

# DESCnet

Jean Monnet Network DESCnet  
Developing European Studies in the Caucasus  
Newsletter 1/2018

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# 1 – Editorial

Dear friends and colleagues,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to the 9th issue of the DESCnet newsletter!

As you know, DESCnet stands for the Network for Developing European Studies in the Caucasus. The institutes of higher education that are located in the EU and the Eastern European countries established our consortium. Thanks to the support through the European Union's Erasmus+ Jean Monnet activities, DESCnet has been able to contribute to the socialisation process between the academic communities based in the EU and non-EU countries. Our summer schools not only provided an excellent opportunity to debate various pressing topics but also to discuss the European values and norms.

The forthcoming DESCnet Summer School, to be held in Istanbul on July 9-13, will serve as an opportunity to discuss various examples of regional cooperation. It aims to provide a comprehensive knowledge of the different aspects and the key challenges for regional cooperation in the South Caucasus. The Summer School will serve as an opportunity for advanced undergraduate and graduate students interested in the South Caucasus. Distinguished academics, experienced practitioners, and recognised local experts dealing with the politics of the South Caucasus, the wider Black Sea area, European studies, will deliver the lectures. Various sessions will focus on these key questions, aiming to illuminate and analyse how various examples of regional cooperation i.e., EU, Eurasian Union, ECO, BSEC, GUAM overlap and coexist in the South Caucasus.

The Summer School will also encourage further discussion about how the foreign policy orientation of the three South Caucasus countries derives from the dynamics of the sub-region they belong to.

The achievements of the summer schools are the direct effects of the activities of DESCnet. However, it has also endeavoured to serve as a platform bringing together talents interested in European Studies in the region and promoted regional studies by attracting many people with scholarly interests in the studies on the EU and South Caucasus.



**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mukhtar HAJIZADA**  
*Fulbright Fellow, Davis Center at Harvard University*  
*Jean Monnet Chair, Azerbaijan (2014-17)*  
*Founding Chair, the Azerbaijani European Studies Association*

## 2 — Upcoming DESCnet events

### **Second Annual Convention of the Association of European Studies for the Caucasus "Divided over European Values? Normative Cleavages in the South Caucasus and the Impact of the EU - Russia - Turkey Value Discourse" Tbilisi (Georgia), 12 – 13 April 2018**



On 12 and 13 April 2018, the Second Annual Convention of the Association of European Studies for the Caucasus (AESC) will be held in Tbilisi. It is an open event and there is no admission charge. However, all interested are asked to pre-register on the AESC website at <http://aesc-online.eu>.

The Convention will be held at the premises of Ilia State University (12 April) and New Vision University (13 April). It features a prominent roundtable, panels by young and experienced researchers, and for the first time so-called junior panels from selected universities. At the end of the Convention, the General Assembly of AESC will be held. All AESC members will receive a separate invitation to this event.

For presenters, there will be the possibility to publish their papers in a new book series that AESC will launch in collaboration with Ibidem Publishers and Cambridge University Press. It will be entitled "European Studies in the Caucasus" and will cover the most important papers from the 2018 Convention as well as of the upcoming conventions in Odessa (2019), Baku (2020) and Tbilisi (2021). In addition, presenters who are members of the AESC have the possibility of publishing their research in the AESC Working Paper Series online. The Working Paper Series includes a peer-review service so that presenters are encouraged to pursue further publication in international peer-reviewed journals.

#### *Venues:*

*Ilia State University, 32, Chavchavadze Ave.  
A-Building A101 and A103 (12 April)  
and*

*New Vision University, 11 Nodar Bokhua Street (13 April)*

The final programme is built upon the following panels:

#### **Thursday, 12 April 2018**

- *Roundtable:* Selling" the EU to Abkhazia: Normative Power Europe as a Tool for Conflict Resolution?
- *Panel 1:* Neighbourhoods and Regionalism: Shifting Borderlines of Inclusion and Exclusion
- *Panel 2:* The Degree of Europeanisation of the Eastern Partnership Countries
- *Panel 3:* The EU's Foreign Policy Strategy towards the South Caucasus: Perspectives and Challenges
- *Panel 4:* Memories, Identities and Modernisation Compared
- *Junior Panel 1:* Brusov State University of Languages and Social Sciences (Armenia)

