
Evgeny Vinokurov. Ch.1. Introduction to the Companion.

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1. Introduction

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Abstract: The introduction to the Companion starts with an outline of the subject of this volume, the Eurasian Economic Union as a regional organization complemented by the relevant issues of Eurasian regionalism. It moves to a short assessment of the state of research. Then, it outlines the structure of the volume with a short description of every chapter. It also contains some basic data on the EAEU and its five member states for 2014-2021.

Keywords: Eurasian Economic Union, Eurasia, customs union, regionalism, regional organization, regional integration.

1. Your Companion to the Eurasian Economic Union¹

The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) is a young regional organization. It began functioning as a customs union in 2011, and became a full-fledged regional economic organization on 1 January 2015. This Companion provides extensive analysis of this organization, its mandate, common markets, and other aspects of its work, history, and outlook. To understand the EAEU better, in particular in the post-2022 environment, there are multiple chapters analysing EAEU structural features, the external environment, and Eurasian regionalism in general. While some of the chapters take a broader perspective, this book's primary goal is to become your Companion to the Eurasian Economic Union as a regional integration institution.

Its immediate story began when Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan signed an agreement to create a common customs territory and form the Customs Union (CU) in 2007, while ordering an international working group to draft the relevant documents in two years. There were understandable doubts about whether they would succeed, given the multiple “false starts” of the 1990s and 2000s (see Chapter 2 of this volume; also Vinokurov, 2018). However, on 19 December 2009, the heads of these three states signed the Joint Declaration on the Establishment of a Customs Union. On 1 January 2010, the common customs tariff took effect. In 2011, the CU of Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan began its normal operations, and, in 2012, seventeen additional agreements forming the basis of the Single Economic Space (SES) took effect. These agreements governed a number of key topics in the economic convergence – from coordinating macroeconomic policy to labour migration. While the Customs Union formed the core of the prospective EAEU, these 17 agreements served as predecessors of its additional elements.

Then, on 1 January 2015, the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union took effect. The Treaty codified and expanded all prior agreements regarding both the work of the Customs Union and

¹ We are grateful to our editor Daniel Mather at Edward Elgar, for their constant encouragement and benevolent attitude. We sincerely thank our authors, who stuck to the idea of this volume despite drastic changes in the external environment that affected the Eurasian Economic Union. Our assistant at the Free University of Berlin, Zhang Shilong, was instrumental in editing the chapters of the Companion.

the development of additional areas of integration. It enshrined the EAEU's institutional structure (see Chapter 4) and detailed a road map for the elimination of exemptions from the common market (see Chapters 4 and 5). While the Eurasian Economic Commission had already come into existence in 2012 to govern the Customs Union, the EAEU's decision-making bodies, the Supreme and Intergovernmental Councils, became operational together with the Treaty (see Chapter 9). Armenia and the Kyrgyz Republic were not founding members but joined the organization very early on, in January and May 2015, respectively.

To compile this volume, we assembled an international group of established academic experts on the EAEU and Eurasian regionalism in general. We wanted to put together various perspectives and backgrounds to do justice to the complex reality surrounding the subject of our study. At a time of conflict and strife, this Companion lists contributions from authors from Belarus, Germany, Italy, Kazakhstan, Russia, Spain, the UK, and the USA. They are political scientists, economists, social scientists, and legal scholars.

At a workshop while drafting this Companion, we asked the contributors to outline some possible trends affecting the Eurasian Economic Union post-2022 and to elaborate them in the Outlook section of their respective chapters. The group then discussed some possible trends. For example, we proposed the "*Bureaucracy muddles through*" scenario, wherein the bureaucratic structures try to continue business as usual, despite the major changes in the world. Another one was "*Hidden transformation*": although the EAEU remains *de jure* the same, there may be important changes that an outsider would fail to see immediately, driven by the fundamental changes in Eurasia. These are likely to be associated with "*Securitization*" – the growing role of power in Russia's strategic conceptions and in all aspects of international relations in Eurasia. There was also a line of reasoning that the EAEU may have been affected by a number of long-term trends that did not change over time, despite the drastic political changes ("*Persisting long-term trends*"). We also discussed potential "*Changes in the balance of power*" that might occur as the smaller states of Eurasia gain relatively greater power and exercise pressure in the EAEU. Alternatively, smaller states might use their new power to distance themselves from Russia. Finally, one needs to take into account the direct "*Technical consequences of sanctions*" for economic cooperation in Eurasia: the exclusion of Russia from international payment systems, for example, can affect interactions in Eurasia directly.

