



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DISCIPLINE AREA

**THE EU'S SECURITY ACTORNESS  
IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION AFTER  
THE AUGUST 2008 WAR**

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SUPERVISOR: PROF. DR. MİTAT ÇELİKPALA

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, JANUARY 2018

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Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the Discipline Area of International Relations under the Program of International Relations.

ISTANBUL, JANUARY, 2018

I, GİZEM TOK;

Hereby declare that this Master's Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources.

GİZEM TOK

21/03/2018

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Gizem Tok', written in a cursive style.

## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This work entitled **THE EU'S SECURITY ACTORNESS IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION AFTER THE AUGUST 2008 WAR** prepared by **GİZEM TOK** has been judged to be successful at the defense exam held on **10.01.2018** and accepted by our jury as **MASTER'S THESIS**.

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## ABSTRACT

TOK, GİZEM. *THE EU'S SECURITY ACTORNESS IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS REGION AFTER THE AUGUST 2008 WAR*, MASTER'S THESIS, Istanbul, 2018.

Regionalism has always been in the international era. Regionalism studies has attracted the attention of academics since the end of the Cold War. However, regionalism is divided into two waves as old and new regionalism. The former appeared after the end of World War II (the 1950s) and became influential until 1980s. The latter appeared after end of the Cold War (1980s onwards). There are some distinctions between the two waves of regionalism in terms of the structure, arguments and interest areas. However; there is a transitional period within them which leads to continuation of mutual characteristics. It is important to evaluate the regionalism approach in historical and world context. After deep evaluation of the regionalism with its two waves; the thesis will explain the Regionalism in the European Union. The new regionalism constitutes the main period which explains the foreign policy relations of the EU with respect to both its internal and external dynamics. The new regionalism approach of the EU provides a coherent framework to understand the EU's neighbourhood policies in the South Caucasus region. This thesis focuses on a specific policy tool and period from the security dimension perspective: The Eastern Partnership Policy and the August 2008 War. The historical background and historical context are taken into consideration in order to analyze the EaP after the end of the August 2008 War.

**Keywords:** Old and New regionalism, Security actorness, Neighbourhood Policies, the EaP, the EU, the South Caucasus region

## ÖZET

GİZEM TOK. *AĞUSTOS 2008 SAVAŞI SONRASI AB'NİN GÜNEY KAFKASYA BÖLGESİNDE GÜVENLİK AKTÖRLÜĞÜ*, YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2018.

Bölgeselleşme, uluslararası alanda her zaman var olmasına rağmen; bölgeselleşme çalışmaları akademik anlamda Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesiyle önem kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bölgeselleşme gelişen akademik çalışmaların sonucunda eski ve yeni olarak iki döneme ayrıldı. Eski bölgeselleşme İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın bitmesiyle birlikte 1950'li yıllarda ortaya çıkarak 1980'li yılların sonuna kadar etkisini sürdürmüştür. Yeni bölgeselleşmenin ortaya çıkışı ise Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesinin ardından 1980'li yılların sonuna denk gelmektedir. Eski ve yeni bölgeselleşme kuramları yapısallık, içerik ve dahil ettiği aktörler bazında farklılıklar barındırsa da iki dönem arasında ortak özellikler bulunmaktadır, bu nedenle geçiş dönemini tarihsel çerçeveden ele almak önemlidir. Bu bağlamda eski ve yeni bölgeselleşme kuramlarının detaylı incelenmesi ve karşılaştırılması AB'nin Bölgeselleşme politikalarını anlamak için önemlidir. 1980'li yılların sonundan itibaren Bölgeselleşme politikaları, AB'nin dış politikasını önemli ölçüde şekillendirmiştir. Bu nedenle AB'nin bölgeselleşme politikaları yeni dönemin çerçevesinden ele alınmıştır. AB ve yeni bölgeselleşme yaklaşımı AB'nin Güney Kafkasya Komşuluk politikalarının açıklanması için uygun zemini sağlamaktadır. Bu tez, AB tarafından 2008 Ağustos Savaşı sonrası Güney Kafkasya bölgesinde geliştirilen bölgeselleşme politikalarını güvenlik boyutu açısından incelemektedir. Ayrıca bu tez, AB'nin Doğu Ortaklığı Programı'nı, AB'nin 2008 Savaşı'na verdiği bir güvenlik refleksi olarak görür.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Eski ve Yeni Bölgeselcilik, Güvenlik Aktörlüğü, Komşuluk Politikası, AB'nin Doğu Ortaklığı Programı, AB, Güney Kafkasya Bölgesi



## Abbreviation List

APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CM	Common Market
EAP	Eastern Partnership Policy
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EU	European Union
NAFTA	North American Trade Agreement
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreements
PTA	Preferred Trade Agreements
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nation
USA	United States of America
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War

## INTRODUCTION

The thesis is about the EU's new regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region with respect to its security actorness. Its central research is the EU's stabilization policies in the Eastern Neighbourhood area as a form its Foreign Policy Relations. With respect to this topic; there are some questions at stake: How does the EU define its regions in the world context? Which regionalism wave is appropriate for the explanation of EU's regionalism policies in the global area? What is the relation between the EU's global actorness and creation of its regions? How does the EU define the South Caucasus region? Why the South Caucasus region is important for the EU? How does the EaP promote the EU's security actorness? What has been achieved through the EaP from the security perspective? What are the drawbacks and challenges of the EaP regarding the ensuring security in the region?

This thesis tries to find relevant answers to above questions. The questions are important in order to orient the readers in the direction of the main arguments. The main questions are concerning the EU's neighbourhood policies and the South Caucasus region especially after the August 2008 War. However; the appropriate wave of regionalism, the EU's regional integration and regionalism policies in the world as well as reasons of the EU's interest towards South Caucasus region must be explained firstly. The thesis chooses the South Caucasus place and the period of 2008 onwards specifically; since the EU's security actorness towards its Eastern Neighbourhood area has began to appear in the South Caucasus region after the August 2008 War.

The selection of main theory books, the European Commission Policy Papers and The Eastern Partnership Summits constitute the primary sources of the thesis. The great deals of the sources are constituted by the secondary sources which are the articles or books of scholars who discuss the theories or the cases relevant to the EU or the South Caucasus region. Although the new regionalism wave touches upon the wider study areas in the world and has attracted much more attention of academics contrary to early regionalism; the searching for the literature regarding the old regionalism theories are easier and more available. The theories of the new regionalism are explained and collected by the leading scholars Björn Hettne, Andrew Hurrell, Louise Fawcett and Frederick Söderbaum under the New Regionalism Approach (NRA). However, one of

the main theories of the new regionalism International Political Economy (IPE) is rarely found which touches upon the regionalism issues directly. Since the IPE is a vast theory which covers many areas such as economy, trade, policy etc.; the researcher should select the new regionalism approach in the IPE.

In the light of above presentations about the topic, the main and sub-questions as well as the methodology; the content of the thesis will be expanded in three main chapters. In the first chapter the concept of region, regionalism and regionalization, levels and dimensions of regionalism, old and new regionalism approaches and their main theories will be explained. The first chapter will be completed with the comparison of the old and new regionalism which helps to understand the reasons of selection of the new regionalism approach throughout the thesis.

The second chapter will evaluate the EU and Regionalism concept. The chronological history of the EU's Regional Integration helps reader to see the transition from the old and new regionalism approach with respect to the EU's own evolution in terms of regional integration example. Also, the second chapter tries to show that how the EU defines its regions in the world context as foreign policy relations. Understanding the logic and reasons of the EU's regionalism policies provides a structure for the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region, as well.

Lastly, the third chapter focuses on the EU's security actorness in the South Caucasus region after the August 2008 War as a case study. With the theoretical and conceptual framework of the previous chapters, the third chapter looks at the EU's neighbourhood policies as a security actor in the South Caucasus region. 'Civilian Power' and 'Soft Imperialism' are the EU's two models of its regional actorness defined by Björn Hettne and Fredrik Söderbaum in the article of 'Civilian power or soft imperialism?EU as a global actor and the role of inter-regionalism' written in 2005. The EaP will be discussed from the perspective of these two models in order to understand the motivations of the EU and to analyze its challenges in the implementation of the EaP. In addition to civilian power and soft imperialism models; there are two conflicting logics of the EU in specific to security actorness such as 'the normative/duty security narrative' and 'threat/risk security normative' argued by George Christou in his article of 'European Union security logics to the east: theEuropean Neighbourhood Policy and the EasternPartnership' written in 2010.

Hence; the arguments of the thesis are claimed in below direction. The new regionalism approach is appropriate for the discussion of the EU's policies in the South Caucasus region in the 2000s years; since new regionalism includes variety of interest areas, multilateral and enhanced bilateral dialogues with the participation of state and non-state actors from both developed and developing countries. Also, the thesis will reach the conclusion that the EaP is an immediate reflex of the EU towards the 2008 War with its security concerns; yet the EaP has limits in order to promote the EU's security actorness owing to conflicting security logics of the EU in addition to the external factors in the region (Russia's influence or the attempts of the South Caucasus countries).



## CHAPTER 1

# 1 REGIONALISM: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 1.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF REGIONALISM

### 1.1.1 The Emergence of Regions

'Regions' are always seen in International Relations era. (Fawn, 2009) As cited by Fawn (2009); Mattli (1999) in his work referred to the roots of regionalism in nineteenth-century European phenomena showing the Zollverein customs union among Germanic principalities as an example of regional integration which developed in the twentieth century. Another argument regarding the history of regionalism implies that the Americas (inc. different independent countries) developed both regional identities and inter-state structures in the late nineteenth century. (Fawn, 2009) However; the regions as cooperation among states emerged after the First World War (WWI) and developed after the Second World War (WWII) latterly. The developments of the former have been criticized since it caused global economic crisis due to closed trading blocs. The studies of regionalism after WWII has attracted much more attention. During this period, as Fawn (2009, p. 7) referred to the work of Barnett and Solingen (2009) the League of Arab States was launched as an institutionalized regional cooperation; although the "shared identities and interests would surely place the Arab states system high on most predictors of regional institutionalization"; the development was limited.<sup>1</sup> Apart from previous examples; Western Europe has developed a regionalism after the World War II. A leading theorist Ernst B. Haas developed a functionalist thought drawing the initial framework of regionalism. He tried to replace the "ineffective" national ideologies of the ruling elites with "the national consciousness and the objective national situation combined to make desirable a search for policy alternatives that would guarantee security and welfare, peace and plenty without repeating the

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<sup>1</sup>This information was indicated by Fawn (2009) referring to the chapter of Michael Barnett and Etel Solingen, 'Designed to Fail or Failure of Design?' The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League', in Acharya and Johnstone, p. 180

nationalist mistakes of an earlier generation of statesmen. The result was the drive for a united Europe...” (Haas, 1968) A common consensus regarding the evolution of regionalism implies that there are two outstanding waves of regionalism arose after the World War II. The first period existed during 1950s until 1970s; the second one has developed for the mid-1980s. Before discussing these periods; it is important to mention about the general ideas about the definition of region, regionalism and regionalization.

### **1.1.2 Region, Regionalism and Regionalization**

The definitions of both ‘region’ and ‘regionalism’ are obscure due to the lack of exact meanings. However, some geographical classifications can narrow the scheme of the regionalism separating it from the meaning of globalization. The defining endeavors of region and regionalism found enormous academic attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but there was inadequate result. (Hurrell, 1995) The most common definition of *region* is a group of countries around the same geography. In addition to geographical distance, the definition requires various criteria debated controversially. Russett (1967) defines region, as cited by Mansfield and Solingen (2010), with the contribution of geographical closeness, social and cultural cohesion, mutual political attitudes and institutions, and economic interdependence. States of a region share geographical cohesion in addition to consistent communication and shared commonalities. (Thompson, 1973)

Nonetheless; for some scholars geography is not a determinant in definition of regions. They see political practices and interaction as fundamental elements for the consideration of a region. One of the leading theorist Katzenstein (2005, p. 2) claims that regions are politically made and “regions reflect the power and purpose of states. They are made porous by two sets of factors: the fusion of global and international processes, and variety of relations that link them to political entities operating outside and within regions.” Solingen (1998) draws a region’s boundaries taking different domestic political coalitions under the same coalition. There is also an ambiguity concerning the definition of regionalism. This uncertainty derives from the confusion about the definitions of regionalism and regionalization. The former is defined by some political scientists as “a political process marked by cooperation and policy

coordination, whereas latter is an economic process in which trade and investment within the region grow more rapidly than the region's trade and investment with the rest of the world." (Mansfield and Solingen 2010, p. 147) Pempel (2005), as cited by Mansfield and Solingen (2010), complements the distinction of them by claiming that regionalization is realized with the practices of society gradually through bottom up practices; on the contrary regionalism "involves primarily the process of institution creation" and is provided by the 'authorities' like international cooperation or the political units intentionally.

### **1.1.3 Levels of Regionness**

Hettne and Inotai (1994) set levels of regionness into five categories for a more conceptual analysis of the regions. First level is geographical regionness which is defined with the geographical terms like natural borders/limits such as Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural or Africa of South Sahara. Second category is region as social system which implies a social interaction established by the human inhabitants of the regions as a consequence of interdependence among countries of the region in terms of social, political, cultural and economic nature. Hettne and Inotai (1994) complicate this level by mentioning its both positive and negative relations leading to a security complex.<sup>2</sup> The third level is region as organized cooperation in various fields like the cultural, economic, political or military. The significance here is the multidimensionality with the cooperation of different fields. They see regional organization as a stage for multilateralism in a regional arena in the long run. (Hettne and Inotai, 1994)

The fourth level is region as regional civil society as a consequence of the social relations and the unity values like cultural tradition provided by the organizational structures. (Hettne & Inotai, 1994)

Finally, the fifth level is region as actorness with a specific identity enjoying capability and right for this actorness and decision-making. At this level, regional organizations act in several areas like conflict resolution (between and within states), management of

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<sup>2</sup>Hettne and Inotai (1994) mention about the anarchic system of regions. The 19th century Europe is given an example of this type of anarchic system considering the region as "low level of organization, power balance or some kind of concert' is the sole security guarantee." (Hettne and Inotai, 1994)

the ecological systems or natural resources of the region (water management etc.) or stability of the region (in terms of social rest and regional balance).<sup>3</sup> (Hettne & Inotai, 1994)

#### **1.1.4 Dimensions of Regionalism**

Regionalization leads to a transformation gradually from relative heterogeneity to increased homogeneity in virtue of various dimensions like culture, security, economic policies, and political regime. (Hettne & Inotai, 1994)

Firstly, cultural homogeneity takes some time. Hettne and Inotai (1994) imply that a spring of the cultural homogeneity should be found to some extent in a region in initial; they define this spring as an ‘inherent regional civil society’.<sup>4</sup>

Another important dimension is security; and also security divisions can be result in economic divisions. There is a correlation between the security and economic dimensions. As in previous dimension; the homogeneity in security order is not adequate for the regional integration since there is also need for coherency in economic policies as a complementary dimension. When economic unity is absent in a region; the welfare atmosphere of the region is influenced negatively preventing the regionalization. (Hettne & Inotai, 1994) Moreover, it is expected that regional integration paves the way for accepted market principle; but economically unequal states, participants of free trade areas, in a region cannot sustain security in their regions. (Hettne & Inotai, 1994)

Security alliances and institutions can cooperate with regional major powers even they have been limited to specific geographical area. During the post-World War II period, the United States (US) pioneered alliances cooperating with Western Europe (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization); Asia (bilateral alliances with Japan, South Korea,

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<sup>3</sup>Hettne and Inotai (1994) mention about the complexity of the organizational expression evolving into a ‘region-state’ compared to the classical empires. *“There is voluntary evolution of sovereign national political units into a supranational community to which certain functions are transferred.”* (Hettne and Inotai, 1994) They show the European Community into the European Union as an example for this transformation.

