Transformation of Foreign Policy Priorities in the Eastern Partnership region: Revolutions, Democratization, and the "trap" of neorealism?

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Disintegration of the Soviet Union and transformation of the geopolitical landscape in Eurasia

Towards Multipolar World Order

Towards multipolar Eurasia: Global actors in the EaP region

- United States of America
- European Union
- Russia
- China

Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries



US interests in the EaP region

The main approach in this section is to reveal the basic US interests in Eurasia and to determine the role, which the EaP region can play in that strategic environment.

It elaborates on the following hypotheses:

- The US does not appeal to the six EaP countries as a single political, geopolitical or economic unit,
- The US mostly relies on and supports the EU's EaP program to promote its political and economic interests in the EaP region,
- However, the US prioritizes NATO to provide its military interests and collaboration in that region.

US National Security Strategy, 2017

- 1. EaP countries as a part of "Europe", no special focus except Ukraine and Georgia
- 2. Basic interests:
- To deter Russia (as a political and military threat), China (as economic threat), and Iran (military, political).
- Provide "energy sovereignty" for the EU, is EaP still relevant?
- Political realism: no place for democracy?
- Special focus on Central Asia
- The necessity of strengthening NATO follows through the whole Strategy
- Military goods supply to Afghanistan

US 27th National Security Advisor John Bolton visited the South Caucasus in October 2018

- 1. Azerbaijan
- Tighter pressure on Iran
- Resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict
- 2. Armenia
- Tighter pressure on Iran
- Resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict
- Issue of full sovereignty (from Russia?)
- No economic issues
- 3. Georgia
- Discussion of potential Free Trade Area

Eastern Partnership Program of the EU

- Eastern Partnership (EaP) was presented by Poland with active Sweden participation on May 26, 2008 during the EU Foreign affairs Council meeting.
- As a result EU policymakers, recognizing the necessity of diversified approach to the ENP participating states, launched the Eastern Partnership in May 2009 with Polish and Swedish backing.
- It involves 6 Eastern European countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

With its bilateral and multilateral levels of cooperation, EaP sets the following main areas of cooperation:

- Trade
- Comprehensive Institution-Building Program
- Supporting mobility of citizens and visa liberalization
- Energy security

"Fresh air" into the EU's "Eastern Policy"

- 1. October 15th, 2018 the EU adopted the "Connecting Europe and Asia
- Building blocks for an EU strategy"
- 2. Earlier in 2018 Brussels presented "the Joint Communication on Connecting Europe and Asia Building blocks for an EU Strategy"
- Sustainable connectivity
- Comprehensive connectivity
- International rules-based connectivity
- 3. November 2017, the EU infrastructure investment plan

Thus, the EaP serves the following EU interests:

- EU as a normative power
- Economic interests: trade and new markets
- Diversification of energy import
- Political and economic stability in neighborhood as a precondition for the stability in the EU
- Geostrategic motives: decrease the role of Russia in the region which is in the EU's close neighborhood
- Better understanding of Russia's motives and capacities to promote these motives
- Control of strategic ground routes from West to East
- "Work" with China

Russia and EaP

Russia constructs the relations with the EaP countries on both bilateral and multilateral foundations:

- 1. Bilateral
- 2. Multilateral:
- CIS
- Eurasian Economic Union
- CSTO
- The Greater Eurasia?

Russia and EaP

- Strategy of National Security of the Russian Federation of 2015,
- Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation of 2016,
- Other strategic documents, articles, and interviews publicly presented by Moscow and/or Russian scholars and experts.

Eurasian Economic Union

- The concept of Eurasianism goes back to 1920th
- The idea of establishment of the Eurasian Union was firstly expressed by the president of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in 1994
- Neoeurasianism and its levels (according to A.Dugin)
- Russia`s president V.Putin`s article of 2011 about the establishment of the Eurasian Union as electoral plan
- 2015 the launch of the EEU with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan and Russia

Russia and EaP

The main impetus for Russia's territorial expansion in the second half of the 17th – beginning of the 19th century were the geopolitical concerns. Particularly, he lists such motives, as to secure the borders, to gain non-freezing harbors, to impede seizure of border territories, and so on.

"According to the Swiss historian, these factors dominated the economic considerations." (Andreas Kappeler)

"... However, they have never been and are currently not ready to consider Russia's special interests towards the so called Near Abroad, which means not to dictate anything to anybody, but to avoid creation of threats to Russia's interests and security across its borders."