To be sure, all current trends are uncertain and these scenarios serve primarily to stimulate reasoning and imagination in thinking about future prospects. Nevertheless, we are certain that this exercise was useful. You will find many of these scenarios reflected in the Outlook sections, where our contributors suggest the future evolution of the Eurasian Union. The Conclusion (Chapter 18) provides an analytical summary of these "building blocks", which can be used for thinking about the future of the EAEU and regionalism in post-Soviet Eurasia.

A few years ago, the editors of this Companion published a book entitled *Re-Evaluating Regional Organizations: Behind the Smokescreen of Official Mandates* (Vinokurov & Libman, 2017). We based our research on a large dataset of 62 regional economic organizations (REOs) all around world, which we made fully available to the public. The Eurasian Economic Union is one of these 62 REOs. Our exploration produced some interesting results, including some counter-intuitive ones.

We found six basic types of regional economic organizations. These include "Alive and Kicking" REOs); "Alternative Path" REOs (which, explicitly or implicitly, alter their mandate over time); "Integration Rhetoric" REOs (which can be a valid political tool but do not have much economic substance); "Talking Clubs" (they are exactly what the name implies, but their impact as a venue for high-level communication is often underestimated); "Zombie" REOs (which support bureaucratic rent-seeking and not much else); and "Comas" that exist only on paper. We found that the Zombies and Comas were surprisingly small groups. It seems that, in

practice, once a regional economic organization has been established, it at least “muddles through”, often mutating into a Talking Club or being used to promote politically induced integration rhetoric or acquiring some quite new functions. However, it does not die out.

What can we say about the EAEU based on these findings? First, the Eurasian Union is clearly “alive and kicking”, even taking into account its multiple shortcomings. The organization enjoys a rich economic mandate, which comprises not only mutual trade in goods and services but also free trade agreements, technical regulations and standards, a common financial market, macro monitoring, and much else. Throughout its history, its member states, in particular Kazakhstan, have repeatedly fended off attempts to enlarge its mandate by including non-economic items (hence, no “alternative path”). Generally, we do not see much evidence that the EAEU is on the way to becoming another type of REO. However, while discussing the EAEU’s future path, we should always be mindful of the possibility of this institution becoming more devoid of substance and turning into a talking club and a vehicle for integration rhetoric.

2. Evolving literature on the EAEU and this companion

For many years, regionalism among countries of post-Soviet Eurasia remained outside the scope of attention of students of comparative regionalism. Eurasian regional integration was perceived as a disappearing reality, which will cease to exist soon after the legacies of the Soviet Union wear off. Most regional organizations in Eurasia remained “ink on paper” and were characterized by substantial implementation gaps.

The situation changed, however, in the 2010s, with the establishment of the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, which in 2015 was transformed into the Eurasian Economic Union. The EAEU is a functioning regional organization, which has managed to achieve substantial progress in economic integration, although it also faces significant problems and deficits. The EAEU plays an important role in foreign economic policy considerations of the Eurasian countries. For companies investing in the post-Soviet countries, dealing with the opportunities and limitations created by the EAEU is a necessary part of their business strategies.

The growing importance of the EAEU was matched by the growing body of scholarship devoted to this organization (primarily in economics and political science, but also in law and sociology). However, this research is fragmented, and there is little communication among scholars writing about the EAEU. This is largely driven by the fact that scholarly interest in the EAEU originates from various disciplinary foci: studies of Russian and post-Soviet foreign policy, regional integration studies, bureaucratic politics, research on ideologies and historical legacies, etc.

