

## CONCEPT VECTOR OF EURASIAN STATE BUILDING

*Evgeniy Turin<sup>1</sup>*

### Abstract

*This article deals with the conceptual guidelines of Eurasian nation building. The author, on the basis of the theory of Eurasianism and metaphysical methodology, considers the history of the ideology of civilizational integration of peoples and cultures, analyzes the modern integration potential of post-Soviet states, shows the objective consequences of new approaches to Eurasian nation-building and proves the need for a new, Eurasian state-managerial elite. According to the author, innovation at specialized universities training and retraining civil servants across Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan is of particular importance in forming the new Eurasian statehood and its managerial elite.*

**Keywords:** *Eurasian Union, the Eurasian integration, the Eurasian state, nation-building, the state-civilization, the triad of 'Man - Society - State', objectives of government, historical memory, passionarnost, the brotherhood of nations, state-forming ethnos, Westernization, the new elite, and public manager training.*

The crisis caused by the collapse of the USSR - the great Eurasian state - gave rise to a number of major adverse events, including deindustrialization, critical decrease in quality of life, chaotic mass migration and the decline of small towns and districts. The enormous civilizational potential of the independent post-Soviet states of Eurasia has gone unrealized. The current weakness of the latter only reinforces the aggressive manifestation of hazardous industrial and historical challenges relating to economic and military matters, including the terrorist nature of some strong states and new network 'internationals'.

In this new situation, post-Soviet countries are required to choose between gathering around their common historical memory to create

<sup>1</sup> Turin Evgeniy Anatol'evich, Scientific Secretary of the Orel Branch of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Civil Service under the President of the Russian Federation, the Executive Editor of the magazine 'The Bulletin of State and Municipal Administration', an associate professor of the Department of Political Science, State and Municipal Administration, and Candidate of Political Sciences. E-mail: Eugene.Turin@yandex.ru

a great union of Eurasian peoples, demonstrating civilizational strength and becoming a major planetary force, and fitting into other people's civilization, without prospects for the future.

Historical memory has a great part to play. The progress of information and organizational technologies has accelerated social, political and economic processes within a five year period. New entities are being created at such speed that the present passes in a moment.

A phenomenon is occurring in modern science, via the study of 19th century man, society and technology. We must view the past not as a set of facts, but as a system of programmes, languages and codes. This system is evolutionarily and inexhaustible, allowing not only a study of the present but prediction of the future.<sup>2</sup> Before us, there is a new triad: 'Past - Present – Future'.

Our past is created by society, social institutions, countries, regions, cities and rural areas. It invites study and allows us to assess what has happened. Our current scientific investigations<sup>3</sup> will analyze the historical experience of Eurasian integration of peoples, cultures and nations. We should approach the problem of Eurasian nation building in general and the problem of forming a new state-managerial elite in particular. This new Eurasian elite could become a driving force in creating a modern Eurasian State.

The idea of a Eurasian socio-cultural and political union of peoples dates back at least to pre-European times. Indo-Europeans incorporated various ethnicities, making them the first Eurasians.

In fact, the Eurasian socio-cultural type evolved through various models of kinship. In the case of Hellenism (one of the earliest types of Eurasian integration), marriage brought with it new relationships. The Hellenic Eurasian project, which was initiated by Alexander the Great, turned out to be highly successful (with some reservations). At its heart was the *political will* of the king-philosopher, who destroyed former chauvinistic concepts (sporting by the Greeks and Persians). Alexander was the first to pursue a consistent policy of

<sup>2</sup> Узилевский Г.Я. Внешние детерминанты переосмысления природы управления // Средне-русский вестник общественных наук. 2012. № 4(2). С. 78-79.

<sup>3</sup> Узилевский Г.Я. Истоки и особенности метафизической трансрациональной методологии научных исследований // Человек и управление нравственно-ориентированным развитием социальных институтов. - Орел, 2010. - С. 17-41.

integration of cultures, dreaming of uniting people under a single state. Later, the process of mixing cultures and people initiated by the king became spontaneous and irreversible.<sup>4</sup>

Marriage symbolized the unity of Europe and Asia, as Plutarch wrote: '... that's like connecting Asia with Europe by wise kings - no logs, no flesh, no callous and insensitive bonds, but bonds connecting the tribes of fair love, marriage and the legal community of posterity'.<sup>5</sup> Alexander's 'mixing' of closed, ethno-religious communities inspired a social and cultural revolution although no single body of state yet existed. Rather there were small (but viable) Hellenistic kingdoms. The idea of the king to 'mix peoples, customs and marriages in a single vessel of comprehensive friendship and love'<sup>6</sup>, brought new impetus to the development of the Eurasian macro space within the world-historical process<sup>7</sup>.

