Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Economic integration in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Perspectives, Problems, Solutions.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Public Policy

at
Massey University, Albany
New Zealand

Yeldos Nashiraliyev 2009

Abstract

It has been 17 years since the Soviet Union broke up and its constituent countries gained their independence. In the beginning years the sovereignty was considered an indisputable priority, resulting in economic matters being put off. However, in the light of slow economic development in the area, it seemed to be imperative for these countries to pursue economic integration.

Backed up by political will, several attempts had been made to establish various integration groupings, one of them being the Commonwealth of Independent States. The established organisation's main aim was to assist countries in preserving the connecting links inherited from the former Soviet Union. Some of the countries in the region managed to achieve relatively high growth rates mainly due to their individual efforts. Unfortunately, so far, none out of a number of proposed integration projects has proven to be an effective and binding tool in the political and economic development of the region.

This thesis aims to identify problems standing in the way of economic integration of the Commonwealth of Independent States. As of now, a free trade area – the initial form of economic integration – has not been established. Although trade ties between the member states function, the main export destination of these states is outside the Commonwealth. It is recommended that the initial steps in setting up a free trade area in this territory should begin with developing integration within regional associations, due to smaller numbers of participants and their common interests.

Without trying to fathom the mysteries of the universe, visible and invisible, without seeking an explanation for everything, one can never be what one should be - a human being.

Abay Qunanbayuli – Book of Words

Acknowledgements

This work would not have been possible without my parents, the most precious people in my life: father, Bigeldy, and mother, Kulimkhan. You are, as Kazakhs say, my "two wings" in this life. I thank you for every single thing you do for me and our family – for the feeling of joy you generously share with everyone, for lessons you teach and the help you offer, for never-ending support and love. I shall always be grateful to you.

I also thank my supervisors Dr. Grant Duncan and Dr. Adam Claasen not only for their critical comments and advice, but also for support and patience they demonstrated throughout the writing process.

Aizhan deserves much gratitude for patiently waiting for me to return from New Zealand and trying hard to make me feel less worried about being so far away from my country and family.

I owe much to Aprinto and Dewi Dasmayanti Berlianto who always went out of their way to help me on many occasions during these two years of study in New Zealand.

The support shown by my cousins, friends, grandmother, uncles, aunts and many other people throughout my studies has been very helpful. Each of them contributed to this accomplishment. It has been a long journey.

Table of Contents

Abs	stract	i
Ack	iv	
Tab	v	
List	vii	
List	viii	
Glos	ossary	ix
	IAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	
1.1		
1.2		
1.3	Chapter outline	
CH	IAPTER TWO THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	
2.1		
2.2	Origins of economic integration	9
2.3	Trade creation and trade diversion	12
2.4	Process and state of affairs	15
2.5	International disintegration	17
2.6	Positive and negative integration	19
2.7	Functional and institutional integration	21
CH	IAPTER THREE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	
3.1	Overview	24
3.2	Methodology	24
3.3	Informants' interviews	25
3.4	Secondary data	28
3.5	Research ethics	31
3.6	Data analysis	32

CH	APTER FOUR	FORMS OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION	
4.1	Overview		34
4.2	Variations in in	terpretation	34
4.3	Form by form e	examination	37
4.4	Main integratio	n projects	43
СН	APTER FIVE	THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT	STATES
5.1	Overview		47
5.2	USSR to CIS		47
5.3	Establishment of	of the CIS	52
5.4	Post-Soviet tran	nsformation	55
5.5	Macroeconomic	c performance of the CIS member states	58
5.6	Intra and Extra	CIS trade	70
5.7	Current CIS sta	tus	74
CH A	APTER SIX	REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE POST-S	OVIET
		TERRITORY	
6.1	Overview		79
6.2	Foreign policy	direction of the CIS states	79
6.3	The Georgia Ul	kraine Azerbaijan Moldova alliance (GUAM)	82
6.4	The Eurasian E	conomic Community (EurAsEC)	85
6.5	The Common E	Economic Space (CES)	89
СН	APTER SEVEN	PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION IN THE POS	T-SOVIET
		TERRITORY	
7.1	Overview		95
7.2	Identified probl	ems	95
СН	APTER EIGHT	CONCLUSION	
8.1	Conclusion		112
Refe	erences		118
App	endices		134

List of Tables

Table 1. Main integration groupings44
Table 2. Key indicators of the Commonwealth of Independent States50
Table 3. Main economic indicators in the CIS in 1994 as a percentage of 199156
Table 4. Rates of growth, decline (-) of main macroeconomic indicators on the average
in the Commonwealth in 1992-199460
Table 5. Rates of growth, decline (-) of main macroeconomic indicators on the average
in the Commonwealth in 1995-199766
Table 6. Rates of growth, decline (-) of main macroeconomic indicators on the average
in the Commonwealth in 1998-200067
Table 7. Rates of growth, decline (-) of main macroeconomic indicators on the average
in the Commonwealth in 2001-200769
Table 8. Exports and Imports of the CIS countries in 2005
Table 9. Gross Domestic Product per capita of the Commonwealth of Independent
States
Table 10. Share of the CIS and other countries of the world in total exports of individual
CIS countries 108

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of the Commonwealth of Independent States	2
Figure 2. Balassa's stages of Economic Integration	34
Figure 3. Exports on average of the Commonwealth states	72
Figure 4. Imports on average of the Commonwealth states	72
Figure 5. Sectoral structure of merchandise exports by region	73
Figure 6. Foreign policy orientation in the CIS	80
Figure 7. Exports routes of the Caspian oil	83

Glossary

APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

CES: Common Economic Space

CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States

EU: European Union

EurAsEC: Eurasian Economic Community

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GUAM: Georgia Ukraine Azerbaijan Moldova

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WTO: World Trade Organisation