<sup>4</sup> The book shows Nordic countries as an example that how ‘inherent’ cultural homogeneity enables unification and capability to solve their security problems creating a security community. However; it is also emphasized that cultural homogeneity is not everything for the unification of different countries of the region as in the example of South Asian states when there are still other dimensional differences.



Australia, Philippines, Thailand, and Taiwan); the Middle East (the failed Central Treaty Organization/Baghdad Pact etc.) (Mansfield & Solingen, 2010)

Thirdly, the economic dimension of regionalism is a fundamental aspect in regionalism studies. Economic regionalism includes both trade and monetary dimensions deepening the level of integration. (Rajan, 2002) Trade integration is developed with the elements of preferential and free trade areas (PTAs), custom unions (CUs) as well as common markets (CMs). Monetary integration is evolved from exchange rate coordination to full monetary and fiscal integration incorporating a single currency and common monetary policy. There are some proponents of the argument that trade integration must be focal point in economic regionalism rather than monetary one; since it is believed that former increases common business cycles. (Rajan, 2002) However; Rajan indicates the missing points of this convergence.<sup>5</sup> The main explanations regarding the drawbacks of ‘trade-first’ approach are stated by Rajan (2002). Firstly, since a regional trade arrangement necessitates industrial specialization and inter-industry trade basing on comparative advantage in countries; production of products become unequal exposing the asymmetric supply shocks. (Rajan, 2002) Second reason is a single currency may increase trade among countries of the region as an outcome of decrease in transactions. (Rajan, 2002)<sup>6</sup> Third, a regional trade arrangement is influenced negatively when exchange rate leads to instability between the countries of the region. Competitive devaluations may trigger protectionist policies which contradict with the regional trade agreement. (Rajan, 2002)<sup>7</sup> Economic dimension (including regional trade arrangements and monetary unions) is also related with political approach to some extent.<sup>8</sup> According to Gavin & Lombardi (2005); monetary union is more related with political dimension since region is evolved a political entity rather than mere economic one.

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<sup>5</sup> Rajan (2002) argues that “‘trade-first’ sequencing has recently come under scrutiny in Latin America and particularly in east Asia, which is actively considering if and how intra-regional monetary cooperation might be enhanced in parallel with ongoing steps towards trade integration.”

<sup>6</sup> “Proponents of European integration used such an argument extensively to justify the region’s Economic and Monetary Union.” (Rajan, 2002)

<sup>7</sup> For examples see (Rajan, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> Rajan (2002) mentions about the political will existence in economic dimension by comparing the east Asia and western Europe. He reaches a conclusion that east Asia cannot developed as a European-type union. This makes European case as unique leading to question of monetary and financial cooperation in general.

## 1.2 THEORIES OF OLD REGIONALISM

### 1.2.1 Federalism Theory

Defining of some terms related with federalism theory enables us understanding the frame of the theory and its arguments. Starting with the definition of federation can be reasonable. The name *federation* roots in Latin *foedus* meaning a voluntary act of pact, alliance and arrangement basing on mutual trust and process. (Dosenrode, 2010) Dosenrode (2010) regards federation as one of state types in international relations. One of leading theorists of federalism Daniel Elazar (1991) defines federalism as a means to reach 'liberty' by limiting political interests in order to protect certain rights within states. King (1982) explains federation as cited by Dosenrode (2010, p. 10) "[...] an institutional arrangement, taking the form of a sovereign state, and distinguished from other such states solely by the fact that its central government incorporates regional units in its decision procedure on some constitutionally entrenched basis". Federalism is considered as a process leading or an attempt to become a state of federation from normative perspective; while Elazar (1991) considers it both a process and structure. Burgess (2000, p. 27) sees it also as a normative process and a desired end of 'human relations and conduct'.

#### The Schools of Federalist Theory

The federalist theory is explained in international relations in two different types of school like the Liberal School and the Realist School which are separately crucial for the studying the theory.

Liberal School: The leading authors of the Liberal Schools of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are M. Burgess, D. J. Elazar, A. Spinelli and K.C Wheare. According to Wheare (1963), as cited by (Dosenrode, 2000, p. 12); the federations are created as a consequence of a desire to "be under a single independent government for purposes at any rate". This desire is motivated by some factors such as: 'a sense of military insecurity', 'the consequent need for defense', 'a desire to be independent of foreign powers', 'a hope of economic advantage from union' as well as 'some political association of the

community'. (Wheare, 1963)<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless; Wheare (1963) argues that integration does not derive with the existence of these factors unless there is an elite group who leads this union. It is understood that the Liberal school tries to explain merely the voluntary motivations of coming under a federation; but it is inadequate for the explanation as a regional theory of integration. (Dosenrode, 2010)

Realist School: William H. Riker and David McKay are leading proponents of Realist School of federalism. To begin with; Riker (1964) attaches importance on the scientific explanation of federalism as a realist.<sup>10</sup> According to Riker (1964) with the help of technology of transportation, federalism enables governments' efficiency when they enlarge their lands by leading to a competition among neighbors. Riker (1964) also argues the idea of *the federal bargaining* for the establishment of integration by the states of a region. Moreover; Riker (1964, p. 14) indicates the bargaining motivations of politicians with his two below statements.

1. The politicians who offer the bargain desire to expand their territorial control by peaceful means, usually either to meet an external military or diplomatic threat or to prepare for military or diplomatic aggression and aggrandizement. [...] The predisposition for those who offer the bargain is, then, that federalism is the only feasible means to accomplish a desired expansion without the use of force.
2. The politicians who accept the bargain, giving up some independence for the sake of union, are willing to do so, because of some external military-diplomatic threat or opportunity. [...]. And furthermore, the desire for either protection or participation outweighs any desire they may have for independence. [...]

He believes that states can stand as powerful via bargaining against to a threat. (Dosenrode, 2010)

### Federalism Theories as Regional Integration Theories

Dosendore (2010) sees cases of USA and Australia as a voluntary decision for integration to establish a new state and a new international actor; he also believes that since federations are the last stage of regional integration; federalism approach must be considered regional integration theory. According to both Liberal and Realist schools;

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<sup>9</sup> The quotations made by Dosenrode(2000) referring the arguments of the Wheare (1963) were used in order to understand the notion of federalism.

<sup>10</sup>Riker emphasizes the significance of scientific explanation in the preface of his book, 'Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance' from 1964.

the regional integration process is realized in the short run overlooking the ‘organic’ or gradual creation of a federation. (Dosenrode, 2010)

### **1.2.2 Functionalism Theory**

Functionalism, has been associated with David Mitrany, is considered an approach not a theory. He wrote a pamphlet named as “A Working Peace System” in 1943 which gives basic ideas about functionalist approach and regionalism in IR. Functionalists try to understand that which political level can provide various human needs such as transportation, trade, production and welfare at best. (Hettne, 2005) As opposed to federalism and regional integration approach; Mitrany pays attention on function rather than territory which implies conflict and war. According to him economics is more important than politics. The theory tries to make narrative explanation for the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 which transformed the European Economic Community (EEC) with the Treaty of Rome in 1957. According to Mitrany (1946, p. 21); ECSC brings much more peace instead of nationalist ideas focusing on the economic interests:

The task facing us is how to build up the reality of a common interest in peace... not a peace that would keep nations quietly apart, but a peace that would bring them actively together; not the static and strategic view of peace, but a social view of it... We must put our faith not in a protected but a working peace.

Ernst B. Haas evaluated the arguments of Functionalism/Mitrany in the preface of his book “The Uniting of Europe: political, social, and economic forces, 1950-1957” published in 1968. Haas (1968) understands from the functionalist ideas of Mitrany that functionalists are interested in peace paying attention the elements of creativity and work.

### **1.2.3 Neo-functionalism**

The last theory regarding early regionalism is neo-functionalism which has been developed by Ernst B. Haas. He explains regional integration with some key definitions and points. “Core area” and “spill-over” definitions are fundamental ones which constitute characteristics of the theory.

According to Haas (1968); states in “core area” have reached desired capacity in terms of governmental, economic and military power; for that reason the weaker states aspire to attend the core area to receive leadership and assistance.

Furthermore, Haas (1968) regards regional integration as a process. Rosamond (2000, p. 59-60) summarizes “Haas’s original formulation (Haas, 1968, p. 283-317), spillover referred to the way in which the creation and deepening of integration in one economic sector would create pressures for further economic integration within and beyond sector, and greater authoritative capacity at the European level.” Hurrell (1995) also defines Haas’ integration as a process that loyalty, expectations and political activities of national settings are transformed values of institutions over the national states.

#### **1.2.4 Comparison of Federalism, Functionalism and Neo-functionalism**

The three theories (federalism, functionalism and neo-functionalism) define and explain the concept of regionalism in International Relations field. These early regionalism theories appeared and developed during 1950s and the early 1980s. Although they look at regionalism from different perspectives; they are complementary to each other without concrete divisions to some extent. They are compared with each other in terms of the areas they pay attention; the actors they believe in the influence as well as the duration of development of regionalism etc. They also define regional integration in different ways.

Firstly; the duration of integration process argued by the theories gives us an idea about the regionalism they propound. According to federalism; the integration is a fast process, they do not believe in ‘organic’ integration process such as the integration of USA, Australia and Canada as mentioned previously. Contrary to Federalism, Neofunctionalism argues that integration develops in the long run as in the case of Europe.

Besides; federalism pays attention on the states and decision-makers of them from the realist perspective. However; Dosendoore (2010) criticizes the federalism approach especially Riker in this sense, because the integration is not dependent on only the states or the decision-makers but depends on the support of the member states. Both functionalism and neofunctionalism dissented the significance of the ‘power-orientation

of realism' and traditional institutionalism. (Gehring, 1996) Furthermore; Mitrany as a functionalist sees economics more important than politics and territory. Mitrany and Haas argue that contrary to power issues ('high politics'), welfare issues ('low politics') bring peace which unites nations not disintegrate. (Gehring, 1996)

The theories require also a comparison regarding their arguments towards regional integration. The definition of regional integration has several complex variations since they are about both a process and states. (Dosenrode, 2010) After the World War II, there is an excessive increase in the number of intergovernmental organizations between 1945-1965; and Nye (1972) regards the EC as the most impressive one of the regional economic organizations.<sup>11</sup> According to Nye (1972); multinational enterprises triggers the regional integration supporting the process; albeit the negative interventions of extra-regional enterprises may decrease the efficient and conditions for the integration. There is a tendency to take regional integration as a basis from the European experience perspective by some scholars like Haas and Nye. Differing from functionalists; Haas and other neofunctionalists regards the regional integration as political in addition to functional aspects.

### **1.2.5 Old Regionalism Approach**

Classic/Old regionalism wave existed after the World War II during 1950s until 1970s. Federalism, Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism theories provide a framework and understanding of early regionalism. The characteristics of it can be indicated in the direction of these approaches.

Firstly, all of these theories explain their ideas regarding regionalism from a Euro-centric perspective. In general, euro-centrism is an undeniable characteristic of old regionalism. Haas (1968)'s arguments related with a functionalist thought offer removal of national ideologies of elites and bringing uniting elements like peace, security and welfare for the sake of establishment of a united Europe. Mitrany (1946) also puts Europe in the center when provides 'functions' for territory. As mentioned previously; Mitrany (1946) pays attention on economic function rather than politics or territory. His

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<sup>11</sup>Joseph Nye is a liberal theorist who developed regional integration theory.

focus on was the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 which transformed the European Economic Community (EEC).

Second characteristic of old regionalism is state-centricism. Early regionalism theories make explanation from the perspective of states. According to Federalist theory; federations or regional units are constituted by the states under determined a policy area. It can be considered at first that Mitrany (1946) challenges the state-centricism of old regionalism by emphasizing the efficiency of creative work of men in instead of territorial boundaries; he cannot exceed the state-centricism since he tries to bring some functionality into the unity of statesmen. Furthermore; the neofunctionalism also explains old regionalism from a state-centric perspective. If we remember Haas's arguments regarding "core area"; the term indicates the goals and process of states establishing a union around a region. He (1968) puts states into the center; some states establish a core area; remaining ones follow it (bargaining).

Besides; early regionalism follows a realist ideology in general. The motivations of states for the establishment of a region derive from the need of security and welfare due to anarchic system of international era. Wheare (1963) (theorist of federalism) sees federations as a consequence of 'a sense of military insecurity' and 'the consequent need for defense'. Riker (1964, p. 14) a scholar of Realist school of Federalist theories argues that idea of federal bargaining enables states 'territorial control by peace means', 'to meet an external military or diplomatic threat'. Haas (1968) also pays attention on security concerns; he focuses on the significance of ECSC considering economy important than politics; but he sees economy as important since he believes in its potential to bring peace instead of nationalist ideas. Thus; Haas's understanding of regionalism can be triggered by the sense of security.

Finally; another crucial characteristic is the focus on regional integration rather than regional cooperation. However; this characteristic will be deepened after the comparison of old and new regionalism part, since it would be missing evaluation before understanding what is regional cooperation.

