The European Engagement in Georgia

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ABSTRACT

The end of the Second World War and after that the Cold War, represented the end of the end of the "classical" conflicts and the opposition between East and West: with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the bipolar structure of the international system disappeared and the States had to face with new kind of threats. The traditional concept of territorial defense evolved in a new range of threats, which imply new priorities, such as collective security and external intervention.

Javier Solana, the former High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in the European Security Strategy, stated that in a world characterized by globalization, there is no more a difference between threats coming from neighbor countries or from the other parts of the world. The traditional concept of auto defense, based on the threat of invasion, is no more considered and that in the coming years the mayor threats will come from outside and will be completely different from what we have seen for centuries.

The European Union during the years became one of the most important actors in the international system. Especially with the development of its own foreign policy and after the tragedy lived during the clashes in the Balkans, the European Union became relevant in the conflict management realm as well.

In about twenty years, the European Union launched more than twenty missions in third countries and can be classified in military, civilian and hybrid (mix of military and civilian) and it is possible to make another distinction, between peace keeping, peace-making and peace-enforcement intervention. All the missions, independently from its classification, have always the same goal: the objective is not only to assure security and peace, but also to re-build institutional structures, humanitarian assistance and police training.

But despite the development of its foreign policy and the defense one, the most important instruments of the European Union in terms of external intervention are still economic tools. Its economic role in the international system allows the European Union to increase its attraction in terms of global trade and harmonization of the legislation of third countries to the acquis communautaire together with other programs of regional cooperation.

Even more important is the attraction implies the possibility to become a member of the European Union: a country, especially if with the status of "candidate" for a new European enlargement, is more prone to undertake a process of democratic reforms.

Introducing the specific topic of the European Union in Georgia, it is possible to say that due to the late development of its foreign policy and the focus on the following big enlargement in 2004, implied that the European Union was almost absent in the Caucasus during the 1990s, while during the 2000s its presence became stronger.

The importance of the Southern Gas Corridor, with the possibility to bring gas from Caspian and Middle East countries to European ones and the access negotiation of Turkey allowed the European Union to get closer to the region and begin its process of intervention and influence for a new democratization process in these countries.

In the following chapters, I will try to answer to the problem formulation I proposed for this topic, **"How did the European Union approach the conflicts in Georgia?",** through the use of theories of international relations and their implementation in an empirical part.

ABBREVIATION LIST

ASSR: Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

BMO: Border Monitoring Mission

CPN: Conflict Prevention Network

CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy

CSDP Common Security and Defense Policy

EaP: Eastern Partnership

EBRD European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

EC: European Commission

EIDHR: European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights

ENP: European Neighborhood Policy

ESDP European Security and Defense Policy

EU: European Union

EUMM: European Union Monitoring Mission

EUSR: European Union Special Representative

INOGATE: Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe

JCC: Joint Control Commission

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NREP: Non-Recognition and Engagement Policy

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

RRM: Rapid Reaction Mechanism

TACIS: Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States

TRACECA: Transport Corridor Europe- Caucasus-Asia

UN: United Nations

CHAPTER 1: METHODOLOGY

This project is divided in four different chapters (methodology excluded), which are theories, overview, analysis and conclusions.

In the first chapter, I decided to analyze three theories applied to foreign policy: realism, liberalism and constructivism. They have a completely different approach to the topic, since realism is based on external factors and the research of a hegemonic power; liberalism is explained through the importance of internal factors, such as the promotion of democratic principles, while constructivism refers to the importance of identity and legitimacy. This is the first part of the thesis, since it is used to direct the whole writing process in the right way and these theories will be then used in the analysis-

The second chapter, called the overview, can be conceived as the central part of the thesis. This part is divided in three different sections: the first one is an introduction to the EU, or better, how it is conceived in the international system, the development of its foreign policy and a map of the ongoing and concluded missions in the world. In the next part I will properly focus on the conflicts in the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, trying to understand which have been the causes and what happened within the region after they ended. After the historical background, the following part of the overview regards the European intervention in Georgia: which program were launched, what kind of missions, what kind of intervention in order to try to understand what has been the role of the EU for the conflict management and the stabilization process.

The last two parts are basically a deeper evaluation of the already mentioned theories within the frame of the EU conflict management in Georgia. The third one is properly an analysis of arguments in favor and against of the selected theories applied to the empirical part, in order to find if I choose the right or the wrong theories and which is the most suitable one in this project; while the final one presents my conclusions, including a possible answer to the problem formulation of the thesis, which is the main objective of all this work.

1.1 Research Design

The type of research design chosen to facilitate the response to the problem formulation of this project entails the adoption of one case study, which is the conflict in Georgia.

A case study design has been chosen because a "how" question, which is more explanatory, usually lead to the adoption of a case study and it allows focusing and examining deeply this specific topic.

Schramm explained what the advantages of a case study research are:

> The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they

were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result (as quoted by Yin 2009, p. 17).

Beyond the importance of decisions, the focus of a case study research also relies on individuals, organization, processes, programs, institutions (Yin 2009, p. 17).

There are six types of case studies (Lijphart 1971, p. 691):

- Atheoretical case studies;
- Interpretative case studies;
- Hypothesis-generating case studies;
- Theory-confirming case studies;
- Theory-infirming case studies;
- Deviant case studies.

For the type of research I am doing, the only useful ones could be the atheoretical, the interpretative and the hypothesis-generating ones. Now with a brief explanation, they will be introduced in order to find which the most suitable one in the project is.

The atheoretical case studies are based only on a specific topic (country, case etc…) and their main characteristic is that they only make a description of the case and they are not based on previously established generalizations. Moreover, their objective is not to formulate a general hypothesis (Lijphart 1971, p. 691).

Interpretative case studies, on the other hand, are based on established theoretical propositions and, most important, they make a generalization: even if only one case is analyzed, interpretative case studies generalize it, assuming that the conclusion of one case is the same for all the others (Lijphart 1971, p. 692).

Hypothesis-generating case studies is different, since it propose a vague hypotheses and then try to generate a definitive one, which will be the implemented and verified within the case studies proposed and analyzed (Lijphart 1971, p. 692).

In this case, the atheoretical one seems to be the most suitable one, since this project is based on only one case study, it is not based on already proposed generalization (maybe, one generalization could be the assumption of the EU as a Civil Power) and it will not propose a generalization of the European approach to the conflict management, since only one case cannot explain it.

Now that we found out which is the most suitable case study type for this thesis, it is worth to mention which are the advantages and disadvantages of this research design.

A single case is a good choice when it represents it tests a well-formulated theory. Theories have the function to set a number of propositions, while the case study, testing it, can confirm, disprove or raise the number of propositions. Even if a single case study is not enough to make a generalization, it is possible to use it to verify if a theory is suitable or not for that specific topic (Yin 2009, p. 46). If we adapt this explanation to this thesis, it is possible to say that, as already stated, the conclusions at the end of the project cannot propose a generalization to the European conflict management approach because it is only based on the case of Georgia, but, it can help to understand which theory or theories among realism, liberalism and constructivism is or are the most suitable. From this point, we can then move to another important rationale of case studies: it is true, the analysis of a single case study on more than 20 European missions cannot build the basis for a complete analysis of the European conflict management approach, but it could be useful for the future, since it is always possible the EU uses the same approach in the future and, in this situation, provide a good starting point and the possibility to learn from previous mistakes (Yin 2009, p. 46)

1.2 Theoretical Implementation

There are two possible contrasting approaches to theoretical utilization, which are the inductive and deductive approach. The deductive approach requires the accumulation of background information, fact checking and theoretical knowledge which is then used to prove or invalidate a hypothesis created after a suitable amount of information is gathered, while the inductive one necessitates the creation of a hypothesis after the creation of an analytical portion (Bryman 2012, pp. 24 - 26). As in this project it will be analyzed the approach of the European Union to the conflicts in Georgia, a deductive approach serves a better purpose.

1.3 Data Collection

For the development a project, both qualitative and quantitative sources can be used: the former type of research entails the collection of written data mostly pertaining to the social science sphere while the latter deals with the accumulation of numerical data (Bryman 2012, p. 35). This research should be considered a qualitative one as it necessitates written information to generate an answer to the problem formulation at hand.

With regards to the type of sources which will be used for this research, both primary (original documents and original works) and secondary (books, magazines, articles…) resources will be used in order for the research to reach a satisfactory level of depth. The primary sources which will be used will be limited to information taken from publications from the government and all of its ministries and other institutions; the limitations imposed to the availability of this kind of documents is that many are still reserved and not published and the impossibility to make

interviews (long distances, information confidentiality…) because even when I worked in the Embassy and I was writing my project about the Italian Presidency of the EU, both the Ambassador and Counselor could not give me more information than what the official reports of Presidency contained. The secondary sources will consist of journal articles and chapters from books which will be considered useful for the topic at hand as they provide above all important insight into the research's background. In this case, the availability of books and articles is very broad and it is easier to find the information I am looking for, both on the web and public or university libraries.

The limitations imposed by the limited availability of primary sources implies that the writing process of the overview regarding the EU engagement in Georgia is not so deep as I would like, so I will take the information from books and articles and for what I can find, from official documents of the EU and other Institutions, even if they are not so detailed.

1.4 Limitations

With regards to this research, several limitations which are important to its development must be named. The time frame which we base our analysis in is based on the European intervention in Georgia, so during the first years of the new millennium.

A second limitation relies on the number of case studies analyzed in the project: only one case study cannot prove the generalization of the European Conflict Management and neither denies this generalization, but it could be useful, in the future, for comparisons or to verify if the EU always has the same approach. Lastly, the final (possible) limitation of the research could be instigated due to the high level of importance of this topic and the classification of certain information which may be relevant to the topic.

CHAPTER 2: THEORIES

The problem formulation developed for this project is **"How did the European Union approach the conflicts in Georgia?"** and three theories have been chosen to develop this topic: realism, liberalism and constructivism. These three are based on different assumptions, so they can propose a different approach to the topic and three possible answers.

It is important to say that not these three theories could be suitable for the development of this project, but due to the limits of space and time, only these three have been chosen, since they are three of the most important and famous in the International Relations realm and in my opinion, the most three apt to this specific context, since they approach the context with three different point of views.

This chapter is fundamental for the development of the project. Even if they are only three theories, the different approach they have to the topic can help me in the writing process, guiding it and most important, they can help to understand, on a theoretical basis, what kind of approach the EU had towards the conflicts in Georgia. It is worth to say that not all the three theories are assured to be appropriated to find an answer to our problem formulation, for many causes: they could be not be perfectly suitable; another theory not mentioned here could have fit more; they could be useful only for a small part. In any case, it is impossible to define it now and only the analysis will give an answer and demonstrate if the choice of these theories has been the right one or not.

2.1 Realism

Realism has always been one of the most important academic subjects within the field of International Relations. It developed during the 1930's: during these years, the League of Nations failed to maintain peace after the First World War and many authoritarian regimes took the power in Europe, such as Nazism and Fascism.

This theory is based on four basic assumptions (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, pp. 42 - 43):
- States coexist in an anarchical world (but there are also hierarchical realists), characterized by a lack of central legitimate governance. It is also possible to say that, due to this lack of a central power, States coexist in a constant situation of conflicts and war. Within this system, the States are the only real actors, or better, the most important, since NGOs and IOs have a role as well, but their decision power and impact on the system is very limited;

- States are unitary actor since each National Government speaks with only voice (internal political differences are solved internally and no-one from the outer can know about that);

- States are not only the most important and influential actors in the international system, but they are also conceived as rational: Government decision makers always opt for the decision which allow to maximize the benefits, or at least to have minimal losses;

- National and international securities are the two most important objectives for a State and they are always at the top of their list. Hence, military and security issues are conceived as "high politics", while economic and sociological issues are conceived as "low politics", in other words, they are not the priorities.

