders envision a future 'Greater Europe' as a binary construct composed of the European Union and the future Eurasian Union).
2 The EU is not currently interested in being more deeply involved in such grand projects, having plenty of its own problems to deal with. There is also a sense of suspicion there that Russia is trying to counterbalance and compete with the EU via the Eurasian space by taking other countries on board with the goal of supplementing its economic and resource assets and filling gaps in its economic capacity. As Trenin points out:

> this sense of geopolitical competition has only increased in recent years. Brussels is expanding efforts to make its Eastern neighbourhood more compatible with the EU, and thus safer and more comfortable for Europeans, and Moscow policy circles are becoming more and more concerned about Western Europe's 'push to the East'.[13]

By not acting, or acting only 'preventatively', to limit the Eurasian Union's scale and reach, the EU is risking, as Della Sala suggests (in Chapter 10), 'being more isolated, with member states consequently seeking out their own arrangements with the eastern partners. Moreover […] the EU risks being exposed as a paper tiger, lacking the capacity to set out strategic interests and the means to achieve them'.

3 On the one hand, Kazakhstan is very interested in further integration (in fact it was the first formally to conceptualize such a process back in the early 1990s related to intra-Central Asian integration), but on the other this state is decisively guarding its newly gained sovereignty and addressing its reality of being sandwiched between two more powerful countries by smartly balancing Russian and Chinese influence. Kazakhstan is advocating a step-by-step approach to deeper integration, focusing at the moment exclusively on its economic aspects, as there is a constant pressure from nationalistic groups accusing the President of diminishing the country's sovereignty. Several Kazakh authors participating in this volume (Sultanov, Muzaparova, Dodonov and Mukhamedzhanova) discuss those issues in depth.

4 The USA is sceptical-cum-hostile to the idea of closer Eurasian integration as it sees it as a mostly Russian-driven and -devised project, crafted with an upcoming global confrontation in mind. For many US policy makers it also serves as clear evidence of the revival of Russian neo-imperial ambitions. 'In some ways,' say the authors of a recent report on US–Russian cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, 'Russia and the United States engage in more competition than cooperation in the Asia-Pacific […] Even today, Washington and Moscow are the region's two main arms suppliers, their weapons contracts serving as a proxy for political influence (especially for Russia, given its relative lack of other cards to play). […] US–Russia cooperation in Asia and the Pacific requires both sides to make something of a conceptual leap. For the United States, it means taking Moscow seriously as an Asian power. For Russia, it means accepting the limitations of its strategic partnership with China and pursuing a more balanced approach in the region – including making rapprochement with Japan a priority'.[14] Some Russian authors hold views of an upcoming 'grand confrontation' in which Russia will have to make a 'final' strategic choice. Vladislav Inozemtsev, for instance, has argued that '[i]n this geopolitical confrontation, Russia will have to choose [which] it will side with: Asia against the US and Europe, or the US (and Europe) against Asia'.[15]

5 China's official mantra is repeatedly stressing purely economic motives for supporting integration projects, but with some important caveats. China wants open and unrestricted access to the Eurasian Union market and it is changing focus from an East–West integration vector (a Eurasia that includes the EU, Russia, Central Asia and China), to a more holistic one (which would also include Pakistan, South Korea and possibly India). This raises a justified question regarding to what extent China is treating its western neighbours purely as its natural resource appendix. Some Russian experts think that 'China is only interested in buying Russian raw materials, and is not investing in industrial projects in Russia. If Russia teams up with China, its role in Asia will be limited to that of a commodities supplier'.[16] Inevitably, closer Russia–China relations will result in reconceptualizing China's relations with the Customs Union (Eurasian Union) either by allowing China to have a 'special agreement' to export its goods while

avoiding tariff barriers, or agreeing on a favourable exchange rate to minimize their consequences. Alternatively China can be more active in potential Russian–Chinese mega-projects in exchange for such 'special treatment'. We invited Chinese and Russian experts (Feng, Yang, Kazantsev) to elaborate on those issues in this volume.

6 Belarus is one of the most intriguing cases presented in this volume. As one of the co-authors, Korosteleva, points out in Chapter 7, on the surface defining Belarus' place in the Eurasian geopolitical landscape 'is deceptively easy: despite its formal pronouncements it is neither entirely committed to the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) […] nor is it fully integrated with the Eastern Partnership Initiative (EaP)' led by the EU. Thus Belarus presents a special case where a small country, highly dependent on economic support from Russia and having close institutional ties with it, is engaged in a fine balancing act between two powers (Russia and the EU) to maximize its capacity. Also, Belarus' leadership, interestingly if not prematurely, sees participation in the EEU as part of the long cycle that will eventually lead to closer relations/integration with the EU.

