

**THESIS SUMMARY**

**to the Ph.D. dissertation of**

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**Entitled**

**The Dynamics of Eurasian Comprehensive Security,  
Political and Economic Cooperation**

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# **1 Research**

## **1.1 Reasons for the research**

The dissertation starts with a preface containing my own recollections of long-lasting proxy wars between large powers, civil war, atrocities, ethnic conflicts, interventions of large powers and neighboring countries in Afghanistan. The international conflicts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a profound negative impact on Eurasia. The division of Eurasian great and middle powers into two different blocs over the cold war era was the primary reason of civil wars and atrocities in Afghanistan. In other words, Afghanistan was a conflict zone and the powers fought one war after the other within the territory. In my point of view, the only reason of those conflicts, misunderstandings and controversies was lack of regional cooperation in security, political and economic areas. The nations in the Eurasian region and states needed an evolutionary development to the level of cooperation, and it seems that those nations finally came to this realization.

Eurasian security, political and economic cooperation and the realization of a comprehensive framework is one of the most important issues of our current world order. Sustainable economic development, political stability and security need powerful regions, shared values and common goals to construct balance of power for a better global security and peace. Our current security, political and economic problems stem from lack of comprehensive interdependence among countries of the macro-regions. The new security, political and economic world order needs fundamental changes and reorganization such as moving from unilateralism towards multilateralism and global partnership.

The transformation of the bipolar world order to a unilateral or American globalization started after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The end of the bipolar world order proved it was unstable as well. Since that, the regions, countries and markets of the world have been in a strange interconnectedness with US economy and political sphere. In this model, the United States of America become the center of the world security, political and economic affairs.

In fact, the US, EU, EAEU, China, Russia, India, Turkey, Iran, and Central Asian countries are the active sides of the Eurasian security and politics. Each of them has their strategic view from based on various aspects, norms and interests. That said, Eurasian security, political and economic cooperation initiative is a very significant project for stabilizing and structuralizing Eurasia on a trans-regional level. It puts Eurasia in the center and raises its geopolitical and geo-economic values as a meeting point for East, West, and the rest of the world. In terms of natural and human resources, Eurasia is one of the richest areas in the world.

Some geopolitical experts claim Eurasia is the center of the globe. On the other hand, geographically the World-Island or Heartland is in the center of the Eurasian continent. As Halford Mackinder stated: “*Whoever rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; whoever rules the World-Island commands the World*” (Mackinder J. Halford , 1904).

A snap process of economic, political, political economic, institutional building and security policy cooperation has already started among the countries in the region to reduce abovementioned challenges. However, according to Anita Sengupta referring to Milan Haunner, “*we have no choice but to continue the heartland debate*” (Anita Sengupta, 2009, p. 15). On the other hand, as we consider the process, we suggest naming it comprehensive Eurasian security, political, economic, and technology cooperation. Our aim is to find and address those security, political, economic, cultural, historical, productive and technological factors affecting the positive and negative outcomes of the process forming a regional integration model instead of continuing the heartland debate or letting history repeat. We try to find those interacting factors and interest areas to outline the common grow-up and catch-up process innate the initiative. To discern the approach of macro-regions and a more normative viewpoint where the basic values can prevail, we call this theory global partnership. Global partnership might help the US and other regional powers to shape the order that Brzezinski, Z. approached like this: “*genuine strategic partnerships in the key regions of Eurasia*” and “*shape a more cooperative trans-Eurasian security system*” (Brzezinski, Z., 1997).

## 1.2 Research topic

Under the current world order, the term of distribution of global political and economic power is a central debate that has led the global and regional great powers to a dynamic political awakening. This awakening is a result of modern economic, military and security technology development, meaning the national security, political and economic interests of the countries should be in line or at least cooperating with regional and global interests. In this model, even the small powers or countries can seek their own ways or strategies and fulfill their responsibilities. Such a political awakening will lead the powers to some source of miscalculations in their policies and conflicts. As Brzezinski Z. once wrote, “*As China’s influence grows and as other emerging powers – Russia or India or Brazil for example – compete with each other for resources, security, and economic advantage, the potential for miscalculation and conflict increases. Accordingly, the United States must seek to shape a broader geopolitical foundation for constrictive cooperation in the global arena, while accommodating the rising aspirations of an increasingly restless global population*”

(Brzezinski, Z., 1997). Miscalculations increase competition and intensify conflicts among the players, while at the same time leading the world to a new level of cooperation.

I research these initiatives as the potential positive approaches to challenge the Eurasian security, political and economic development process. There are also cross border initiatives and efforts to connect South-Asia with central Asia through Afghanistan by implementing several energy projects like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Pipeline (TAPI)<sup>1</sup>, Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan (TUTAP)<sup>2</sup>, Central Asia-South Asia power project (CASA-1000) and Central Asia-South Asia Regional Electricity Market (CASAREM). The economic and geopolitical interdependency between these two regions will force the countries to reconsider their attitudes and policy instruments towards the ongoing war and conflict in Afghanistan. The regional demand for a common regional development will change Afghanistan's position from an international conflict and buffer zone to a peaceful and dynamic economic transit area. In addition, we mention the significance and strategic influence of economic and trade connectivity initiatives like China's One Belt and One Road (OBOR), India, Iran Russia's International North-South Transport Corridor (NSTC), and Lapis Lazuli Corridor. The Lapis Lazuli Corridor starts from Afghanistan and connects central Asian countries with Europe via the Black Sea region. Therefore, we believe Eurasia will be witness of a new, common and multidimensional economic, political and security institutional framework in its upcoming future. In this dissertation, we analyze the role of oil and gas pipelines between Russia and China, Turkey, Germany and India and there economic, political, strategic, weaponry and military cooperation.