As the EAEU is a young organization, EAEU-related literature is a young and evolving domain. While by no means intending to provide a comprehensive overview, we would like to mention a few books for the benefit of students of Eurasian integration. These include Vinokurov and Libman (2012), Dragneva and Wolczuk (2013), Vymyatnina and Antonova (2014), Vasilyeva and Lagutina (2016), Hancock and Libman (2016), Lane (2017), Russo (2018), Vinokurov (2018), Dutkiewicz and Sakwa (2018), Obydenkova and Libman (2019), and Mukhametdinov (2020).

The situation again changed drastically in 2022, with the EAEU, on the one hand, acquiring new importance for its member states, and, on the other, becoming subject to multiple new challenges that may threaten its long-term relevance. This new reality awaits its thorough scientific assessment. The current volume intends to be helpful in this process.

The Companion intends to contribute to closing several gaps by providing an in-depth systematic discussion of the Eurasian Economic Union including its evolution, current states, and prospects. Each chapter is an original scholarly contribution, critically reviewing the available evidence on the EAEU and highlighting possible gaps in our knowledge. This breadth and level of analysis allow us to suggest that the book would serve as a reference on the Eurasian Union for a wide audience.

3. Structure of the companion

The volume consists of 18 chapters, organized in four sections, supplemented by an introduction and a substantive conclusion.

After the *Introduction* by Evgeny Vinokurov, we delve into the history and ideational foundations of the EAEU. The Section *History and Ideational Foundations* starts with Chapter 2, *What Are Eurasia and Eurasianism?*, by Dmitrii Kofanov and Yoshiko Herrera. This is an essential contribution as it provides structure to the field and helps the reader to thoroughly understand ambiguous terms and concepts. The chapter investigates the origin and distinct meanings of Eurasia and Eurasianism. “Eurasia” is a term that has different meanings depending on the context in which it is used. It can be understood as a geographic entity, as a political and economic entity, as a constructivist concept, and as an object of distinct geopolitics.

Richard Sakwa’s contribution, *From the Customs Union to the Eurasian Economic Union*, neatly outlines the long history of Eurasian institutions, starting with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, which rapidly led to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to manage a “civilized divorce” of the post-Soviet republics. Then, as a need for a more positive agenda became clear, the idea of a more integrated Eurasian Union emerged. There were several false starts along way, as well as the 14-year existence of the Eurasian Economic Community, the predecessor to the Eurasian Economic Union. You will encounter a mishmash of acronyms along the way – CIS, CU, EurAsEC, CES, again a new CU, and then SES. It is essential to understand this long and arduous evolution to better grasp the foundations, as well as the historically and politically strong and weak sides of the EAEU.

The next section, *Common Markets and Institutions*, is the most extensive in the Companion (six chapters), and for good reason. Here our contributors help the reader understand the EAEU’s various features, as well as how multiple EAEU institutional components function and interact.

Chapter 4, *Trade, Customs Union, and the EAEU External Tariff*, by Alexander Knobel and Nikita Pyzhikov, may seem a bit hard to grasp, in particular for the non-economist, but we encourage you to read it carefully. The reason is the following. The EAEU may indeed seem like a Customs Union + (or ++, with many additional domains), since the common tariff forms the very core of the Union. Take that away, and the EAEU will fall apart. The EAEU is, at its core, a combination of a common market where market participants freely trade goods and services and a common external tariff for imports. The authors analyze mutual trade dynamics, assess the impact of Eurasian integration on member states’ trade, and identify obstacles to the single market. Then, they discuss key issues related to customs and tariff regulation: application of the Customs Code of the EAEU; Common Commodity Nomenclature to classify goods for customs purposes; the uniform rules of origin; the Common External Tariff; the distribution of import duties; exemptions from the Common External Tariff; the interaction between EAEU and WTO Law; and the effect of Russia’s retaliatory measures (“anti-sanctions”) on the Customs Union regime.