There are also plenty of potential hazards facing the existing Customs Union/Eurasian Economic Union project that might slow it down and/or change its pace and direction in the near future. I would say that the most important of the challenges are:

1 *Asymmetric relations within the Union*: it is obvious that Russia is the strongest member state in the Union. This creates some worries for Kazakhstan and Belarus regarding their seemingly inevitable subordinate role. Keeping in mind how delicate any intrusion into newly gained sovereignty is, I would say that the union should limit itself to coordinating economic policies and should keep away from specific sovereignty issues of its member countries by abstaining from forming supranational institutions.
2 *The ability to implement multi-level integration smoothly*: inter-state arrangements are only part of any integration process. To integrate cross-border region-to region relations, private sector interests, migration flows and exceptions to the customs regulations (i.e. to include access to cheaper Chinese commodities to avoid public discontent) constitutes a major challenge.
3 *The ability to implement complex and costly multi-speed integration*: embracing countries with a significantly lower developmental level (such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) will require not only policy coordination, but significant assistance in restructuring their economies to bring them to a comparable level with other members of the union. It seems that, at the moment, the potential costs of doing that surpass the calculated benefits (not to mention the inevitable intrusion into their sovereignty).
3 *The ability to reconcile the multi-civilization, multi-cultural, multi-confessional nature of the union*: introducing meaningful interstate *cultural* dialogue and building trust and tolerance is a paramount task. As Kazantsev argues in

> Chapter 13, '[f]irst of all, Russia should decide if it is outside or inside the region of Central Asia. Do Russians have common history and identity with the Central Asian peoples? Or are Russians genuine Europeans, as many of them, especially among the ranks of the liberals, think? Or are they people of special "Russian" or "Orthodox Christian" civilization, as many conservatives think? […] The answer that Eurasianism gives – that Russians are partially Europeans, partially Asians – is too ambivalent today'.

Note on 'an object called Eurasia' versus 'subjectivity' of Eurasian space

Many policy makers still think that Eurasia is a space to 'grab', to 'absorb', to manipulate and use in a geostrategic 'great game' in the best nineteenth-century tradition of British diplomacy. At stake are global economic interests, investments and profits that are part of this 'great game'. Indeed, it may look that way from a distance as modern Central Asian states are young by any standards and a post-imperial process of mutual adjustment is still continuing. Establishing sovereignty, it seems, was the easiest part in their modern history. Some are doing economically well (i.e. Kazakhstan), some are struggling with significant economic problems, weak institutions, frustrated populations that have no place to work (i.e. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) and are kept at a low standard of living. However, the economy is only part of 'being a state'. There are still many unresolved issues ranging from interstate territorial claims, to ethnic/religious tensions and conflicts over resources (i.e. water access) which have intensified in recent years, exposing some regional vulnerabilities that can be exploited further by the outside powers seeking influence over the region.

This book's editors are still optimistic. The events in Ukraine in Spring 2014 (occurring while we were finalizing this volume) notwithstanding: that regional and even larger-scale military confrontation between the USA/EU and Eurasia (mainly China and possibly Russia) is a scenario of just a few fanatics. It is important, however, that normal economic and political competition not be transformed into a more intense, regional, political-economic confrontation. To avoid that scenario we advocate new approaches to integration (represented in this volume by several authors: Glazyev and Tkachuk, Lukyanov, Sakwa, Yang) that will guarantee *inclusiveness, transparency and openness* of the process with full respect for the sovereignty of its participants.

To increase the chances of that happening, all countries involved should, however, turn more attention to redefining their approach to what constitutes being a 'strong state', including paying less attention to elite wealth accumulation, fighting imagined enemies, and limiting self-congratulation. Strategic independence – the quality of a strong state – is predominantly located within strong, transparent institutions, a strong legal and judiciary system, a strong economy, socially directed redistribution of wealth, cultural openness, and the eradication of economic, political and social corruption and cronyism. Those are key aspects of any successful integration project. Changes to the outside world should start at home.

New regionalism vs. new utopia

It seems to me that the main global result of the last economic crisis (2008–11) is growing regionalization, fragmentation and protectionism. This is a quite normal reaction by nation-states, which have pursued a sort of defence mechanism, or at least have tried to take things back into their own hands from someone else's 'globalization' – which has no identity and location but retains the enormous power of making/influencing decisions vital to the well-being of whole countries. In this sense, new regionally based attempts to (re)integrate the Eurasian space are rather the norm than the exception. 'Regionalism', write the authors of a recent UN WIDER Report on New Regionalism, 'also offers many less powerful countries – especially those in the developing world – the chance to improve their bargaining positions in the global policy-making arena by combining to form a formidable collective unit'.[17] The editors support this conclusion and argue that there are significant economic reasons to consider both further economic (re)integration of the post-Soviet space and to take the next step forward by including in that process China and possibly the EU (as an entirely separate but cooperating partner), despite a pile of unresolved issues. In doing so, are we, the editors, edging toward a new neo-regional utopia by refusing to see the region in purely 'realistic terms' of power games, ethnic tensions, military strength and conflict?

We agree with Mike Davis, who argues that '[u]topia is the defence of the necessary against the realistic [and …] is the practical architecture of that alternative future, envisioned less as a grand design than a huge toolbox from which communities can forge solutions on a participative scale'.[18] Obviously there is the issue of agency (is there the political will, and who will do the job?), and a question of whether the highly bureaucratic structures currently involved in the process are best equipped with the tools to achieve such goals. At the same time, a counterfactual question is what would happen if such a process did not proceed. We think that the alternative would be a further fragmentation of the economic space, more 'economic wars', more trade restrictions and regulatory barriers, not within the 'new Eurasia' but at the level of the national states. That almost inevitably would bring more chaos and anarchy spilling from economics to politics. So in that sense, this book's approach being 'utopian' (in Davis's sense of the term) is *de facto* quintessentially pragmatic and realistic, pending (a) political will, and (b) the courage of its participants.

Notes

1 Dmitry Trenin, 'Revising the Concept of Eurasia', 29 January 2013, carnegieendowment.org/2013/01/29/revising-concept-of-eurasia/f742?reloadFlag=1.
2 Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p.31.
3 We define Eurasia in spatial terms that go beyond the Urals and covers the European Union (EU), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and China.