The most important task of the research is to outline a newly initiated process of regional economic and political cooperation in the region. This process would result in the economic interdependency building between Central-Asia and South-Asia by energy markets. For instance Central-Asia South-Asia Regional Electricity Market (CASAREM), which has subprojects under work: the Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan (TUTAP) electrification program and CASA-1000, respectively Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) gas pipeline major project. This project will bring close the two regions. The economic interdependency between these two regions will force the countries in the region to reconsider their attitudes and policy instruments to shape and design a dynamic and peaceful Afghanistan and use it as a transit center and sub-meeting point instead of as a

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<sup>1</sup> Trans-Afghanistan Pipeline

<sup>2</sup> Afghanistan: Afghanistan Energy Supply Improvement Investment Program

buffer zone. Therefore, In Eurasia there will be a new and multidimensional institutional framework in several fields.

From the point of view of Russian Eurasianism, the relations between Russia and the Middle East is set to become another sensitive topic in the coming decades. Russia and the United States will remain in a long rivalry while maintaining a certain level of cooperation. The key region in this aspect is the Middle East where no great power has the dominant position. The dominating position will be granted to whomever the European Union and China provides support to. It will highly affect political and economic relations between Russia and Europe, Russia and China, respectively Russia and Turkey. Obviously, the ability and geopolitical position of both would be the main factor for Europe and China and the meeting of interest will put an end to the term. However, how it happens and how the United States could defend its position or how Russia could maintain its position strong while at the same time gaining trust is also partially discussed in this research.

Russian economy and governmental system highly need European support. The Eurasian Economic Union was and is a Russian project to attract the European Union's attention for further and deeper cooperation with the whole region instead of countries by themselves. Europe is the strategic region in Russian economic and world politics. Europe can provide Russians technology and "know how", experiences for making Eurasian Economic integration more productive, development policies for their infrastructure and regional governance building policies among others. Russia will knock any door to rebuild its cooperative relationship with Europe and America because long-term isolation will destroy Russia again and obviously, Russians do not want this. This research also monitors the reemerging of Russia in the European politics as a partner considered rather in a positive way.

In this regard, China's strategic position is also significant to the Russian Eurasianism. China is the largest by numbers and technologically strongest power of Eurasia. No sustainable Eurasia is imaginable without China. Therefore, significant cooperation and coordination are under way between Russia and China. This development can be seen in Central-Asia, Middle East and other numerous regions. The subject of debate here is the sustainability of these relations between the parties. China has a more comfortable position than Russia. Russian economy is experiencing difficulties and uncertainties, but China is getting better day by day.

For us, the increase of China's economic impact on the abovementioned regions is important. The Chinese transnational entrepreneurs, transformation in social organization as changing corporate governance and strategic management and the outspreading of it into

Russia and its zone of influence, and the future of Chinese capitalism policies will shape the Sino-Russia entente in the future.

In this research, Turkey is also one of the key elements, mainly with view to the redefinition of its foreign policy strategy. Turkey is seeking a shift in foreign and security policy. It wants a regional great power status that can propel its opening to the world strategy. In our view, Turkey's new shift is a balance of power between great powers and adaptation of global partnership.

Finally, a few words about my mother country, Afghanistan. Geographically the external borders of Eurasia demarcated where the Soviet Union or today's members of the Commonwealth of Independent States meet Afghanistan. Afghanistan was and still is a buffer zone between Eastern and Western powers. The border of Eurasia experiences lots of threats and uncertainty from Afghanistan because of the terrorist groups present there, mass production of certain types of drugs and the existence of countless irresponsible armed groups remaining there since the times of the civil war, engaged in organized crime. The terrorist groups fighting in Afghanistan are not just insiders; there are many activists and subgroups built by Central-Asian and Russian Muslim citizens too. According to basics of security policy, Eurasia needs a preemptive strategy against these terrorist and other radical groups hoping to destroy the strong secular states in the Central-Asia and Russia and to build Islamic system, state or at least network there. Therefore, Afghanistan could be an important country for cooperation in the foreign policy of all world and regional powers such as the US, the EU, China, India, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. It is a country where different and common interests of the above-mentioned powers including Russia meet one another. The cooperation of the world's great powers in Afghanistan would have an effect on their relations elsewhere, too. In this area, the foreign and security policy of Afghans in order to act as a good meeting and transit point or bridge for the great and regional powers is very important.

In the end, I try to conceive my own interpretation and understanding of the main research questions mentioned in the beginning of this research paper.