Chapter 5, *Functional Markets in the EAEU*, by Viachaslau Yarachevich, complements the previous one by reviewing three important common functional markets of the EAEU: agriculture, energy, and pharmaceuticals. The first two belong to the primary sector, the backbone of the EAEU's economies. Pharmaceuticals are important insofar this is the first common market to be regulated separately since the establishment of the Union; pharmaceuticals is a functional market properly belonging to secondary and tertiary sectors. The three case studies offer detailed inquiry into the regulatory frameworks for the three markets, their development and size, the ways they fall short of the stated aims of the EAEU, particularly in light of the impact of the current sanctions regime and the COVID-19 pandemic. The author makes several insightful observations regarding the relation of the EAEU case to the major regional integration theories.

Chapter 6, *Investments in the EAEU*, by Anton Malakhov and Evgeny Vinokurov, discusses major trends in EAEU mutual investments, a major indicator and driver of the success or failure of regional economic integration. The chapter uses an original methodology and database. It outlines three major periods: rapid growth of mutual investments until 2012; then a period of decline (2012–15) caused by the slowing economies, a regional economic crisis, and the severing of Russia–Ukraine relations; and then a slow growth from 2016 onward, wherein the EAEU factor played a positive role. The authors provide a detailed medium-term outlook facing the geopolitical crisis, as well as the ways in which the region addresses global trends and challenges (rising investments in the green economy, rising intra-Central Asia FDI, less FDI in the financial sector, and more cross-border greenfield projects). The major conclusion of the chapter is that mutual FDI in the EAEU probably peaked in 2021–22.

Chapter 7, *Migration in the EAEU*, by Andrei Korobkov, turns to perhaps the most underestimated and low-key aspect of Eurasian economic integration and the EAEU mandate. In fact, Eurasia is among the world's leaders in the density of labour migration. Labour migration is a major factor affecting livelihoods as well as the prosperity of several nations, with remittances reaching 25–30% of GDP in the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan, and 15–18% in Armenia. Since the early 2000s, Russia and Kazakhstan have become major destinations for labour migrants coming from other post-Soviet states. The chapter reviews these migration flows and their development over time, as well as the EAEU's rules and regulations and their ability to encourage labour migration (or to constrain it). The common labour market and an EAEU Agreement on the transportability of pensions are among these factors.

Alongside with the EAEU, several institutions form an ecosystem of Eurasian economic integration. They are not legally or managerially connected to the Union but do support some of the EAEU's objectives. Barbara Fritz and Laurissa Mühlich in Chapter 8 supplied the Companion with an excellent and informative case study on one of them, the *Eurasian Fund for Stabilization and Development*. The EFSD was founded as an immediate response to the global financial crisis in 2008–2009, with the aim of providing the Eurasian region with its own regional IMF-like structure. The chapter locates the Fund within the global financial safety net (GFSN), describes the Fund's most salient features, and compares it with other regional financial arrangements in other regions of the world, including Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America.

Then comes Chapter 9, *EAEU Institutions*, by Vladimir Pereboev and Taras Tsukarev. This is another of the central and most data-rich contributions to the Companion. The chapter describes and evaluates the governing practices of the EAEU “family” of institutions, preceded by a section on the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union, which is the primary legal document of the EAEU and a roadmap for the development of the institution. The chapter then examines the main institutional features of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council and the Eurasian

Intergovernmental Council, as well as the Eurasian Economic Commission. A separate section is dedicated to the EAEU Court.

Now that we are well acquainted with the contents of the Eurasian Economic Union, a section on the External Environment in which the EAEU operates is due. All of its four chapters needed substantial re-thinking in 2022–23.

The section starts with the chapter on *The EAEU's Relations with the European Union* (Chapter 10, by Tom Casier). The Ukraine crisis in 2014 intensified tensions between the EU and Russia, while the 2022 crisis brought them to complete halt. The same was true for Belarus. Meanwhile, other EAEU member states did not follow the same logic and even intensified their trade, investment, and cultural relations with the EU and its countries. This is a big controversy that will undoubtedly influence further EAEU developments. Another, more theoretical, line of analysis is how the EU in its institutional design has influenced the EAEU.