#### **Friday, 13 April 2018**

- *Panel 6:* The Role of Russia in the South Caucasus
- *Panel 7:* Secularisation and Globalisation Compared
- *Junior Panel 2:* Yeditepe University, Istanbul
- *Panel 8:* Armenia's Rapprochement with the EU: A Back Door to Europeanisation.
- *Panel 9:* Georgia in Transformation

## 2 – Upcoming DESCnet events

### **Summer School “European Integration and Rivalry between Regional Integrational Systems in the Caucasus”, Yeditepe University, Istanbul (Turkey), 9-13 July 2018**

The Summer School, held under the directorship of Prof. Mukhtar Hajizada (Harvard University, formerly Khazar University, Baku) in co-operation with Yeditepe University, will provide comprehensive knowledge on the key challenges for regional co-operation in the Caucasus in the context of comparative regionalism. The School's objective is to enable students to develop ways of putting the politics and economy of the Caucasus into a framework in which they can compare and contrast the Caucasus with other major examples of regional integration existing / emerging in the wider neighbourhood. The Caucasus remains to be one of the problematic areas of the globe where regional co-operation has not taken its roots due to the territorial claims between the countries. It thus aims to introduce students to the selected aspects of the integration processes encompassing the Caucasus and provide the participants with an understanding of the current challenges for regional co-operation.

Topics to be covered include:

- Integration theories;
- Regional / state identities in the South Caucasus;
- The Caucasus in the global context;
- Energy security in the South Caucasus;
- So-called frozen conflicts in the South Caucasus;
- Cross Border Co-operation;
- South Caucasus and the revival of the ancient Silk Road;
- Foreign Policy of the three South Caucasus countries;
- The South Caucasus countries and the EU, the Eurasian Union, and the Non-Aligned Movement;
- EU's policy towards South Caucasus;
- Russia's policy towards South Caucasus;
- Turkey's policy towards South Caucasus;
- The future of the South Caucasus.

Upon completion of the School, students will:

- (i) be able to apply and relate conceptual and theoretical knowledge that underpins the course to the real economic and political processes of the Caucasus;
- (ii) have a better understanding of the historical evolution as well as present positioning of the South Caucasus in the global and regional context;
- (iii) have developed a nuanced understanding of the key issues in considering future cooperation in the area.

The School's pedagogical approach will be based on a combination of lectures, discussions and presentations. Lectures will be given by distinguished academics, experienced practitioners, and recognised local experts dealing with the politics of the South Caucasus, the wider Black Sea area, European Studies, etc. Students will be responsible for reading the course materials carefully ahead of class. The seminars will be discussion-focused. Therefore, active participation in class discussions is expected and will be a crucial determinant for student evaluation. Lecture and seminar attendance as well as the field trips are mandatory, specifically, for the purpose of receiving credits.

All attendants will receive a certificate of attendance upon written request at the time of application. Academic credits will be awarded subject to a written examination. Attendance, active participation and presentations (individually or in groups) will be the requirement for admission to the examination. Upon successful completion of the Summer School, attendants will be granted 2 ECTS credits. The call for participation will be published shortly.

**Application deadline 30 April 2018.**





## 3 – Related upcoming events (cont.)

### **4<sup>th</sup> Eastern Platform – Tartu Seminar "All Quiet on the Western Front? EU- Russia Relations in the Age of Populisms", Tartu (Estonia), 6-7 April 2018**

*Eastern Platform-Tartu Seminar* is a multi-disciplinary initiative aiming to analyse and better understand the most recent development in the relations between the EU and Russia and their shared neighbourhood, starting from the Ukrainian crisis of 2014, and the ensuing deterioration of relations between the West and Moscow by creating a unified resource and network of academics studying the post-socialist space. It has the ambition to develop and grow as a forum and incubator to promote high-quality research and knowledge-sharing on the broader post-Soviet space.