### **1.3 Hypothesis and Methodology**

With view to all above-mentioned topics, my hypothesizes are:

- 1. Russian neo-Eurasianist foreign policy strategy contains some appropriate regional comprehensive security, political, and economic cooperation initiatives by applying global partnership theory instead of heartland and rime land theory.**

2. **The Eurasianist view of Turkey means a foreign and security policy shift, which can guarantee a regional great power status and helps its opening to the world strategy. To achieve this goal, Turkey puts an end to its Cold War era's commitment and balances its relations with other political, economic and military powers like Russia, China and Iran.**
3. **China wants to build a bridge of friendship and cooperation across the Eurasian continent and seeks a comprehensive strategic partnership with the European Union through building four bridges for peace, growth, reform and progress of civilization. China represents dynamic economic and industrial model: smart technology and regional and trans-regional connectivity. To achieve these goals, China needs to cooperate with other Eurasian powers. Without China, no Eurasian initiative can be developed and without Russia, India, Turkey and other Eurasian powers, no Chinese dream can be complete.**
4. **India balances its foreign policy and relations in two different directions: the Indo-Pacific (maritime concept) and Eurasian (a continental strategic shift). In the "Great Eurasian" concept alongside Russia and China, India can reach out to the Central Asian market, limit the possibilities of its historical conflict with China, and can find a common ground with other powers to pacify the conflict zone in Afghanistan and counter terrorism in Pakistan.**
5. **The comprehensive security, political, economic and technology cooperation model we apply as a regional integration procedure is the only way of joint development. In order to launch a successful initiative, the Eurasian powers must coordinate their policies and combine their power.**

### **1.3.1 Research Questions**

1. In order to establish a comprehensive regional cooperation initiative, what security, political and economic, technological and structural elements of Eurasian great, middle and small powers are and are not adaptable?
2. How does Russia find and achieve a position to act as a sustainable and reliable meeting and transit point between West and East?
3. How can Russia shape such a multi-vector diplomacy to convince the Eurasian great, middle and small powers to cooperate and coordinate their policies?
4. The Russian Eurasianism provides a system of macro-economic regions and multilateral globalization. According to some Russian nationalists, the world can be divided in several macro regions and one of the macro-regions would be the Russo-centric Eurasia, which reduces American Atlanticism and applies Russian supremacy toward others. Is there any

rationality or possibility of applying a Russo-centric Eurasian order to enhance global partnership?

5. What institutions, organizations, frameworks, foreign, defense, economic and political system and approaches can help Eurasian great, middle and small powers in catch up and enhance the regional development process?

### **1.3.2 Research methodology**

My research is based on a theoretical, historical and political economy approach. It is related to fundamental geo-political and geo-economic changes in Eurasia. As Eurasia is one of the most important and sensitive regions in international affairs, changes in Eurasia will result in a new shape and design for global or world order. This means a shift from unipolar security, political and economic globalization to multipolar and multidimensional global partnership.

I have built my study on a mixture of explanatory, descriptive, comparative, observational qualitative-quantitative methods to extract a highly analytic research on the topic.

I have applied explanatory research method for two main reasons:

Firstly, this method helps me to explain those Eurasianist policies of the Eurasian powers, which seek Eurasian comprehensive and multidimensional cooperation. Implementing this method also enabled me to discuss on possibilities of some regional organizations and actors like EAEU, BRICS, CIS, Russia, India, and China (RIC) etc.

Comparative and observational research methods allowed me to compare the Russian Eurasianism and other Eurasian powers' stand points, strategies and principal lessons of their past towards the region and beyond.

On the other hand, I use empirical method for all present and practical aspects of my research area. It may enable me to draft a clear picture of the appearance and existence of Eurasian powers' role and position in the future.

Additionally, I introduce several short case studies, economic and trade relations from the given countries and institutions. In this research, I also comment and highlight the different and actual positions, positive-negative and critical standpoints of related experts and observers. The geopolitical interests of the politically and economically important parties like the United States, the European Union, Russia, China, India, Turkey etc. are among the important debates of my research. This study raises the question why Russian Eurasianism is an internationally discussed issue and what kind of new approach it could be for the future in the global partnership and what are the factors that pose challenges to the unipolar globalization.

From an epistemological perspective, my thesis is a deductive or top-down approach. This approach evolves from general into more specific, contains theoretical part followed by hypothesis, and ends with my analysis.

For data collection to conduct my study, I used secondary sources such as books, journal and online articles related to the topic and official statistics and indicators from World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and International Trade Centre, among others.

I try to be comparative during usage of sources. The Western perspectives and the Russian or Eurasian perspectives are very important. I try to find my own position between those and prove that the term I research is an actual security, political and economic issue of global and regional affairs.

My research will be a theoretical and practical analysis. The characteristics of my study primarily lay on theoretical and practical terms. For data collection I have relied on OECD, World Bank, IMF, Eurostat, ITC and some national statistical dates. To sum up, in all methods I relied on literature published since the collapse of the Soviet Union which tackle all points by which Russia could re-emerge as a rebuilder of the idea of Eurasianism and act as a meeting point between other regional powers conducting its new foreign policy strategy doctrine.

## **2 Structure of the dissertation**

In order to draw a reliable picture of the future of Eurasia, the following economic topics and subtopics are made subject to debate in the current paper:

- political and cultural relations within the Commonwealth of Independent States
- Eurasia's position in the world economy
- Natural resources and the policies and processes of their allocation and accumulation
- Production potential based on comparative and competitive advantages theory
- The situation and level of industry and industrialization in the 20<sup>th</sup> and current century
- Industry as a basis for the economy
- Export and import market structure
- The issue of single market in the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union
- Regional economic integration, geographic structure of foreign trade, macroeconomic policies, and microeconomic basis of reforms.

Russia is the main actor and important factor in our research. Our next step is to study how Russia deals with its own economy and where it is heading for, and how Russia deals with

the social organization of the industrial enterprise in the period of economic transition confronting a crisis. In this regard, the following points are central to our methodology:

- The political economy and economic stabilization in Russia
- Role of banks in term of financing economic growth in Russia and Eurasian Economic Union
- The economic system and the new shape and influence of it in the region
- The future of the Russian economy
- Finally, the impact of the Russian economic crisis on world economy mainly on Central Asia, China, India, Turkey, Iran, and even Central and Eastern European countries.