In order to debate these assumptions, it is worth to mention two authors who are conceived as classical realists: Thucydides and Machiavelli.

Thucydides, who lived during the Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens, wrote his masterpiece "The Peloponnesian War", in which he analyzed and described the international system and the causes of the war between Spartans and Athenians.

In his book, Thucydides describes men as political animals and defines wars and conflicts as inevitable: men are unequal (different in power and capabilities) and they have to accept their natural given place in the international system. Wars are always due to the willingness of a shift in the balance of power (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, p. 71).

Machiavelli, on the other hand, wrote "The Prince", a guide in which he explained how a ruler should behave to get the most advantages for the State in an anarchical system: the ruler has to behave as a lion (powerfully) and a fox (smartly).

He also provided two important concepts which are essential in the formulation of realism: the theory of survival and his conception of imperialism: according to the former, international agreements and obligations between States become useless and should be disregarded if the security of the community is under threat; while the latter defines imperialism as legitimate if it means more security (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 72 - 73).

Focusing on more recent authors, some of the most important are Morgenthau, Schelling, Waltz and Mearsheimer.

Morgenthau is considered as the founder of modern realism. In his masterpiece "Politics Among Nations" he described domestic and foreign policies as characterized by the endless struggle for power, which has its roots in the human nature (he took inspiration from Thucydides), emphasizing the anarchic structure of the international system because of the lack of a central authority, capable of imposing to its members a constricting order (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 76 - 79).

Schelling is defined as a strategic realist, since he puts the focus on foreign policy decision making. In cases of diplomatic and military issues, leaders have to act strategically. A central concept of its thought is the one of "threat" and the importance for foreign policy to be successful: the success of a national policy is given by the power of its armed forces (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 80 - 82).

These two elements are connected: the act of thinking strategically establishes the difference between the use of brute force and coercion (get your enemy to do what you want through the threat of damage) (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, p. 83). Through the threat represented by a national army, it is possible to win a conflict without deploying the army and it is possible to "win a war" without a conflict.

An important distinction is made between scholars who think that in a bipolar system States are less inclined to war, while there are others who claim the opposite and think that the most peaceful solution is a system characterized by multi-polarity.

The first group claims that in a bipolar system, with only two super powers, only two countries have the power so there are few possibilities for big conflicts, even because, in many cases, the two great powers are on an equivalent level and would be impossible for one to prevail on the other one. Most important is the perception of the threat the other State represents and its military potential (Mearsheimer 2013, p. 79). On the other hand, scholars supporting a multipolar system focus on the importance of coalitions and the attention paid to other States. Coalitions between weaker and smaller countries against a great power represent an important means for conflict deterrence, since there could be the opportunity to balance their inferiority. Of the same importance the spread of attention, that is inevitable in a world with several powerful countries, since each State has to care about all the others without focusing on only one (Mearsheimer 2013, p. 79).

From this point it is possible to move to another important distinction made within the realist theory: the distinction between offensive and defensive realists.

Waltz and Mearsheimer are maybe the two most suitable scholars in this topic. Waltz is known for his book "Theory of International Politics", in which he not only accept the basic assumptions of

realism, but he also claims that the international system is anarchical and composed of States which differ in terms of relative power and that a bipolar system would be the best solution (few players with the power, easier cooperation). Mearsheimer, on the other hand, claims that states are always seeking for more power, since they want to achieve an hegemonic position in the international system and that the best path towards peace is to have more power than the others (power as a conflict deterrent) (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 84 – 90).

As I said, they are the two most suitable since they are considered respectively a defensive and an offensive realist, which put a strong focus on foreign policy and external pressures from the structure of the international system: its anarchic structure, an unequal distribution of power, uncertainty about the intentions of the others states, their rationality.

But there are some differences. Offensive realists claims that weaker states tend to ally with the strongest, in order to avoid conflicts and try to gain profit, since being in war with the hegemonic power in the international system would be damaging. As supposed by offensive realists, the hegemonic power will always try to defend and maintain its position in the international system and, as said by Mearsheimer, the deterrence is the best solution for that. In many cases, a military intervention, even if the goal is the promotion of democracy, could be conceived as demonstration of power (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 22).

Defensive realists, on the other hand, put the emphasis on the importance of balance of power and conflict deterrence. The main objective of the States in this anarchical international system is surviving and to reach a situation of security, to the detriment of power maximization. On the contrary of offensive realists, they think that conflict deterrence does not serve to maintain an hegemonic role in the international system, but to assure state's survival and security, since they do not want to expand their territory, but they only want to be safe from threats and minimize losses (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 22).

There is a second branch or realists, called the hierarchic realists, who think that States live in state of conflict and subordination, since it is impossible for many States to rule the world and there is always a hegemonic power. The most important scholars of this branch are Immanuel Wallerstein and Robert Gilpin, who defined the international system as cyclical:
- Equilibrium of the system;
- War and disequilibrium;
- Resolution of the tensions;
- Equilibrium.

The equilibrium of the system is guaranteed when States are not willing to change it, since it could be not profitable; if a State wants to change it, it is only because benefits are more than costs and it will try to change the system until there is something to gain (Gilpin 1998, pp. 591 - 613).

Wallerstein on the other hand, focus on the economic realm of the international system and define the hegemonic country as economic super power. He divided the world in three different groups, which are the core (strong countries), the periphery and the semi-periphery (respectively the poorest countries and the ones in the middle) (Wallerstein 2004, pp. 12 – 29). Furthermore, he explained that the power of the hegemonic power is reflected as well in the economic relations between the countries: their economic power allow them to oblige the weakest countries to maintain their frontiers open to goods and companies (Wallerstein 2004, p. 55) and it represents a clear example of an unequal exchange.

The first critic made to realism is the focus on States as the main actors in the international system, excluding other institutions, people and civil society as determinant in the international realm an a consequent focus on questions defined as "high politics", including national security. The seek for an hegemonic role and the balance of power also moved scholars of other "schools" to criticize realism: hegemony and balance of power should prevent war, but in many cases these concepts have been used for opposite purposes and justify enormous investments in defense policies and "missions" abroad (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, pp. 72 – 73).

The focus on States and the consequent exclusion of other actors, together with the selfish perception of human nature, are the basis for one more critic: the impossibility for realist to explain changes in the international system. They do not consider how States defined their interests, their focus and policies; they completely exclude the analysis of ideas and relations between different actors because of their State based conception of the international system (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2013).

Another critical point of the theory is represented by the perception of the structure of the international system: in both an anarchic or hierarchic structure, people have their own interests and recognize the ones of the others, reflecting this view on the State level: different States, irrespective of the structure of the system they live in, can establish good relations with other countries and create a more cooperative and peaceful world. One problem of the realist theory is that they cannot find an explanation to long periods of peace and cooperation without thinking to military power (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2013). For example, they could not explain what the EU did for European States, creating an area of peace after the biggest war in world history.

2.2 Liberalism

Michael Doyle, reporting part of a speech of the President Ronald Regan, who said that the promotion of freedom produces peace and that all governments founded on the respect for individual liberty, always exercise restraint and peaceful intentions in their foreign policy and who then announced a "crusade for freedom" and a "campaign for democratic development", entails the basic principles of liberalism and its ideas (Doyle 1986, p. 1151).

According to this theory, authoritarian regimes, which are based on aggressive instincts, make war, while liberal states, which are founded on individual rights, equality before the law, freedom of speech and many other civil liberties, are against war and they do everything to avoid conflicts (Doyle 1986, p. 151).

Liberalism emerged as a response to the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution occurred in the 19th Century and sees in John Locke, who lived during the so called Age of Reason, the father of classical liberalism. Many times in his works, he wrote about the basic values for a liberal and democratic state, which are the importance of constitutionalism, the separation of power and the limited government. Many others, inspired by Locke, focus on these values and contributed to develop liberalism as an academic subject, which is basically the opposite of the previous mentioned realism.

Liberalism, also defined as Idealism, as already said, is the opposite of realism, since it is based on different principles, or assumptions: liberalists have a multi-centric approach to the international system, since they consider States as important actors, but not the only one, because even individuals, transnational and International Organizations have an important role; within the States, governments are important but the division of power is needed; States are not perceived as rational actors, because their foreign policy decisions are the result of "fighting", bargaining, compromises and alliances between the different actors involved in the decision making process; the international agenda is broad and varied, since there is not a distinction between high and low politics, but national security, social, economic and ecological issues are on the same level and have the same importance. Another important difference is the conception of human nature: humans, according to liberalism, are fundamentally good and war is not caused by their desire of power, but by the irresponsibility of the governments to the governed and the imperfection of institutions (for example, a totalitarian regime) (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, p. 118).

Immanuel Kant, who is best known as the author of the "theory of perpetual peace", claimed that States, in order to live in a peaceful international system have to be democratic: a State based on

democratic principles is more peaceful than any other and democracies do not fight each other, since they have less to gain by engaging in a conflict with others. This perpetual peace between democracies is based on three main elements: a peaceful conflict resolution (armed force is not needed), shared valued of democratic principles and fundamental freedoms and economic cooperation (relationships with other States is based on economic principles) (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, p. 122).

Liberalism and the causes of war, determinants of peace (Dunne 2011, p. 103)

Images of liberalism	Causes of conflicts	Determinants of peace
Human nature	Intervention by the governments domestically and internationally disturbing the natural order	Individual liberty, free trade, prosperity, interdependence
The State	Undemocratic nature of international politics	National self-determination, open governments, collective security
The structure of the system	The balance of power system	A world government, with powers to mediate and enforce decisions

Other important authors within this current of thought are Richard Cobden, Benjamin Bentham, Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell.

Benjamin Bentham influenced the development of welfarism. He advocated individual and economic freedom, freedom of expression and speech, equal rights and many others fundamental freedoms, but he opposed to the idea of natural law and natural rights. Furthermore, he also developed the so called "theory about the federal States": according to this theory, federal States have been able to transform their identities based on conflicting interests to a more peaceful federation (such as the German Diet, the American Confederation and the Swiss League) (Dunne 2011, p. 105).

Richard Cobden, on the other hand, is famous because his ideas about the international system were based on patriotism, peace and the harmony between the social classes. His main idea was based on the importance of economic cooperation: within the international system peace can be reached through trade: an international system based on free trade would lead to a more peaceful world (the EU is an example) (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, p. 123).

Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell are important because they are the main representatives of idealism, which became the dominant theory of international relations between the two wars. Its basic values are the freedom of individuals and the role of the government to preserve these freedoms, while moral values, legal rules and institutions are the guiding principles in the establishment of a correct foreign policy (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 37 – 40) .

Wilson during its speech at the Congress held on 8 January 1918 outlined the so called "Fourteen Points" for the creation of a League on Nations, aimed to the creation of a long-lasting period of peace: sign of open covenants of peace; freedom of navigation on the seas; removal of economic barriers for a better and more prolific trade; reduction of national armaments; impartial adjustments of colonial claims; evacuation and restoration of Russian, French, Romanian, Serbian, Montenegro and Belgium territories; readjustment of Italian frontiers; assure to the Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire a stable sovereignty and the erection of a stable Polish State; sign of an international covenant for the creation of a general association of nations with the due to secure freedom, independence and sovereignty (Wilson 1918). As it is possible to see, all these fourteen points are based on the importance of democracy and freedom and the foundation of a coalition of democratic countries with the same principles and objectives would be a good instrument for the spread of these ideas and ideals (even if the League of Nations failed).