(Former Prime Minister of Russia, Evgeniy Primakov)

Russia and EaP

- EaP as part of the CIS
- CIS is to preserve the "ties" with former Soviet Republics
- Strengthening influence in the region, which Russia considers as the sphere of its interests
- Development of multipolar world
- Economic interests: trade, labor force
- EEU/CSTO countries as a buffer zone against EU and NATO enlargement
- EEU/CSTO countries as a buffer zone against increasing Chinese influence in the region
- Foreign military bases (Armenia, Belarus)
- Connectivity bridge towards the Middle East (in terms of Armenia) and Europe (Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine).
- Eurasianism as an ideology to unite Russian society, pro-Russian forces domestically and abroad and secure Russia's place in global order for the Future

Belt and Road Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a comprehensive project aiming at better economic integration in Eurasia. The Project encompasses the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. The BRI was initially proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013.

Project sets the following seven areas of cooperation:

- Promoting connectivity of infrastructure and facilities
- Enhancing economic and trade cooperation
- Expanding production capacity and investment cooperation
- Expanding financial cooperation
- Strengthening cooperation on ecological and environmental protection
- Promoting orderly maritime cooperation
- Strengthening cooperation and exchanges in cultural, social and other fields

The Silk Road Economic Belt has three main routes:

- from Northwest China and Northeast China to Europe and the Baltic Sea via Central Asia and Russia
- from North-West China to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea, passing through Central Asia and West Asia
- from Southwest China through the Indochina Peninsula to the Indian Ocean.

The 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road has two major routes:

- one starts from coastal ports of China, crosses the South China Sea, passes through the Malacca Strait, and reaches the Indian Ocean, extending to Europe
- the other starts from coastal ports of China, crosses the South China Sea, and extends to the South Pacific.

Announced by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, the Silk Road initiative, also known as China's Belt and Road initiative, aims to invest in infrastructure projects including railways and power grids in central, west and southern Asia, as well as Africa and Europe.



BRI: Projects:

- Batumi Bypass Road Project Georgia Transport
- Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline Project Azerbaijan, Energy
- Nenskra Hydropower Plant Georgia, Energy
- China is constructing the second largest Chinese diplomatic mission in the former Soviet Union in Armenia.
- China is on track to replace Russia as Ukraine's biggest trading partner in 2018?

Thus it can be concluded that BRI is a comprehensive long-term project which includes economic, political, geopolitical and other dimensions. The project is designed to become an impetus for domestic development in China, foster connectivity in Eurasia, provide economic cooperation and energy security for China. At the same time it aims at transformation of Chinese economic power into political influence and provide "place under sun" for China in the global and regional developing order.

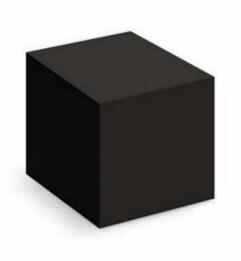
Temptation of choice: transformation of foreign policy priorities in EaP region – 1991 – 2019

- CIS: Georgia left the Organization in 2009, Ukraine partial withdrawal after 2014
- CST CSTO (2001): Armenia, Belarus
- GUAM/GUUAM (1997)
- NATO: all six EaP countries cooperate, Georgia and Ukraine aspire membership
- EEU: Armenia, Belarus
- EU: Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine aspire membership
- BRI: all the sides cooperate in this or that form

Revolutions and Democratization as a foreign policy discourse

- The Georgian "Revolution of Roses" (2003)
- "Orange Revolution" (2004) and "EuroMaidan" in Ukraine (2014)
- The Armenian "Velvet Revolution" (2018): What's new?

Neorealism and the issue of "black box"



Neorealism, "black box", and foreign policy making in the EaP

The relations are discussed based on:

- Economic and Political cooperation
- Military: NATO, CSTO, bilateral

The level of economic cooperation is measured by:

- Trade
- Foreign direct investments (FDI)
- Economic aid
- Labor Force?
- Debt?