These are tackled in the chapters summarized below.

## **2.1 The philosophical and historical concept of Eurasia among Eurasian Nations**

This chapter contains an overview of contemporary political and security concerns of the great powers in Eurasia and a deep analytical study of philosophy and history of the terms Eurasianism(s), followed by the following subchapters: The standpoint of the United States in Eurasia, The Strategic Path of Russia in Eurasia, The Strategic view of Turkey to Eurasia, China's standpoint on Eurasia and India from Indo-Pacific to Eurasia.

The knowledge of cooperation and partnership in Eurasia dates back to the unsuccessful struggle of historical empires like the Hun Empire, Turkic/Khazar khaganates, Arabian Caliphate, Empire of the Seljuks, Mongolian Empire, Timur's Empire, Ottoman Empire, Safavids Empire, and Russian/Soviet Empires from 4th to 20th century. Each of them struggled to maintain power and survive but the rise of one has put an end to another. No empire could succeed to lead and rule Eurasia. After experiencing expansionism, annexationist moves, protectionism and clashes the historical powers came to the point that the only solution for sustainable peace, security, prosperity and development is cooperation and partnership in the framework of nation-states and mutual recognition. The result that the research achieved is that the historical powers of Eurasia would not return to the political order they experienced until the end of 20th century. The collapse of the Soviet Union superpower was the last station of the empires and expansionism era in Eurasia and an era of regionalism and trans-regional integration was ushered in establishing regional economic blocs and regional integration and connectivity organizations. In the era of regional integration and connectivity the Eurasian powers solve their conflicts and misunderstandings without application of force.

The United States shaped its Eurasian Strategy in the early 1990s to prevent the rise and domination of any or group of countries in Eurasia. For the United States the rise of terrorism and the rise of regional hegemons like Russia and China was/is in the focus point. The economic

and technological development of China and the return of Russia as a military and political great power has increased the fear of decline again in the US. The history is repeated itself. The fear of decline in the US is rooted in the rise of the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1980, as well as the economic rise of Japan in 1980s. Therefore US is too sensitive on Eurasia and exerts pressure in the form of sanctions against Russia, China, Iran, Turkey and India.

Eurasian powers want to take global partnership model to the inter-regional and international level by challenging post-Soviet unipolar world order. This step generates conflicts and misunderstandings in high-level politics between Eurasian powers and the West represented by organizations like NATO and European Union. I believe that the era of misunderstanding will give its place to “geniun strategic partnership and trans-Eurasian security system” applied by Brzezinski, Z. (Brzezinski, Z., 1997) between Eurasia and Europe, respectively the US. Thus this model provides global partnership alternative in the form of an upcoming political, economic, security, military, and technology order to other regions and countries. The Eurasian powers try to consider and recognize other countries’ choices and interests and defend their rights of being different instead of forcing them to accept rules and norms from abroad. The Eurasian powers condemn the United States’ “democracy exporting strategy”. Ongoing conflicts and flashpoints like Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Nagorno-Karabakh, Ukraine, Balkans, North Korea, South China Sea and Venezuela have proved the inefficiency of the unipolar world order and highlighted the need for global partnership and deep cooperation among great powers. The primary need for cooperation is showcased the balance of power, currently in the making in various regions like Central Asia, Caucasus, Middle East, South Asia and Central and Eastern Europe. In the entire research I tried to argue that the unipolar solutions intensify international conflicts, and global partnership based on mutual recognition can put an end to conflicts and confrontations among great, middle and small powers. The foreign policy concept of Russia highlighted the need for “constructive dialogue” between different cultures and civilizations towards an era of multipolar international system. It is a positive sign that the powers like Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran maintain cooperative views and policies instead of thinking of long-term confrontations.

The research examines and compares Russian classical and neo-Eurasianism by studying its historical evolution, which dates back to the second decade of the 20th century. At the same time, China’s standpoint and historical background in Eurasia, Turkey’s Eurasianism with its new strategic shift and geopolitical approach, Central Asia’s position in Eurasia and Eurasianism, India’s, European Union’s and United States’ point of view and standpoint to the

Russian Eurasianism and Eurasian security, political, economic and technology initiative will be discussed. The main goal of the study is to describe the Eurasian cooperation process from the point of view of a political economy.

Russian political and military leaders developed hybrid warfare (Grasimov doctrine) that transcends boundaries between peace and war. The doctrine is focused on combination of nonmilitary means like political, diplomatic, economic and other measures with the application of military forces: a model of all-of-government warfare for achieving political goals. The doctrine intensified Russia's powerful return to the world affairs. The Gerasimov doctrine played the role of conductor in the Russian foreign policy strategy and national security policy. As mentioned before, the driver of Russian foreign policy strategy and national security policy is still the Primakov doctrine and military in its old and new form has always been implemented. According to foreign policy concept of the Russian Federation from 2016, the parallel use of force and diplomatic efforts is the primary instrument in case of achieving the goals and defending the interests of Russia and its allies. The idea of multipolar international system in Russian foreign policy strategy dates back to Primakov doctrine in 1990s.