Despite the failure of the League of Nations, the rise of Fascism, Nazism and Communism, the Cold War and the search for a hegemonic role between Russia and the USA, democratic principles never disappeared. The end of the Cold War, for liberalism, can also be represented as the end of history: with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the last totalitarian Government disappeared; most of the ex Soviet nations became democratic or at least are trying to establish democratic Governments and liberal democracy has been universalized as the final form of Government, the last one that has to be established within a nation (Fukuyama 1989, p.2). The EU is the example of the importance of democracy and Governments based on its ideals: after the Second World War, we are living in a period of peace which is lasting from 1945.

The particularity of these scholars is that they did not want to explain how peace could be reached in this international system, but their goal was to show how it should be (from this point the name of Idealism or Utopian Liberalism). They are also known as hierarchic liberalists, since they wanted to avoid the disaster caused by the First World War through the creation of a new international organization which would have fostered a more peaceful and cooperative world (utopians also because the League of Nations, an international organization created between the two wars to

maintain peace, failed). Their main ideas were very similar to the ones claimed by Kant and the other previous scholars; democratic governments do not want and will not go to war against each other, since losses would be more than gains (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, pp. 37 – 40).

After the Second World War, a new current of thought developed within the realm of idealism, the so called neo-liberalism, which can be divided in four different main stands of thinking (Lamy 2011, p. 121):

- Sociological liberalism: it emphasizes the impact of expanding cross-border activities. Rosenau, who can be considered as the main scholar of this branch, claimed that as transnational activities increase, people in different countries create a link to each other and their government become more independent;

- Interdependence liberalism: free trade and a capitalist economy are the way towards peace and prosperity. Many scholars belong to this branch, such as Rosencrance (a State, in order to be successful, has to be a trading one), Mitrany and Haas (cooperation in the economic sector will lead States to cooperate in other as well) connected the concept of liberalism to the one of neo-functionalism and spill-over, Keohane and Nye ("theory of complex interdependence": interstate, trans-governmental and transnational activities link different societies each other creating interdependence, making useless the use of brutal force);

- Institutional liberalism: based on the high level of interdependence, States will pool their resources and transfer some of their sovereignty to set up an international institution to promote economic growth, respond to regional problems and deal with common interests;

- Democratic liberalism: it is based on Kant's three ideas about republican States (democratic States are governed by citizens, who share the same values so they are not interested in engaging a war against other Countries and lastly, economic interdependence between democracies works as a conflict deterrent). Francis Fukuyama, who is one of the most important scholars within liberalism, wrote "The End of History", in which he defined liberal democracy as the final form of government and there cannot be any progression from this to an alternative system.

Liberalism, properly applied to foreign policy, on the contrary to realism, can be considered as an internal theory, since it takes into consideration domestic and internal factors which shape foreign policy decisions. These internal factors could socio-political or economic, and governments are influenced by public opinion and civil society. In the idea of liberalism, governments bring the

promotion of fundamental freedoms around the world, with the promotion of democratic principles. The promotion of democracy would be beneficial for the State itself in terms of security, but also for the other countries around the world, since the establishment of democratic principles in new countries would bring more security not only in the country where the promotion is ongoing, but also for its neighbors (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 22).

The strongest critics to liberalism derive from a different perception of the international system of realist scholars. The latter think that cooperation and coalitions between States is the result of an anarchical system, where no one is prevailing on the others and as well of the uncertainty and suspicious feelings, because the decision to cooperate is due to the feeling of threat from the others. And really important is also the perception of this kind of feelings, generated in a system where no one can feel to be safe (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, p. 145).

From this point, together with the failure of the League of Nations, two more critics become possible: since coalition are the result of a feeling of threat, it means that States have different interests and the always present possibility for a war, even for democratic countries (USA have been involved in several conflicts and the military spending in the country is always increasing). Moreover, liberalists had some difficulties to explain the causes of conflicts in 1990s and 2000s: for example, it was not easy to find an explanation to the conflicts in the Balcans, even if surrounded by countries with a legislation based on democratic principles and human rights, or the conflicts in many African States (Viotti & Kauppi 2010, pp. 146 - 147).

2.3 Constructivism

Constructivism is not properly a theory of international relations, but it is considered a social theory, which developed during the last thirty years, based on the impact of ideas and identities, since it conceives the interests and identities of states as the product of past historical processes. Its main focus is on ideas and identities, how they are created and change during the time, even shaping how States behave in the International system (Walt 1998, p.41).

In the same way as realism, States are primary actors in the international system, but as liberalism, it conceives agencies, social community, international organizations, think tanks and other social actors on the same level. Hence, world politics is not only influenced by the actions of Governments, but human consciousness plays a key role, because States are social actors and their behavior is shaped in accordance to domestic and international rules. The importance of the concept of identity is given by how people "declare" themselves and think of the others (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 24).

The international system (anarchy, hierarchy, etc…) is socially constructed, shaped by the actions and ideas of the States and other actors and at the same level, domestic and international rules and norms represents what States expect (Kaarbo et al. n.d., p. 12).

Being the world socially constructed and shaped by actions and ideas, it is liable to changes and at the same way, also norms change during the time, as explained by the life cycle of norms[1]. Changes in the world can be explained using the distinction between brute facts (natural elements) and social facts (which are the result of human choices and actions) (Barnett 2011, p. 155). In other words, ideas and human actions structure the world and change it.

Other two main elements of Constructivism are the concepts of legitimacy and identity. The concept of legitimacy (which can be defined as the people's acceptance of a certain ruling system or actions) can be better explained with the explanation of the logic of appropriateness and logic of consequence.

The first one refers to a process of decision making based on what social norms define as right and legitimate; while the second one refers to actions determined by anticipated costs and benefits and the expected returns from alternative choices. In other words, States which behave following a logic of appropriateness, want to be perceived as good actors, doing what is conceived as appropriate for everybody: their behavior is based on the social acceptance (Barnett 2011, p. 155).

Applying the concept of identity, not only to humans, but also to States, conceived as social actors, which behave in accordance to rules, it is possible to say that States have a different approach to foreign policy in accordance to their perception of the others and it is very easy to make an example to clarify this concept. If we think about nuclear weapons and nuclear States, it is possible to mention the United States, the EU (or at least, some European States), Iran, China, Russia. Now, if we take as example the United States, it is possible to say that British and French nuclear weapons are not dangerous according to the American perception, while the Iranian, Chinese and Russian ones could be a severe threat for the world. This perception depends on the identity United States have of other countries and vice versa (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 24).

This concept can also be used to describe the constructivist perception of anarchy: constructivism does not regret the existence of an anarchical international system, but it has a different approach to other theories. As said before, States behave in different ways towards allies and enemies. From this

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[1] Norm emergence: Norm entrepreneurs attempt to convince a critical mass of states to embrace new norms.
Norm cascade: norm leaders attempt to socialize other States to become norm followers.
Norm internalization: norms acquire a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of debate.

point of view, anarchy is only perceived as a creation of States, because they are the ones who act in the international system and they are the ones who decide how to approach the others. Anarchy, in this sense, "is what States make of it" (Wendt 1992, p. 395). In other words, the structure of the international system can be defined by the States, their identities and ideals; it only depends on their willing and their perception of the others.

Constructivism can be applied to the topic of European foreign policy. The EU promotion of human rights, democratic norms and fundamental freedoms in its external policies, treaties, agreements and interventions is not only the result of the choice to promote its own interests, but it is a value-based arguments: these norms have been internalized in the European way of thinking.

Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism Comparison (Rourke 2009, p. 19)

	Realism	**Liberalism**	**Constructivism**
Human nature	Pessimistic: selfish	Optimistic: cooperative	Neutral: changeable
Core concepts	Power, conflicts	Cooperation, interdependence	Ideas, communication
Reality	Objective	Objective	Subjective
Politics stake	Zero sum game	Non zero sum game	Non zero sum game
Conflicts	Inevitable	Not inevitable	Not inevitable
International system	Anarchic	Anarchic or hierarchic	Anarchic because assumed to be so
Causes of conflicts	Self interests	Lack of regulations	Assumptions of conflicts and hostility
Path towards peace	Balance of power	Cooperation	Common goals
Key actors	States	States and IOs	States, IOs, NGOs
Morality	National interests as moral imperative	Follow moral standards	Morality is subjective
Policy prescriptions	Pursue national interests	Cooperation to find common goals	Shape ideas and language

CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW

This chapter is dedicated to the introduction and presentation of different elements, which will then be used for the analysis.

3.1 The European Union as a Global Actor

This part is dedicated to the presentation of the EU as a global actor in the international system and a brief history of the development of the European foreign policy, so to understand when the EU developed its conflict management capacity.

The EU is one of the few actors in the international system capable of dealing with international crisis management tasks with a broad variety of instruments and because of this, it has been defined, during the years, as one of the most important actors in the International system and especially as a "civil power" (and in many other ways, such as soft power, civilizing power etc…) (Nunes et al. n.d., p. 20). The status of civil power or normative power derives from the influence the EU has on other countries towards the principles of peace, democracy and others and because of its different nature. The EU is not the usual military power with an armed force, but it is has a peaceful nature and its power is based on different instruments (Nunes et al. n.d., p. 20).

This classification has been due to the European Institutional model, its principles (why the EU was born) and its objectives, such the promotion of peace all over the world, promotion of democracy, democratic principles, security and mainly, the means used for these objectives, mainly non-military (economic partnerships, civil missions, structural programs), use of persuasion, democratic control on foreign and defense policy (Telò 2008, pp. 55 - 59).Already in the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (TEEC, also known as the Treaty of Rome) signed in 1957 in Rome by France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux Countries, it is possible to find references to the importance of democracy: this treaty poses the basis for the European ideals, which are democracy, rule of law and respects for human rights (Article 181a(1) TEEC).

In the same way, the normative basis of the EU (not created from one day to another, but are the result of the evolution and history of the EU) contributed to its classification as a civil power in the international system. The five central norms of the EU are peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights (Telò 2008, p. 68).

3.1.1 The European Foreign Policy

Since the foundation of the EU, one of its political objectives has been the development of a European Foreign Policy, officially established with the Maastricht Treaty. The establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy was only the last attempt to the development of the European

cooperation in terms of security: the first one was the Dunkerque Treaty signed between France and United Kingdom, then extended to the Benelux countries and defined as the Bruxelles Treaty, which founded the first and unique European military organization, the Western European Union; in the years after we have the Pleven Plan, which considered the foundation of an European Army made of six supranational representations; the European Community of Defense (failed); the Fouchet Plan (which already in the 1960s foresaw an intergovernmental collaboration in foreign policy and defense policy) and the Eurocorps (an intergovernmental army composed of approximately 1,000 soldiers). With the Maastricht Treaty finally we have the institutionalization of an European Foreign Policy, the Common Foreign Security Policy, which defined the four main goals of the EU in terms of foreign policy (Pigliacelli 2008, pp. 34 - 38):

- Defense of common values;

- Reinforce the security of the States within the Community;

- Maintain the state of peace;

- Promotion of international cooperation (promotion of peace and democracy).

The development of the EU Foreign Policy was pushed forward by the war in Yugoslavia, which demonstrated all the limits and weaknesses of the EU within the security field. The consciousness of these weaknesses contributed to the EU's will to facilitate the stabilization in external countries (Tocci 2011, pp. 2 - 3).Years after, in 1999, within the CFSP it has been developed the Common Defense and Security Policy, which covers military and defense aspects (such as the civilian crisis management) and in 2004, after the big enlargement of the EU, the Neighborhood Policy (ENP), which covers Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia in the South and Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine (Giusti 2008, p. 209). Its goal is the promotion of a "ring of well governed countries", inspired to the concept of soft security (economic and social development, promotion of good governance) (Giusti 2008, p. 209).