Project	EaP	EEU	BRI
Country name			
Armenia	Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement – in the process of ratification by the EU members, ratified by Armenia	Full member, since January 2015	Joint Declaration on Friendly Cooperation and Further Development and Enhancement of Relations between the Republic of Armenia and People's Republic of China, 25.03.2015, Beijing
Azerbaijan	Participation in the EaP, EU-Azerbaijan Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (1999) Discussions on updating the legal basis for relations between the EU and Azerbaijan are ongoing.	Bilateral cooperation with EEU member- states, member of CIS	Joint Declaration on development and deepening the relations of friendship and cooperation the Republic of Azerbaijan and the People's Republic of China, December, 2015

Belarus	Participating country with large potential for further cooperation with the EU	Full member, since January 2015	China-Belarus Joint Statement on Establishing a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, September 2016
Georgia	Association Agreement, since July 2016	Bilateral cooperation with EEU member-states	Free Trade Agreement between Georgia and China (January 1, 2018)
Moldova	Association Agreement, since July 2016	Bilateral cooperation with EEU member-states, member of CIS	Negotiations to sign a free trade agreement
Ukraine	Association Agreement, since September 2017	Bilateral cooperation with EEU member-states	Developing bilateral relations. Ukraine strives to have a Free Trade Agreement with China

Military cooperation Country name	NATO	CSTO	Bilateral
Armenia	IPAP, Contribution to missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo NATO Information Centre	Full member	Russia`s military base, The main source of purchase of the military equipment
Azerbaijan	IPAP, Contribution to missions in Afghanistan (2002-2014) and Kosovo (1999 - 2008)	_	Purchase of military equipment, which amounts to more than 5 bln USD
Belarus	Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme (IPCP): NATO works with Belarus to implement reforms in these areas, while continuing to call on Belarus to increase the pace of its democratic reforms.	Full member	Russia`s missile warning station, Center for long-distance communications of the Russian Navy, Joint anti-missile defense system

Georgia	Allies agreed at the 2008 Bucharest, Summit that Georgia will become a NATO member, Since 2014, a Substantial NATO-Georgia Package (SNGP), A NATO-Georgia Joint Training and Evaluation Centre in Georgia, Georgia contributed troops to the Kosovo Force (1999-2008) and Afghanistan	-	-
Moldova	IPAP Moldova has contributed troops to the Kosovo Force (KFOR) since March 2014	-	-
Ukraine	NATO membership aspiration, Ukraine has supported NATO-led peace-support operations in the Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo), Ukraine allowed for over-flight clearance and the transit of supplies for forces deployed there, Ukraine also contributed medical personnel to support Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan and instructors to the NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan, Ukraine is currently supporting the NATO-led mission to train, advise and assist Afghan security forces, known as the Resolute Support mission, From March 2005, Ukraine contributed officers to the NATO Training Mission in Iraq, which terminated in December 2011.	-	-

2009	Export	Import	FDI
Arm	Total: 683.989 mln, % USA – 9.71, EU - >40, Russia – 15.65, China – 2.61%	<i>Total: 3.175B</i> , % US – 3.29%, EU - > 19%, Russia – 24.83, China – 8.97%	<i>Total: 4.016B</i> USA – 211M, EU - >675M, Russia – 2.101B, China – 4M
Aze	Total: 14.7B	<i>Total:</i> 6.119B	<i>Total:</i> 7.085B
	USA – 11.89, EU - >37, Russia –	US – 4.32%, EU - > 14, Russia – 17.5%,	US – 236M, EU – >1.8B, Russia – 133M,
	5.07, China – 0.88%	China – 7.92%	China - 120M
Bel	<i>Total:</i> 28.5B	<i>Total:</i> 28.6B	<i>Total:</i> 8.537B
	USA – 0.19%, EU - >37, Russia –	USA – 1.51%, EU - > 14, Russia –	US – 124M, EU - > 1.8B, Russia –
	31.54, China – 0.82%	58.55%, China – 3.78%	4.956B, China – 5 (with Hong Kong)
Geo	Total: 1.113B	Total: 4.475B	<i>Total:</i> 7.719B
	USA – 3.26%, EU - >12, Russia –	USA – 5.18%, EU - > 24, Russia –	US – 998M, EU - > 2.9B, Russia –
	0.82%, China – 0.53%	4.84%, China – 3.9%	347M, China – 42M
Mol	Total: 1,283B	Total: 3.278B	<i>Total:</i> 2.584B
	US – 1.33%, EU - >44%, Russia –	USA - 1.37%, EU ->35%, Russia -	US – 98M, EU - > 1.5B, Russia – 603M,
	22.33%, China – 0.77%	11.42%, China - 7.52%	China – (-) 2
Ukr	Total: 39.7B US – 0.63%, EU - >14%, Russia – 21.4%, China – 3.61%.	Total: 45.412B USA – 2.84%, EU - > 20%, Russia – 29.15%, China – 6.02%	<i>Total: 38.017B</i> US – 1.318B, EU - > 27B, Russia – 3.227B, China – 9M