Alexander and the Hellenic Society which followed, for the first time, showed that, in practice, Eurasian nation-building is the basic foundation of 'the natural relationship of people and nations'<sup>8</sup>.

The move towards fraternal relations was further demonstrated in the history of Eurasia<sup>9</sup>: adoptions and marriages between Russian princes and the Mongolian nobility. P.N. Savitsky described the relationship of the Turks and Slavs as 'organic-mechanical fraternization' and believed that the spirit of Eurasia breathed an air of 'brotherhood'. He wrote: «This 'brotherhood of peoples' is expressed in the fact that there is no opposition between 'superior' and 'inferior' races; mutual attraction is stronger than repulsion, making it easy to wake up the will of the common cause."

Eurasian history provides solid proof of these traditions being perceived by Russia through the ages.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Подробнее о социокультурной интерпретации евразийства см.: Попков Ю.В. *Евразийство как социокультурный тип / ред. Ю.В. Попков Ю.В., Е.А Тюгашев // Гуманитарные науки в Сибири. – 2003. – №*

<sup>5</sup> Плутарх. *О судьбе и доблести Александра. Речь первая // Плутарх. Моралии: Сочинения. М.: ЗАО Изд-во ЭКСМО-Пресс, Харьков: Изд-во Фолио, 1999. С.587.*

<sup>6</sup> Плутарх. Там же. С. 601.

<sup>7</sup> Гафуров Б.Г., Цибукидис Д.И. *Александр Македонский и Восток. М.: Наука, 1980. С. 335.*

<sup>8</sup> Марков В.И. *Евразийство как система ценностей // Гуманитарные науки в Сибири. - Новосибирск, 2003. - № 3. - С. 27.*

<sup>9</sup> Подробнее см.: Фишер-Фабиан С. *Александр Великий. Мечта о братстве народов / Пер. с англ. Н.Фатовой и др.. - Смоленск: Русич, 1997. 427с.*

<sup>10</sup> Савицкий П.Н. *Географические и геополитические основы евразийства // Континент Евразия. - М., 1997. - С.302.*

N.S. Troubetzkoy also singled out 'the Eurasian brotherhood of peoples', nothing that 'between the peoples of Eurasia are constant fraternal relationships'. He wrote: "The brotherhood of the peoples of Eurasia must become a fact of consciousness, and, moreover, substantially fact. It is necessary for each of the nations of Eurasia, being self-aware, to know itself, and above all, as a member of this fraternity. It is necessary that we gain a conscious sense of belonging to the brotherhood of Eurasian peoples, for each of us is stronger in our consciousness of belonging to this group of peoples rather than any other."<sup>11</sup>

This Eurasian doctrine could almost become the basis for today's guidance in preparing the public managers of the future Eurasian Union.

Undoubtedly, we should not exaggerate the value of fraternal relations for the peoples of Eurasia. Kinship relations are behind Eurasian synthesis: at the level of interstate relations between like-minded nations but not between the general population of various Eurasian states. Slavs and Turks, for instance, are not natural kinsmen.

The idea of a brotherhood of nations was explored by the Soviet Union: a union of sister republics where internationalism was based on relationships with disinterested fraternal peoples. The asymmetry of the relationship was such that *podzakazny* (those in a subordinate role) were obliged to immediately and uncritically respond to any client's requirements. In this context, (as applied to modern Eurasian integration) the Director of the Institute of Economics, R. Greenberg, said, «We should not be cheapskates and fight for every Rouble or Dollar in our actions, gas or no gas wars. If we indeed want to consolidate the post-Soviet space, then we have no choice but to pay for integration. In the short term, it's definitely a win for everyone, including Russia.»<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that the Soviet brotherhood of the people were determined, as confirmed in numerous historic trials, in which the Soviet (actually Eurasian) people showed strength. The 'major geopolitical disaster' of the 20th century - the disintegration of

<sup>11</sup> Трубецкой Н.С. Общевразийский национализм // Трубецкой Н.С. История. Культура. Язык. М.: Прогресс, 1995. - С. 425.

<sup>12</sup> Гринберг Р.С. Не вижу никакой альтернативы щедрости России при создании Евразийского Союза // Известия. - 2011. - 24 ноября.

the Soviet Union – was the result of the Russian state's spiritual weakening and the inability of the Soviet state and the managerial elite to prioritize goals correctly within 'Man - Society – State' development.

Speaking of Russia, it should be noted that it has powerful civilizational potential to be involved in Eurasian integration. It is no coincidence that President Putin, in the one of his pre-election articles, focused on the potential for this: «Russia emerged and evolved over the centuries as a multinational state: a state in which there was a process of mutual penetration and mixing of peoples in a family, in a friendly manner, offering service. Hundreds of ethnic groups shared its soil, close to Russia. The development of large areas is filled with the history of Russia; it was a joint affair of many nations.»<sup>13</sup>

Eurasian nation-building has always been a consequence of historic ethnic grouping, with enough passionarnost to create the state best suited to a particular geo-political condition. Recall the Scythians, Persians, Macedonians and Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, Turkic and Slavic peoples.