The CFSP is one of the main instruments of the EU foreign policy and it has been developed for two main reasons: the widening and deepening of European policies. The big enlargement expanded the EU, its territory and its economic power, but it also brought many issues, since more States means more difficulties for the integration process, but the main one was that the EU got closer to areas of conflicts, such as the Russian Federation, the Balkans, etc… (Foradori 2010, p. 22) This policy has been conceived as an alternative to the Enlargement one (it was impossible to promise every European country the membership) and as an important instrument to stabilize these areas and share the benefits of cooperation (Foradori 2010, pp. 22 - 25).

It is worth to mention the importance of the Enlargement Policy. During the European Council held in Copenhagen in 1993, different conditions have been set for new countries to be annexed in the EU. Many of these are based on the basic principles of the Community, such as institutional stability, democracy, rule of law, human rights; stating explicitly what are the basic conditions for a new country to become a candidate. New candidates have to comply with the Acquis Communautaire and during this process, they receive financial and technical support, for example, for the development of democratic governments, economic reforms etc… (Tocci 2011, p. 3).

With the development of the CFSP and the ESDP the EU became able to set short-term and medium-term missions all over the word. Key figures are the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (now Federica Mogherini) and the Special Representatives, who operate on the ground, in addition to all the military and civil representatives operating in peacekeeping, security, monitoring and police missions (Tocci 2011, p. 4).Long-term missions are a bit different and are established mainly in weak and failed States. Weak States have problems to supply the right quality of political goods to the population and hide many other problems, such as an high urban crime rate and ethnic, linguistic internal tensions, which could lead the States to become a failed States. In Failed States conflicts spread all over the country and the Government has not any more the control of the use of force: insurgencies, civil insurrections could also lead to coup d'etat (Rotberg 2004, pp. 4 - 5).

These operations are different since they include economic aids and technical assistance programs in third countries. Development aids are aimed to structural change, economic development, promotion of democracy, human rights etc… and consequently, they are oriented to conflict prevention and resolution. As already introduced, the objective of the ENP was the creation of a neighborhood composed of peaceful countries, so one more time the objective of the EU was the promotion of its internal values such as peace, stability, democracy (Tocci 2015, pp. 4 - 5).The EU prepared the Country Strategy Papers and the Action Plans for the countries included in the policy and in the same way to the Enlargement Policy, established specific objectives in the economic and political field. All these countries had different problems so the Action Plans were different for each one; for example in Georgia the EU program required substantial priorities and intervention in maximum risk areas, such as reform of institutions, governance, elections, human rights and civil society (Tocci 2015, p. 5).

The year before the development of the ENP, in 2003, the EU made another step in the institutionalization of its foreign policy with the adoption of the European Security Strategy,

developed by Solana with the objective to give the EU a more strategic perspective of its foreign and defense policy (Foradori 2010, p. 42).

Completed missions(European Union External Action n.d. b**)**

Ongoing Missions (European Union External Action n.d. a)
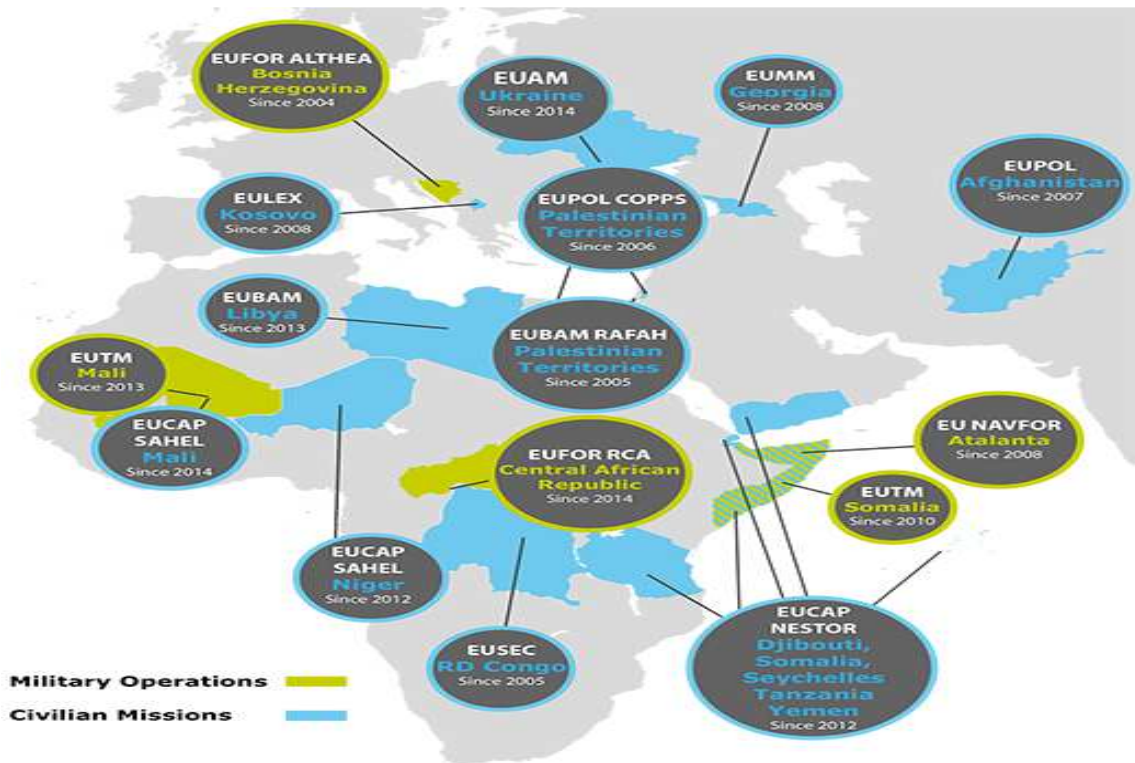
The development of this new strategy has been required by a new perception of threats developed during the years, leading to what has been defined as the broadening and deepening of security: the first refers to non-military threats (nuclear disasters, poverty, nationalism etc…), while the latter refers to the security of individuals and groups, not only to the classic concept of security regarding States (Foradori 2010, pp. 42 – 43).

In the ESS it is possible to read that the EU defined five main threats to the European security (Foradori 2010, pp. 47 - 52):

- Terrorism: defined as a strategic threat, connected to the religious fundamentalism, is now global and transnational, difficult to prevent;
- Weapon of mass destruction: connected to terrorism, the main worries are connected to the possibility of terrorist groups to get a nuclear weapon;
- Regional conflicts: these are a problem since they can have enormous effects on a regional scale and on the EU;
- Failed States: States without the control of the use of force and there are three scenarios (gross violations of human rights, collapse of national political structures and international terrorism as a consequence);
- Organized crime: transnational traffic of weapons, humans, money.

The EU security strategy states that conflicts within the neighborhood countries are a threat to the stability of the European Member States. Conflicts in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine obliged the EU to renew its agenda, implying its intervention (Oran.d., p. 51).As already said, the EU is perceived as a civil power and peaceful means, in addition to the traditional military intervention, allow the EU to mix a broad range of instruments: structural approach with a daily assistance, observing mission, police training etc… (Oran.d., p. 51).

Today the EU foreign policy is defined by the European Commission, which has the initiative power; but the two main institutions are the European Council, which define principles and the orientation of the EU foreign policy and the Foreign Affairs Council, composed of National Foreign Affairs Ministers, who take the main decisions in this framework. Another key actor is the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who is the head of the Foreign Affairs Council and at the same time the Vice President of the European Commission, having the possibility to guide and implement in a better way the actions of the two institutions (Foradori 2010, pp. 32 - 35).

The main instruments for the EU for the implementation of its foreign policy are three: common strategies, positions and actions. Common strategies, introduced with the Treaty of Amsterdam, have been elaborated so to take decisions in sectors in which Member States have common interests and establish the objectives, means and duration of EU intervention out of its territory. Common actions represent the concrete intervention on the ground and their main characteristic is that each one has its own specific means and objectives while the common positions represent the European approach on particular geographical and political issues (Foradori 2010, p. 31).

The three instruments, all together, define the EU Foreign Policy and intervention, from the beginning (definition of programs), to the instruments used, the type of intervention and the geographical zone where intervention is needed.

3.2 Brief history of Georgia and the conflicts

This brief chapter is aimed to introduce and explain what happened in Georgia. After a brief introduction to the structure of the Soviet Union and its collapse (useful to understand what could be the causes of the conflicts), there will be a short description of the conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the causes, the facts and the consequences.

> The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) is an integral, federal, multinational state formed on the principle of socialist federalism as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary association of equal Soviet Socialist Republics[2].

The USSR was created in 1922 but reached the form of a federal state in 1924 and its federal structure was based on a defined territorial division with ethnicity-based entities. But only Nations had the right to be considered as Union Republic, while groups defined as nationalities had a lower national status and tribe or ethnic groups had not the right to govern their territory (Francis 2011,p. 64). This federal structure, conceived as an hierarchical system, had Moscow (Russia) on the top while on the second stage there were the Nations or the Union Republics (this status allowed to these nations the right to participate in the decision making process of the USSR and they were also recognized with sovereign status, allowing them to conclude treaties and agreements with other nations). On the third level of this "ladder" there were the Autonomous Republics, which, by the way, were endowed with an autonomous constitution and the right to participate in the decision-making process of the USSR. Both the Union Republics and the Autonomous Republics were entitled to state structures, such as Supreme Court, Council, University etc...The fourth and fifth

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[2]Article 70 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopted in 1977

levels were the Regions and the Districts, endowed with a limited level of autonomy (Francis 2011, pp. 64 – 65).

South Ossetia obtained the status of Autonomous Region on 20th April 1922, maintaining it during the whole life of the Soviet Union (Nußberger 2013, para. 5), while Abkhaz authorities declared their independence from Georgia with the adoption of new constitution in April 1925, while was granted of the Autonomous Region status only in February 1931 (Francis 2011,p. 65).

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Socialist Republics became officially States and different conflicts began in Abkhazia, in the Transdniestria region of Moldova, in Tajikistan and in Chechnya. They lasted for several months because they have been characterized by a ceasefire but not by a political solution to the conflict and because of the lack of a durable peace settlement, they are considered frozen conflicts: not active conflicts, but without any path towards peace (MacFarlane 2008, pp. 26 - 24).

3.2.1 The conflicts in South Ossetia

The conflicts in South Ossetia, it can be said, were due to a self-determination feeling of the local Government and population (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 7). Since 1989, the local Government declared there were only two options for the region: independence and recognition of South Ossetia as a State or incorporation within the Russian Federation. In 2004, for example, President Kokoity said that the latter option would have offered better protection of the rights of the population and that it was the right time to unify South and North Ossetia (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 8).

Another reason which leaded to the clashes was the proliferation of illegal businesses., such as smuggling, drug trafficking and army production, because of a lack of customs control on foreign goods transiting within the country (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 9). Georgian customs official were not allowed to work on the Ossetia territory and local officials (maybe corrupted, maybe just unfitting for this kind of job) were not able to assure law abiding.

Because of these criminal activities, South Ossetia economy as well became criminalized, but another important reason for that was the shortage of opportunities to participate in legal international activities: South Ossetia was not recognized as an independent State, so it was not allowed to be part of the international economy. Moreover, another problem has been represented by the Georgian embargo on South Ossetia goods from 1992, provoking the necessity to develop its national economy in another way (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 11).

In September 1989 South Ossetia declared its independence from Georgia, stating the region as an independent Soviet Socialist Republic and in December there had been a referendum to vote for independence from Georgia. The President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, refusing the referendum, declared it as illegitimate and abolished the autonomous status of South Ossetia (Summers 2011, p. 398).