2013	Export	Import	FDI
Arm	Total: 1.467.799 bln, % USA – 6.03%, EU - >29, Russia – 22.61%, China – 4.69%	Total: 4.256.217B, % US – 2.79%, EU - > 14%, Russia – 25.95%, China – 9.01%	Total: 5.091B USA – 258M, EU - > 1B, Russia – 2.561B, China – 4M
Aze	<i>Total: 23.904.108B</i> USA – 4.14%, EU - >43, Russia – 4.51%	Total: 10.763.391B US – 3.52%, EU - > 24, Russia – 14.07%, China – 5.28%	<i>Total: Total: 13.75B</i> US – 512M, EU – >2.8B, Russia – 230M, China - 176M
Bel	Total: 37.203.035B North America – 0.31%, EU - >25, Russia – 44.98%, China – 1.24%	Total: 43.022.675B USA – 1.34%, EU - > 18, Russia – 52.47%, China – 6.57%	Total: 16.668B US – 141M, EU - > 4.4B, Russia – 9.816B, China – 118M
Geo	Total: 2.910.581B USA – 4.73%, EU - >14.5, Russia – 6.17%, China – 1.17%	Total: 8.022.261 B USA – 3.17%, EU - > 23, Russia – 6.28%, China – 7.63%	<i>Total: 11.641B</i> US – 1.227B, EU - > 3B, Russia – 473M, China – 170M
Mol	Total: 2.428.303B US – 1.04%, EU - >41%, Russia – 26.02%, China – 0.27%	<i>Total:</i> 5.492.393B USA - 1.34%, EU ->39%, Russia - 14.35%, China - 8.72%	<i>Total:</i> 3.313B US – 60M, EU - > 2B, Russia – 796M, China – 2
Ukr	Total: 63.320.468 B US – 1.41%, EU - >17%, Russia – 23.81%, China – 4.31%.	Total: 76.986.012B USA – 3.6%, EU - > 30%, Russia – 30.19%, China – 10.27%	<i>Total:</i> 58.864B US – 1.268B, EU - > 44B, Russia – 4.120B, China – 67M

2015	Export	Import	FDI
Arm	Total: 1.66B, % USA – 3.64, EU – 8.8 (Germany), Russia – 14, China – 10%	Total: 3.26B, % US – 3.23, EU – 12.1 (Germany, Italy, France), Russia – 28, China – 9.4	Total: 4.169B USA – 223M, EU - >800M, Russia – 1.921B, China – 3M
Aze	<i>Total: 16.9B</i> USA – 1.17%, EU - >42%	<i>Total: 11.1B</i> US – 9.19%, EU - > 16, Russia – 15%	<i>Total:</i> 22.183B US – 585M, EU – >1.9B, Russia – 259M, China – 189M
Bel	<i>Total: 26.1B</i> USA – 0.47%, EU - >20, Russia – 39	<i>Total:</i> 28.4B USA – 1.3%, EU - > 9, Russia – 54%, China – 7.2%	Total: 17.972B US – 137, EU - > 2B, Russia – 10.258B, China – 196M
Geo	Total: 2.77B USA – 4.73%, EU - >14%, Russia – 6.6%, China – 4.6%	Total: 7.72B USA – 3.27%, EU - > 11.5, Russia – 7.4%, China – 8.1%	<i>Total: 14.827B</i> US – 1.427B, EU - > 5.7B, Russia – 601M, China – 455M
Mol	<i>Total: 2.4B</i> US – 1.12%, EU - >38%, Russia – 11	<i>Total: 4.08B</i> USA - 1.27%, EU - >28.9%, Russia - 7.1%, China - 9%	<i>Total:</i> 2.633B US – 42M, EU - > 1.5B, Russia – 747M, China – 1
Ukr	Total: 41.7B US – 1.26%, EU - >13%, Russia – 12%, China – 5.9%.	Total: 39.6B USA – 3.96%, EU - > 17%, Russia – 21%, China – 9.5%	<i>Total:</i> 18.291B US – 804M, EU - > 13B, Russia – 613B, China – 21M