Moving from West to East, Marcin Kaczmarek examines the relationship between the EAEU and China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Chapter 11, *The EAEU and the Belt and Road Initiative*). This exercise is difficult since the BRI, unlike the EAEU, lacks formal institutionalization. The BRI presents a qualitatively different approach than that of the EAEU, emphasizing flexibility, trade facilitation, and investment in infrastructure, but without a specific institutional framework. While the BRI did not explicitly undermine Russia's political primacy in the post-Soviet space, it posed potential economic competition, as it overshadowed Russia's capacity to maintain its economic influence. Generally, the relationship is constructive, as the objectives of the two projects broadly coincide. The EAEU–BRI relationship includes joint communications, declarations, and trade agreements. There is even a distinct success story – a 100-fold rise in China–EAEU–EU container transit over the last decade, up to 700,000 TEUs. Nevertheless, there are reasons for uncertainty about what the future holds: Russia's weakening position vis-à-vis China and the increasing scope of sanctions against Russia may change the calculations of smaller EAEU members, potentially increasing China's influence in the region.

Now, what about other integration organizations of various natures that either are or were active in the region alongside the EAEU? Murad Nasibov and Andrea Gawrich address their interconnections and interactions, examining how they can lead to cooperation, competition, or coexistence (Chapter 12, *The EAEU and Other Post-Soviet Integration Organizations*). The authors discuss the growth of IOs and the need for coordination and cooperation, while acknowledging their competition for limited resources and survival. The chapter distinguishes between interaction and interplay as two ways of understanding IO–IO relations, with interplay being indirect and unintentional. The distinction between normative and utilitarian interplay and direct interaction is explained, along with the potential for formalization and standardization resulting from IO interactions. Finally, the chapter applies this framework to analyze the EAEU's relations with other post-Soviet organizations, emphasizing organizational interplay and limited interaction. Nasibov and Gawrich's analysis encompasses a wide spectrum of organizations, including the EurAsEC, the CIS, GUUAM, and the CSTO.

Jacope Pepe's chapter, *The EAEU and Greater Eurasia: Mission Impossible?*, concludes the section on external environments with an interesting analysis on Greater Eurasia – essentially a Russian idea of continental regional integration in Eurasia known as the Greater Eurasian Partnership (GEP). This idea has gained attention in political debates and expert circles over the past decade. The GEP envisions broad cooperation among countries across the Eurasian continent, including South, Southeast, and East Asia. So far, the GEP has failed to materialize beyond political rhetoric. The author explains why the GEP has not been successful and why its impact remains limited. This is indeed a big issue for the 2020s: on the one hand, such cooperation is all the more central to Russia and Belarus, as they see no other way than to re-

orient their trade and other economic connections away from Europe; on the other, Western sanctions increasingly and explicitly hinder these interactions.

The last section of the Companion is *Perspectives*. It lists four contributions. Three of them are on the structural characteristics of the EAEU that define its present and will probably define its future to a large degree. These are authoritarian regionalism, power asymmetry, and sanctions.

Alessandra Russo addresses the issue of authoritarian regionalism, which might not only define what the EAEU essentially is, but also differentiate it from the EU (Chapter 14, *The EAEU and Authoritarian Regionalism*). The Eurasian Economic Union is presumed to be composed of authoritarian states (this statement would be strongly contested by several EAEU member states). The author provides a complex assessment of the EAEU as a project that simultaneously aims at promoting the well-being of citizens and serves as a regime-boosting strategy for the autocratic elites. She challenges the Eurocentric interpretation that views post-Soviet regional integration as dysfunctional and suggests alternative ways to understand Eurasian regionalism more adequately. One perspective is overlapping regionalism, which emphasizes the multiple memberships of post-Soviet countries in various regional organizations, the strategic “pick and choose” approach adopted by these states, and the fragmentation of issues across multiple multilateral contexts. The second approach is regime-boosting regionalism, which depicts regional organizations as platforms for political solidarity and normative consonance among autocratic regimes: venues for leaders to demonstrate support and loyalty to one another, enhancing their status and formal sovereignty. The third perspective is protective integration, which highlights the role of regional organizations in safeguarding the stability and constitutional order of member states against pressures for regime change.