In November there are the first clashes: on the 23rd, 15000 Georgians marched on the city of Tskhinvali, where they met numerous group of Ossetia soldiers, who obstructed their entrance in the city. This was the beginning of the conflict which began few weeks later (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 3).

Few days after, on 5th January 1991, the tensions in the region became an armed conflict, which lasted for several months, causing thousands of deaths. Many people were forced to leave the territory and South Ossetia fell under the control of a secessionist Government after the coup d'etat against Gamsakhurdia. In 1992 the armed conflict ended with a ceasefire agreement sponsored by the Russian Government: on 24 June in Sochi, Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, respectively the Russian and Georgian leaders, signed an agreement to stop the conflict which led to a ceasefire (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 4).

The mediation of Russia allowed the development of a peacekeeping force, composed of soldiers of the Georgian, Ossetia and Russian armies. With the sign of this agreement, Georgia ceded the control over the region and thousands of Georgians (about 23000) had to leave the country (Summers 2011, p. 399).

3.2.2 The conflicts in Abkhazia

The conflicts in Abkhazia, as well, have been provoked by the reclaimed right of self-determination. The local Government, in this case, was claiming that the recognition of Abkhazia as an independent State was necessary for its survival: in 1989, for example, only the 17.8 was autochthonous (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 3). It was not only the self-determination right, but Abkhazia was claiming for its statehood, because, always according to the opinion of the local Government, they were able to maintain a functioning national structure, with a democratic elected President, responsible and able to preserve and defend the minorities rights, to set up an organized army to defend the territory from external threats (International Crisis Group 2006a, pp. 3 – 4).

The reference to the necessity and ability to set up a national army is not casual: Abkhazia authorities, in many cases, claimed that the population of this region has been the victim of great powers attempt to control its territory and that its status of SSR has been imposed by Russia, which

incorporated Abkhazia within the Georgian territory and deprived local authorities of the right to participate in international forums (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 4)

In this case, it could seem to appear to be simplistic, but the causes of the conflicts have not only political roots, but cultural as well: Abkhazia has closer linguistic, cultural and religious ties with other Caucasian groups (they do not share the Christian Orthodox faith with Georgians).

Even if its status of autonomous region was not threatened, inhabitants in the region of Abkhazia were afraid of a process of Georgianisation: many radical nationalist groups raised and gained a lot of political power, creating feeling of intolerance towards the minorities, which felt also threatened because of the launch of the Georgian Language Program by the Georgian Government. In 1989 Abkhazian political leaders created the national organization Aydgylara (popular forum) and organized different mass gathering: 30000 people asked for the reinstatement of the Abkhazia's 1921 – 1931 status, the "Union Republic" (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 5).

The first clash was in 1989, when a new branch of the Tbilisi State University was created in Sukhumi, followed by the protests of more than 30000Abkhaz, which were asking the restoration of the Union Republic status.. On 25th August 1990, the Supreme Council of Abkhazia, in the same way as the one in Southern Ossetia, declared Abkhazia's sovereignty and independence from the Georgian Central Government. In March 1991, the Government proposed a new referendum to remain with the Soviet Union, worsening the situation. The referendum was held in December 1991 for the creation of a new Abkhaz Parliament based on ethnic quotas. After the fall of the Gamsakhurdia Government and the return to the Georgia's 1921 Constitution, the Abkhaz Parliament, not satisfied with the decision of the Central Government, restored its 1925 Constitution (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 5).

On 14th August 1992 Georgian troops entered in the Abkhaz region to save thirteen hostages and secure the rail line to Russia: but they advanced towards Sukhumi and attacked the local Government buildings (Summers 2011, pp. 400 - 401). After one year of clashes, on July 1993, in this case as well with the mediation of Russia, the two parts signed an agreement for a ceasefire, called the Moscow agreement, with the withdraw of Georgian troops and heavy weapons and the consequent gradual demilitarization of Abkhazia. The ceasefire lasted for only two month, because on 16th September the Abkhaz troops organized a massive attack to the city on Sukhumi. This offensive represented the defeat of Georgia, their loss of control over the region and the death of more than 10000 civilians (Summers 2011, pp. 400 - 401).

3.2.3 The stabilization process

When the conflicts ended, the best solution was to think about how to recover the country with economic reforms: the economy was destroyed, with a GDP collapse (about 80%), unemployment and inflation at the highest level possible (respectively, 25% and 700%). The first reforms, partly made with loans obtained from the IMF and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, included initiatives in the banking sector, privatization of land, reforms in the agrarian sector etc… (Razoux 2009, pp. 206 – 208),

The Sochi agreement mentioned before established that the authorities of South Ossetia maintained the control over the districts of Tskhinvali, Java, Znauri, andparts of Akhalgori, while the central Government of Tbilisithe rest of Akhalgori and several ethnic Georgian villages in the Tskhinvali district. It also included the set up a Joint Control Commission (JCC) and a Joint Peacekeeping Force (JPKF) (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 4).

The JCC was composed of representatives from Georgia, Russia, South and North Ossetia, with the participation of representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) as well and it was created to supervise the implementation of the Sochi Agreement: its goal was the promotion of political dialogue, adoption of political measures to maintain the ceasefire, help the economic restoration etc… The JPKF, instead, was a trilateral force composed of Georgian, Russian and Ossetia representatives with the duty to restore and maintain peace and law in the zone of the conflicts and the right of the use of force in case one part violated the agreement (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 4).

After several meetings, the parties signed in 1996 a"Memorandum to Enhance Security and Confidence Building Measures", which foresaw the demilitarization of the zone of conflict. Then, on 23rd December 2000, a new agreement was signed for the economic restoration of the territory and the integration of refugees (International Crisis Group 2004, p. 5).

As already said, the conflict in Abkhazia ended with the sign of the Moscow Agreement, which allowed to reach a ceasefire but also set up the "Agreement on a Ceasefire and Separation of Forces" (CISPKF), a peacekeeping force composed of Russian peacekeepers. The Moscow Agreement also implied the intervention of the United Nations (UN), which set up the UNOMIG observer mission: the task was, as in South Ossetia, to monitor and verify the implementation of the ceasefire and the reintegration of the refugees (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 6).

Negotiations between Tbilisi and Sukhumi took place within the framework of the Geneva Peace Process, which leaded by Un with the support of Russia, observers from the OSCE and the Group

of Friends of the Secretary-General[3](International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 7). In march 2003, the Presidents of Russia and Georgia, Vladimir Putin and Shevardnadze, signed a new agreement, one more time in Sochi, which set up three working groups to deal with the refugees, the restoration of the direct Sochi-Tbilisi railway line via Abkhazia and the renewal of the Inguri hydroelectric power station (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 7).

The problem of these years was that, although the presence of peacekeeping forces in the regions, both in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, small cases of violence continued anyway. In South Ossetia many exchanges of fire took place, provoking many casualties and in Abkhazia, in 1998 many ethnic Georgians returned to the region reclaiming their land. The result was their expulsion and thirty thousands of resident Georgians lost their place (MacFarlane 2008, p. 26).

3.2.4 The Rose Revolution

Shevardnadze became the President of Georgia in 1995 and helped the country to recover from the clashes held in the first year of the 1990s which brought Georgia to be, in the opinion of many politicians, a failed State (Global Security.org 2013).

But his leadership, during the time, became really weak: he was accused of supporting corruption in the country and three of the strongest politicians, the former Justice Minister Mikheil Saakashvili, the former Parliament Speaker Zurab Zhvania and the Parliament Speaker Nino Burjanadze joint the forces and formed an opposition bloc. At the same time all the pro-Shevardnadze parties allied in a new group, called "For a New Georgia" and Shevardnadze won the election (Weeks 2008). The elections were supposed to be rigged so, Saakashvili called all the Georgians for a pacific demonstration against Shevardnadze.

Thousands of people protested during the next two weeks, asking the resignation of Shevardnadze. On 14th November more than 20000 people walked in the streets, protesting in front of the presidential building. Even if it was a civil and pacific protest, Shevardnadze decided to make a television appeal, asking for peace, being worried for a new possible civil war(Weeks 2008). For the next ten days, protests never stopped and on the 24th, thousands of people interrupted during the Parliamentary Session bringing with them thousands red roses, shaking them in the air. At the end of the session, Shevardnadze, forced by the requests of the crowd, immediately resigned (Weeks 2008).

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[3]Created in 1993, the Group includes representatives of the U.S.A, Germany, UK, France and Russia.

New elections were held in January 2004 election and Saakashvili, thanks to the support of the people, was the most advantaged for the victory, even because most of the other politicians left the scene and the other opposition parties lost most of their popular support. Saakashvili won with 96% of the votes (Global Security.org 2013).

Even if the new Government's priorities were mainly the fight against corruption, reforms, economic recovery, the reinforcement of State institutions and the resolution of the frozen conflicts, many elements of illiberal democracy appeared and the situation was really difficult: Georgia, as just mentioned, was considered a failed State but also a corrupted one, with weak institutions, victim of a period of impoverishment, deindustrialization and unsolved conflicts (Lynch 2006, p.34).

Moreover, the new Government was accused to have shown numerous shortcomings: its revolutionary ideology led to impulsive and wrong decisions; the NGOs in the country criticized it and its reluctance to the dialogue with the opposition parties; the constitutional reforms strengthened the executive power so much that Tinatin Khidasheli, a civil society activist said "We have a president with huge authority and almost without responsibilities"(Lynch 2006, p. 31).

A report of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe denounced the Government structure after the new constitutional decisions:

> "Today, Georgia has a semi-presidential system with very strong powers to the President, basically no parliamentary opposition, a weaker civil society, a judicial system that is not yet sufficiently independent and functioning, undeveloped or non-existing local democracy, a self-censored media … " (Lynch 2006, pp. 31 - 32).

Another problem, noted by external observers in the country, regarded the problems in the detention and prison system (Lynch 2006, p. 33). Human rights are not respected, torture is still a present practice and the detention conditions remain humiliating.

3.2.5 After the conflicts

After the Rose Revolution and the election of Saakashvili, and before the problems mentioned in the previous paragraph, Georgia lived a period of relative economic growth, which led to investments in the defense sector. Since Georgian army was engaged in different missions abroad (Kosovo and Iraq), most of the public revenues have been reinvested in forces training and new equipments (MacFarlane 2008, p. 26).

Right after he was elected, Saakashvili offered to South Ossetia a political autonomy and many other benefits, such as financial assistance and the recognition of Ossetia as an official language. The refusal of the Ossetia Government and the established of different checkpoints in the region during an anti-smuggling operation(as defined by Saakashvili) of the Georgian army, led to an exacerbation of the situation, which reached its peak with the attack of the Ossetia army, provoking the death ofmore than twenty people (MacFarlane 2008, pp. 26-27).

In Abkhazia elections were scheduled for October 2004. Even if there were five candidates, only two were really competing for the Presidency: Sergey Bagapsh and Raul Khajimba. Bagapsh won the first round of the elections but when Khajimba denied the defeat and when the electoral clash reached the Parliament, the risk for a new civil war was concrete. Luckily, the two decided to set up new elections for January 2005 and presented a plan for the constitution of a new Government: Bagapsh as president and Khajimba as vice-president (International Crisis Group 2006a, pp. 12-13).

The relations between Abkhazia and Georgia never improved and the hostilities reached their peak when in July 2005 the Georgian troops entered in the valley of Kodori Gorge, where the Georgian Government installed a pro-Georgian Abkhaz Government previously exiled(Fischer 2010, p. 56). The Abkhaz Government perceived it as a violation of the ceasefire agreement and decided to withdraw from all the negotiations.