To sum up; the characteristics of old regionalism are stated in the two sentences of Nye (1988, p. 239): "In the late 1950s, a different framework of regionalism had emerged in Western Europe. Though not strictly with a security function, it had promised to go 'beyond the nation-state' and to enable states to overcome the security dilemma

associated with it. This conception of regionalism found its most sophisticated expression in regional integration theory, an intellectual high point of post-war liberal institutionalism.”

### **1.2.6 Transition from Old to New Regionalism**

Haas had developed a neofunctionalist theory advising politics to compel their limits in interrelated issues; and the theory developed an empirical analysis of the International Labor Organization aspiring an applicable model into other global membership organizations.<sup>12</sup> (Hart, 2015) Furthermore, Haas (1975) started to question his theories of regional integration in his book ‘the Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory’. Hence; the integration theory gradually lost its influence in explanation of regional developments. Whereas neofunctionalism was marginalized; an increasing attention on ‘interdependence’ was developed under the international political economy. (Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002) Neofunctionalist ideas are inadequate for explaining the regional integration with the new trends in international era since the late 1980s. “The emphasis on functional pressures, growing interdependence and the significance of non-state actors stood in sharp contrast to the dominant orthodoxy of realism in American International Relations and in many ways laid some of the ground for the development of contemporary international political economy (IPE).”(Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002, p. 3) The transition from early regionalism wave to new regionalism has been experienced in this direction; since some new regional initiations have emerged requiring new theories to explain the regional actions.

With the advent of some changes in regional projects and developments in 1980s and 1990s; there has been re-increase in the analysis of regional integration since the emergence of early regionalism. (Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002) The North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has attracted attention of academics in the United States, MERCOSUR as trade agreement founded in South America in 1991, and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was active in the 1990s which paved the way for the establishment of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). In

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<sup>12</sup> “*In Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization, Haas formulated a theory of global integration which he called neofunctionalist.*” The information was taken from a paper uploaded by Jeffrey A. Hart in Academia Edu in 2015.



addition to them; the Southern African Development Community (SADC) has enabled a stabilization and regeneration after the unrest due to ethnic disputes. (Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002) Moreover; there has been an increase in economic and political integration in western Europe as a consequence of EU single market programme in the mid-1980s; this process besides triggered the monetary integration among some of member states towards end of the 1990s. (Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002)

IR scholars and theorists develop their theories not to create a new policy direction; but they do in order to evaluate and understand existing changes in international area. Academics divide regionalism in two waves as a consequence of some changing forms and uses in regionalism. Hence; the new regionalism theories have been also promoted as a consequence of new regional projects and cases.

Finally; Hettne and Söderbaum (2000, p. 457) claim that below historical events paved the way for the start of new regionalism wave:

- i) the move from bipolarity towards a multipolar or perhaps tripolar structure, with a new division of power and new division of labor;
- ii) the relative decline of American hegemony in combination with a more permissive attitude on the part of the USA towards regionalism;
- iii) the erosion of the Westphalian nation-state system and the growth of interdependence and 'globalization';
- iv) The changed attitudes towards (neoliberal) economic development and associated political system in the developing countries, as well as in the post-communist countries.

### **1.3 THEORIES OF NEW REGIONALISM**

According to the New Regionalism Approach (NRA)<sup>13</sup>; theoretical approaches should be established starting from the region and benefited from world approaches by applying interdisciplinary method. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998) In this respect; NRA tries to integrate three theoretical perspectives: Theory of International Relations/International Political Economy; Development Theory; and Regional Integration Theory.

The study of world order makes contribution into the IPE theories and to Development Theory. Also, there is an association between the study of world order and Development Theory. However; since the Development theory is a state-centric approach; it must be

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<sup>13</sup> The New Regionalism Approach/Theory (NRA/T) which has been developed by Björn Hettne and his colleagues in 1990s.

complemented with IR/IPE theories. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998) Since the region becomes important as a political actor in the emerging world order; Regional Integration Theory attracts attention.

### **1.3.1 Theory of International Political Economy**

Theory of International Political Economy (IPE) is contrasted with neoliberal approaches in terms of new regionalism. Neoliberals consider the new regionalism as a trade promotion policy, whereas for IPE, regionalism is much more related with multidimensional issues; including economic, security, environmental and many others in addition to trade. (Hettne, 2005) Moreover; neoliberals regard regionalism as a complementary to global trade; but IPE associates regionalism with various action areas. (Hettne, 2005) Another important difference between neoliberals and IPE is that for the former, regionalism is new merely in terms of a revival of protectionism; but the latter considers new regionalism totally as new which can be realized in relation to the transformation of the world economy. (Hettne, 2005) Furthermore; IPE implies that regionalism must be 'open regionalism' which helps rescuing from protectionist rules and paving way for the globalization and internationalization.(Hettne, 2005)

IPE has been associated with mainly “the ‘big’ processes of macro-regionalism, primarily in and between the three core regions, Europe, North America and Asia Pacific, often with a focus on the EU, NAFTA and APEC or other regional organizations such as ASEAN, Mercosur, SADC, ECOWAS and so on.” (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2000, p. 459)

### **1.3.2 Development Theory**

Hettne (1997) argues that the combination of IPE and Development Theory would fill in the blanks related with social science traditions in regionalism. This merger of two theories with focuses on development for 'the excluded' which is associated with Alternative Development Theory. (Hettne, 1997) “A 'combined approach', with a focus on development for 'the excluded' which is particular concern of Alternative Development Theory, is applied to recent regionalization of the post-Westphalian world order and the structural relations between various types of regionalism: 'neo-liberal

regionalism' in the Core, 'open regionalism' in the intermediate regions, and 'security and development regionalism' in the Periphery." (Hettne, 1997, p. 83) This application is a counter movement in a global context where the 'political' reenters the arena standing opposite side of the globalization and in a 'new regionalism'. (Hettne, 1997)

It is regarded that new regionalism as a solution to cope with global transformation; and states have realized their lack of capability to counter with it as on the 'national level'. (Hettne, 1997) Classic development theory was a state-centric; in this respect it was assumed inadequate approach in new regionalism. However; the theory has transformed and now Alternative Development Theory (ADT) which searches new methods to extend its direction looking outside from the state perspective. Hettne (1997, p. 88) argues that ADT should provide the 'territorialism' as opposed to functionalism, 'cultural pluralism' as opposed to standardized modernization as well as 'ecological sustainability' as opposed to 'sustained growth'; hence the dimensionality of it can be indicated.

### **1.3.3 The Regional Integration Theory**

The functionalist and neofunctionalist approaches were dominant in the old wave of regionalism for the explanation of regional integration. These approaches defined regional integration basing on the technical and basic functional areas and gradually spill-over within and across the states. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998) Moreover; regional organization has attracted the attention of other perspectives such as neoliberal institutionalism. However; the institutionalist theories are criticized since they are euro-centric in terms of cultural bases; state-centric and excessively care instrumentality of international institutions. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998) They highlight the need of some other theories which mention and give place to non-state actors and human factor. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998) Nonetheless; (European) integration theory has experienced new concepts and approaches in recent years; and regional integration schemes and regional free trade agreements were introduced in other parts of the world. (Farrell, 2005).

### 1.3.4 Comparison of New Regionalism Theories

The scholars of New Regionalism Approach (NRA), especially Björn Hettne and Andrew Hurrell, argue that the second wave of regionalism can be explained with the combination of several theories. They see IPE, Development Theory and Regional Integration Theory as complementary approaches for studying regionalism.

Albeit these theories are considered as complementary to each other when analyzing new regionalism; there are crucial differences among three of them. IPE theory benefits from both politics and economics; in addition to that the development is experienced by the social order. (Hettne, 1997) The reason of this dependency of the theories springs from multidimensional factors require mixture of different theories. Alternative development theory, as mentioned above, pays attention of 'community' and 'civil society' issues contribute IPE bringing some historicism and normativity. (Hettne, 1997)

Besides, Regional Integration Theory can contribute the new regionalism approach with limited sources. Since it is found eurocentric and state-centric in general. However; it can be a good starting point for the understanding of regions. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998)

### 1.3.5 New Regionalism Approach

Hettne and Söderbaum draw a complex table regarding the New Regionalism Approach which includes several important actors even *sub-national* and *local authorities* who develop both formal and informal economic regionalization by playing active roles in order to operate their own initiative and preferences. (Breslin, Higgott & Rosamond, 2002)

Hettne (2005) sees new regionalism as worldwide phenomenon which includes both more and less developed countries; even they can come under the same regional organization. There are three structurally different regions which are ordered in the world system hierarchy: core regions, peripheral regions and intermediate regions. (Hettne, 2005) These categorization is made by looking at their degree of economic dynamism and political stability.

New regionalism provides different levels of regionness which lead to interrelated consequences; if a region provides security cooperation becomes stable which enables to attract the investments of international organizations. (Hettne, 2005) Thus; new regionalism can be analyzed looking at the multidimensional factors. Contrary to earlier debate; new regionalism requires complex and interconnected dimensional analyses. For example; security is an important dimension of old regionalism, too; but it touches upon only understanding of security in anarchic system or economy. In new regionalism; security dimension triggers regional actors to provide cooperation due to a threat of regionalization of conflict. (Hettne, 2005) Hettne (2005, p. 553) explains his ideas that “both the outward spread or spillover of a local conflict into neighbouring countries, and the inward impact from the region in the form of diplomatic interference, military intervention and, preferably, conflict resolution carried out by some kind of regional body.”

The security dimension has been revised in the recent debate and became a separate category. Buzan makes a constructivist redefinition about his regional security complex theory claiming that “a sets of units whose major processes of securitization, de-securitization or both, are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another.” (Buzan, 2003, p. 141-142) Furthermore, he defines security complex by making connection some new fields such as in economic, environmental and societal ones. (Buzan, 2003)

According to Hettne (2005, p. 553); a local conflict can also influence the acts of regional actors requiring a conflict management for the sake of “internal regional security, the immediate environment of the region (e.g. the neighborhood policy of Europe).” New regionalism debate can make necessary to intervene the security issues in outside of the region. “A conflict management with regard to the immediate environment (but outside the region) can refer to an acute conflict or aim at preventively transforming the situation by stabilization or integration.” (Hettne, 2005, p. 553). Thus; an existence of a conflict can invite regional actors to improve stabilization and integration in order to reach the secure immediate region.

Besides, new regionalism approach provides a long list of regional actors: group of state actors, interstate and global institutions and non-state actors (especially multinational corporations, emerging civil society organizations and NGOs). (Breslin, Higgott &

Rosamond, 2002). New regionalism can be constituted with the participation of various actors as it is constituted with the inclusion of multifaceted issues; however, regions can be regarded as actor in the recent debate. Hettne (2005) argues the “actorness of a region.” “This process of regionalization was described earlier in relation to the notion of increasing regionness, which implies that a geographical area is transformed from a passive object (an arena) to an active subject (an actor) that is increasingly capable of articulating the transnational interests of the emerging region”. (Hettne, 2005, p. 555) Actorness is regarded as a capability to influence the external environment, a process of deepening regionalism, possibility of failure since it’s created by human actors as well as positive and negative results of enlargement. (Hettne, 2005)

New regionalism is analyzed with respect to two level of regionalism, like lower and higher level. In the lower level regionalism; both weak and powerful regions can develop regionness to some extent. (Hettne, 2005) Nonetheless; in higher level regionalism, the impact of regionalization can extend its borders. There are different forms of regionalism in the higher level such as: transregionalism (actors and structures mediating between regions), multiregionalism (when interregional relations constitute a multilateral regionalized form). (Hettne, 2005) Interregionalism can be explained in the EU policy example; this policy promotes its policies in preferred counterparts in the international system. (Hettne, 2005)

To sum up; new regionalism has emerged with respect to changing historical context of the world. With the development of new regionalism debate; multidimensional factors like social, political, economic, security and culture and identity etc. have constituted the agenda of regionalism with the participation of various actors like states and non-states organizations.

#### **1.4 COMPARISON OF OLD AND NEW REGIONALISM**

The ‘old regionalism’ emerged in the 1950s; and its dominance weakened in the 1970s; and the ‘new regionalism’ appeared in the mid-1980s. Separation of regionalism in two waves can be explained by looking at the historical context as mentioned in the previous part related with the transition. Early debate coincides with the period of Cold War in a

bipolar world; whereas the recent debate has existed and developed in a multipolar world context.

The new regionalism is a world-wide phenomenon which is seen in different parts of the world in various dimensions; yet early regionalism was focused on specific issues mostly related with economy or security. Current regionalism enables harmony within different dimensions by combining culture, security, economic policies and political regimes under the same regionalism policies. Besides; the old regionalism focuses on security and nation-states issues; but it does not provide a solution against 'threats'. It pays attention on ensuring peace in the region in terms of security dimension; however new regionalism searches for policies not only to guarantee the welfare of the region; but at the same time cares to get economic interests establishing free trade areas or to promote cultural policies or democracy.

Another important difference between early and recent debate is the leading actors of regionalism. While the former is generally promoted by authorities and external powers, the latter is provided from below and within the region itself according to the characteristic of a region. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 1998)

Old regionalism is analyzed from the Western European perspective which defines the regionalism in the Europe mostly. Both theories and issues of old regionalism are peculiar to European experience to some extent; which cannot be applied other parts of the world. Thus; with the enhancement of International Political Economy theories in respect to changing globalized world; the exclusion of remaining parts of the world would be impossible. With the recent regionalism understanding, existing regional units have realized the existence of other potential regions which can affect their initial regional stability, as well. Thus, regional cooperations have been operated among other parts of the world in order to catch the changing global trends of the world.

Besides; it is critically important not to overlook some continuities when indicating the different characteristics of both old and new regionalism. Early debate became inadequate in explaining the regional dimensions and structures, since the regional terms have been also changed and transformed as a consequence of changing contemporary world context. However; the new regionalism has been developed with the revision of some fundamental theories of old regionalism. In the beginnings of

recent regionalism, IPE was arising as a new approach, but there were also rooted theories in this transitional period such as neo-functionalism.

## **1.5 CONCLUSION**

Although the existence of regions goes back to nineteenth century; the regionalism concept has been emerged, after the First World War and developed after the Second World War. The studying of regionalism has gained importance after the World War. With the increasing academic attention related with regionalism; there was an attempt to define some terms such as region, regionalism and regionalization. There are no concrete definitions of these terms; but this shows the multiplicity of the regions and regional stages. The regionalism is divided in two waves: old and new regionalism. This categorization is made in respect with the historical context. The former explains the motivations of regionalism to ensure security in the anarchic system of Cold War era. The regional integration is promoted to bring peace and economic welfare. Three of old regionalism theories analyze regional integration from state-centric and euro-centric perspective. With the emergence of International Political Economy (IPE) theories, the latter explains the motivations of regionalism to provide cooperation in multidimensional areas rather than limited focus on security or economy in world-wide. There is some widespread attempt to consider new regionalism as a central phenomenon, which brings the most crucial definitions, tools and ideas regarding the regionalism contrary to previous one. However; old regionalism provided important theories to develop regionalism according the conditions of its period. With the emergence of single market and developing global world order; a revision of the classic regionalism was necessary to provide useful regionalism theories for the changing world order.

