

GLOBALIZATION IN FACTS: THE UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS AND THE EURASIAN UNION. POLITICAL PARALLELS TO THE EUROPEAN EXAMPLE

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ABSTRACT:

THE EUROPEAN UNION IS SERVING FOR OVER 60 YEARS AS A MODEL OF UNIFICATION ON ALL LEVELS, BEING AROSE IN A SPACE WHERE THE IDEA OF NATIONAL STATE AND NATIONALISM ARE BASED ON WELL ROOTED HISTORICAL FACTS. OUR PAPER WILL CAST A GLANCE OVER THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS OR THE SOUTH AMERICAN UNION AND ON THE EURASIAN UNION, POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT BUILT UP IN CONTINENTAL AREAS WHERE COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM CREATED THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF LIVING UNDER ONE FLAG. THE CURRENT DIRECTIONS ARE POINTING TOWARDS COMPLETE CONTINENTAL UNIONS, THUS BRINGING CLOSER THE PERSPECTIVE OF A WORLD GOVERNMENT. AS SCHOLARS, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENT HISTORIOGRAPHIC APPROACHES, TEND TO NEGLECT RECENT HISTORICAL FACTS, THIS PAPER IS ALSO CONSTITUTED AS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL EFFORT IN THE TERMS OF LATE CONTEMPORARY TIMES, BY OUR USE OF TREATIES, OFFICIAL STATEMENTS, POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS AS REFERENCE.

KEYWORDS: GLOBALIZATION, POLITICAL UNION, UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS, EURASIAN UNION, WORLD GOVERNMENT

BOLIVAR'S HERITAGE: THE UNION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NATIONS

The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) is an economic and political union which includes all the South American states, excepting French Guyana and the British possessions, consisting of two previous unions: Mercosur and the Andean Community of Nations (Comunidad Andina in Spanish, abbreviated CAN). UNASUR claims its whole historical heritage from the times of the Latin American Wars for Independence, having as "founding father" the Venezuelan General Simon Bolivar (1783-1830). The organizational pattern is being molded, as recognized even by its creators, after the model of the European Union.

It is known about Simon Bolivar, "El Libertador", that he was raised in the spirit of the French Revolution, beginning in his early days and with the assistance of his professors, to

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admire Jean-Jacques Rousseau for his nihilist concept of „free thought”. He grew up in Spain, along with his future king and enemy, Ferdinand VII. In this timespan he began developing powerful republican and anti-monarchist views, which will guide him during his life. In 1803, whilst at Cadiz, in Spain, he will meet his future collaborators, Argentinean general Jose de San Martin (1778-1850) and Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda (1750-1816), seen as „El Precursor” – the precursor of Simon Bolivar.² Bolivar was influenced by the Masonic rhetorical thought, thinking about himself as a savior: „I am the father of the centuries, the Arcanum of fame and secret knowledge. My mother was Eternity. Infinity sets the limits of my empire. There is no tomb for me, because I am more powerful than Death. I behold the past, I see the future and the present passes through my hands”.³ „I have been chosen by fate, to break your chains. Fight and you will win!”⁴

After liberating the colonies from the Spanish crown, which were to be organized into a union after the common will of the revolutionaries, Simon Bolivar prepares his political will towards perpetuating the spirit of Enlightenment: “All of you must work for the inestimable good of the Union; the people obeying the government in order to avoid anarchy; the ministers praying to heaven for guidance; and the military using its sword in defense of social guaranties. [...] If my death contributes to the end of partisanship and the consolidation of the Union, I shall be lowered in peace into my grave”.⁵

The one who contributed the most to the unification of South America was the Peruvian communist leader Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (1895-1979), who founded the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, with the purpose of unifying Latin-Americans under the red flag of communism, against both USA’s spanning and soviet influence. Another well-known contributor of the unification of the South American space is Ernesto Che Guevara, constant militant for a Marxist union of the South American nations.

Today, Bolivar’s will is accomplished as two base organizations emerged: Mercosur and CAN. Mercosur has its origins in the Brazil-Argentina Integration and Economics Cooperation Program (signed in 1985),⁶ being founded through the Asuncion Treaty (1991) and the Treaty of Ouro Preto (1994), which gives its final form.⁷ The latter one creates a customs union with a free trade market, comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela,⁸ having its own functional parliament since 2005.⁹ Its historical basis relies on the necessity to limit a possible military conflict between Brazil and Argentina as regional powers, just as the case of the historical conflict between Germany and France.¹⁰

CAN was founded on the premises of the Andean Pact (1969) as an economical union with the objective of creating a common market between Columbia, Bolivia, Ecuador and

² see Gerhard Masur, *Simon Bolivar* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948).