During and after the conflicts, also the relations between Russia and Georgia worsened. Georgian engagement in military missions in Kosovo and Iraq and its attempt to appear as security provider, contributed to a more concrete approach to the European and transatlantic institutions and the USA. Russia in 2006 posed visa restrictions on Georgian migrants and established an embargo on Georgian food products. Russia strongly opposed to the possibility for Georgia and Ukraine to join NATO and when the NATO Council, held in Bucharest in April 2008, guaranteed this possibility, Russia, which was already supporting the two Autonomous Regions, perceived this possible enlargement (Russia was opposing to the NATO enlargement already since the 1990s) as an opportunity for NATO and Western Countries to get closer and gain control over the ex Socialist Republics (MacFarlane 2008, pp. 27 - 28).

3.2.6 The Five days War

New hostilities between Georgia, Russia, South Ossetia and Abkhazia began during the night between the 7[th]and the 8[th]August 2008. Georgia launched a military offensive with tanks and fighter-bombers to regain the control of South Ossetia and Russia responded with an air force

operation. Many civilians died and more than 150000 people had to leave their place (Euronews 2008).

One week after, on the 15th August Georgia and Russia signed a preliminary agreement for a new ceasefire, this time with the mediation of the EU. The agreement foresaw a withdraw of the troops to the stakeout organized before the new conflict and a commitment for Georgia not to attack anymore the two Secessionist Republics. But after a first withdraw of its troops, Russian army decided to continue with the occupation of two buffer zones on the border between Georgia, Abkhazia and Ossetia in order to prevent future military offensives. The Russian occupation also interested the port of Poti, a city on the Black Sea (La Repubblica.it 2008).

On the 1st October the EU sent in the buffer zones 200 military observes and after only one week, on the 8th, the Russian troops withdrew definitely from the buffer zone on the border of South Ossetia (Sputnik International 2008) and at the end of this short war, Moscow recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia with an administrative decree (Euronews 2008).

This war was really particular also because it has been considered a war of propaganda. Russian media were not independent and used the same words the West used during the war in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan and pointed at Saakashvili as guilty of genocide against Ossetia population. On the other hand, western Medias, which were partial, tried to deny the Georgian responsibility, assuming that the war was caused by the aggression of the "big" Russia against the "small and democratic" Georgia (Ferrari2008, p. 129).

3.2.7 Causes of the conflicts and the Russian role

There is not a single cause for the conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, but they happened because of a combination of different factors, which could be the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Georgian reluctance to recognize the independence of the regions and the Russian hegemonic desire (Jentzsch 2009, pp. 6- 8).

This is an interesting point, which can be related to the realist theory. The breakup of the Soviet Union, even if not properly applicable to this topic, but can be conceived as the prelude to its implementation. Georgia refused to recognize the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia because it would have lost its power and maybe the possibility to be part of the international community. For Russia, it is a bit different. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia maintained its importance because of the supplies of energy sources, but lost its role of a world actor in terms of military power. Its involvement in the conflicts can be explained as an attempt to

regain power over ex Soviet countries and its role in the international system, so to be perceived again as the counter power to the USA.

On 16th July 2006, President Saakashvili, trying to explaining the causes of the conflicts stated (International Crisis Group 2006a, p. 7):

> "These are not ethnic conflicts. These are political conflicts imposed on us. They are linked to an attempt by post-Soviet forces, the remnants of the old Soviet imperial mentality, to seize control of at least some of the neighbouring territories Georgia was the most attractive piece to gobble up – or, at the very least, to create problems for Georgia. In the past they succeeded in doing this".

According to Georgian authorities, both conflicts can be conceived as separatist conflicts following the collapse of the Soviet Union: for example North and South Ossetia, according to Ossetia authorities, were wrongly divided during the Soviet period and after the collapse of the Soviet Union the freedom of movement failed, so they were only demanding for their national self-determination right. They wanted to reunite the two regions and to become part of Russia, since they perceived their rights as better protected by Russian authorities instead of the Georgian ones (International crisis group 2004, p. 7).So, the idea of Georgian authorities was that the Russian involvement did not help the peace process, but prolonged the conflicts, because of the strong Russian interests in the regions was very strong and President Putin's promotion of the self-determination right and the desire to punish the Georgian integration in the international community, all added to the willing to regain the control over the ex Soviet Republics and to regain its ex status of world power (Jentzsch 2009, pp. 7 - 8).

3.3 EU's Engagement in Georgia

This part of the chapter is dedicated to an analysis of the EU engagement in the conflict management within Georgia. It will be described how the EU dealt with the conflicts, its politics and approach and the theories will be introduced within this topic, so to show, at least very briefly, if they are suitable in this case and if they are useful for kind of topic.

With the burst of the ethnic conflicts in Georgia in the 1990s, the EU had to decide if a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (CPA) could be a good solution for its engagement in the region and in 1999 the CPA between the EU and Georgia became effective. This PCA operated within the framework of an economic program, the TACIS, which was a financial aid program directed to 13 States. Georgia received 370€ millions, of which 27 had been used to for the rehabilitation of the conflict zones. The EU implemented its presence in the region with two more projects, the TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe- Caucasus-Asia) and the INOGATE (Interstate Oil and Gas

Transport to Europe) (Popescu 2007, pp. 2 – 3). The TRACECA, the most important one, was also aimed to the development of a deeper regional cooperation, so not only circumscribed at the economic sector, but was also important for the political one.

A more technical program was the set up of a Conflict Prevention Network (CPN) of NGOs. The aim of this project was to support the EU intervention in the region, providing recommendations on how to act: for example, after several meetings, the CPN produced different reports destined to the European Commission (EC) on the EU's conflict management role (Popescu 2007, p. 3). Basically this Network had the role to suggest how to improve the EU intervention, providing recommendations on priorities and what not to do, in order to avoid a worsening of the situation.

3.3.1 EU Policies towards the conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia

The EU started to support the Georgian Government and the two secessionist regions in the year right after the conflict, because the goal was to create a feeling of mutual trust between the different populations and improve the living conditions of the population, since large parts of the territories got destroyed during the conflicts (Popescu 2007, p. 13).

The European projects in Abkhazia were focused on economic rehabilitation and humanitarian assistance. The programs were conducted within the framework of three important European initiatives: the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), the Rapid Reaction Mechanism (RRM) and a "Decentralized Cooperation", all aimed to create a confidence feeling between the regions and to support the civil society and NGOs within the regions (International Crisis Group 2006b, p. 17). The economic funds have been conceived as an instrument to re-build a good economy in the country and reinforce institutions, so to avoid further conflicts in the future (International Crisis Group 2006b, p. 17).

The European involvement in South Ossetia was different, since the projects in this region were not focused on the support to civil society and confidence building but on six priority areas: road engineering, civil engineering, finances, banking, agriculture and energy, not social, political or security projects (Popescu 2007, p. 16). The more strategic approach and the priority of the EU focus in South Ossetia was due to a number of reasons: the conflict was perceived as easier to solve and with a faster impact on the Georgian State (its solution was perceived as an important means for the well functioning of Georgian Government); Tskhinvali was considered as a vital point, near to Tbilisi and without the control of the region or at least a good relationship and mutual trust, it was impossible for Georgian government to control the border and the Roki Tunnel, which is main road

connecting Georgia with Russia, also considered as the entry for illegal weapons and migrants (Popescu 2007, p. 16).

3.3.2 The ENP Action Plan

Within the realm of the ENP, the EU developed an Action Plan for reforms and cooperation in Georgia, which entered into force in November 2006. But the two parts had different perspective: the European approach was aimed at a long term perspective, prioritizing the reinforcement of democracy and market economy, while the Georgian one was more oriented at short term priorities, emphasizing the importance of conflict resolutions and national security, trying to get the European support for the implementation of the Georgian plan for peace and stability in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, including demilitarization, confidence building and economic development (Popescu 2007, pp. 8 – 9). In other words, the two parts had the same objectives (conflict resolution, reinforcement of democracy, economic recovery), but while the EU was more oriented on actions with good results on the short run with a stronger impact in the future years, Georgia was more confident to focus all its efforts on actions aimed to solve the situation in few months, without any interests for the next years.

The focus of the EU on long term priorities was represented by all the eight priority areas of the Action Plan, each one focused on a specific topic (EU/Georgia Action Plan n.d.):

- Priority area 1: Strengthen rule of law especially through reform of the judicial system, including the penitentiary system, and through rebuilding state institutions. Strengthen democratic institutions and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in compliance with international commitments of Georgia (PCA, Council of Europe, OSCE, UN): ensuring proper separation of powers, improvement of training of judges, prosecutors, and officials in judiciary, improved access to justice;

- Priority area 2: Improve the business and investment climate, including a transparent privatization process, and continue the fight against corruption: Develop and implement a comprehensive program to improve the business climate, Set up a mechanism to ensure regular consultation/information of the trade community on import and export regulations and procedures, continue the modernization, simplification and computerization of the tax administration;

- Priority area 3: Encourage economic development and enhance poverty reduction efforts and social cohesion, promote sustainable development including the protection of the environment; further convergence of economic legislation and

administrative practices: maintain macroeconomic stability by implementing prudent monetary and fiscal policies, undertake reform of the social assistance and health care sectors, develop special programs of education for public servants;

- Priority area 4: Enhance cooperation in the field of justice, freedom and security, including in the field of border management: continue EU-Georgia cooperation on Border Management issues, develop a dialogue on fight against terrorism and organized crime, trafficking, illegal arms trading, develop cooperation on migration and asylum issues, establish a dialogue on matters related to the movement of people including on readmission and visa issues;

- Priority area 5: Strengthen regional cooperation: continue cooperation in the Energy, Transport and Science and Technological development fields, Enhance bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Black Sea region and between the Black Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Caspian Sea regions;

- Priority area 6: Promote peaceful resolution of internal conflicts:
  - Contribute to the conflicts settlement in Abkhazia, Georgia and Tskinvali Region/South Ossetia, Georgia, based on respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia within its internationally recognized borders;
  - Enhanced efforts at confidence building; • Consideration of further economic assistance in light of the progress in the conflict settlement process;
  - Contribute actively, and in any relevant forum, to accelerating the process of demilitarization and of conflict resolution on the basis of the Peace Plan supported by the OSCE ministerial Council in Ljubljana in December 2005;
  - The EU points to the need to increase the effectiveness of the negotiating mechanisms. The work of the Joint Control Commission should be measured by the rapid implementation of all outstanding agreements previously reached and in particular by the start of demilitarization;
  - The EU stresses the need for a constructive cooperation between interested international actors in the region, including the EU and OSCE Member States, on additional efforts contributing to peaceful

settlement mechanisms in Tskhinvali Region / S. Ossetia and Abkhazia;

  o Include the issue of territorial integrity of Georgia and settlement of Georgia's internal conflicts in EU-Russia political dialogue meetings. Priority area 7: Cooperation on Foreign and Security Policy.

- Priority area 7: Cooperation on Foreign and Security Policy: enhance EU-Georgia cooperation on Common Foreign and Security Policy, develop possibilities for enhanced EU – Georgian consultations on crisis management;

- Priority area 8: Transport and Energy: develop intensive cooperation in order to ensure the gradual inclusion of Georgia in the Trans European Networks, continue cooperation on Caspian and Black Sea regional energy issues.

As we can see, the Plan was very broad, focused on different topics, such as rule of law, climate, regional cooperation, justice, foreign and security policy, transport and energy. It is also interesting to see that, at the end, the European approach prevailed on the Georgian one: a long term approach program has been adopted and the eight priority areas represent the interest of the EU to intervene in different areas; but it is also interesting to underline that the peaceful conflict resolution has been listed only as "Priority area 6".Even if, for sure, it was one of the priorities, more importance has been given to other areas with a stronger impact and maybe more benefits in the long period.