Some periods of disintegration were conditioned by state-forming ethos and loss of vital force. The emergence and long existence of the Russian State was the result of the Russian people's civilizational art, without which it could not live and develop. Its creation can be explained by two main reasons:

- the great passion of the Russian people, which allowed them to explore habitable territories of Eurasia; and
- the Russian stereotype in the field of international relations, by which those who do not affiliate become second-class, lacking equal footing in the process of nation building.

These theses are consistent with the opinion of experienced politicians.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Путин В.В. Россия: национальный вопрос // Независимая газета. – 2012. – 23 января.

<sup>14</sup> Назарбаев Н.А. Евразийский Союз: от идеи к истории будущего // Известия. – 2011. – 25 октября; Путин В.В. Новый интеграционный проект для Евразии - будущее, которое рождается сегодня // Известия. – 2011. – 3 октября; Лукашенко А.Г. О судьбах нашей интеграции // Известия. – 2011. – 17 октября; Нарышкин С.Е. Евразийская интеграция: парламентский вектор // Известия. – 2012. – 4 октября.

Vladimir Putin has said: «The Great Russian mission is to unite and bind civilization: to combine it in a state of civilization, where there are no 'natsmen' [national minorities] and where the principle of 'own or foreign' is defined by common culture and values.»<sup>15</sup> The former president of Kyrgyzstan, a real scientist and true Eurasian, Askar Akayev, believes that the great passion of Russia is apparent in its spiritual appeal to surrounding nations.<sup>16</sup>

It is an objective formula: an efficient Eurasian state is only possible when an historical Russian ethnic group combines with other nations in Eurasia. This leads us to the need for appropriate training of public-administrative personnel, who can drive forward Eurasian integration.

We might ask which qualities are needed by a Eurasian government elite and which goals we should set them. The very essence of such goal-setting brings inevitable separation of lower from higher goals. Of course, this argument is contrary to the theory of liberalism inherited from the West, whereby intellectual and moral principles are upheld by recognizing that each individual has the right to choose their own path. In today's world, most people are guided by immediate and transient goals linked to self-interest and random emotions. We are rapidly losing our feeling for the meaning of life and the fate of the world, the logic of history and the purpose of the 'Man - Society - State' triad. Human life and spirit have become an empty figure of speech.

Most political parties around the world pursue opportunistic (lower) goals which fail to meet any clear ideology and are incapable of supporting the notion of 'Man - Society - State' or of raising us from a deep civilizational crisis.

The proclaimed inevitability of globalization declares the need for giving up historic identity in favour of the formation of a unipolar peace, following the laws of Western civilization. The essence of this logic is to blend the nations of the world, regardless of their complex cultures, into a socio-political, technological, economic and ideological hegemony of Western (especially Anglo-Saxon) civilization.

<sup>15</sup> Путин В.В. Россия: национальный вопрос // Независимая газета. – 2012. – 23 января.

<sup>16</sup> Подробнее см.: Акаев А. Евразийские перспективы возрождения России. СПб.: Информ. агентство «Северная звезда», 2012. – 408 с.

The triad of 'Man - Society - State' can be used to overcome negative influences across Eurasia, oriented toward the ultimate goal of unification.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, such lofty goals can only be achieved by uniting the civilizational potential of the Eurasian people.

In this context, the people of Russia and the CIS need to recognize the important historical events behind Eurasian integration, as explored in theory and practice, socio-economically and geopolitically.

Eurasian integration is unavoidable in our ever-changing modern world, bringing together the people of Eurasia in a material, mental and spiritual sense, as well as through geographical networking. The ultimate aim of a universal Eurasian State is to promote economic, social, cultural, geo-political and spiritual progress. These are the goals of any nation, comprising the mission of true state governance.

This view of Eurasian integration provides a new perspective on modern Eurasian nation building. The Eurasian Union cannot focus only on pragmatic economic benefits, as recognized by the leaders of participating countries in Eurasian integration and stressed by President Putin, who notes the need for 'tight integration of new values, using a political and economic framework' in response to the 'call of the times'.<sup>18</sup> Of course, this must reflect the ability of each person to set goals and achieve them.

The long-term aim of creating a Eurasian Union needs to be accompanied by new methodological and ideological approaches towards the mechanisms of state-building, including towards management objectives and the quality of the managerial elite.<sup>19</sup>

We must recognize the difference between the aggressive liberal values of the Atlantic West (with the dominance of Anglo-Saxon understanding of higher and lower goals) and Eurasian Eastern values (to a large extent, imperial), which centre around the notion of a spiritual, 'ideal ruler'.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Подробнее см.: Новгородцев П. И. Об общественном идеале. М.: "Пресса", 1991. С.45–46.