The second chapter will continue in the perspective of new regionalism. The reason of elimination of the old one is related with the content and the period of the next chapter which is the EU's Regionalism Policies especially after the 1980s. The next chapter will discuss the idea that the EU is a global power since late 1990s. However; global actorness is a long process and the EU has intended to be a global power after it passed



through such internal ‘tests’ until the end of 1980s. Hence; new regionalism approach is taken as a basis to look at EU’s regionalism process in the second chapter.



## CHAPTER 2

### 2 NEW REGIONALISM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Community focused on establishing its own structure and borders from the beginnings of its early years until 1980s. This isolation towards the external relations was evaluated from its internal dynamics. However; the institutional background, well-structured economic and political mechanisms encouraged the EC to shape its external relations. Hettne and Söderbaum (2005, p. 4) explain this relation between the internal experience and development of external policies by arguing that normative power is internal features of the EU's regional institutionalization which paved the way for global governance because "a change in the endogenous preconditions (regions) affects the exogenous preconditions (presence and actorness)". The EU has started to develop its foreign relations becoming a global actor in the international era in terms of trade, development cooperation, the promotion of regional integration, democracy and good governance, human rights, and security policies for recent decades. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

According to Hettne and Söderbaum (2005); the foreign policy relations (FPRs) of the EU has been applied in four areas: enlargement in the core area of Europe, stabilization in the so-called neighbourhood area, bilateralism with great powers and interregionalism with respect to other organized regions. This categorization provides a good structure for this chapter to explain the correlation between internal and external dynamics of the EU in respect to the transition from early to new regionalism context.

This chapter will give information about the historical background of the regional integration of the EU in respect to the concept of region. After chronological history of the EU (without detailed division concerning internal or external relations), the chapter will discuss the foreign relations of the EU which also gives information about its internal motivations in addition to the world context. Since the main focus of the thesis is neighbourhood policies of the EU; the evaluation of the EU from the foreign policy relations perspective indicates the picture more coherently.

## 2.1 CONCEPT OF REGION AND THE EU

The regionness and regionalism concepts of the European Union take great place in regionalism studies. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, the definition of region varies according to different perspectives taking different elements into consideration. However; the most basic definition of *region* is a group of countries around the same geography. Some crucial and well accepted elements also can be added to expand the definition of region such as cultural, economic and political processes. The Europe has evolved as a result of different stages in terms of the concept of region and regionalism. The concept of regionalism of the EU has been shaped with the advent of some turning points or cases. The European Union's birth goes back to the Second World War; since Europeans were afraid of the turmoil and destructive atmosphere of the War would come again. (A peaceful Europe)

The European regionness is developed with the existence of an identity. Identity is usually built upon a negative and socially constructed image of the Other. Also some other elements influence the creation of an identity such as religion, culture, language or shared history etc. European unity is based upon the Roman Empire times; and Christianity religion of the Empire constituted some fundamental identity factors for the Europeans in terms of religion, culture and spiritual unity. (Gingsberg, 2010) The Europe has experienced an enormous transformation with the existence and absence of empires throughout the history. However; a significant remaining element is religion for the Europeans which takes an important role in the creation of identity. As Hettne and Söderbaum (2005, p. 536) support this idea with the argument that “in the European case this role has historically been given to Islam, first through the Arabs, then through the Ottoman Empire. This has shaped the Christian element in European identity leading to a tension between, on the one hand, an essentialist and static and, on the other, a more inclusive and dynamic understanding of European identity.”

In addition to identity factor, the European integration has been developed as a result of increasing its economic power and geographical extension which contributed it to become a global actor by playing a political and security role in the world. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The EU has decided to increase its 'actorness' to become a global actor. 'Actorness' is considered one of the levels of regionness as mentioned in the first chapter. Actorness provides a specific identity having capability and right to be

decision-making in several areas like conflict resolution (between and within the states), management of the ecological systems or natural resources of the region or the stability of the region.(Hettne & Inotai, 1994) The global actorness of the European Union will be detailly discussed in the further paragraphs; but starting from the European integration history provides a coherent structure for this chapter.

## **2.2 EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

Europe were divided into two side as East and West during the Cold War era. West European nations, Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom, founded the Council of Europe in 1949 with the aim of establishing cooperation among them. (A peaceful Europe) However, the six of these countries wanted to go further with the preparation of Schuman Plan in 1951; established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to integrate the coal and steel industries in Western Europe in 1952. (A peaceful Europe) The founding member states were Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Mitrany (as a Functionalist) had considered this attempt meaningful to bring peace in Europe with the power of economy. With the agreement of the Treaty of Rome in 1957; the European Economic Community (the European Community) was established.

Moreover; the threatening impact of the Cold War was ongoing in the Europe. Hungarian people raised their voice against the Soviet-favor regime; and Soviets threatened Hungarian people by sending their tanks to Budapest in 1956. (A peaceful Europe) Another crucial development associated with the Cold War was the launching of the first manmade space satellite by the Soviet Union. (A peaceful Europe) The threat of Soviet forced Europeans to search for new policy alternatives. The ECSC was successful in promoting peace and stability in the Europe to some extent; basing on this success the six countries decided to expand cooperation in various economic sectors. (A peaceful Europe) Thus, the Treaty of Rome allowed foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC) or 'common market' in 25 March 1957. The aspiration of the European Community is to remove barriers for people, goods and services. (A peaceful Europe) These European countries were experiencing the notion of regionalism

gradually. The regional integration of Europe was developing with the light of these historical events.

After the foundation of European Economic Community and common market; regional integration in Europe has been evolved into more structured and complex process. The modern European Integration (1958 onwards) history has experienced both peaks and troughs. (Gingsberg, 2010) The EC was considered economic institution with the establishment of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) by Britain, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland in 1959. (Gingsberg, 2010) There were ongoing economic initiations in 1960s. With the removal of all internal tariffs and quotas and the establishment of the Common External Tariff (CET) in 1968 enabled development of EC's economy. (Gingsberg, 2010) Other development were the foundation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 1963, and the EC became as a single trading bloc in 1964. (Gingsberg, 2010)

The EC was dominated in the beginnings by the French Government to prevent the participation of Britain into the EC; and French dominance continued for a while since the Fouchet Plan was promoted by the French Government with the aim of French-dominated common defense and foreign policy of the ECSC member states. (Gingsberg, 2010) However; the plan couldn't find audience due to resilience of the Dutch and others against French dominance. (Gingsberg, 2010) The application of the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Norway for the EC in 1961 was vetoed by the France. There was a disunity regarding whether the EC should have the revenues coming from the import and customs duties or not. The decision was for the advantage of the sovereignty of the states; beside this decision led to a revision concerning the protection of national interests of the member states by the Council in the Luxembourg Compromise in 1966. (Gingsberg, 2010)

The EC were becoming more institutional gradually. The Merger Treaty was launched targeting a single Commission with the integration of the ECSC, EEC and Euratom in 1967. (Gingsberg, 2010) The 1969 Hague Summit of the EC Heads of Government and State (HOGS) brought three revolutionary agreements; the accession of the British and other applicants opened into discussion in 1970, the establishment of economic and monetary union by 1980, as well as opened the way to cooperate in foreign policy. (Gingsberg, 2010)

### 2.2.1 The First Enlargements and Economic Crisis

The years between 1970 and 1985 is considered expansion period of the European Integration. The EC moved into a more democratic system with introducing of the first direct elections for members of the European Parliament in 1979. (Gingsberg, 2010) However; some problems in the EC economy during 1970s and 1980s led to search for new policies to give impetus the integration process. (Gingsberg, 2010) European Political Cooperation (EPC) was established as a reflection of the international political and security developments in 1970. (Gingsberg, 2010) In time, the influence of the EPC increased with the association of the EC's own external economic, aid, and diplomatic projects. (Gingsberg, 2010) With the accession of Britain, Denmark and Ireland, the EC was enlarged for the first time in 1973; and enlargement continued with the participation of Greeks in 1981. (Gingsberg, 2010) However; the EC became open to transformation as a result of each new member state. The EC has gained a global dimension with the participation of Britain, Ireland increased the attention on third world development issues, a Nordic perspective on humanitarianism has been developed with accession of Denmark, and Western Europe became close to the east, the Balkans and the Middle East, with the membership of Greece. (Gingsberg, 2010)

The developments in the world affected the EC's role in international era. There was an oil crisis after the outbreak of the 1973 Yom Kippur War between Israel and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) which led to oil embargo to the Netherlands causing an oil crisis for remaining Western countries and Japan. (Gingsberg, 2010) Each member state of the EC tried to exceed this problem individually for the sake of their national interests; and this led to questioning of the EC as political community. (Gingsberg, 2010)

In the late 1970s and early 1980s period was called as the period of *Eurosclerosis*; the increase of Japanese and East Asian economic power weakened the European economic competitiveness. (Gingsberg, 2010) The EC's member states attempted to protect their national economies during this period. As a ramification of this crisis; the coalition of European industries and the EC Commission launched White Paper on Completing the Internal Market in 1985 in order to strengthen internal market. (Gingsberg, 2010) Removal of border controls within EC countries was accepted in 1985, too. (Gingsberg,

2010) Moreover; the Schengen Accord was signed by France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands in 1985. (Gingsberg, 2010)

### **2.2.2 Revival of the European Integration: 1986–2004**

The European Community transformed into the European Union with the second enlargement process (Spain and Portugal in 1986 and Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995) during 1986-2004 years. (Gingsberg, 2010) during that period; the EC was looking for the expand its decision-making institutions and policies, as well. (Gingsberg, 2010) Fixed exchange rates, set of interest rates by a EC central bank and a new EU currency policy were taken into the agenda in 1989.(Gingsberg, 2010) After the end of the Cold War, new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the unification of Germany and the collapse of the Soviet Union required a new policies of EC (Gingsberg, 2010) Widening means for the inclusion of new members states from CEE; and the responsibility of the EC was to promote democracy and market transitions for the stable post-Cold War Europe. (Gingsberg, 2010) Deepening supports widening of the EC in a more efficient and secure way. Also deepening is significant for France in terms of economic and monetary union; because the stable and powerful Germany enables deeper European integration. (Gingsberg, 2010) Three treaties were signed to encourage widening and deepening policies of the EC: The Treaty on European Union (TEU) or Maastricht Treaty in 1993, Amsterdam Treaty in 1998; and Nice Treaty in 2003. (Gingsberg, 2010)

TEU developed the economic and monetary union; and established the rights of all member-state citizens to have EU citizenship, work and live anywhere within the borders of the EU, and seek consular aid. (Gingsberg, 2010) Amsterdam Treaty was operated policies in environmental issues including sustainable development. It also paved the way for new policies regarding the immigration, visas, residence permits, asylum, refugees, and juridical cooperation. (Gingsberg, 2010) Besides, the Amsterdam Treaty opened the way for the further development of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) establishing specialized monitoring units for international developments and their ramifications, and it also incorporated the Petersberg Tasks concerning peacekeeping, humanitarian issues and other soft security policies. (Gingsberg, 2010)

Furthermore; these institutional specialties were enriched with the initiation of new precautions regarding international security. The EU decided to found the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in Helsinki EU Council in 1999; and multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian functions were encouraged. (Gingsberg, 2010)

The Nice Treaty was signed in 2001, but it started to apply its decisions in 2003. It provided democratic reforms and changes in voting to contribute the democratization of the Union when it prepares itself for further enlargements. (Gingsberg, 2010)

### **2.3 FOREIGN POLICY RELATIONS OF THE EU**

When the EU aims to become a global actor in the world politics; it has to find a new role and a new identity. The EU has chosen to follow a different path (being a civilian power) rather than geopolitical interests of an ordinary great power. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The reason of this choice lies behind the civilian power character of the EU embedded in its own region-building system. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The motivations of EU's foreign policy relations are explained with the distinction in two aspects: 'civilian power' and 'soft imperialism'.(Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) According to them; the difference between civilian power and soft imperialism derives from values and norms each of them provides. After the increased levels of actorness multidimensionally in different parts of the world; the EU can provide regionalism in its own model of civil power in the world order.(Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) From this perspective, the EU is considered a 'civilian power' promoting a normative foreign policy as its own internal policies like social pluralism, the rule of law, democracy and market economy. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) In addition to 'civilian power' approach, 'soft power' is also deemed for the European actorness. Joseph Nye regards soft power as a means of reaching its external desires in the international era by persuading and attracting other states or regions without using violence or pressure. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

The foreign policy relations of the EU can be analyzed with the categorization made by Hettne and Söderbaum (2005). According to them; enlargement in the core area of Europe, stabilization in the so-called neighbourhood area, bilateralism with great powers and interregionalism with respect to other organized regions constitute the



elements of these policies. These categorizations also provides a framework for the understanding the internal evolution of the EU at the same time.

### **2.3.1 Enlargement in the Core Area of Europe**

The enlargement process is a significant element for the EU. In the early years of the European Community, the applications rigidly evaluated. The EC was defining itself as a Western-led organization which operated regional process in limited with economic and political concerns against security threat owing to the Cold War. The dominance of France was ruling out the EC eliminating others like United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Norway in 1960s.

The EC experienced first enlargements with the accession of United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland sequencely in 1970s. In 1981, Greece joined in the EC; and Spain and Portugal accessions followed Greece in 1986. The accession criteria was limited with carrying EC standards and rules during the period starts from the accession of UK to Spain and Portugal.

However; the criterias (named as Copenhag criteria) have expanded with the accession of Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995. In addition to the EU standards and rules; the countries should have carried stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights; a functioning market economy as well as ability and willingness to fulfill membership obligations.<sup>14</sup> The criterias continued during the later enlargements. In 2004, the countries joined Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania were accepted in the EU. Finally, the latest member state was Croatia in 2013. The expansion of the accession criterias with the emphasis on civilian powerness of the EU can be explained with the diversified multidimensional aspects of the regionalism. Apart from the chronological enlargement process; discussing the enlargement process as a foreign policy form gives an explanation about the EU's logic when defining these regions.