³ Francis J. Bell, “True Believers: Freemasonry, Revolutionary Thought and the Rise of Simon Bolivar”, *Pietre-Stones Review of Freemasonry*, accessed February 9, 2013,

http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/freemasonry_bolivar.html#_edn27

⁴ Luran Paine, *Bolivar the Liberator* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1970), 90.

⁵ Elmer E. Rogers, “Simon Solivar”, accessed February 9, 2013,

http://www.masonicworld.com/education/files/artaug04/simon_bolivar.htm

⁶ “Tratado de integracion, cooperacion y desarrollo entre la Republica Argentina y la Republica Federativa del Brasil”, http://www2.uol.com.br/actasoft/actamercosul/espanhol/tratado_de_integracion.htm

⁷ “Protocol of Ouro Preto”, <http://actrav.itcilo.org/actrav-english/telearn/global/ilo/blokit/mercopro.htm>

⁸ “Lugo Calls Congress to vote for Venezuela’s Mercosur incorporation”, accessed June 29, 2010, <http://en.mercopress.com/2010/06/28/lugo-calls-congress-to-vote-for-venezuela-s-mercosur-incorporation>

⁹ “Protocolo Constitutivo del Parlamento del Mercosur”,

http://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Protocolo_Constitutivo_del_Parlamento_del_Mercosur

¹⁰ Anestis Papadopoulos, *The International Dimension of EU Competition Law and Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 283.

Peru, the first acting as a regional power.¹¹ As from 1999, the two organizations started to negotiate, creating SAFTA – South American Free Trade Agreement – and from 2004 started on merging into the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), based on the Cusco Declaration, which demanded a common market, common currency and a common parliament.¹² On the 23rd of May 2008,¹³ at the Third Summit of the Heads of States and Governments, held in Brazil’s capital, Brasilia, the UNASUR Constitutive Treaty was signed by the twelve leaders of the founding countries.

According to the Treaty, UNASUR is an intergovernmental union on a continental basis, with a common market, no internal borders, providing the requirements for developing free trade and free movement of individuals.

Its main institutions are the South American Parliament, with headquarters at Cochabamba in Bolivia, and the Bank of the South with headquarters at Caracas, in Venezuela. The two institutions are coordinating each other in two major projects that aim creating a stronger integration. The first is the common South American currency, called gaucha,¹⁴ a project firmly supported by the World Bank.¹⁵ The second is the Ciudadano Americano (American Citizen) right, offering the juridical possibility for one to become a continental citizen of South America, without the need to obey the law of national states directly, thus creating a larger juridical integration by community law. This is already put into action by releasing passports and ID cards having Mercosur as their eminent authority. Furthermore, for a better integration, the Parliament considers unifying the administrative system, using forced e-government.¹⁶

Both the South American Parliament and the Bank of the South are coordinated by the President of the Union and the Secretary General. The President of the Union is leading the Council of Heads of State and of Government of UNASUR, office being held by each of the twelve heads of state, for one year, in the alphabetical order of the countries. The current president pro tempore of UNASUR is Ollanta Humala, incumbent president of Peru, a controversial figure due to his allegiance towards extreme left-wing ideologies, including public admiration for the Peruvian dictator Juan Velasco Alvarado¹⁷ and implication in the 2000 uprising and overthrow of Alberto Fujimori.

On the current agenda of the Council of Heads of State, primary objectives include the unifying all communication, transport and energy systems, through the Initiative for regional infrastructure integration¹⁸ and the development of a common defense strategy through the South American Council of Defense.

The Secretary General is the legal representative of UNASUR’s General Secretariat, appointed by the Council of Foreign Ministers, on a two year term. Incumbent is Alí Rodríguez Araque, a top Venezuelan politician.

¹¹ Bruce Bagley, *Regional Powers in the Caribbean Basin: Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

¹² “Declaración del Cusco sobre la Comunidad Sudamericana de Naciones”, http://www.comunidadandina.org/documentos/dec_int/cusco_sudamerica.htm

¹³ “South America nations found union”, accessed May 2011, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7417896.stm>

¹⁴ “Subsecretaría de Política y Gestión Comercial”, <http://www.comercio.gov.ar/dnpce/mercosur/conceptos.html>

¹⁵ “Nobel economist endorses Chávez regional bank plan”, accessed March 21, 2013, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2007/oct/12/venezuela.banking>

¹⁶ “eGovernment Resource Centre”, accessed June 10, 2013, <http://www.egov.vic.gov.au/focus-on-countries/north-and-south-america-and-the-caribbean.html>