<sup>18</sup> Путин В.В. Новый интеграционный проект для Евразии - будущее, которое рождается сегодня // Известия. – 2011. - 3 октября.

<sup>19</sup> Узилевский Г.Я. Нравственный идеал и мудрость как движущая сила новой формы территориального общественного самоуправления // Умный город. – Белгород, 2012. С. 267–268.

<sup>20</sup> Трубецкой Н.С. Об идее-правительнице идеократического государства // История, культура, язык. М.: Прогресс, 1995. С. 329.



The Western European idea of peace and unity is based on formal, economic relations and the regulations enshrined in agreements. The Eurasian world is fundamentally different, with rationality secondary to more spiritual and lofty ideals: an aspect which must be recognized by the Eurasian elite.<sup>21</sup>

Eurasian civilization is fundamentally connected with geographical integrity. Europe and Asia may be physically joined as one continent but Eurasia, in civilizational terms, comprises the Asian-sky (China, India, and so on) and that part of Europe which borders the Neman River, the Western Bug, the San and the Mouth of the Danube.

With some deviation, the boundaries of Eurasia follow the borders of the Russian Empire and the USSR: another example of historical Russia guiding modern Eurasian state-building.

Eurasia should be understood as a closed unit (in terms of climate and other geographical conditions) with particular economic opportunities. It has an oceanic economy, typical of Europe, and natural riches, which open a path to economic self-sufficiency, supporting this 'state-continent' with its distinctive spiritual psyche. We return again to the Eurasian triad of 'Man - Society - State':

- the realization of a harmonious connection between social and political life and that of nature;
- a 'continental' consciousness.

From a European view, Eurasia's form of patriotism is alien: centred around spiritual ideas.

The question of how best to train the Eurasian Union's managerial elite is vital and is yet to be given the attention it deserves within the integration process. Without such forethought, the potential of the Eurasian Union and all its higher goals may come to nothing, leading to an even larger disaster than the collapse of the Soviet Union.

At the heart of the state-administrative elite, and all those who serve the state, must be a desire to promote public welfare. To

<sup>21</sup> Уместно сказать, что виды мышления, обусловленные единством умопостигаемого и чувственного миров, изучаются метафизической методологией научных исследований на базе Орловского филиала Российской академии народного хозяйства и государственной службы при Президенте Российской Федерации. См. Узилевский Г.Я. Истоки и особенности..., С. 17–41.



lead people on a path of development, mutual understanding and a true desire to nurture are essential. Without these qualities, any elite (including state government) will dry up or rot. To avoid such error, it is necessary to form a new, truly Eurasian, state government elite. This requires the combined efforts of all countries historically involved in the creation and development of the Great Eurasian Civilization.

In forming state-management personnel for the Eurasian Union, higher educational institutions will have a great role to play: the Russian Academy of National Economics and Public Administration (under the President of the Russian Federation); the Academy of Public Administration (under the President of Kazakhstan); the Academy of Management (under the President of the Republic of Belarus); and the Institute of Civil Servant Training (under the President of Tajikistan). These institutions have all the necessary potential to shape a Eurasian elite.

This new elite will face challenges in reviving Eurasian identity and should be wary of becoming a pale copy of the European Union. It would be unwise to impose a Western model of economics, politics, law, education and culture, since some of the EU's concepts are questionable spiritually, failing to fulfill the ideals of 'Man - Society - State'.<sup>22</sup> There is no justification for applying the false doctrine of integration 'in the developed world' of 'Big Europe' and the 'civilized West'.

The new Eurasian state, building a positive partnership with all interested nations and peoples of the world, cannot and should not aim to 'fit in' with Europe. Rather, its global goal should be to restore colossal continental Eurasia in a new, unique format.

The Eurasian Union should strive to become a state-civilization, cultivating innovative development and solving the most important global problems through its triad of 'Man - Society - State'.

It must mobilize all its scientific, technical, organizational and managerial capabilities to form a healthy Eurasian nation, filled with cultural and historical optimism, promoting innovative principles.

<sup>22</sup> см.: [http://counter-propaganda.w3.lt/es\\_eu/\\_eumi3s/rueumi3s.php](http://counter-propaganda.w3.lt/es_eu/_eumi3s/rueumi3s.php)

This will allow Eurasian people to realize the ultimate goal: union and dialogue with other civilizations, to ensure equitable world order, built on ideals of equal access to each element of the triad 'Man – Society – State' and based on a higher purpose. The mechanism of public administration must work to uphold the identity of Eurasian people and cultures, and to inspire the formation of a strong Eurasian State.

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