Yevgeni Primakov shaped Russia's security, defense and foreign policy strategy in 1996, starting from its baselines like independence in making foreign policy decisions, vision of a multipolar world, primacy in post-Soviet space and Eurasian integration, opposing NATO and close partnership with China and India. Ever since, the case of unipolarity or primacy of one state over others is a matter of concern for Russian political leaders. During the past two decades a Russo-centric ultra-nationalist direction has also been presented by Alexander Dugin and other Russian nationalists. Yet Russian political and state leaders like Vladimir Putin, Dimitry Medvedev, and Sergey Lavrov have favoured a regional integrationist direction instead against an expansionist and aggressive view. I found that political leaders are actively supporting neo-Eurasianism ideas with a recognition concept towards other Eurasian powers seeking more cooperation and turning around conflicts and confrontations. In other words, the various type of Eurasianisms are important principles of regional structuralization of entire Eurasian continent for Russia. Russia has chosen the Eurasian view instead of accepting western values and developed as a different regional power in between of Europe and Asia by balancing ties with both side. The outcome is not what the West waited after three decades struggle to prevent the sovereign and independent rise of Eurasian powers like Russia, China, India, Turkey, and Iran. The large powers Eurasia have applied different aspects of Bilateralism, Globalization and Regionalism to develop a regional structuralization process. I see this as result of change. In the

world of sovereign states creating world order could be possible but maintaining of that would be difficult or even impossible. The rise of the Eurasianist regional view among Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran based on alignment theory and balance of power shows a partial decline of the unipolar world order that emerged after the failing of the bipolar world order in the early 1990s.

Since Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran are the main players and powers seeking to build up a Eurasian macro-region, we deeply discuss their Eurasianist efforts and strategies. To make it clearer, we shape a longitudinal analysis on transformation of different aspects and dimensions in Russian, Chinese, Indian, Turkish and Iranian foreign policy doctrine triggered by the Cold War and post-Cold War era, as well as post-financial crisis era and their impact on all regions and sub-regions, focusing on Central-Asia, Asia-pacific, South-Asia and the Middle East. In addition, we try to predict how the Eurasian security, political, economic and technological cooperation will help the countries to consolidate their regional great power position beyond the abovementioned sub-regions.

However, the above-mentioned Russian neo-Eurasianism openly cooperates with other powers in terms of providing security, political, economic and technology support to Central-Asia, Asia-pacific, South-Asia, Africa and Middle East. The appearance of Russia-China, Russia-Turkey and Russia-Iran with a harmonized and coordinated policy and strategy in Africa, Central Asia, and the Middle East as well as international organizations has received positive response among Eurasian powers. These are signs of a paradigm shift. The world is witnessing a transformation process from unipolar globalization to a multipolar globalization or global partnership. The process for establishing macro-regions or geo-economic belts has already started in Eurasia and the idea is gaining popularity to other parts of the world. As mentioned, the Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis might guarantee stable ground for establishing the Eurasian macro-region. The Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis would be the key factor in European Union's security, economic, energy and technology transition. Russia's primary strategy is to transform the European security architecture. Russia wants European Union to enjoy its sovereignty in making decisions in the areas of economic, foreign, security, and defense policy. Russia aims to build trust and a degree of cooperation between the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union. China, India, Turkey and Iran share a similar view on the subject and expect the European Union not to follow the US. The relationship between the European Union and Eurasian powers is growing positively in the fields of economy, connectivity and technology. Currently Eurasia (Russia, China and Turkey) is the most important partner for the

European Union but their relationship has not reached the security level. The Western security structure has a strong structure and has gone a long way. Dramatic changes seem impossible, meaning the Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis will not be successful in this field. In other words, in the upcoming years and decades the relationship between Eurasia and the EU will develop only in the fields of economy, connectivity and technology. The military and security areas will remain unchanged.

In this dissertation we argue the Eurasianist views of the Eurasian powers differ from global partnership. However, we believe the differences in mindset are eliminable through a comprehensive cooperation and a reliable framework. This goal can be achieved in an era of “a global core of genuinely shared political responsibility” and in a “politically defined Europe” (Brzezinski, Z., 1997) enhancing to Eurasia. According to Brzezinski Z, “a politically defined Europe is also essential to the progressive assimilation of Russia into a system of global cooperation” (Brzezinski, Z., 1997). For us, 21st century should be the era of total interdependency and partnership. Because of this, without global partnership, no common development can be pursued in any regions, and even less in Eurasia. In order to enhance global economic development, multipolar political consensus, and international security and stability, the active and cooperative role of all countries is highly required. Global partnership is a cooperation of every country with every country instead of war of every country against others. The basis of this form of order are the trans-Eurasian and trans-regional economic and transportation routes, regional security, political and economic organizations and institutions, energy (electricity, oil and gas) cooperation, economic and military technology cooperation among Eurasian powers.

## **2.2 Economic and geopolitical relations between Eurasian powers**

Russia, China, India, Turkey, and Iran rely on a new form of cooperation with the West. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the large powers of Eurasia have successfully resisted their political and economic systems. The countries have chosen to enhance their regional cooperation in security, political, economic and technology fields to defend their interests. Eurasia is a powerful region that can develop its own path and find regional solutions to address regional conflicts. In global partnership model powerful regions, comprehensive regional cooperation and regional institutional building process is the most significant. Regional cooperation increases geopolitical and geo-economic values of the region and helps inter-regional ties and interactions. Regional powerfulness is the appropriate phenomena that secure and stabilize the world order. As history proved, all multipolar, bipolar and unipolar world order

models failed and lost the path to survive challenges and threats. Global partnership is version globalization completed in post-Soviet Eurasia through mutual understanding and recognizing one another's interests, influence and demands. By this, the era described by Mackinder, "Whoever rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; whoever rules the World-Island commands the World" (Mackinder J. Halford , 1904) has gone and no Eurasian power seeks to rule the Heartland, command the World-Island and govern the world unilaterally.