¹⁷ Simon Tisdall, “Another angry neighbour for Bush”, accessed March 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2006/apr/04/world.usa>

¹⁸ “Banco de Desarrollo de America Latina”, accessed June 2011, <http://www.caf.com/view/index.asp?ms=17&pageMs=41608>

AFTER THE LIGHT OF THE EAST, A NEW DAWN: THE EURASIAN UNION

Contrary to the South American continent that was only under the influence of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires, Eurasia is not also the cradle of human civilization, but the largest land mass on the globe, with two centers of civilization at its extremities (Western Europe and Far Asia) and two peripheral continents (Africa and Oceania), thus being the playground of diverse colonial and world powers over time, most notably being Great Britain and Russia in the context of The Great Game. That's mainly why Eurasia should be seen in a post-colonialist context, where the idea of national state became impetuous in the latter decades of the 20th century.¹⁹

Today's Eurasia is actually constructed as an anti-paradigm in Post-Soviet context,²⁰ as its nations had enough of the Soviet episode, refocusing towards the Western Civilization,²¹ primarily dominated by the USA which developed a special strategy for Eurasia,²² including the consolidation of a stability anchor in the region, represented by Uzbekistan.²³

Even if strategies of human development and human security are currently employed,²⁴ the reality of national identities cannot be ignored,²⁵ as the development of democratic institutions is marked by a powerful dynamic of the so-called "patronal presidentialism", a mark of state-nationalism in Eurasia.²⁶

Integration down south is based on Russia filling the vacuum left by colonial British and afterwards American influence in the southern band of Eurasia's Islamic crescent,²⁷ with an emphasis on trade as catalyst²⁸ of Inner Eurasia (ex. Soviet Union and Mongolia), understood as a distinct political, geographical and ecological unit of world history.²⁹

Since 1991, we live with the false impression that the Soviet Union collapsed and all the ex-soviet republics won their independence and sovereignty. On the 8th of December 1991, through the Belavezha Agreements,³⁰ the representatives of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus agreed to replace the USSR with an almost identical, but modern organization, the Community of Independent States (CIS). At that time, it received the appreciation of George Bush Sr., stating that „despite the potential of instability and chaos, these events are clearly in our interest”.³¹ Ex-president of the Supreme Soviet, Anatoli Lukianov, testified 20 years later,

¹⁹ William R. Thompson, "The Military Superiority Thesis and the Ascendancy of Western Eurasia in the World System", *Journal of World History* 10, 1 (1999): 143-178.

²⁰ Mark von Hagen, "Empires, Borderlands, and Diasporas: Eurasia as Anti-Paradigm for the Post-Posviet Era", *The American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 445-468.

²¹ Valery V. Tsepka, "The Remaking of Eurasia", *Foreign Affairs* 77, 2 (1998): 107-126.

²² Zbigniew Brzezinski, "A Geostrategy for Eurasia", *Foreign Affairs* 76 (1997): 50-64.

²³ S. Frederick Starr, "Making Eurasia Stable", *Foreign Affairs* 75, 1 (1996): 80-91.

²⁴ Vladimir Petrovsky, "Human Development and Human Security in Eurasia", *International Journal on World Peace* 22 (2005): 17-74.

²⁵ Ronald Grigor Suny, "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Poviet Eurasia", *International Security* 24, 3 (1999): 139-178.

²⁶ Henry E. Hale, "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia", *World Politics* 58, 1 (2005): 133-165.

²⁷ Robert V. Barylski, "The Russian Federation and Eurasia's Islamic Crescent", *Europe-Asia Studies* 46, 3 (1994): 389-416.

²⁸ Nicklas Norling and Nikas Swanström, "The Virtues and Potential Gains of Continental Trade in Eurasia", *Asian Survey* 47, 3 (2007): 351-373.

²⁹ David Christian, "Inner Eurasia as a Unit of World History", *Journal of World History* 5, 2 (1994): 173-211.

³⁰ "Соглашение о создании Содружества Независимых Государств (1991)",

[http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Соглашение_о_создании_Содружества_Независимых_Государств_\(1991\)](http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Соглашение_о_создании_Содружества_Независимых_Государств_(1991))

³¹ *Известия*, 26 decembrie 1991 via Виктор Иванович Илюхин, *Обвиняется Ельцин* (Москва: ФТМ России, 1999), accessed June 2013, http://1993.sovnarkom.ru/KNIGI/Ilyuhin_VI/Ilyuhin_VI.htm#Page_5

that the Belavezha Agreements were a desperate try to save the USSR, as the events in 1991 offered Russia the possibility to gain the upper hand, none foreseeing its true sense at that time, but the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher: „For now, a *de facto* dissolution of the Soviet Union has been accomplished. However, *de jure* the Soviet Union exists. I can assure you that next month you will hear about legal registration of the Soviet Union”.³² Several weeks later, on the 21st of December 1991, by signing the Alma-Ata Protocol,³³ Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan were joining the Community. Georgia joined subsequently in 1993. In the moment of the ratification of the CIS Charter³⁴ the number of member states was twelve.