The enlargement policy targets the candidate countries (Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey)and potential candidates

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<sup>14</sup> For the detailed statistics and information about the EU enlargement timeline see [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/external/html/euenlargement/default\\_en.htm#accession1973](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/external/html/euenlargement/default_en.htm#accession1973)

(Bosnia and Herzegovina). These countries are mostly in the Western Balkans. The first official dialogues between the Union and Western Balkan countries appeared in the Council Conclusions of April 1997. These countries were considered potential members of the EU, if they satisfy the criteria provided at the Copenhagen European Council in June 1993. (Western Balkans, 2016) The European integration with Western Balkan countries are encouraged with the Thessaloniki Declaration and the Thessaloniki Agenda in 2003. (Western Balkans, 2016) Balkans are crucial for the EU's enlargement agenda, Hettne and Söderbaum (2005, p. 540) explain the reason arguing that "the major European security problem is the Balkans."

Hettne and Söderbaum (2005) analyze the enlargement process in terms of security results. They regard the enlargements of Southern Europe in 1980s and Central and Eastern Europe in 2004 as successful by providing a secure environment. However; the interregionalism hasn't developed in the enlargement of 2004; since these member states preferred bilateral engagement with the EU and the EU was skeptic about the political and security dilemmas of these countries. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) Furthermore; the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 led to search for new policies to ensure the security within and outside the borders of the EU.

### **2.3.2 Stabilization in the Neighbourhood Areas**

The EU defines the post-Soviet area (the European part and Southern Caucasia) and the Mediterranean area as the neighbourhood region where attaches importance due to EU's security strategy. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) has been developed to support the East and South Neighborhood areas in several policy areas in terms of democratization and human rights in combination with the principles of good governance, rule of law, market economy and sustainable development. The main aspiration of the EU is to develop stabilization in these areas since the unstable and insecure neighbours can affect the EU's welfare negatively after the enlargements in 2004 and 2007. The argument regarding the enlargement limit of the EU is reasonable since the EU cannot offer every wishing state membership. Instead of enlargement, the EU's strategy to stabilize the neighbourhood, maintain democratic structure and provide assistance in partnership relations. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

## The Eastern Europe

The European Union has aimed to develop a stabilization strategy in its Eastern borders as Eastern Europe, which covers six countries around the Black Sea. These countries can be divided in two group: Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova in the European part of the post-Soviet area; and Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Southern Caucasus.

The EU has put these countries within various regional policies at the same time. For example; Georgia is included in the Black Sea Synergy and the Eastern Partnership policies at the same time; Russia is included in the former, but it is absent in the latter. Also, Turkey as a candidate state is seen in the neighborhood policies such as the Black Sea Synergy and the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

## The Middle East and the North Africa (MENA)

The EU defines Middle East and North Africa (MENA) as a region which are constituted by mostly Arab-Muslim countries. The EU doesn't combine the North and South Africa in the same category in terms of regional policies; it explains that how the EU defines these regions in terms of identity of the region, the specific problems related with the regions and also geographical distance. The countries of the MENA region have become closer to the EU with the recent enlargements of the Union. There has been always a relationship between the EU and the region even limited with bilateral relations prior to the enlargement process. The policies of the EU related with MENA region base upon two considerations. The first one is bilateral economic and political policies due to the peculiarities of each country via European Neighborhood Policy. (Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 2016) The second one is multilateral regional policies among the countries of the region with the EU via Union for the Mediterranean policy. (Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 2016) However, the Mediterranean 'region' is socially constructed by the EU's own security concerns; and isn't a formal region. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The EU's goal is to develop regional relations in several areas. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) was established in a conference in Barcelona in 1995. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

Finally, the EU doesn't aspire to engrain its norms and principles in the neighbourhood, but it benefits from these elements as a means to influence and stabilize these regions.

However; stabilization strategy depends on the level of actorness and the facilities of the EU; this dependency makes stabilization vulnerable to other factors. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

### **2.3.3 Bilateralism with the Great Powers**

The EU has developed its foreign policy relations with great powers in bilateral surface; thus, it has several bilateral relationships with United States, Russia, Canada Mexico, China, Japan, Brazil, India and South Africa. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) In most cases, the EU had to develop bilateralism form of foreign policy relations towards the great powers. Since EU can differ from most of the bilateral partners in terms of logic and policy agenda. The USA or Russia can be stated as an example for the support of this idea.

There is a close relationship between the EU and the USA both in political and military dimension in respect to NATO. However, the relationship is limited with bilateral level. The reason of the bilateralism preference lies in some differences between the EU and the USA in terms of external policy relations. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The EU attaches importance on long-term multidimensional and institutional organizations; but the USA applies its external policies according to its own interests and mostly for short-period. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

The EU develops bilateralism with Russia due to differences in terms of external relations as in the case of USA. Contrary to the EU, Russia applies more aggressive external policy taking a realist approach. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) However; they develop cooperation under a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) concerning multidimensional issues such as human rights, the economy, trade and security. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

The EU has developed bilateral relationship with Japan and China (and to some extent with Brazil); these bilateral relations are complemented in interregionalism form such as cooperation between ASEM and Mercosur. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

### **2.3.4 Interregionalism with other Regional Organizations**

The fourth form of the EU's foreign policy relations is interregionalism. The EU's external policies towards Africa, Asia and Latin America include several interregional organizations basing on regionalist ideology in terms of economic, political and cultural relations within the regions. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) The EU's motivations spring from the intention of formalization and institutionalization of the interregional relations with these regions. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

#### **Africa**

The recent dialogues between the European Union and Africa have been triggered by the 2000 Cotonou Agreement. It includes the EU, EU countries and 79 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific continents. The fundamental aspirations of the agreement are fighting with poverty, providing economic, cultural and social developments in the region and contribution of the integration of Africa into the World economy. (Cotonou Agreement, 2000) The Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) structured the Africa-EU relations applied by 80 African and European Heads of State and Government at the Lisbon Summit in 2007. (Africa and the EU, 2016) The Pan-African Programme has sponsored the regional projects of the Summit concerning security, democracy and promotion of good governance, human development, sustainable improvement and continental integration; as well as global and emerging issues (Africa and the EU, 2016)

#### **Latin America and the Caribbean**

The EU has started a strategic partnership with Latin America and the Caribbean in order to develop political relations with the Rio Summit of June 1999. The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) was established to develop political dialogue and cooperation.

## Pacific

The European Union defines the Pacific region as consisting of Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu countries. The region is highly vulnerable due to climate change, small populations and limited alternative of natural resources. The relationship between the region and the EU had been regulated through the EU-African, Caribbean and Pacific countries with the in the 1975 Lomé Convention and updated in 2000 by the Cotonou Agreement. (Pacific, 2016) The EU was a donor in initial without no political relation. (Pacific, 2016) A Strategy for a Strengthened Partnership was provided to accelerate the political dialogue between the EU and the region in 2006. (Pacific, 2016) The EU-Pacific Development Partnership was offered as a complementary act to the previous development supporting governance, regionalism and effective use of natural resources in the Pacific region. (Pacific, 2016)

## Asia

The European Union has provided interregionalism policies with Asia region by developing cooperation with China, India, and Japan; and free trade agreements with South Korea and south-east Asian countries have been added into the regionalism process. (Asia, 2016) The policy areas of EU's regionalism process towards Asia are regional security and economic concerns in general. (Asia, 2016) The gap between economic situations of the Asian countries is highly unequable. Thus; the need for cooperation is crucial; and more than five billion euros has been funded to Asia by the Regional Asia MIP 2014-2020. (Asia, 2016)

The EU is applying its regionalism policies towards Asia with the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the Association of South-East Asia Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). (Asia, 2016)

To sum of the interregionalism form of the EU's foreign policy relations; both civilian power and soft imperialism explains the EU's intentions towards Africa, Asia and Latin America regions. The EU has historical connection with Africa; thus, it sees responsible

itself by developing interregionalism policies in Africa with the ‘soft imperialist’ logic. Also; there are mutual interaction between the EU and its counter regions; since they deal with the issues from the same position establishing partnership.

### **2.3.5 Analysis of the EU’s Foreign Policy Relations**

The EU’s foreign policy relations can be analyzed discussing the EU’s global power nature. The EU can achieve to be a global power by strengthening its level of actorness. The EU’s global actorness adventure coincides with the start of new regionalism approaches. Since the EU has paid attention on multidimensional issues in several parts of the world, it develops partnership and cooperation in the regions where it regards as a region. The EU’s global actorness bases upon two narrations such as civilian power and soft imperialism. The civilian power norm derives from its own internal values such as such as social pluralism, the rule of law, democracy, and market economy; and its legitimacy depends on the voluntary dialogue and consensus building towards its regional partner. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) However, soft imperialism is a way of hindering its imperialist aims without applying hard violence. Both civilian power norm and soft imperialism are seen in the different regions of the EU through separate foreign policy forms.

This chapter supports the idea that the EU is a global power since late 1990s. However; global actorness is a long process and the EU has intended to be a global power after it passed through such internal ‘tests’ until the end of 1980s. The enlargements in 1980s (in Southern parts of the Europe) passed the test with the well-structured institutional background and civilian power norms. The EU cares some values such as social pluralism, the rule of law, democracy and market economy within its internal affairs; hence the EU realized that these values help it to express itself in a more secure and reliable way. The maturity of civilian power becomes its global image after a certain time. Nonetheless; it is critically important that the soft power imperialism also must be taken into consideration when the global actorness of the EU is discussed. In addition to civilian power; the EU applies soft imperialism in its regionalism policies.

Firstly; the EU’s enlargement policy in the core area indicates that the EU’s regional integration has reached a ‘credible’ and ‘coherent’ stage; so, it decided to contribute the

development of other non-member states in the European continent through promotion of civilian power in 1980s. However; soft imperialism outweighs in the recent enlargements due to the security concerns of the EU towards new members in the Central and Eastern Europe. As the EU integration spillovers into the East and Southern areas; the imperialist concern will dominate the EU's intentions for further 'potential' members. The founding members and its next generation (Greece, Spain and Portugal) constitute the EU's rooted identity basing upon some elements such as cultural or colonial background; however, the last members in the Central and Eastern Europe and Balkan countries have Soviet heritage in their social, cultural and historical terms. For that reason; these recent enlargements trigger the EU's soft imperialist approach in enlargement policies.

Secondly, the EU develops stabilization policies in its neighbourhood areas with the rhetoric of civilian power norm. Albeit it applies civilian power norms such as promotion of democracy, the rule of law and development of free market; these policy tools are only a part of its strategy to secure both its borders and neighbourhood areas. The ENP for South and East neighbourhood is launched by the EU; but ENP is a vast policy which has paved the way for more specific policies in these regions.

The EU has developed further policies towards its neighbourhood areas with the initiation of new policies which focus on the areas more specifically. However; these are considered follow up policies of the ENP for some analysts. As the ENP is divided into two areas like South and East Neighbourhood, the Black Sea Synergy (BSS), the Eastern Partnership Policy (EaP) and Euro-Mediterranean Policy are developed for determined areas. The BSS and the EaP are related with the East Neighbourhood; and the Euro-Mediterranean Policy is related with the South Neighbourhood.

As parallel to Hettne and Söderbaum's (2005) argument regarding the EU's civilian power and soft imperialist narrations; George Christou (2010) mentions about the EU's policy narrations such as the threat/risk narrative and the normative/duty security narrative. Contrary to them, Christou (2010) focuses on the Eastern neighbourhood and security logics merely in his article. Since this chapter's main interest area is the South Caucasus region; the arguments of Christou find significant place in the discussion of the EU's stabilization policies towards its neighbourhood areas. However; the



comprehensive discussion regarding the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus will be mentioned in the next chapter.

Thirdly; the EU's another foreign policy relation form is bilateralism with the great powers. The EU's global actorness can be questioned in relationships with the great powers. The EU mostly takes place according to the situation of its counterpart when it determines its policies. The powerful and 'hegemonic' power may lead to hinder EU's imperialist intentions. However; the EU can show its imperialist side when it counters with a 'weak' partner. Thus; this duality shows that the EU sees global actorness as a strategy and tool to take advantage from the regions in the global world. The EU's civilian power narration is not credible, since it applies soft imperialist approach towards the regions where it can deal with in terms of actorness.

Lastly, the interregionalism policies constitutes important part of the EU's foreign policy policies. It acts as a real global power when it develops regionalism policies with other regional organizations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The EU has self-confidence in terms of levels of actorness by balancing both civilian power and soft imperialism. The EU performs interregionalism policies successfully which also coincide with the new regionalism context. It develops partnership in Africa, Asia and Latin America rather than dominating these regional organizations. The security, development, rule of law, environmental issues etc. constitute the agenda of these regional organizations.

The EU has shaped its foreign policy by acting as a global actor; and its global actorness is realized with the separation of the world into regions. The EU has defined the regions categorizing them as four forms as mentioned above. However; the EU's success is open to discussion in some situations. Has it reached its intentions in these regions? Are these 'constructed' regions defined in a coherent context? Although the EU is a good example of regional integration as itself, there are some contradictions in its regional policies in the global context. The EU is confused about the creation of regions in the international area. It divided the world into regions by taking its interests (mostly security or economic concerns) into consideration without looking the geographical and historical realities of the regions. The confusion also derives from the conflicting narratives of the EU.

## 2.4 CONCLUSION

The European Union is considered an important case in the regionalism studies. The early regionalism approach was created and development with respect to regionalization process of the EU. The EU regionalism has evolved as a consequence of some internal and external developments. Besides, it is a good example of regional integration to some extent thanks to its institutionalized structure, rooted common identity as well as norms and values. The regional integration of the EU has started in 1950s (with the establishment of ECSC) and entered into a new phase with the White Paper (transition to Single Market Economy) in 1980s. As a reflection of internal changes, the EU has turned to global world to become a global actor by defining regions and developing regionalism relations with the states or regional organizations. The foreign policy relations of the EU have been collected under the four forms: enlargement in the core area, stabilization in the neighbourhood area, bilateralism with great powers and interregionalism with regional organizations. The EU has founded its foreign policy relations into its civilian power norms and soft imperialism.