2017	Export	Import	FDI
Arm	<i>Total:</i> 2.44 B , % USA – 2.6, EU - >30, Russia – 23% , China – 5.4%	<i>Total:</i> 3.96B , % US – 3, EU - > 20%, Russia – 29, China – 12	<i>Total:</i> 4.323B USA – 250M, EU - > 1.3B, Russia – 1.374B , China – 3M
Aze	<i>Total:</i> 14.3B USA – 0.75, EU - >55, Russia – 1.4 , China – 3.1	<i>Total:</i> 8.1B US – 3.3%, EU - > 23, Russia – 17%, China – 9.7%	<i>Total:</i> 29.3B US – 679M, EU – >11B, Russia – 800M, China – 176M
Bel	<i>Total:</i> 28.5B USA – 0.86% , EU - >37, Russia – 44 , China – 1.3%	<i>Total:</i> 33B USA – 1%, EU - > 16, Russia – 56%, China – 7.9%	<i>Total:</i> 19.795B US – 123M, EU - < 6 B, Russia – 10.971B, China – 268M
Geo	Total: 3.21B USA – 4.5%, EU - >25, Russia – 13%, China – 6.5%	<i>Total:</i> 8.08B USA – 2.6%, EU - > 25, Russia – 9.7%, China – 9.4%	<i>Total:</i> 17.266B US – 419M, EU - > 7B, Russia – 295M, China – 644M
Mol	<i>Total:</i> 2.96B US – 1.1%, EU - > 63%, Russia – 9.5%, China – 1.3%	Total: 5.07B USA - 1.3%, EU - <50%, Russia - 8.1%, China - 9.9%	<i>Total:</i> 3.324B US – 68M, EU - > 2.8B, Russia – 792M, China – 1
Ukr	Total: 46.1B US – 2%, EU - > 36%, Russia – 9.2%, China – 4.4%.	Total: 51.7B B USA – 4.5%, EU - > 39%, Russia – 15%, China – 11%	<i>Total:</i> 25.576B US – 711B, EU - > 17.7B, Russia – 950B, China – 48M

US: Foreign Aid/per country in mln USD

	2009	2013	2015	2017	2018
Armenia	61	56	52	31.5	9.8 + 20?
Azerbaijan	54.55	37.5	31.77	14.1	4.9
Belarus	18.3	23.3	14	5.8	6.466
Georgia	621.9	154.15	108.9	93.4	46.15
Moldova	33.597	30.3	47.65	48.9	25.6
Ukraine	194.766	254.4	272.7	506.746	89.578

EU: Foreign Aid/per country in mln USD

	2009	2013	2015	2016	2017 – 2020	2018
Armenia	90.7	129.1	204.8	244.4	208	
Azerbaijan	93.6	48.5	53.3	55.55		
Belarus	51.6	63.2	76.2	80.8		
Georgia	295.5	329.3	237.8	285.1	45	
Moldova	157.4	174.2	158.7	262.3		100 freezed
Ukraine	372.7	523.6	826	854.4		1000

Mapping the interests: EaP countries –USA, EU, Russia, and China

	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Belarus	Georgia	Moldova	Ukraine
USA	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization, Security provider, The issue of NK conflict	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization , Security provider, The issue of NK conflict	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization , Security provider	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Military cooperation and modernization , Security provider

EU	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastructural, societal) modernization, The issue of NK conflict	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastractural, societal) modernization , The issue of NK conflict	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastractural, societal) modernization	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastractural, societal) modernization	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastractural, societal) modernization	Economic cooperation Financial aid Balance of Powers Multivector (political, infrastractural, societal) modernization
Russia	Political, Economic, Military cooperation, Security provider, Cheap weaponry, Market for Armenian work force, The issue of NK conflict	Political, Economic, Military cooperation: weaponry, Market for Azerbaijani work force, The issue of NK conflict	Political, Economic, Military cooperation, Security provider? Market for Belarus work force	Political and economic cooperation, Market for Georgian work force, Georgian conflict	Political and Economic, cooperation, Security provider? Market for Moldovan work force, Transnistrian conflict	Political and economic cooperation, Market for Georgian work force, Georgian conflict, Ukrainian conflict

China	Economic	Economic	Economic	Economic	Economic	Economic
	cooperation,	cooperation,	cooperation,	cooperation,	cooperation,	cooperation,
	Integration into the	Integration	Integration	Integration	Integration	Integration
	BRI,	into the BRI,	into the BRI,	into the BRI,	into the BRI,	into the BRI,
	Loans?	Loans?	Loans?	Loans?	Loans?	Loans?
	Balance of Powers	Balance of				
		Powers	Powers	Powers	Powers	Powers

Trap of Neoliberalism or the "Revenge of Geography"

- Economic cooperation, including tourism
- Political interactions Russia participates in all ethno-political conflict resolutions
- Societal interactions

Discussions and conclusions: Developing the Art of Balancing

Armenia – Turkey relations: "A deadlock" towards a Secure Future

- Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict
- Armenian Genocide
- Rising nationalism in Turkey
- Turkey: aspirations for regional leadership

Thank you for your attention

Questions?