Today, the official number is down to eleven. The danger represented by the CIS for the national integrity of its member states has been evoked by the Ukrainian Government, which refused to sign the CIS Charter. Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Volodimir Ohrizko, stated that “If it is a kind of friendship, there is a question whether it is a friendship or merely a cover [...] Ukraine does not recognize the legal personality of this organization, we are not members of the CIS Economic Court, we did not ratify the CIS Statute, thus, we cannot be considered a member of this organization from international legal point of view. Ukraine is a country-participant, but not a member country.”³⁵

Turkmenistan undertook a similar step in August 2005, withdrawing its status of full-member, and becoming an associate one, testifying therewith its international military neutrality.³⁶ After the armed conflict in South Ossetia, Georgia announced its definitive withdrawal in August 2008³⁷ and expressed immediately its intention of joining NATO.³⁸ The uprising towards Moscow’s authority extended over Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, as the respective leaders refused to participate at the CIS Summit held in Chişinău in October 2009.³⁹ Both Ukraine and Georgia have now as top priorities strengthening up the relations with the EU and NATO.⁴⁰

The solution offered for the renewal of the CSI is the Eurasian Economic Community (Евразийское экономическое сообщество – ЕврАзЭС, shortened EurAsEC in English), alike the European Community. It has its origins in the Customs Union between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan,⁴¹ completed by the 1st of January 2012.⁴² The Treaty on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community was signed on 10th October 2000 by Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan, with Uzbekistan joining

³² “Анатолий Лукьянов: Это была отчаянная попытка спасти Союз”, accessed May 2011, http://www.ng.ru/ng_politics/2010-05-18/9_lukianov.html

³³ “The Alma Ata Declaration”, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/belarus/by_appnc.html

³⁴ “CIS Charter”, <http://www.therussiasite.org/legal/laws/CIScharter.html>

³⁵ “Ukraine to analyze expediency of taking part in CIS projects”, accessed June 2011, <http://www.unian.info/news/268085-ukraine-to-analyze-expediency-of-taking-part-in-cis-projects.html>

³⁶ Valentinas Mite, “CIS: Turkmenistan Reduces Ties To ‘Associate Member’”, accessed June 2011, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1061002.html>

³⁷ “Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia on Georgia’s withdrawal from CIS”, accessed July 10, 2011, http://www.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=36&info_id=7526

³⁸ “Georgia’s quitting CIS council will not affect security”, accessed July 2011, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20060203/43324440.html>

³⁹ Bruce Pannier, “Russia Facing Resistance With Allies on CIS’s Southern Flank”, accessed June 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/Russia_Facing_Resistance_With_Allies_On_CISs_Southern_Flank/1847880.html

⁴⁰ Valentinas Mite, “CIS: If It’s So Ineffectual, Why Do Leaders Keep Meeting?”, accessed June 2011, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060959.html>

⁴¹ “Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus plan on common economic space”, accessed March 23, 2012, <http://www.rbcnews.com/free/20081225170003.shtml>

⁴² “Ukraine cannot get observer status at Eurasian Econ Union due to Association Agreement with EU, Russia”, accessed June 14, 2013, <http://www.interfax.co.uk/ukraine-news/ukraine-cannot-get-observer-status-at-eurasian-econ-union-due-to-association-agreement-with-eu-russia-2/>

afterwards.⁴³ Still, there are some skeptics too, like Ukraine, Armenia and Moldova, which are only observers, while Ukraine announced that will never become a member of EurAsEC.⁴⁴

The main aims of EurAsEC are a common market (based on free trade) and total customs union, including energy, transportation and foreign investments, by converging national legislation towards a community one. General goals and strategies are set by the Interstate Council (similar with EU's European Council) and confirmed by the Interparliamentary Assembly. The executive is taken by the Integration Committee, whilst legal issues are managed by the Community's Court of Justice. All together, they are inter-coordinated via a General Secretariat and by a Commission of Permanent Representatives.⁴⁵

As common currency, Russia wishes to impose the ruble, but Kazakhstan president proposed the creation of a new currency, after the euro model, called yevraz, hoping that it will become a world-currency, under the high patronage of the United Nations, in order to diminish the effects of the economical crisis. CSI member states were more than happy to take such a challenge,⁴⁶ as they have an anti-crisis reserve fund administrated exclusively by Russia⁴⁷ through the Euro Asiatic Development Bank, primary catalyst of Euro-Asian integration.⁴⁸