In the light of the EU's regionalism; this chapter offers a good structure and background to analyze the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region. Wider European Neighbourhood is a collection of policies which developed under the stabilization policies in the Neighbourhood area of the EU. It covers Non-EU Mediterranean, Black Sea and Caucasian countries which is political rather than geographical. (Manoli, 2011). The South Caucasus region which has been considered an international region and a security complex by the international community, is our focus area. (Manoli, 2011) However, the South Caucasus regionness is open to discussion. Albeit it is constituted by high levels of interdependence in regional conflicts, migration, economic issues, energy and transport routes as well as a shared political past; there is no regional commonness within the three South Caucasus countries- Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. (Manoli, 2011) As stated above its a political and international region which is defined by the external actors as a region with respect to their interests in the region.<sup>15</sup> The regionalism of the South Caucasus bases upon the geopolitical dynamics which

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<sup>15</sup>For deep analysis regarding the regionness of the South Caucasus see M.R. Freire and L. Simao, The EU's neighborhood policy and the South Caucasus: Unfolding new patterns of cooperation, *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* 2 (2008), pp. 225-239.

lead to competition among external actors in the region to shape the region according to their interests.<sup>16</sup> This chapter provides a conceptual framework in order to understand the EU's neighbourhood policies specifically in the South Caucasus region.



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<sup>16</sup>One of the important external actors and international organizations which play a role in the regionness of the South Caucasus are: International organizations such as the United Nations (and its agencies), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CoE), as well as the European Union (EU). In addition to external arrivals, there are local actors in the region which are the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) and the specialized sectoral programmes of international agents such as the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the World Bank. (Manoli, 2011)

## CHAPTER 3

### 3 THE EAP: THE EU'S REFLEX TO THE 2008 WAR

In this chapter, the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region will be discussed focusing on the Eastern Partnership Policy (EaP) which was initiated in 2009. The relationship between the EU and the South Caucasus has evolved with respect to both internal and external dynamics of the EU and the South Caucasus countries. As taken historical developments into consideration; the EaP will be handled basing on the EU's security actorness. This chapter also takes the 2008 War into its center to explain the EU's security actorness with the implementation of the EaP.

Taking the 2008 War as reference point; the chapter mentions about three periods in order to provide a coherent discussion regarding the EU's security actorness with respect to new regionalism approach. The first period includes the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region before the outbreak of the War. In the second period, the EU's attempts towards the South Caucasus with specific focus on Georgia during the War. Finally; as the most crucial period, the EaP will be discussed as it was launched after the War.

In the lights of above divisions of the EU's policies in terms of periods, the chapter evaluates the EU's global actorness by discussing its security logics: the normative/duty narrative and the threat/risk security narrative. There are some questions at stake: Why the South Caucasus region is important for the EU? How does the EaP promote the EU's security actorness? What has been achieved through the EaP from the security perspective? What are the drawbacks and challenges of the EaP regarding the ensuring security in the region? This chapter will reach the argument that the EU has avoided direct intervention on the resolution of conflicts in the region; and it has focused on overcoming the negative ramifications of the August 2008 War by promoting civilian power and soft imperialism. Hence; the EaP was initiated as a response to August 2008 War in order to strengthen the EU's global actorness dealing with the security issues indirectly in the South Caucasus region. However; the EaP has limits due to its conflicting security logics, the dominance of other global actors and the lack of adequate enthusiasm of its partner countries.

### **3.1 THE EU IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS UNTIL THE AUGUST 2008 WAR**

#### **3.1.1 The Post-Cold War Era**

Since the end of the Cold War, the EU has become interested in the South Caucasus region for various reasons. Mustafa Aydın (2004) mentions about the reasons of this interest which coincide with the dissolution of the Soviet Union; such as the anxiety for the spread of the turmoil and conflicts, the birth of a new internationalist era after the end of the Cold War and geostrategic concerns in terms of the political and economic security of the region.<sup>17</sup>

The EU's presence as legitimate security actor in the region goes back to the end of the Cold War. This legitimacy of the EU's security actorness in the region is gained by the combination of different policy tools in order to ensure peace via trade, democracy, human rights, cooperative approaches. (Simao, 2017) The introduce of the new security elements into the region has led to lose of impact of the hegemonic powers. This weakening influence of military power paved the way for the revision of NATO, US and Russia in terms of dealing with the security issues. (Simao, 2017) Thus; multidimensional security concerns have entered into the field such as economic concerns and soft power as respect to democratic norms and human rights in the 1990s. (Thomas, 2000) The multidimensional forms of security combined social progress, the active role of citizens and cooperative relations in international era especially in the EU's agenda. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) Furthermore, the EU is regarded as a relevant actor to provide security, social stability, economic welfare and norms and values; whilst nationalism and the dominance of the great powers lost significance in the achievement of the peace. (Simao, 2017) The EU's security actorness mentality is understood by looking at its policies in the region in the post-cold war era.

The EU's dialogue with the South Caucasus countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) were limited with bilateral trade agreements under the general scope the 1989 Trade and Cooperation Agreements which included other Soviet countries as well.

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<sup>17</sup>Although Mustafa Aydın's stated reasons of the EU's increasing interest towards the region after the end of Cold War are relevant to this thesis, his arguments cannot be applied into this thesis completely. He mentions about the wider Europe region including non-EU Mediterranean, Black Sea and Caucasian countries. However, the wider-Europe region is not target area of this thesis, since the EU's regionalism policies are addressed with the focus on the South Caucasus region merely in this thesis.

(Akgul Acikmese, 2011) Rather than bilateral agreements, the EU's relationship with the South Caucasus region has started with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the declaration of independence of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia in 1991. The EU's dialogue was based upon the promotion of aid to assist the people of the region during the early years of independence. (Akgul Acikmese, 2011)

The aid program was coordinated under ECHO (European Community Humanitarian Assistance) which was launched in 1992. (Akgul Acikmese, 2011) These humanitarian aid programs and technical assistance programs were regulated under the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements(PCAs). PCAs include some different cooperation areas such as providing stabilization of the new independent states, aid programs, technical assistance and dissolution policies of the conflicts in the region (Abkhazian, South Ossetian and Nagorno-Karabakh).

The aid programs and PCAs in the South Caucasus region can be regarded as a kind of 'launching' of the EU's style for the promotion of the security through the multidimensional elements and soft policy means.

### **3.1.2 2004-2007 Enlargements**

The EU has started to interest in the South Caucasus region in terms resolution of the conflicts with respect to the EU's worldwide conflict-resolution approaches since 2003. The European Security Strategy (ESS) -launched in 2003- emphasized the importance of conflict resolution management in the worldwide basis. ESS (2003, p. 1) suggests that "the increasing convergence of European interests and the strengthening of mutual solidarity of the EU makes us a more credible and effective actor. Europe should be ready to share in the responsibility for global security and in building a better world."

The EU provided conflict resolution policies in order to support its global actorness in the international era. In this context; it has touched upon its Eastern Neighbourhood in terms of ensuring the security in the ESS (2003, p. 8) suggesting that "We need to extend the benefits of economic and political cooperation to our neighbours in the East while tackling political problems there. We should now take a stronger and more active interest in the problems of the Southern Caucasus, which will in due course also be a neighbouring region."

After the participation of new member states into the European Union in 2004 and 2007 years, the EU, as foreseen in the European Security Strategy of 2003, has gained new neighborhoods which make it closer to deeply rooted conflicts, threats and unrest atmosphere. (Akgul Acikmese & Triantaphyllou, 2014) The enlargements necessitated new applications and policies which enabled the EU to provide stability and security within and outside of its borders. (Akgul Acikmese & Triantaphyllou, 2014)

In addition to implementation of the ESS, the European Security and Defence Policy sent EU Special Representatives (EUSR) for the South Caucasus in 2003 (Yannis, 2008) Heikki Talvitie was appointed as the first Special Representative for the South Caucasus in 2003; and three years later Peter Semneby appointed in 2006. (Akgul Acikmese, 2011) The EUSR included five policy objectives such as assisting Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia via political and economic reforms (in several fields of rule of law, democratization, human rights, good governance, development and poverty reduction), prevention of conflicts in the region, engagement with the main interested actors, enhancement of cooperation between States of the region in terms of economic, energy and transport issues as well as improvement of the effectiveness and visibility of the Union in the region. (Council Decision, 2010) The appointment of the Special Representative for the South Caucasus is a sign that the EU has started to consider the South Caucasus as region with touching upon action areas as stated above regarding three countries of the region since 2003.

With the 2004-2007 enlargements; the EU has developed a stabilization policy in the Neighbour countries under the Foreign Policy Relations framework. The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was initiated in 2004 including sixteen countries as divided as Eastern and Southern Neighbors: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Republic of Moldova, Morocco, Syria, Palestine, Tunisia and Ukraine. (European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), 2016) As discussed previous chapter, the ENP is vast policy which has narrow dialogue with the South Caucasus region.

## **3.2 THE WAR IN THE SOUTH CAUCASUS: THE AUGUST 2008 WAR**

### **3.2.1 Background of the War**

The reasons of August 2008 War root in 1920s, when the Abkhazians and Ossetians were placed in the borders of Georgia. Georgia's domestic policies and international image has been transformed into several processes by moving to West and experiencing more nationalistic attitude towards minorities. The breaking point of this transformation was the Rose Revolution in 2003. The events have resulted in the appearance of NATO and the EU after the next year of the Revolution. (Fawn, 2012) Russia and other post-Soviet states conceive the revolutions as a means to claim the unrest situation in the post-Soviet area. (Fawn, 2012) The Saakasvili government's reintegration ambition of the de facto states -Ajaria, Abkhazia and South Ossetian- increased the tension resulting with August 2008 War. (Fawn, 2012)

### **3.2.2 Outbreak of the August 2008 War**

While the world's eyes on the opening of the Beijing Olympics on August 8, 2008, the attention was focused on the Caucasus region since the Russian army threatened the Georgian capital of Tbilisi. (Mankoff, 2011) After the end of the August 2008 War, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) urged for the establishment of a mediation forum to bring security and stability in the South Caucasus. (Mikhelidze, 2009) With the pressure of West, Russia was convinced to sign "Six-point agreement of August 12" under the French mediation, the French President, Nicolas Sarkozy. (Cheterian, 2009) After that; another attempt was the creation of a new Platform 1 with the participation of the EU, the OSCE, the UN and the US, Georgia and Russia, as well as officials from Abkhazia and South Ossetia with the demand of Russia. (Mikhelidze, 2009) However, the violence towards the Georgian villages and civilians continued after the agreement. On August 26, Russia declared South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states; this style of Russia made West shocked reminding old-fashioned Russian imperialism. (Mankoff, 2011) Russia asserted that the conflicts have been "resolved" after it recognized both Abkhazia and South



Ossetia as independent states, although Georgia doesn't recognize this decision. (Fischer, 2009)

Another argument regarding the reasons of the August 2008 War focuses on the Russian leadership ambition in the region. In the meeting with the Valdai Club on September 12, 2008 President Medvedev, referring the conflict, gave Western experts a message that the West "does not belong" in a region as they assumed "shared, common history" and the "affinity of our souls," and Russia was "no longer weak and defenseless" and "no longer tolerate" the West's "unfair and humiliating" policy in its neighborhood. (Sherr, 2009)

During the war, the reasons and developments were investigated by journalists and human right centers in addition to the European Union's independent investigation conducted by the Swiss diplomat Heidi Tagliavini. (Cheterian, 2009) In October 2008, the Geneva talks -an international mediation program- were initiated concerning the Abkhaz and South Ossetian conflicts. (Mikhelidze, 2009) The attempts succeeded to induce Russia to end up its military troops from Georgia in the South Ossetian border. (Mikhelidze, 2009)

Nonetheless, there was still promising developments for the advantage of the West like the September 9 commitment to conclude an Association Agreement with Ukraine in 2009. (Sherr, 2009) After that, Eastern Partnership Policy has gained a momentum after the war in 2008. (Sherr, 2009) The partnership promised its six-member states "strategic importance" by focusing on multilateral points like improving governing and democratic systems, energy security, visa facilitations, development of free trade areas as well as Energy Community membership for Ukraine and Moldova. (Sherr, 2009)

### **3.3 POST-WAR ERA: THE EU'S RESPONSE TO THE WAR**

With the outbreak of the August War, the EU has increased its interest in the South Caucasus. Reasons of the EU's increasing attention on the South Caucasus are because of its security concerns as well as global actorness image. Due to some factors, its interest towards the South Caucasus bases upon more emphasis on the promotion of democracy. It revealed in the Joint Declaration of the Prague the Eastern Partnership Summit that the intervention would be limited with merely promotion of democracy and

principles of international law rather than on active conflict resolution. (Mikhelidze, 2009) For that reason, the EaP provided economic support up to \$ 650 million for the reconstruction of Georgia after the crisis. (Mikhelidze, 2009)

To begin with; understanding the providence of EU's increasing interest towards the South Caucasus region is significant for the well-structured analysis. This chapter focuses on two motivations regarding its increasing interests with respect to the 2008 War. The first reason is that the EU conceives the ramifications of the War as a potential threat for its Eastern borders. In fact, the recent war in the South Caucasus has not affected the Western European countries' security directly leading to a migration from the region; however, the West is influenced indirectly when the crisis threatened the oil and gas transport routes which influence the political and economic atmosphere of Georgia and the region. (Fischer, 2009) The dependency on Russian gas led to search for alternative energy sources and routes; and finally, it paved the way for the EU's flagship Southern Gas Corridor project. (Paul, 2015) Nonetheless; the existing energy interest also required following up the ramifications of the conflicts in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. (Paul, 2015) Since a safe region is for the benefit of the EU; it should invest in regional security by increasing its responsibility being an actor in security concerns and conflict resolution. (Paul, 2015) Albeit the EU had lack of interest and impact on the conflicts both in Georgia's territory and between Georgia and Russia until the August 2008 War; it became the only international actor in the debates. (Whitman & Wolff, 2010) The second reason is that the EU copes with the consequences of the 2008 War being peace provider in the region as a chance to improve its global actorness. As we mentioned above, the EU was one of the most influential international actor during the management of the peace process of the War. Also, one of the EU's foreign policy relations form is the stabilization in the neighborhood area. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005) Hence, there were lots of action areas in the post-war situation in the South Caucasus region which made the EU to feel 'responsible' for the development of the stabilization policies. These action areas will be mentioned in the EaP part.