The seminar aims not only to map the challenges to the instable development of the EU-Russia relations, but also to understand and conceptually frame these challenges and their expansive potential within the former Soviet space and at the global level. Selected contributions will address the following issues:

1. From Baltic to Caucasus: An Emerging "Illiberal Belt" and its Security Dimension;
2. Multi-Vectored Neighbourhood: Which Choice for Those who Do not Want to Choose?
3. Empowering the Margins? Rethinking Centre-Periphery Relations in Europe;
4. Russia's Western Friends: Betting on the Wrong Horse?
5. 100 Years of Baltic Independence: Which Challenges Ahead?

Traditional "Young voices" panel and a presentation of the recent publication "Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics: Power and Resistance", edited by prof. Andrey Makarychev (Tartu) and Katerina Smaglyi (Kyiv) will coincide the event.

### **Third Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies Reflecting on Nation-Statehood in Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia." University of Tartu, Tartu (Estonia), 10 – 12 June 2018**

The University of Tartu, as part of a consortium with Kent and Uppsala, will host the Third Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies. The Tartu Conference is a venue for academic discussion of the fundamental cultural, social, economic and political trends affecting all aspects of people's life in Russia and Eastern Europe. Inaugurated in June 2016, this forum brings together scholars from across multiple disciplines, from the region and beyond. As in previous years, the organisers expect the number of participants to reach or exceed 200.

The year 2018 marks a century since the introduction of nation-statehood as the main frame for political, cultural and economic life for the peoples of Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia. While the discursive and cultural roots of nationhood go back at least another one hundred years, until the First World War the region was dominated by three multi-ethnic empires. Their collapse was a decisive moment, which established popular sovereignty as the key organising principle. Its implementation, however, took decades and, in more than one sense, is still incomplete. While remaining the principal foundation for democracy, nation-statehood continues to present a broad range of intellectual challenges until this day.

The conference is organized jointly by the Centre for EU-Russia Studies at the University of Tartu, the Global Europe Centre at the University of Kent, and the Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Uppsala University. The conference will be supported by the European Commission under a Horizon 2020 Twinning project entitled "Building Research Excellence in Russian and East European Studies at the Universities of Tartu, Uppsala and Kent" ([UPTAKE](#)).

## 3 – Related upcoming events (cont.)

### **VI. Joint Student Conference "Caucasus at the Crossroads. Challenges to Regional Stability"**

**International Black Sea University / Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi (Georgia), 5 May 2018**

The topic of the conference is extremely comprehensive and focuses on a variety of issues from regional security to economic development and human rights. Therefore, it brings motivated students to participate in the conference and encourages to discuss the regional stability from different perspectives. The participants will have the opportunity to introduce works about the issues which is related with the challenges in Caucasus region and influences on it. The goal of the event is to increase the knowledge of young people from various fields bringing potential leaders and researchers together in order to contribute to the dialogue on regional stability in the Caucasus.

The conference includes the following sections: Economics, International Relations, Public Administration & Political Science, Journalism, and Interdisciplinary section. Junior and Senior-year students of BA Programme, as well as MA students from universities accredited in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia can participate. The working languages of the conference will be Georgian and English.

Academic commission, which consists of the experienced field specialists, will choose the best work from each of the sections author(s) of which will be awarded with 100GEL present card from the Faculty of Social Sciences, IBSU. The best works will be published. The best authors from the Public Administration session will be awarded with the different literature from the Public Administration and State Governance BA Program administration. Each paper presenter will receive the certificate of participation. There is no participation fee.

Applicants willing to participate in the conference are asked to submit an abstract by March 11, 2018 23:55 local time to the following e-mail: [Caucasus@ibsu.edu.ge](mailto:Caucasus@ibsu.edu.ge)

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Ralph T. Fisher Workshop**

**"The Caucasus and Central Asia in Conversation: The Importance of Stories and Archives from the Soviet and Post-Soviet Periphery"**

**University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (USA), 15 – 16 June 2018**

The Caucasus and Central Asia have often been understood through the lens of the Russian centre, in terms of the categories that emerged from Moscow and St. Petersburg, and through the centralised archives and libraries that many scholars have used to study these regions. This workshop explores what can be gained—conceptually and methodologically—by centring the archives and stories from these regions. How can we transcend a history of the Caucasus and Central Asia that has defined these regions primarily in terms of their relationship with the Russian centre? How do we create such histories without overemphasising the centrality of the nation as a category of analysis? How can we write transnational and local histories that go beyond both the nation and the binary of centre and periphery?