The first subchapter of the current chapter contains an overview on Intra-RIC+T (Russia, India, China + Turkey) investment and trade relations providing data about India-China, India-Russia, Russia-China, Russia-German and Russia-Europe trade and economic relations and the discusses the case of geopolitical and geo-strategical interests of given countries. The second subchapter of the chapter discusses the complexity of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). The influence and contribution of BRICS in world politics and economics, intra-BRICS achievements and failures, the case of BRICS New Development Bank and the case of intra-BRICS investment and trade are the main terms of this part. I also try to set up a theoretical background for the process to find what kind of cooperation BRICS is primarily involved in, whether it can be considered a new phenomenon in the global partnership era and what mechanisms and projections could lead to an improved and more profound economic cooperation and integration between these nations by applying theories of global and regional economic integration in the conclusion.

Most of Eurasian great, middle and small powers resist supremacy of one nation over others. The most important demand of Eurasian powers is partnership and shared interests in global affairs. The Eurasian powers launched several political strategies to build a new regional security, political and economic structure. One of them is the Russian Eurasianism provided by Moscow. Russian Eurasianism considers reducing the lack of international harmony and consistency by constructing "macro-regions" (Bassin, M, 2008) as a platform of partnership. This approach principally claims powerful regions could actively recognize regional economic and political demands, find regional solutions, avoid regional and international conflicts, defend, and secure international order beyond the region.

One of the pivotal points in the new Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation in 2016 was the use of force and power projection outside the country and outside its zone of influence. The situation with China, India, Turkey and Iran is not different. Each of these countries has involved in military and political conflicts with the West. The conflicts and misunderstandings between Western and Eurasian powers are rooted in the central debate on global political and economic power distribution. Such a debate /leads global and regional great

powers to a dynamic political awakening. Brzezinski coined the term “politically defined Europe” to help Russia become part of the global cooperation, yet he missed to point out that politically redefined Eurasia with different values and ethics is also essential for a meaningful and balanced global cooperation.

During this research I found that relations between Eurasian powers are limited to the geopolitical, geostrategic and military cooperation level. The real economic, technology and connectivity fields are in their initial stage or even yet to be started. Countries like Russia, China, India, Turkey, and Iran are not important and big economic partners to one another. Geoeconomically, Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran are as far from one another as geopolitically they show their proximity. Their bilateral trade is not balanced. Russia-China trade is balanced but insignificant in volume. India’s export to China is four time lower than its import from China. Turkey also suffers huge trade deficit with Eurasian nations. On the other hand, each of these countries is economically dependent on the west. Major markets for Russia, China, Turkey, and India include the United States, the European Union, Japan, and South Korea. My findings show that in the Eurasian cooperation, a significant economic interest is missing but in case of security, military and politics the Eurasian powers have developed meaningful cooperation. China has launched the OBOR to intensify economic ties within the region through connectivity and reach Europe, the Middle East and Africa. India has launched the INSTC to reach Eurasia and Europe and Middle East. Russia, India and China are the key members of the BRICS group. Russia established the Eurasian Economic Union to create a larger single market within the region and increase its economic capacity.

Despite their abovementioned potential, the Eurasian countries still fail to solve and reduce their national and regional problems including, but not limited to: lack of trans-regional cooperation in security, political and economic areas; overwhelming poverty, starvation and inequality; lack of basic economic infrastructure; literacy rate deficit; human rights and democracy deficit; different security, political and economic and market structure, system, and priorities.

The conflicts or misunderstandings in high-level politics could remain until all sides or powers get ready to cooperate with one another despite their different interpretations and interests. This is what global partnership means. China and Russia have presented the model of major country relationship without interfering into each other’s internal affairs and have not tried to dominate each other’s interests in regional and international affairs. Currently, the model of major country relationship is the most important factor in bilateral and multilateral relationships among Eurasian powers like Russia-India, Russia-Iran, Russia-Turkey, China-

India, China-Iran, China-Turkey. Recently, Russia and Turkey played a significant positive role in Libyan peace process which led to ceasefire and end of civil war in Libya within a year following the Berlin Conference on January 2020. Russian, Iranian and Turkish military are cooperating and coordinating their movements in Syria thanks to high-level political understanding of their political leaders. Russia and Turkey also managed to cooperate closely and put an end to the long-standing regional conflict (flash point) of Nagorno-Karabakh between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus. Russia and China work shoulder by shoulder in Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa and numerous international initiatives and organizations while bearing in mind their different goals and interests. It seems that the era of war of attrition has finished and the era of cooperation of every country with every country has begun in Eurasia. At the same time, almost all Eurasian powers are under political pressure and economic sanctions imposed by the United States and its NATO allies due to misunderstandings in high-level politics and varying different points of view or interest. In Eurasia, starting such cope and struggle required strong and functional security, political, economic and technology initiative and framework that would have the capacity to manage and survive all the aspects of conflicts and help countries achieve common goals. Resistance over regional affairs and regional comprehensive cooperation among large powers in Eurasia represent a new era and knowledge of regionalism and partnership. The comprehensive platform of partnership will lead the countries to form a “*macro-region*” (Bassin, M, 2008) a term coined by Alexander Dugin.