In the absence of a Warsaw Pact, the CIS member states created the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)⁴⁹ based on the Tashkent Treaty and the Tashkent Charter, on the 15th May 1992 and 7th October 2002. The current members are Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, as Azerbaijan and Georgia left the organization in 1999. CSTO gave birth to a Collective Rapid Reaction Force (КСОР – Коллективные Силы Оперативного Реагирования), a common armed force supposed to defend CSI members in case of armed conflict, currently accomplishing in times of peace missions against world terrorism.⁵⁰ Besides assiduous military drills, it has not proved its necessity.

The continuous integration of the ex-soviet space is threatened by Ukraine, which turns its back on Russia, and the opposition of Belarus,⁵¹ which offered political asylum for the Kyrgyz ex-president, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, after the coup of April 2010. The events, according to the new Kyrgyz power, took place with Russian support,⁵² Vladimir Putin

⁴³ "Agreement on Foundation of Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC)", accessed June 14, 2013, <http://www.worldtradelaw.net/fta/agreements/eaecfta.pdf>

⁴⁴ "Presidential administration official: Ukraine not to join customs union", accessed March 9, 2013, <http://www.kyivpost.com/news/nation/detail/60687/>

⁴⁵ "Структура ЕвразЭС", accessed April 2010, <http://www.evrazes.com/about/structure>

⁴⁶ "Kazakhstan Suggests New Currency", accessed March 12, 2013,

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⁴⁷ "Russia to control Eurasec anti-crisis fund – Medvedev", accessed June 2011,

<http://en.rian.ru/business/20090204/119985469.html>

⁴⁸ "Евразийский Банк Развития", accessed May 2011,

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⁴⁹ "Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности", accessed May 2011,

<http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>

⁵⁰ "Страны ОДКБ обсуждают создание сил быстрого реагирования", accessed March 2010,

<http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=249784>

⁵¹ "Belarus leader raps Russia, may snub security summit", accessed June 14, 2010,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE6300PT20100425>; "Belarus-Russia rift widens, Minsk snubs Moscow meet", accessed June 14, 2010, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE55D07120090614>

⁵² "Putin recognizes Kyrgyzstan's provisional government, scored credit among most Kyrgyz", accessed April 11, 2010,

having denied it.⁵³ However, Belarus doesn't give up, being one of the main supporters of Euro-Asian integration.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, a new horizon opens and a dawn of a new continental union is expected, as Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus join their forces to sign a "Maastricht of their own", in order to establish a fully-operational Eurasian Union.⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

Historical German-French antagonism and post-WWII political realities, after a totalitarian experience, are the main reasons for creating a "unity in diversity" on the European continent. Step by step unification and integration, alongside with American support brought us to the super state that EU is becoming today. But what are South America's or Eurasia's means to raise one flag for all?

Whilst South American countries brace their post-colonial, revolutionary and socialist heritages, without a historical superpower on the continent to firmly determine the unification process, things are going rather slowly and stuttering. We must also add their inclusion among Third World states and their lack of historical exercise in creating or being included in a modern, international recognized political structure.

Since the first tsars, Eurasia has been united subsequently under the banner of the Russian Empire, transformed after 1917 into the Soviet Union, afterwards into the CIS and today in the Eurasian Union. Multi-imperial tradition and a vast experience owned to its diversity over time of political regimes could support Eurasia's attempt of shifting the World's civilization center back from where it begun. Institutionally, the Eurasian Union follows its European Example more carefully than its South American counterpart, being actually the second continental union by organization degree. In its future, it will get closer to the EU, stepping closer towards a World Government.

<http://politicom.moldova.org/news/putin-recognizes-kyrgyzstans-provisional-government-scored-credit-among-most-kyrgyz-208029-eng.html>

⁵³ "Russia not involved in Kyrgyz events – Putin", <http://en.rian.ru/russia/20100407/158472404.html>

⁵⁴ "9 декабря 2010 г. в Кремле состоялось заседание Межгосударственного Совета ЕврАзЭС (Высшего органа Таможенного союза) на уровне глав государств", *accessed May 5, 2010*, <http://www.tsouz.ru/news/Pages/10-12-2010.aspx>

⁵⁵ "Новый интеграционный проект для Евразии — будущее, которое рождается сегодня", *accessed March 12, 2013*, <http://izvestia.ru/news/502761>; "Russia sees union with Belarus and Kazakhstan by 2015", *accessed March 14, 2013*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15790452>

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