Federico Salvati addresses another structural issue: power asymmetry within the EAEU (Chapter 15, *Power Asymmetries and the Integration Process: Challenges Ahead for the Eurasian Union*). This feature of the EAEU is by no means unique in the “universe” of regional organization around the globe – just think of the South African Customs Union (SACU) and NAFTA and, to a lesser extent, MERCOSUR and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). However, this structural characteristic does define the Union’s present and future, so it is worth looking at carefully. This is exactly what the author does, by looking at the political, legal, economic, and decision-making aspects of power asymmetry. Russia’s dominant position within the EAEU represents a significant power imbalance. As the hegemon of the region, Russia faces the task of creating a credible scenario for integration without exerting excessive influence or disregarding common regulations. The cautious approach by smaller EAEU members stems from their prioritization of stable trade relations with Russia, over a deeper political dimension. The author highlights the limitations of the EAEU stemming from Russia’s disproportional influence within the organization. Power asymmetries within the EAEU pose challenges to deeper integration efforts. While power imbalances alone may not hinder integration, when combined with the predominantly autocratic nature of the group and the past behaviour of its members, they complicate the process. The success of the EAEU currently relies heavily on Russia’s ability to provide concrete benefits to the smaller members.

Yet another structural issue, the impact of Western sanctions and counter-sanctions on the EAEU, forms the subject of Alexander Libman’s contribution (*The EAEU and Economic Sanctions*, Chapter 16). The impact of sanctions on economic regionalism is an almost entirely unexplored topic in comparative regionalism research, so this chapter is quite novel. The author reviews how the sanctions war between Russia and the EU/US affected the functioning of the EAEU in the last decade, since it has been a material issue since 2014. Libman derives a number of predictions about possible effects of sanctions on the EAEU, presents the empirical evidence, and highlights possible future scenarios for the EAEU based on the potential evolution of the sanctions regime.

Philipp Schröder’s little gem of a contribution (Chapter 17, ‘*Made in Kyrgyzstan*’: *An Ethnographic Exploration of ‘New Entrepreneurs’ Entering the Eurasian Economic Union*), is perhaps the most readable to people not inclined to theorizing, since it is a case study of how the Kyrgyz Republic’s accession to the EAEU in 2015 has affected its entrepreneurs. The author provides insights gathered from fieldwork conducted between 2013 and 2018, focusing on entrepreneurs in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. The analysis aims to reveal how entrepreneurs adjusted to the EAEU’s policy harmonization and economic integration efforts. And adjust they did, as they went from simply importing goods to producing them, reoriented their exports, changed nomenclature, and sourced more capital from earlier unavailable sources. The chapter allows us to see in an engaging manner how the country’s accession to the regional economic union played out at the micro-level.

Alexander Libman wraps up the Companion with his *Conclusion: Eurasia at the Crossroads* (Chapter 18). This is a deep and extensive analytical summary of the scientific findings of the volume. It puts together a collection of building blocks, which can be used for thinking about the future of the EAEU and regionalism in post-Soviet Eurasia. It is very much worth reading: if you do not have time to read all 18 chapters, just read this one to find out the common hypotheses, observations, and understanding of trends that are at the centre of our Companion.

4. EAEU data

Before we proceed with the substantive chapters, we include some data on the EAEU and its five member countries. The dataset starts at 2014 – the year right before the establishment of the Union – as it might come in handy for dynamic comparisons. We provide data on population, nominal GDP, GDP per capita at purchasing power parity, mutual trade within the EAEU, the relationship of EAEU trade to total trade (one of the simplest indicators of the depth of integration), and the mobility of population (an important indicator, since it demonstrates the speed of not only economic but also social development).