These confrontations with powerful countries bring hard times for the region of Eurasia, notably Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran. They all will experience difficulties in their internal and external affairs. They should be very careful what future they choose for their country and nation. This is a hard decision for the leaders and nations of Eurasia and requires comprehensive, common and well-structured foreign and security policy. The establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization could count among the most important achievements of new regionalization in which the United States has been kept outside by the member states; instead, Russia, China, India and Pakistan are the key actors of the initiative.<sup>3</sup> However, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization has been ignored by Bush II and Obama Administrations, but related to China-led One Belt and One Road (OBOR), Asian Investment and Infrastructure Bank (AIIB), and Eurasian Economic Union, U.S. has shown a much more critical posture.

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<sup>3</sup> Rober E. Bedeski and Nikolas Swanström (2012): *Eurasia's Ascent in Energy and Geopolitics*, Routledge Publisher, England, Page 179-181.

### **2.3 Eurasian economic and political cooperation**

The process of the Eurasian political-economic consolidation, political institutionalism, security structuralization and technological and economic cooperation have already begun in the forms of the Eurasian Economic Union, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS, and Collective Security Treaty Organization, Russia-led Economic Forums and projects like China-led OBOR, India-led NSTC, regional initiatives like TAPI, TUTAP, CASA-1000 and CASA-REM etc. US politicians consider Eurasianism an anti-Americanism process. They are concerned by the prospect of Eurasianism emerging as a universal project to place Eurasia in the center of the world.

The subchapters in this section of the dissertation are: The Treaty of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Russia and the EAEU, The Historical and Evolutional Background of the EAEU, and The Economic Situation and the Results of the EAEU in the present. The last chapter is the conclusion section containing the analytical outcome of the dissertation.

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Eurasian Free Trade Area, BRICS, Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) are the practical outcomes of Eurasian security, political and economic cooperation initiative in the whole Eurasia. These common, regional and trans-regional institutions, organizations, cross-border and trans-Eurasian economic and trade belts, corridors and connectivity building processes bring more dynamic, common market, and interdependent relations to the nations. The process of building a political and economic union and collective defense organization system between Post-Soviet States has already occurred under the EAEU and CSTO.

Russia, India and China are the most important members of the BRICS group located in Eurasia. Besides that, Russia, India and China are the most influential economic, trade, geopolitical and large powers of the Eurasian region. Their economic, trade and political positions are to shape a multi-speed economic cooperation or even integration in the long run. Their bilateral strategic partnerships in numerous areas such as trade, regional and trans-regional economic connectivity or belts and road infrastructure building process, military and security policy cooperation and coordination are the real, objective and significant bases of the term trans-Eurasian economic cooperation.

Based on facts and different points of view of the BRICS member countries, we found that there is a huge gap between the real politics and goals of the member countries, mainly Russia, India and China, on one hand, and BRICS common matters like cooperation between

New Development Bank and National Banks and financial sectors, intra-BRICS trade, investment and financial policies, the case of fight against terrorism, on the other. Their involvement in important geopolitical and geo-economic issues is unilateral instead of collective or joint.

Currently each of them is struggling to be the main or key actor in Eurasian security, political and economic cooperation because of their unilateral or bilateral policies and strategies. This kind of individual geopolitical and geo-economic strategies has kept them away from common, multi-lateral and multi-speed trans-regional economic and trade development. There is no Eurasian cooperation without Russia, India and China. Cooperation in BRICS is a policy option laying the ground for pursuing their current individual goals and evolving into a real common initiative putting aside their rivalries and disputes. In a word, the BRICS cooperation is a common initiative based on individual goals and interests. The member countries must answer two essential questions: how to work towards common goals and how to create a common and comprehensive identity.

### 3 Conclusion

As we know, every change requires some course of action and every action creates reactions and even confrontation. Confrontation often creates a winner and a loser. The winner is always the one who does justice and according to classical realism, “*justice is the advantage of the stronger*”. Today, the great powers of the world are in confrontation; some of them, e.g. Western powers are in an era of power survival while others, like Russia, China, India, Turkey and Iran, are in the era of power transaction. Both theories are based on conflicts or even war. According to Clausewitzian Theory, we all know “*War is a continuation of policy by other means*”. That is why both sides of the world are involved in conflicts and inflaming the wars against each other’s partners in small countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Ukraine. The people of Afghanistan has suffered from this international conflict for more than forty years. All these confrontations, indirect armed conflicts and threats are the signs of change in the world order. The global partnership world order is set to be very different from its post-cold war unipolar globalization dominated by the United States.

The rise of the Eurasian powers does not mean the US has lost its power. The research highlights the Eurasian powers and the US are in the era of struggle for political influence. The US will remain an important factor in Eurasian politics but can no more dominate the region like in the 1990s. The research stresses the possible existence of international politics among sovereign nations and large powers through partnership. The US and its allies have no choice

but to recognize the realities of the region and initiate equality driven partnership with Eurasian powers. The US almost lost the war in Afghanistan. The Taliban have built their ties with Russia, China and Iran. The Islamic State and other terrorist networks are on the rise in the country. The US military is boots on the ground in the country but defeating terrorism needs a comprehensive regional strategy that applies partnership with the Eurasian powers. In the lack of comprehensive regional partnership the US might come out of solution to manage the situation.