### **3.3.1 The Structure of the EaP and Its Policy Areas**

The EU has classified the issues of the EaP under four platforms to increase the efficiency of resources and time; as well as sharing the experience of the partner countries for similar concerns. These four platforms are related with separate aspects of multidimensional corporation areas such as; Platform 1. Democracy, good governance & stability, Platform 2. Economic integration & convergence with EU policies, Platform 3. Energy security and Platform 4. People-to-people Contacts. The EU has gained a new legitimacy to act in the South Caucasus through the Eastern Partnership Policy which emphasized the importance of multilateral dimension in the eastern neighborhood in EU Commission 2008. (Fischer, 2009)

#### **Platform 1: Democracy, good governance & stability**

The Platform offers policies in different action areas such as Democratic Governance, Justice and Home Affairs and Security & Stability. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The EaP targets bringing European human rights standards via cooperation between Ombudsmen. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Local and government public administration needs more responsible, transparent and objective structure. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Fighting with corruption in Eastern borders also constitutes another dimension of EaP. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

Integrated border management activity makes contribution to the bilateral Mobility Partnerships and Visa Liberalization Action Plans. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Border and custom services of these countries are supported with the accelerated trainings of the countries' institutions. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Besides, the EaP has benefited from the framework of the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) in terms of application of the policies for migration in the region. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The Eastern Partnership (EaP) Panel on Migration and Asylum was organized to focus on the migration and asylum activities in the region in 2011. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

The EaP has intended to standardize law enforcement agencies in EaP countries via Joint Investigation Teams. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Hence, the common databases and criteria for registering crimes will contribute to the cooperation between partner

countries and the EU. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The Flagship Initiative has started a new project in 2011 aiming prevention of natural and man-made disasters in the Eastern countries of the EU. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The project targets also to prepare an Electronic Regional Risk Atlas in the region.(Eastern Partnership, 2016) The process will be finished with the contribution of civil protection experts. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

#### Platform 2: Economic Integration and Convergence with EU Policies

Economic Integration and Convergence with EU Policies platform aims a free-market economy which is social and environment-friendly and enables job alternatives and economic growth. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) For this aspiration; the transport network between the EU and the EaP countries is improved. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

Small & Medium-sized Enterprises (SME) cooperation benefits from EU's experience to enable continuing economic development. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The Eastern Partnership Business Forum brings small firms together in terms of business and cooperation. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

#### Platform 3: Energy Security

The Energy Security platform includes various topics regarding energy usage of the EU and the partner countries. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The main policy areas are enhancement of electricity, gas and oil interconnections which are part of the European energy markets. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Thanks to the alternative energy means; the dependence on the imported fossil fuels will be reduced. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) Another crucial part of the energy security platform is ensuring nuclear safety for the EU and the EaP countries. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The projects regarding energy safety are applied with the participation of the partner countries into the EU-led safety tests. (Eastern Partnership,2016)

#### Platform 4: People-to-People Contacts

The last platform is constituted with the participation of intellectual networks such as students, teachers, young people and artists. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) They aspire to make reforms, accelerate cooperation, provide education opportunities, and organize youth or art activities in the partner countries. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) This platform develops bilateral agreements and EU international cooperation projects on education with Erasmus+, culture and media with Creative Europe; and research and innovation with Horizon 2020 and Marie Skłodowska-Curie projects. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

#### Bilateral Dialogues

In addition to multilateral corporation, the EaP support the improvement of the bilateral relationships between the EU and its partner countries. The Association Agreements/Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (AA/DCFTAs) have contributed to the development of new bilateral political and economic relations with the Union and Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine since 2014. (Eastern Partnership, 2016) The remaining countries of the region, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus are included into the other bilateral dialogue projects with the EU. (Eastern Partnership, 2016)

The multidimensional action areas and bilateral dialogues of the EaP give the idea that the EU tries to sustain its existence in the South Caucasus region after the August 2008 War. The EU's hindering security motivation since the initiation of the ENP is more obvious through the EaP. (Simao, 2017) However, its security concerns were masked with the introduce of multidimensional issues as stated in above platforms of the EaP. The EU's security actorness in the region is gained by the combination of different policy tools in order to ensure peace via trade, democracy, human rights, cooperative approaches. (Simao, 2017)

The EU has tried to touch upon several fields through the EaP in the South Caucasus region. The EaP serves the EU's purpose that securing its neighbourhood area especially the post-war conditions of the South Caucasus region by satisfying its partner countries without offering membership. The EU has intended to improve the conditions of the South Caucasus countries via the EaP. If the EaP is applied successfully, the

region will reach the “norms” of the EU by staying at the partnership status. ‘Platform 1. Democracy, good governance & stability’ and ‘Platform 4. People-to-people Contacts’ are related with the EU’s norms and values including promotion of democracy, rule of law, human rights and the improvement of the dialogue in the level of people. The latter intends to develop communication within the partner countries and the EU through the communication of the people. It creates a chance to integrate the EU’s norms and values in the South Caucasus countries in bottom-up approach. People who encounter with these the EU norms contribute to the development of their countries.

Furthermore, ‘Platform 2. Economic integration & convergence with EU policies’ and ‘Platform 3. Energy security’ indicate the dependency of the EU on the South Caucasus region to some extent. Contrary to the first and fourth platforms; the EaP can be evaluated from the perspective that the EU also needs to the South Caucasus region. It has to search for new markets with the help of Platform 2. Economic integration & convergence with EU policies’. Although the development of the market economy provides several opportunities and welfare for the partner countries to some extent; the EU desires the advance economic relationships with the region to satisfy its internal dynamics, too. Besides; ‘Platform 3. Energy security’ indicates the dependency of the EU on the South Caucasus in terms of energy concerns. The EU has intended to hold energy dynamics into its control via the policies provided by the EaP in the basis of energy issues. It needs to development of cooperation among the partner countries and the EU in the energy field.

The evaluation of the EaP platform by platform helps us to understand importance of the South Caucasus region for the EU especially after the 2008 war. However; it is not enough to touch upon the EaP by looking at the concrete policies of the EaP; understanding the mentality of the EU provides a complementary approach when analyzing the regionalism policies of the EU.

### 3.3.2 The EU's Mentality Regarding the EaP

This chapter asserts that the EU applies both civilian power and soft imperialism models in the implementation of the EaP in the South Caucasus region.<sup>18</sup> These two models support the arguments of George Christou (2010) regarding the EU's security logics such as the normative/duty security narrative and threat/risk security narrative in the EaP. With the combination of these models and narratives the EaP refers to the security actorness of the EU in the South Caucasus region.

By taking above logics into consideration; this chapter puts the August 2008 War into its center considering it a trigger effect for the birth of the EaP. Although the EU initiated the EaP owing to its civilian power actorness; there are soft imperialist motivations in the background. The EU emphasizes its civilian power side with the development of 'Platform 1. Democracy, good governance&stability' and 'Platform 4. People-to-people Contacts'. Besides, as it is predicted that, 'Platform 2. Economic integration & convergence with EU policies'and 'Platform 3. Energy security' refer to the soft imperialist side of the EU. Albeit it seems that the platforms of the EaP can be explained with easy distinction of civilian power and soft imperialism; there is a hidden soft imperialist intention behind the so-called civilian power actorness of the EU. The timing of the EaP can be an indication concerning the EU's emphasis on the security dimension. After the August 2008 War; the EU became 'panic' and has intensified its stabilization policies in the South Caucasus through the EaP. However; the EU is not so 'amateur' as showing its real (soft imperialist) intentions in the region when the atmosphere of the geography was so tense with the re-existence of hegemonic concerns after the breakout of the August 2008 War. The War has led to arrival of hegemonic powers such as Russia, NATO and the US in the South Caucasus region. Nonetheless; the EU is 'good' at promoting its values and norms for the development of the suffered citizens of its partners. Besides; in the beginnings Russia was considering the EU legitimate security actor; since it didn't take attention of Russia with a threatening attempt in the South Caucasus. However; aside from the rhetoric of partnership and strategic use of norm; the EaP is driven by the soft imperialist approach due to competition with Russia in the region. The EaP desires to prevail in the region with the

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<sup>18</sup>The civilian power and soft imperialism models were used by Hettne and Söderbaum (2005) as mentioned in the second chapter in order to understand whole Foreign Policy Relations of the EU.

use of its multidimensional platforms in several areas; and the development of bilateral relationships with the South Caucasus countries also provide the EU a space to act as international actor in the region through Russia.

As emphasized above that the EU aspires to develop stabilization in the South Caucasus region in order to empower its security actorness in the region. The availability of the alternative models (civilian power and soft imperialism) has led to conflicting security practices of the EU in the implementation of the EaP after the August 2008 War. The narrative/duty security narrative and the threat/risk security narrative constitute the security logics of the EU in accordance with the security issues in the South Caucasus region. However, these security narratives bring also identity factor into discussion.

Within the narrative/duty security logic the EU combines some notions such as 'nearness', 'cooperation' and 'friendship' with the neighbors in order to ensure peace in its borders without othering its neighbors. (Christou, 2010)

The 'mutual' cooperation intention has been emphasized in the official the EaP documentation with the words of Benita Ferrero-Waldner "I am convinced that the Eastern Partnership will bring stability and prosperity dividends to European citizens for generations to come" and that "the Eastern partnership. . . serves the shared commitment to stability, security and prosperity of the European Union, the partner countries and indeed the entire European continent". (Waldner, 2009) The main security issues which are relevant for both the EU and the Eastern neighbor countries are terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, illegal immigration, organized crime, energy, etc. (Christou, 2010) The EU aims to cope with these security issues by establishing neighborhood ties considering the East a partner. According to Christou (2010); in the normative/duty security narrative the division of insider and outsider is not important, and it becomes blurred when the aim is securing the European space and the East. The Joint Declaration of the Prague EaP Summit underlined that the EaP was founded on mutual interests and shared responsibility; and Christou (2010) reads this assertion that normative/duty narrative doesn't see the Eastern partners as threatening other; but equal other.

Nonetheless; the threats/risk security narrative is not optimistic about the Eastern partners as in the case of narrative/duty security narrative. This narrative taking European Security Strategy (ESS 2003) as reference implies that the EU's intention is "managing the risks, threats and potential security problems prevalent within the poorly



governed neighborhood”. (Christou, 2010, p. 417) The EU adds the security challenges into the picture with the existence of the new neighbors in the East as stated in the ESS (2003, p. 8):

The integration of acceding states increases our security but also brings the EU closer to troubled areas. Our task is to promote a ring of well governed countries to the East of the European Union [...]

The existence of two security narratives lead to confusion of the EU in terms of dealing with the security issues in the Eastern Europe, but specifically in the South Caucasus region for this chapter. The confusion deriving from the duality of the narratives is seen after the August 2008 War. (Christou, 2010) After the War; some members of the EU proposed following ‘exceptional measures’, but other members of the EU preferred more engagement through normal and technocratic processes such as economic aid in order not to get reaction from Russia. (Christou, 2010)

### **3.3.3 The Challenges of the EaP in the South Caucasus**

Although the EU is a legitimate international actor with its regionalism policies recently via the Eastern Partnership Policy in the South Caucasus region, it faces with some challenging situations in the implementation of the EaP. These challenges derive from both its own limits, the attempts of the partner countries or the other actors in the region.

Firstly; there was lack of mutual agreement among the EU member states regarding the necessary of a new initiative towards the region like the EaP. (Mikhelidze, 2009) On the contrary to other major EU member states’ leaders, only German Chancellor Angela Merkel participated the Prague Summit in 2008 for the launch of EaP. The EU Mediterranean member states were not eager to start a “new” project in the East; it is a crucial indication that the EaP would have lack of coherency which resulted with the division of priorities among the neighbors of the EU like the South Caucasus, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. (Mikhelidze, 2009)

Another important challenge of the EaP is related with its policy approach towards the whole region. ‘One size fits all approach’ is not efficient for every partner states whose aspirations and backgrounds differ from each other. (Paul, 2015) The strategy of ‘one size fits all’ covers the EU’s comprehensive programme for democracy promotion

related with all its external relations with third countries including the neighborhood policies in the Eastern and Southern areas. Although it seems easy to apply same practices regarding the promotion of democracy in whole regions of the EU; more specific policies and strategies are required. However; the EU's style is developing its efficiency by gaining experience as the words with Borzel and Risse (2004, p. 3) "learning by doing' rather than a great master plan".The experience related with the ACP countries has been applied in the Eastern enlargement process. (Borzel & Risse, 2004) Another drawback of the EU policies as in the EaP; it tries to spread its norms and values into the South Caucasus region expecting the compliance with the Copenhagen criteria but without offering membership. (Borzel & Risse, 2004) This excluding diminishes the enthusiasm of the South Caucasus countries. The membership exception in the Eastern Neighborhood area has been underlined again in the 5<sup>th</sup> Eastern Partnership Summit with the disagreement of the EU member states as opponents (Netherlands, France, Italy, Spain and Germany) or proponents (the Baltic and the Visegrad Four states) regarding the creating a membership opportunity for the Eastern neighbors. (Kostanyan, 2017)

While the EU intends to spread its values and improvements gradually for its partner countries; it realized that its attractiveness had limits with the withdrawal of a free trade agreement by Armenia in September 2013 and rejection of an association agreement by Ukraine in November 2013. (Fawn, 2012)

Although deeper economic and political cooperation were experienced after the EU developed its relations with three South Caucasus states; security and stability in the region has not increased, yet the result was more fragmentation of the relations. (Paul, 2015) While Georgia tries to build its national security upon Euro-Atlantic integration against Russia and its de facto states; this orientation toward the West makes Russia more aggressive. (Paul, 2015) Russia has taken Abkhazia in its side with the Treaty on Alliance and Strategic Partnership, after Georgia signed the AA/DCFTA. (Paul, 2015) As consequence of this cooperation, Abkhazia has become dependent politically, militarily, economically, and socially on Russia. (Paul, 2015) In addition to Abkhazia, South Ossetia has signed a treaty which has enabled Russia to control over Georgia's lands. (Paul, 2015) With the ratification of these treaties, Russia shows the consequences of choosing the West to other states in the region. (Paul, 2015)

Paul (2015) asserts that the EaP cannot meet Georgia's security expectations with rhetoric of the EU concerning the protection of Georgia's territorial integrity. Russia has taken precautions against the EU influence on three South Caucasus states; thus, as a response to EaP it initiated Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) with the aspiration of gaining former Soviet power. (Paul, 2015) This intention is expressed by Russian President Vladimir Putin when he visited Armenia on 2 December 2013. (Paul, 2015) Russia developed several policies in terms of security, labor migration, energy, trade and Russian-financed NGOs in order to weaken the influence of the EU. (Paul, 2015) The existence of the protracted conflicts in the South Caucasus is a means for application of Russia's divide and rule policy; however, the adaptation of EU norms and standards to some extent in Georgia makes the EU enthusiastic to sustain its projects in the region. (Paul, 2015)

The EU was considered in the beginnings of its existence in the South Caucasus region a legitimate and neutral international actor in the eyes of Russia. However, the EU could take advantage of Russia's involvement in some EaP projects for the development of the relations with Georgia and Russia after the crisis. Moreover, it could convince Russia to take steps for the resolution of the conflict in Abkhazia and South Ossetia while Russia regard the EU more neutral actor rather than NATO or the US in the Caucasus. (Mikhelidze, 2009)

Another challenge is the EU's rhetoric of civilian power and soft power in the implementation of the EaP. Although its hindering motivation is geopolitical concerns; the promotion of soft power policies touched upon the Partner Countries in a limited level. Nonetheless; it can reach limited success with the rhetoric of promotion of European values in the South Caucasus region; and these policies lead to misevaluation of its capacities and applications decreasing its image in the region compared to Russia, NATO or the US. (Fischer, 2009) As a consequence of difference between the approaches; Georgia becomes closer to the US and NATO in terms of its security concerns; while it establishes political and economic cooperation with the EU via ENP Action Plan. (Fischer, 2009) Also, the partner countries approach the EaP policies in a pragmatic way regarding it as a means to access to the EU's internal market; thus, compliance values of the EU aren't meaningful for them as the EU cares. (Christou, 2010)

Furthermore, the most important challenge derives from the EU's approach to the South Caucasus region through the EaP. Albeit the EU underlines its normative/duty security narrative in the application of the EaP in order to secure the region; the overwhelming logic is the threat/risk security narrative. Latter narrative accelerates the limits of the EaP by staying passive in the resolution of the conflicts. Christou (2010) gives the EU's attempts in the August 2008 War. Since the EU conceives the South Caucasus region as a threat and risk to its own security and the welfare; the EaP was promoted deliberately even for some member states were unwilling in the post-war era. The EaP doesn't want to get involved in the issues related with the resolution of the conflicts which led to August 2008 War due to fear of annoying Russia. (Christou, 2010) With the all reasons in the background; the EaP has touched upon the security issues of the South Caucasus slightly.