Table 1.1: Macroeconomic and social indicators of the EAEU, 2014–2021

Indicator	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Population, mln	181.7	182.4	183.0	183.5	183.8	184.1	184.1	183.8
GDP, \$ bln	2,400.4	1,626.7	1,481.9	1,815.3	1,920.7	1,962.0	1,748.9	2,126.4
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	24.4	22.9	23.1	24.8	27.3	28.6	28.4	31.0
Mutual trade, \$ bln	61.2	45.6	43.0	54.7	60.3	61.6	55.1	73.1
Share of mutual trade in total exports, %	9.9	10.9	12.2	12.4	10.9	11.8	13.1	12.2
Mobility of the population, pkm/person	4,684.9	4,153.4	4,148.7	4,420.6	4,646.4	4,939.6	2,432.9	3,127.0

Sources: National agencies, World Bank, Eurasian Economic Commission, calculations of the authors.

Table 1.2: Macroeconomic and social indicators of the EAEU member states, 2014–2021

Indicator	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Republic of Armenia								
Population, mln	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
GDP, \$ bln	11.6	10.6	10.5	11.5	12.5	13.6	12.6	13.9
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	10.1	10.1	11.0	12.5	13.5	14.9	14.1	15.6
Exports to EAEU, \$ bln	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.9
Share of exports to EAEU in total exports, %	21.0	17.3	22.0	25.5	28.5	29.0	28.0	29.3
Mobility of population, pkm/person	1,008.7	840.0	867.8	894.6	842.7	912.8	299.1	546.5
Republic of Belarus								
Population, mln	9.4	9.5	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.4	9.4	9.3
GDP, \$ bln	78.5	55.3	47.5	54.7	60.0	64.5	60.8	69.7
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	19.0	18.1	17.8	18.4	19.4	20.1	20.3	21.7
Exports to EAEU, \$ bln	16.2	11.0	11.4	13.7	13.9	14.6	14.0	17.4
Share of exports to EAEU in total exports, %	44.8	41.3	48.4	46.7	41.1	44.2	48.0	43.6
Mobility of population, pkm/person	2,655.7	2,542.1	2,536.4	2,627.1	2,728.8	2,927.3	1,976.8	2,241.4
Republic of Kazakhstan								
Population, mln	17.3	17.5	17.8	18.0	18.3	18.5	18.8	19.0
GDP, \$ bln	221.4	184.4	137.3	166.8	179.3	181.7	171.1	197.1
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	24.7	23.2	23.8	24.9	26.2	27.5	26.8	28.7
Exports to EAEU, \$ bln	7.2	5.1	3.9	5.3	6.0	6.4	5.7	7.8
Share of exports to EAEU in total exports, %	9.0	11.1	10.7	10.8	9.9	11.0	11.9	12.9
Mobility of population, pkm/person	14,807.7	14,478.4	14,842.7	15,125.6	15,401.5	15,962.1	5,773.4	5,621.5
Kyrgyz Republic								
Population, mln	5.8	6.0	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.5	6.6	6.7
GDP, \$ bln	7.5	6.7	6.8	7.7	8.3	8.9	7.8	8.7
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	4.3	4.2	4.7	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.0	5.3
Exports to EAEU, \$ bln	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.8

Share of exports to EAEU in total exports, %	33.8	27.7	28.4	30.7	34.9	32.3	28.1	28.8
Mobility of population, pkm/person	1,850.6	1,848.8	1,863.5	1,982.7	1,979.4	2,034.4	1,177.9	1,357.9
Russian Federation								
Population, mln	146.1	146.4	146.7	146.8	146.8	146.8	146.5	145.9
GDP, \$ bln	2,081.4	1,369.7	1,279.8	1,574.5	1,660.7	1,693.3	1,496.5	1,837.0
GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$), \$ tn	25.8	24.1	24.1	25.9	28.8	30.1	29.9	33.0
Exports to EAEU, \$ bln	36.9	28.8	26.8	34.7	39.0	39.2	34.1	46.2
Share of exports to EAEU in total exports, %	7.4	8.4	9.3	9.6	8.6	9.2	10.1	9.3
Mobility of population, pkm/person	3,807.2	3,182.1	3,117.1	3,395.6	3,622.7	3,887.4	2,133.9	2,992.2

Sources: National agencies, World Bank, Eurasian Economic Commission, calculations of the authors.

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