Despite the United States long-term preventive balance of power strategy and deep concerns Russia, China, India, Turkey, and Iran have coordinated some parts of their interests. One of their common goals is a shared geopolitical and geo-economic dominance in the region. The very meaning of strategic shifts and policy cooperation among Eurasian nations leads to a balance of power and challenging US-led unilateral globalization.

In the recent three decades, Russian leaders have developed the Eurasianist theory as an alternative regional cooperation process. They balanced their views with Turkish and Central Asian Eurasianisms and provided a comprehensive form thereof. The model helped Russia keep and increase its influence, cultivate its interests and work with China, India, Turkey and Iran shoulder by shoulder. Russian leaders in their Eurasianist view seek international law and universal norms by respecting and defending other's sovereignty and independence towards western interference. For Russian leaders the Eurasianist view is a policy of prestige and a source of trust.

China is the most important power of Eurasia. It plays a pivotal role in Eurasian comprehensive security, political, economic, military, and technology cooperation. The Eurasian great, middle and small powers need China's support. China represents dynamic economic and industrial, modern and smart technology and regional and trans-regional connectivity model. It plays a central role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Russian Economic forums, Eurasian Economic Union and Eurasian Free-trade area, Commonwealth of Independent States and other security and economic projects. The research highlights that China's Eurasianist view on partnering with Russia and Iran has challenged the US-Eurasian strategy. China wants to build a comprehensive partnership and intensify its regional role and engagement alongside other regional powers. China developed the so called "*major country relationship*" model as a baseline for building channels and fields with other Eurasian and European powers. The countries like Russia, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are in a deep cooperation and coordination with China.

In recent years Turkey has also focused on its Eurasian oriented foreign policy strategy. In Turkey Eurasianism is an anti-Western approach containing meanings like leaving NATO and quitting its bid for the European Union, shifting to the East and partnering with Russia and China. The idea of Eurasianism in Turkey has roots in Russian Eurasianist theories. In practice, Turkey has redefined its foreign policy strategy in the post-Cold War era by developing ties with non-Western powers like Russia, China and Iran. The move has laid the ground for Turkey to adopt an activist foreign policy towards Eurasia, mainly in the Middle East and Central Asia. As for now, Turkey acts independently as a regional middle power and balances power among other regional and international powers and does not need to comply with Eastern or Western views. Turkey in its Eurasianist view is seeking to develop in three dimensions: land area, sea area and continental area.

India keeps positive neutrality and balance of power in its foreign policy strategy. With such settlement it seeks to balance its relationship among US, EU, Russia and China. At the same time it acts as great power in South Asia's politics competing China and Pakistan. India's foreign policy strategy focuses on two directions: as Indo-Pacific (maritime concept) and Eurasia (continental strategic shift). The Indo-Pacific direction opens the path for India to build ties with the US and balance its relationship with China, while in the Eurasian direction India seeks to keep its strategic partnership with Russia, Iran and Central Asian nations. In 2015, India became a full member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. In the same year Pakistan also joined the bloc. India has border conflicts with Pakistan and China. Its cold relation with China and Pakistan has pushed and isolated India, hence it needs to change its views towards those two countries. A better relationship with regional powers will improve its status in Eurasia, Indo-Pacific and in the West as well.

The three Eurasian large powers are supposed to work hard if they want to take practical steps towards shaping an integrated profile for their national markets. The better they are connected economically, the more possibilities they enjoy for their high political, military and security cooperation across the region.

To meet these abovementioned real and positive integration expectations, the given countries are required to reduce the deficiency of their un-developed institutional and regulatory frameworks. A real and positive cooperation and integration can only happen provided an institutional framework is present. Due to their regulatory function, international or regional institutions are crucial in harmonization and coordination of economic policies. The BRICS New Development Bank, Commonwealth of Independent States, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Eurasian Economic Union, and Eurasian Free Trade Zone are the institutional,

functional, positive examples and possibilities of the Eurasian security, political and economic cooperation and integration across the region. As for now, the China led OBOR, India led INSTC and other trans-regional economic and trade belts and routes are the basis of positive, practical and infrastructural implementation of the BRICS and trans-Eurasian cooperation. On the other hand, in order to build more intensified, sustainable and stable trans-regional cooperation, the three Eurasian large powers have to pay special attention to knowledge-based society building, technology updates, know-how cooperation, free trade agreements and harmonization of their customs system (as prerequisites for market integration).

To conclude, the Eurasian Economic Union can be regarded as a new face of the Soviet Union which represented the classic form of Eurasianism, which disappeared over the collapse of the former. Its political structure and geopolitical meaning have been lost. The declaration of new sovereign states with various types of fragmentation in the region has posed huge number of security, economic, social and political challenges during the post-Soviet era. As the heir of the Soviet Union, Russia has suffered economic, political and political difficulties. Nonetheless, the geo-philosophical concept of the term Eurasia has helped Russia to reinvent itself and re-emerge as a great power in Eurasia. For Russia, this was or is the only way to rebuild the legacy of classic Eurasianism and to be in the center of Europe and Asia. This has laid the ground for Russia to rise again and increase political influence over other great powers in the world. The process began with the collapse of the Soviet Union by establishing the Commonwealth of Independent States which later evolved into what we now know as the Eurasian Economic Union. The Union was created based on the new order, following the norms of neo-Eurasianism. This is one of the most interesting parts of world politics and future's history, which is growing as large and effective economic and political body, based on political economy theories.

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