By taking into above challenges of the EaP account, this chapter reaches the argument that the stabilization policies of the EU in the South Caucasus region are not influential. Hettne and Söderbaum (2005, p. 539) offer a suitable correlation for this challenge that:

Stabilization is a weaker strategy in terms of influence, since the effectiveness of stabilization depends very much on the level of actorness and the resource situation within the EU. Actorness shifts from one context to another, and stabilization can shift to association and integration (and back), also depending on the political climate in the EU.

The EU cannot offer a coherent and effective stabilization policies in the South Caucasus region because it doesn't play his role openly. It sees its partner countries as other and as a resource of the trouble; so, it tries to handle with the security issues remotely via the EaP after the breakout of the 2008 War. Thus; it doesn't see respect from the partner countries in terms of the EaP policies; and this situation decreases its actorness in the South Caucasus region. As this chapter supports the idea that the EU has civilian power and soft imperialism model in the neighborhood policies; these models are also shaped according to actorness of the EU. According to Hettne and Söderbaum (2005) there is a correlation between the actorness and the soft imperialism; hence when the actorness is weakened, the actor cannot apply the soft imperialism policies. By modeling this argument into the EU example; an ineffective EU can promote only civilian power due to its weakness; but the credibility of its civilian power also affected negatively. (Hettne & Söderbaum, 2005)

### **3.3.4 An Analysis of the EaP from New Regionalism Perspective**

The EU's regionalism policies include new regionalism approaches since the 1980s. Since the existence of IPE policies in the global context; the EU has also shaped its foreign policy relations with respect to new regionalism phenomena. In this direction; it has started defining the regions of the world according by developing Foreign Policy Relations. As we mentioned previously; the Eastern Neighbourhood and the South Caucasus region are result of this framework. Hettne's arguments regarding the New Regionalism approach find relevant explanations of the EU's policies towards the South Caucasus region via the EaP.

The EaP can be indicated as a product of new regionalism which covers different levels of regionness defined by Hettne (2005). As Hettne (2005) argued that different levels of regionness bring interrelated consequences; and if a region provides security cooperation ensures stability which result in more international investments. Thus, the main goal of the EaP is ensuring stabilization in the South Caucasus via the EaP; and the EaP also offer economic policies to support the peace atmosphere of the region. New regionalism requires complex and interconnected dimensional analyses, and the EU's new regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region bases upon promotion of democracy, rule of law, and market economy. It also develops policies in multidimensional areas such as energy security, transportation, education, human rights etc.

According to Hettne (2005); in new regionalism approach security dimension also triggers regional actors to develop regional cooperation owing to a threat of regionalization of conflict. The relation between the existence of a local conflict and development of a regional cooperation is established in the form of diplomatic interference, military intervention and conflict resolution applied by a regional unit. (Hettne, 2005) As claimed before; the EU could provide the EaP in diplomatic means as a response the August 2008 War. The military intervention is opposed to its civilian power model and the direct conflict resolution is also avoided not to annoy Russia.

The implementation of the EU as a response to August 2008 War owing to the security concerns can be connected with Buzan's redefinition the security complex theory in the framework of the new regionalism. In order to remind the redefinition is that "a sets of units whose major processes of securitization, de-securitization or both, are so

interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another.” (Buzan, 2003, p. 141-142) Furthermore, he defines security complex by making connection some new fields such as in economic, environmental and societal ones. (Buzan, 2003) Thus; the EU tries to improve its security actorness in the region via the EaP by linking different policy areas each other through the development of four platforms.

Moreover; Hettne (2005) states that in the new regionalism context a local conflict can require the intervention of regional actors through a conflict management in order to ensure internal regional security. The EU’s EaP can be shown as a example to the this relation. The recent conflicts between the Georgia and its de facto states South Ossetia and Abkhazia, resulting in the August 2008 War, as local conflicts have pulled the EU into the region with the promotion of the EaP. However; it is underlined again that the EU’s response to the August 2008 War as a regional actor promotion of conflict management but indirectly.

The EU also brings states and non-states actors under the same programs as natural result of new regionalism approach. Thus; it is argued that the EaP is a good product of the EU’s new regionalism policies due to its multidimensional fields, participation of states and non-state actors as well as provides the EU a space to realize its actorness in the South Caucasus region.

### **3.4 THE CHANGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EAP**

Since the initiation of the EaP in 2009, a great deal of importance was given to multilateral cooperation in the Eastern Neighbourhood area to cope with the post-war era in the region. However, the Russia factor has weakened the efficiency of the EaP. The initial ideas and concepts of the EU, the EaP, towards its Eastern neighbours have been started to questioned. (Gromadzki, 2015) Gromadzki (2015) evaluates the first five years of the EaP arguing that the EaP should be equipped with much more political structure and less technically oriented. He bases the reasons of his ideas upon the aggressive policies of Russia in the Eastern Neighbourhood region. In respect to the ‘inefficiency’ of the EaP’s policies; the bilateral dialogues are regarded as more effective than multilateral policies. (Gromadzki, 2015)

The EaP has faced with some challenging situations as stated previously. Since ‘one size fits all approach’ has not brought desired cooperation and stability in the South Caucasus region and the Eastern neighborhood; the EaP has started to move from multilateral relations to bilateral relations with its partners. This changing strategy of the EaP has become more concrete in the last EaP Summit in Brussels on November 24, 2017. The return of the bilateral relations was started in the previous EaP Summit in Riga in 2015 with the sign of Association Agreements (AA) with Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. (Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit, 2015) The EU and Armenia signed a Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement in the Summit of 2017. (European Commission, 2017)

The EU’s intention was to bring stability in the South Caucasus region after the August 2008 War. With the initiation of the EaP, the EU has aspired to increase its security actorness developing multilateral policies which promote its civilian power and soft imperialism models. Nonetheless, the Russian factor and attitudes of partner countries towards the EaP have led to some changing strategies both in the content and application of the EaP.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the EaP is discussed as a tool developed by the EU in order to strengthen its global actorness especially in the security field after the August 2008 War in the South Caucasus region. The chapter argues that although the EU was not interested in the security issues of the South Caucasus region before, it has awakened with the outbreak of the war in its Eastern Neighborhood. After the war; the EU has focused on its stabilization policies in the South Caucasus region due to two motivations: ensuring a secure and stable neighborhood in the South Caucasus region to secure its borders and increasing its global actorness in the region. The EU has preferred to apply its stabilization policies avoiding direct intervention on the conflicts of the region. It has interested much more in overcoming the negative results of the War by promoting civilian power and soft imperialism models. Thus; in the direction of these considerations the EaP was programmed to cope with the security issues of the region indirectly; and to support its security promoter image after the August 2008 War.

However; the EU has not reached its targets in the South Caucasus region. The challenges of the EU derive from the attitudes of the partner countries, other powerful actors such as Russia, the US or NATO, its disagreements about the EU member states and the conflicting security logics of the EU.





## CONCLUSION

The EU initiated the EaP as a response to the August 2008 War in order to secure the South Caucasus region; since it can affect the EU's security indirectly and there is a chance to increase the EU's global actorness through the EaP in the region. However, there are some limits of the EaP which prevent the EU reaching its intents in the region. The EaP's limitation should be discussed in a widespread perspective. The notion of the new regionalism, the EU's neighbourhood policies including its narratives and discourses, the characteristics of the South Caucasus region, the attitudes of the South Caucasus states and the competition between the hegemonic actors are effective in the limitations of the EaP. Hence; the main argument which stated in the beginning of this paragraph should be evaluated by taking whole thesis into consideration.

For a consistent evaluation the structure of the thesis is constituted of the three main chapters; the first chapter provides a theoretical structure for the regionalism concept. It discusses the old and new regionalism waves in the historical context. The transition from early regionalism to recent regionalism explains the regionalism policies in a coherent way. The second chapter evaluates the regionalism policies of the EU in terms of its regional integration example, the foreign policy relations with respect to other regions of the world. The first and second chapter make reader ready to discuss the EU's regionalism policies in the South Caucasus region in the last decade. After the thesis has touched upon the EU's recent policies and limitations in the South Caucasus region, there is a need to think about the interconnected and deeply rooted factors for more analytical evaluation. Besides, the EaP's limitations in the South Caucasus region derive from the notion of new regionalism to some extent.

Parallelism between the new regionalism and the EU's external policies is crucial. Although; multilaterality, promotion of the EU norms and values and soft power bring improvement in the region; the EaP cannot reach its targets completely. The EaP's some elements such as emphasis on democracy, rule of law and improvement of individuals don't touch upon the partner countries' desires in the South Caucasus region; so, the EaP becomes a "sophisticated" policy for the region. The multidimensional policy tools of new regionalism as in the example of the EaP prevent to fulfill the needs of the partner countries exclusively.

Furthermore, the South Caucasus countries are akin to Russian cultural and historical heritage to some extent; therefore, characteristics of the states and the geography need more than soft policy tools of new regionalism and the EaP. Although Georgia tries to improve its democratic organs via the EaP; it needs sense of security much more which can be ensured with the help NATO in the eyes of Georgia. Armenia and Azerbaijan also are not eager to improve its democracy and rule of law and cooperation through multilateral links; but they may prefer realistic sense of security of Russia and bilateral dialogues rather than cooperation of the EaP.

Another limitation of the new regionalism and the EaP is related with the EU's discourses regarding the Eastern Neighbourhood countries. The EU considers the partner countries in the South Caucasus both friend and other as a source of trouble due to the EU's conflicting security narratives. They are aware of this duality which leads to decreasing respect to the EaP. After certain time three South Caucasus countries have begun to benefit from the EaP policies and projects by making selection according to their own interests mostly these are economic ones. The EU norms and values are not important for these countries' real expectations; so, they started to lose their motivations in terms of applying the EaP's soft policies related with the EU norms and values.

By taking above limitations of new regionalism into consideration: what should do the EU to become a respected actor in the South Caucasus region? The reader is pushed to take regionalism policies in a widespread perspective. The first answer is that the EU can act as a security actor in the region, if it revises its new regionalism tools such as the EaP and applies old regionalism policies in addition to recent regionalism to some extent.

The great deal of the regionalism studies handles the issues from new regionalism perspective. However, it can be good to take old regionalism issues into consideration as well. New regionalism policies are not considered resource of the EU's limitations in the South Caucasus region; however the validity of old regionalism arguments can be realized when we look at the other hegemonic actors in the region. The soft policy tools of the new regionalism enable improvement in the South Caucasus region to some extent such as promotion of democracy, establishment of efficient governing systems, respect for human rights and the relative "welfare" coming from the free market

economy; however more realistic intervention can be required if the EU has desire to be a global security actor in the region.

The second answer is that the return of classic regionalism approach can contribute the EU's security actorness in the South Caucasus region. It can be asserted that classicism -old regionalism- never loses its attractiveness for the regional actors. The EU should apply old regionalism implementations in addition to new regionalism; thereby some combination both of them can trigger the regional actorness of the EU in the region. Russia as a dominant actor applies more realistic policies rather than EU's soft policies in the region; so, the EU can cope with the EaP's challenges by applying realistic and more specific policies to address the needs of the South Caucasus countries. To remember the old regionalism approach which focuses on one dimensional issues such as security and economy in a more realistic perspective; the EU can satisfy Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia by tuning its regionalism policies as they expect.

As an answer for the question that how the EU can combine old and new regionalism approaches in its neighbourhood policies in the South Caucasus region; some opinions can be provided. The EU should not leave its normative values in the implementation of the regionalism policies in the region; because it enables improvement both in governmental structures of the three South Caucasus countries and individual level in the long run. We should not deny the contribution of the EU for the development of democracy, rule of law, improvement of individuals since we cannot observe the transition to these values in the region in the short long. However; the EU should leave rhetoric of soft policy in the region to some extent; and apply realistic policies like Russia, NATO or the US by emphasizing on the security issues of the region more openly and hardly at the short date. Otherwise; it cannot gain the respect of the countries in the region; thereby it cannot increase its security actorness in the region.

Recently, the EU also started to realize its limitations in the region by returning bilateral dialogues as in the before. It can be considered an indication of that the EU has started to combine old regionalism and regionalism features by developing bilateral dialogues as in the old regionalism in addition to existent multilateral cooperation as in the new regionalism.

In conclusion, the thesis suggests that the EU's regionalism policies in the region - specifically the EaP- should be evaluated by giving some time to the EU in order to

discuss its efficiency. The EU's contribution in the improvement of some values and norms is crucial and can be revolutionary for the development of regional commonness and regional improvement of the South Caucasus region in the long run.



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