The interesting point of the ENP and the Action Plan is that it can be implemented in all the three theories presented before. The ENP can be assumed to be implemented within the realist framework because of a selfish European approach to neighborhood countries, so to impose democracy and create a peaceful zone around EU territory; but it can be also applied to the liberalist and constructivist theories: in particular, democratic liberalism, since democracy is the best and most peaceful Government structure a country could have, while for constructivism, the promotion of democracy by the EU is due to its perception by the citizens as a promoter of peace, security and democracy all around the world.

3.3.3 EUJUST Themis

During a meeting held on the 6th April 2004 between the High Representative Javier Solana and Saakashvili, the Georgian President asked for more European support in the field of rule of law and few month after, the Council of the European union adopted the Joint Action 2004/523/CFSP which launched, on the 15th July, the Rule of Law Mission EUJUST Themis (Council of the European Union 2004).

The goal of this civil mission was to help Georgia in the reform of the criminal justice sector and was divided in four different phases: assistance to the Government in the draft of a new justice sector reform strategy; support Georgian authorities in judicial reforms and anti-corruption activities; provide support for a new legislation and support the development of Georgian relations with the other actors in the international system, in order to reinforce the international cooperation in the criminal justice sector (Popescu 2007, p.10). The objective was to include Georgia in the international system as an important actor.

The civilian nature of the mission implied the absence of armed forces and the presence of technical experts, such as judges, prosecutors and penitentiary experts.

Georgian Government, absolutely collaborative, guaranteed legal support to the technical experts and adopted a decree on co-operation, allowing the European personnel to be placed in the different Government branches, such as the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Interior, the General Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Court of Georgia, the High Council of Justice and the Public Defender's Office, Court of Appeal Tbilisi and the City Prosecutor's Office Tbilisi (Popescu & Gnedina 2006, p. 7). The head of the mission was the French Judge Sylvie Pantz, who already participated in a similar mission in Bosnia during the previous years. The mission worked very well and one of the most important achievements was the Strategy for Criminal Justice Reform made by the Georgian Government only one year after the beginning of the mission. The role of the EU was not only to support the Georgian Government, but also to change the way Georgian experts worked, in order to be autonomous during the next years and be capable of new reforms if needed (Popescu & Gnedina 2006, p. 8). This is another example of the EU long term approach.

3.3.4 Monitoring Mission

When the Border Monitoring Mission (BMO) of the OSCE finished at the end of 2004, Georgian Government asked to the EU to replace it with an European Monitoring Mission.

The possibilities for the EU were four: a whole replacement of the OSCE BMO; support an external mission, a so called "coalition of the willing" mission; a training mission for Georgian forces; help the Georgian Government in the border reform (Popescu 2007, p. 10). The plan was not supported by all the European Member States (many of them were not so confident about a further intervention), but at the end, the EU decided to engage in the process and to support Georgian Government in the reform process, maintaining a low profile with a support mission (Popescu & Gnedina 2006, p. 10): the European team was a small one, composed of thirteen experts plus seven Georgians. Even if the EUSR Monitoring Mission was properly aimed to support Georgia in the

border reform system, its goal was also to maintain a good relationship between Georgia and Russia (or at least avoid the situation could get worse) (Popescu 2007 11).

For the whole period of the BMO, the European and Georgian representatives worked together and in November 2005the EUSR Border Support Team prepared a document with some advises for the Georgian Government on the border management. The most important recommendation was to use expert soldiers for the border surveillance instead of draftees, not able to deal with a so delicate matter (Popescu & Gnedina 2006, p. 11).

3.3.5 EUMM and the mediation during the Five Days War

Four years after the BMO, on the 12th August 2008, the French President and the President of the Russian Federation, Nicolas Sarkozy and Dmitrij Medvedev signed a peace agreement on the end of the war based on six points (Calleja 2013):

- Do not resort to the use of force;
- The absolute cessation of all hostilities;
- Free access to humanitarian assistance;
- The Armed Forces of Georgia must withdraw to their permanent positions;
- The Armed Forces of the Russian Federation must withdraw to the line where they were stationed prior to the beginning of hostilities. Prior to the establishment of international mechanisms the Russian peacekeeping forces will take additional security measures;
- An international debate on the future status of South Ossetia and Abkhazia and ways to ensure their lasting security will take place.

On 8th September Sarkozy and Medvedev implemented the peace plan, adopting an Agreement on Implement Measures, which foresaw the retirement of Russian troops and civil personnel from Georgia and from the border with South Ossetia and Abkhazia. But they also agreed that United Nations (UN) and the OSCE would have continued with their mandate respectively in Abkhazia and South Ossetia (Calleja 2013).

One week after, on 15th September, the Joint Action 008/736/CFSP on the EUMM Georgia was adopted by the Council of the European Union. The Joint action stated that (Council of Europe 2009, pp. 13- 14):

- EUMM Georgia shall provide civilian monitoring of Parties' actions, including full compliance with the six-point Agreement and subsequent implementing measures throughout Georgia, working in close coordination with partners, particularly the

UN and the OSCE, and consistent with other EU activity, in order to contribute to stabilization, normalization and confidence building whilst also contributing to create a European policy in support of a durable political solution for Georgia;

- The particular objectives of the Mission shall be:
  - o To contribute to long-term stability throughout Georgia and the surrounding region;
  - o In the short term, the stabilization of the situation with a reduced risk of a resumption of hostilities, in full compliance with the six-point Agreement and the subsequent implementing measures.

Even if the objective of the EUMM was to monitor the implementation of the peace agreement, the EU added some other goals, such as the monitoring of the respect of human rights, of the functioning of the Government, the repatriation of refugees and in order to have a greater impact, decided to cooperate with the already ongoing NATO, UN and OSCE missions in the country (Nederland Instituut voor Militaire Historie). A clear example was the NATO personnel which support European representatives with support in the medical sector.

3.4 New European Programs in the Southern Caucasus and Georgia

3.4.1 Eastern Partnership

The first attempt to establish a tangible Eastern Partnership (EaP) was made in 2008 by Poland and Sweden. It was then initiated the year after in May, during a meeting held in Prague: the goal of this partnership with six eastern countries (Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan) was the establishment of a political association and the development of a further economic integration in the international system (Rinnert 2011, p. 9).

After the first attempt and, two events represented the boost for the development of this EaP and it became effective after the meeting of Prague: the launch of the of the Union for the Mediterranean and the war in 2008 caused by Georgian – Russian hostilities, which contributed to the formation of a new pro-eastern coalition with the goal to convince EU member States of the importance of this partnership (Rinnert 2011, p. 9). The problem of the Joint Declaration of the Prague Meeting was the silence on conflict resolutions (one more time, the main focus was not on this topic)even if it paid a lot of attention on "the need for their earliest peaceful settlements on the basis of principles and norms of the international law" (Mikhelidze 2009, p. 4). The conflict resolution was, of course, an important matter, but it was not the best way for long term programs and, as already said in the previous paragraphs, the focus was on other issues.

This "problem" was related to the conception of the EaP as an eastern dimension of the ENP, based on positive conditionality, joint ownership and differentiation (Rinnert 2011, p. 10) and the conflict resolution through an indirect engagement: promotion of good governance and democracy, participation in long term programs, modernization of political and administrative infrastructures (Mikhelidze 2009, p. 5).

The EaP, even if related to the ENP, differs on the instruments used to reach its goals (Rinnert 2011, p. 10):

- Multilateral confidence building on democracy, economic integration, energy security and contacts between people;
- Association Agreements based on reform performances;
- Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements, for the inclusion of these countries in a free trade area;
- Harmonization of the national legislation with the European acquis communautaire.

The EnP, being a branch of the ENP, could be implemented within the realist framework, since it could be said that the attention of the EU to the Region is due to a selfish nature of its interests, but the most appropriated connection is with the liberalist and constructivist theories, because of the importance democracy, economic development and integration, harmonization of national legislation with the EU one, contacts with people. These are all elements that could be found within these two theories.

3.4.2 Non-Recognition and Engagement Policy

The situation in Georgia was a very difficult one to deal with, so it was necessary for the EU to find alternatives for the conflict management and confidence building in the conflict zones.

The Political and Security Committee of the Council of the EU formulated the so called "Non-Recognition and Engagement strategy", with the goal to support the resolution of the conflicts in the two regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, but recognizing the Georgian territorial integrity. In other words, a EU engagement on the ground but a non recognition policy of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as States (Smolnik 2012, p. 3).

This policy has been developed after a common refusal of the international community to recognize the independence of these two regions and they could risk get isolated. The EU could not be the only international actor to recognize their independent status, so they decided to develop this policy,

useful for keeping contacts with the two populations, civil society and local authorities (Kirova2012, p. 46).

The NREP was based on different principles (Fischer 2011, p. 3):

- The European commitment to the Georgian territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- Contact with the authorities of the regions of Abkhazia and Ossetia for the promotion of confidence building and conflict resolution;
- Avoid isolation of the two regions through contacts with civil society and populations;
- Keep contacts with Russian forces and authorities only if necessary for the conflict resolution, given their role.

The NREP, even if based on a non-recognition approach, was aimed to a de-isolation process of the two regions, favoring the establishment of a European perspective as an alternative to the Russian one and favoring the contacts between people with rehabilitation and education programs (Smolnik 2012, p. 3).

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

In the following analysis, I will discuss the theories previously explained. I will apply them to the empirical data of the overview in order to find an answer to the problem formulation stated at the beginning of the thesis, **"How did the European Union approach the conflicts in Georgia?"**. This part will be very useful since it allows confirming or invalidating the three theories, helping to understand what kind of approach the EU used towards the conflicts in Georgia.

4.1 Realism

According to realism, humans are selfish and the main objective of the States is the search for more power in an anarchic international system. The search for more power is always due to the inevitability of the conflicts and the State power as a tool for survival.

In general, realism does not look like the proper theory to explain the involvement of the EU in the international system, especially if we are talking about conflict management.

The first point against this theory is the conception of the EU as a civil power and whatever follows it, such as the promotion of democratic principles, human rights etc…Realism has not the possibility to explain the way the EU applies its power all over the world, since it is not a military power, in term of material resources, it is not an hard power (conceived as a military one), but it is soft power, applied through the spread of democratic principles, economic power, etc… which allow the EU to affect neighborhood countries and non-European countries as well, but by the way, realism is not completely ruled out.

Conflicts, the search for power and the hegemonic role in the international system, selfish Governments and people are elements not considered in the EU, which in general has a completely different approach.

Being done with a general approach to theory, it is possible to use parts of the empirical part and try to understand if realism can be applied to some points of the EU intervention in Georgia, even if in general, it is not so suitable.

Going into details, it is worth to see if realism is suitable or not within the framework of the two missions of the EU in Georgia.

The two missions are the EUJUST Themis and a Monitoring Mission following the OSCE one. The details have been already explained, so it would be useless to make a deep explanation of them; the important thing here is just to say that both of them were "civilian missions": the first one was a rule of law intervention, aimed to the reform of the criminal and justice sector, while the objective

of the second was to avoid further conflicts. In this case as well, the elements of realism do not properly reflect the European approach, but they can be applied to the realist theory if we think about them from a different point of view: the EU intervened in Georgia because of a selfish interest.

This element can also be individuated in the ENP. This policy is aimed, as already said, to the implementation and reinforcement of democracy in the Region, the creation of a ring of well governed and peaceful countries around the EU: in general, this policy is not so well connected to the realist theory, but in some way, it could be seen by a realist point of view. The development of peace and democracy is a fundamental objective of the EU, so it could be conceived as a selfish one and the interest towards these countries is basically due to a "national interest" of the EU and Member States: develop democracy, create stable and peaceful countries, so not to have any worries about conflicts around and the possibility to develop a good economy and international market, so to develop international transactions and commerce. This selfish European objective could be related to the concept of coercion: a more stable and peaceful Georgia would be much more fruitful for the EU, both in terms of economic (transnational activities) and politically (no more worries for conflicts), so, from a realist point of view, the EU used its normative power to force Georgia to undertake a process of democratization of its Government and political structure (Jackson & Sørensen 1999, p. 83).

The lack of a military intervention (even if not always necessary), the deployment of an army, or at least, national armed forces, demonstrates that realism, considering the concrete intervention of the EU, is not a suitable theory, with the only small exception of the ENP and EaP.

It is not only because the EU is a civil and peaceful power, conflicts are not a prerogative and no one in the EU wants to reach an hegemonic position in the international system; on the contrary, the only objective is to create a peaceful ring of countries around the European community, spread its fundamental principles and influence other Governments and populations to create a society based on the respect of democracy and peace and the realist approach could be implemented only if we look at the ENP and the EU missions in Georgia from a different point of view: not because of the interests of the population of the region, but because of European national interests.

4.2 Liberalism
The basic points of liberalism are the opposite of realism: it has an optimistic view of human nature; States are able to cooperate and avoid conflicts and the structure of the international system is defined by the choices of the States.

On the contrary of realism, liberalism, at least on a theoretical prospect, seems to be a more suitable theory to explain the nature of the European foreign policy and the decisions taken regarding conflict involvement and management.

The first point in favor of liberalism is the perception of the role of EU in the international realm: the perception of the EU as a "civil power" with a strong influence on other countries, a lack of armed forces and an important role of the principles of democracy, development and peace worldwide, which represent some of the basic points of this theory, together with the importance of cooperation and interdependence, the possibility to avoid conflicts through the definition and promotion of common goals. The EU was born as a tool to create and maintain peace in Europe; after its success inside its territory, during the years, the EU expanded its competences all over the world (as we can see in the maps in the previous chapter).

Considering in details the programs of EU in Georgia, it is possible to identify different characteristics of liberalist theory, such as cooperation, interdependence, the importance of other actors beyond States and most important, the exclusion of an armed engagement for military or economic selfish purposes.

The first European intervention in the region corresponds to the launch of the PCA, aimed to reinforce cooperation between the EU and Georgia. But as already said, it operated within the framework of the TACIS program. This EU program demonstrates that the European engagement, worth to say it was not a military one, was not due to selfish purposes or because of the necessity to gain or reinforce an hegemonic position, but together with the TRACECA and INOGATE programs, it was aimed to stabilize Georgia and the two regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, through economic development and regional cooperation (which can also be conceived as a possible way to interdependence, since the development of a democratic government structure could be beneficial for both parties).

The CPN as well is an important demonstration of the impact of liberalism on the EU engagement: the role of this network of NGOs, sponsored by the European Member States, was to support the EU intervention, providing recommendations and advice EU representatives. This represents the importance of other actors beyond the States in the international system, in this case NGOs, which are important for formation of the structure of the international system and play an important role within the framework of international relations, since they can influence and help national Governments and Institutions (Rourke 2009, p. 19). This is represented by other European programs within the region: together with the CPN, the EU launched three more programs, the EIDHR, the

RRM and the Decentralized Cooperation, which were aimed to increase the role of the NGOs and create a feeling of confidence building between the actors in conflict. The creation of this feeling of confidence building was important to create e great level of interdependence, useful to decrease the probability of further conflicts.

A very good example of the implementation of liberalist theory within the framework of the EU engagement in Georgia is the ENP Action Plan. In order to avoid further repetition in this chapter, I will only list its eight priority areas and not their details: rule of law, business investments, economic development, cooperation in the justice sector, regional cooperation, peaceful conflict resolution, and cooperation in the Foreign Policy framework, transport and energy.

This demonstrates that the EU decided to operate in different areas, most of them related to democracy and the well functioning of the country, with a "civil" engagement: the rule of law, economic development, the justice sector and regional cooperation, peaceful conflict resolution, are all areas which could help to improve the democratic structure of one country, with infinite consequences in the international system (more prone to international cooperation, few possibilities of conflicts etc…). The civil intervention in different areas demonstrates the willing of the EU to help Georgia to become a fully democratic country.

Now it is worth to focus on the four different branches of liberalism (which are democratic, interdependence, institutional and sociological liberalism) and try to understand if this theory can be applied to our case not only on a general perspective.

Starting with the institutional liberalism, it is possible to say that there are not so many elements that can be applied in our case. As already said, the basic concept of this branch is that States, due to a high level of interdependence, transfer their sovereignty to an international organization, which will be responsible for common issues and needs. Georgia is not part of the EU or any other organization and did not transfer its sovereignty to a higher institutional body. So this can be excluded from our analysis (Lamy 2011, p. 121).

The other three, instead, present many elements that can be applied to liberalist theory. Democratic liberalism is maybe the most evident: as already said, all the programs of the EU in Georgia are aimed to economic development (which can indirectly lead to or reinforce democracy in one country), democratic development and institutional reforms. The basic idea is that democratic States do not engage in conflicts with other democratic countries and the EU, through all its programs, aimed to reinforce the democratic structure of the Georgian Government, so it could better be involved in the international system and be deterred from other conflicts, outside or inside its

territory. Democracy is also an instrument for a peaceful conflict resolution and this was another goal of the EU. Two key points in favor of this branch are the ENP and the EaP (even if, in some way, they have been combined to realism): the objective of this policy and this Eastern partnership are, simply said, the development of democracy and the creation of a peaceful ring of countries around Europe. But it is important as well the focus put on economic development and the inclusion of these countries in a free trade area through the sign of Free Trade Agreements (Giusti 2008, p. 209).

This focus is a good basis for the implementation of the EU engagement in Georgia within the other two branches of liberalism, since economic development and a free trade area reflects the importance of interdependence: economic reforms in the country are a basic element for development, for the possibility of its involvement in the international system and the boost for a peaceful identity, based on the respect of minorities and human rights.

Economic interdependence represent as well a good way to link the people of two different countries or regions. The EU aimed to the development of transport, energy, business investments not only for democracy, but also to prepare Georgia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia to be part of the International Community, to be actors in an always more globalized economy, in order to create a great level of interdependence, not only between these three actors, but also between the people, because when people are interconnected, also their Governments are as well, providing a good instrument for conflict prevention and the establishment of good economic and sociological relationship (Lamy 2011, p. 121).

After the analysis of this theory, it is possible to say that there are many elements in common between the EU foreign policy, the EU intervention in Georgia and the liberalist theory. All the points presented in the theories chapter have been applied in the analysis with the exception of institutional liberalism, which basic assumptions are not useful for our case. But all the others presented a good basis for this thesis, starting with the general assumptions of the first liberalist scholars and finishing with the three branches of liberalism left.

4.3 Constructivism

The constructivist theory, for many of its basic assumptions, is very similar to the liberalist one: human beings are not considered as selfish and their nature is not defined but liable to change; they are cooperative and conflicts can be avoided through communication and the spread of common peaceful ideas and the definition of common goals. Another important element is the importance of

NGOs, IOs etc… as fundamental actors in the international system, whose structure is defined by the decisions and actions of these actors (Rourke 2009, p. 19).

The assumption of proclaiming the peaceful conflict management towards Georgia as a means to sharpen reputation at global level has its explanation in the roots of the EU as a civil and normative power. In the same way of liberalist theory, this idea refers to the EU's identity, which predisposes the EU to act in a normative way, such as diffusion of democratic norms and is strongly related to the basic assumptions of the constructivist theory (Thuy Nguyen 2014, p. 24).

This is mainly because of the initial design of European integration, directed towards States, which pooled their resources and power (in some areas, since the EU is still an intergovernmental institution) to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty, and since it worked after the biggest conflict, the Second World War, during the history of mankind, it could work as well in the framework of smaller conflicts in smaller regions. This demonstrates the coherence and consistency of EU policy making, guided by ethical values (democratic values, human rights, peace, freedom).

The European approach towards Georgia has been shaped according to the EU's perception of the situation. This is another important element of constructivism, according to which foreign policy is shaped according to the perception that one actor has of the others in the international system. Its approach has been based, as already said in the overview and when the liberalist theory has been analyzed, on a peaceful approach, focused on economic development and reforms, because it has been perceived as the best one and with strongest benefits on the long term.

But it would also be interesting to understand why the EU decided to engage in this complicated situation, since already Russia was trying to deal with these conflicts. Beyond what we said in the previous parts (necessity of the presence of democratic countries in the neighborhood, the spread of democracy etc…), it could also be said that the EU acted in order to be perceived, one more time, as a legitimate important actor in the international system: following what is called "logic of appropriateness", the EU based its foreign policy to the issue on social norms (mainly democratic ones) and decided to deal with the conflicts demonstrating that it can be perceived a good actor, which bases its behavior on social acceptance and ideas.

Constructivism as well presents many elements in common with our case, especially the ones which concern the initial design of the EU: it was born as an instrument to avoid wars in Europe and during the years shaped its identity on the principle of democracy, rule of law and respect for human rights and it is still shaping EU actions all over the world.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This chapter is dedicated to find an answer to the problem formulation stated at the beginning of the thesis: "How did the European Union approach the conflicts in Georgia?".

After the presentation of three theories (realism, liberalism and constructivism), a presentation of the conflicts in the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the EU engagement, EU approach and policies towards the conflicts and Georgia, it is now possible to provide an answer.

It is never so easy to provide an answer to this kind of questions, since there could be many different approaches and it is really important to say, again, that the answer which will be provided for this specific case is not a general one: the analysis made for this thesis is a specific one, since it has been based on one specific case study, so it will not be possible to use it for other purposes, even if the answer provided could be used for other cases in the future.

A good way to find an answer could be, at first, an attempt to rule out the theories that are not useful for this purpose.

The first theories, which is realism, has been useful only to analyze from a specific point of view the ENP: this policy is aimed to the promotion of democracy in the neighborhood countries and from a realist point of view, this is due to a selfish European interest, since it is really important for the EU to have a circle of democratic countries around its territory.

Since there is only one element of realism and it is only a different point of view, it is possible to say that this theory can be excluded from the process.

Liberalism and constructivism, on the other hand, seems to be two more suitable theories: firstly, they better represent which is the European approach to foreign affairs, in particular to the conflict management issue.

Having analyzed all the basic principles of these two theories and implemented them within the framework of this case study, it is possible to say that the EU used a mix of a liberalist and constructivist approach to deal with the conflicts in the regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

It is possible to say because of many evidences: it has been stated that democracy was an important factor which pushed for the EU intervention in the country; the importance given to NGOs and other actors through the several programs activated to boost the economic development and democracy within the country and the two regions; the inclusion of Georgia within the ENP (even if

it can be seen from a realist point of view); the sign of the EaP. These are all elements which help to say that many elements of the liberalist theory shaped the EU to approach to the situation.

The principle of EU integration, which defined during the years the European identity, boosted the EU intervention, legitimating the EU as one of the most important actors in the international system. These elements, instead, represents the constructivist approach the EU had toward this situation.

Now it is possible to state the approach the EU had towards the conflicts in Georgia has been shaped by a liberalist and constructivist point of view: already the general conception of the EU as a civil power helped to have an idea, but all these elements served as concrete evidence.

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