Key to these questions is the role of sources and methodology. What constitutes a peripheral archive and how does an insistence on such archives and stories upend or complicate our understandings of the Caucasus and Central Asia as regions? What peripheral stories can be found in central archives and spaces? What are the challenges involved in finding and using such stories?

For this second annual Fisher Workshop, we welcome contributions from scholars that address these larger questions within their own research to engage in discussion and work-shopping of pre-circulated papers over 2 days. Contributions are not limited thematically, but should relate to the Soviet or post-Soviet Caucasus and Central Asia. Please send a 300-500 word abstract on your paper topic and a short CV by March 1st, 2018 to [fisherworkshop@gmail.com](mailto:fisherworkshop@gmail.com).

## 3 — Related upcoming events (cont.)

### **2018 International Neighbourhood Symposium (INS)**

#### **"Managing Change in Europe's Neighbourhoods"**

**Odessa (Ukraine), 19 – 24 June 2018**

The Symposium's theme for 2018 is "Managing Change in Europe's Neighbourhoods". It will be organised by the Center for International and European Studies (CIES) in partnership with *UA: Ukraine Analytica*, the Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism", and Quadrivium.

The INS aims principally to contribute to further co-operation and understanding in Europe's Neighbourhoods, by providing a forum for study and dialogue in a multicultural and interdisciplinary environment. The Eastern Neighbourhood, the Mediterranean South, and Southeastern Europe are shared neighbourhoods of the European Union (EU), its member states, and Turkey. While each is distinct with its own historical, political, social, cultural, and economic characteristics; their proximity suggests synergies across many sectors such as energy, sustainable development, and migration as well as more immaterial concepts such as identity, culture, and democracy.

Europe's neighbourhoods have serious security considerations to deal with implications for the rest of the world. While understanding the key dynamics is essential, it is also important to debate and explore the potential and opportunities for change and the role of changemakers in these regions.

During the first two days of the symposium, expert discussions led both by experienced and junior experts/practitioners/educators will bring the spotlight on a number of societal, political, and security concerns such as Europe in flux; developments in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South; the security context; the energy dynamics; civic engagement, democracy, and individual freedoms; sustainable development; migration; and youth empowerment. Days 3 and 4 will be dedicated to the peer-to-peer workshops whereby participants will prepare project proposal concepts emanating from cooperation with each other.

The **deadline for applications was Sunday, 18 March 2018.**

### **The Marshrutka Project Summer School 2: Eurasian Mobilities in a Global Perspective**

**Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig (Germany) and Tbilisi State University,**

**Tbilisi (Georgia), 25 – 30 June 2018**

The PhD Summer School is embedded in the research project "Fluid mobilities for cities in transformation: spatial dynamics of marshrutkas in Central Asia and the Caucasus" (Marshrutka Project). Within the scope of the project, we want to gain insights into transformation processes through the lens of changing mobility practices. The Summer School on Eurasian Mobilities in a Global Perspective invites advanced doctoral students, post-doctoral and early career-researchers from diverse disciplines, such as geography, urban studies, anthropology, social and political sciences, to contribute to two thematic packages:

- Mobilities and socio-spatial change in Eurasian Cities;
- Informal transport and ride-sharing in the global North and South.

The primary goal of the Summer School is to initiate collaborative publication projects related to the two thematic packages. We therefore expect a full paper draft to be submitted timely before the start of the Summer School, in order to advance the joint publication project in relevant high-profile journals. Building on this, the Summer School offers [1] an opportunity to share, discuss, and receive feedback for publication drafts, [2] training sessions on publishing and career planning, [3] thematic keynote talks, and [4] mobility-themed field trips, and [5] a few day's long retreat to the mountainous town Stepantsminda (Kazbegi).

The Summer School is designed to encourage transnational interdisciplinary discussions and provide high impact feedback and networking opportunities for its participants. Besides offering a unique and understudied thematic focus, we offer a cozy and thorough working environment. The Summer School participants will consist of PhD students, post-doctoral researchers and early career researchers, senior academic project partners from Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Tajik, Russian, Georgian and German academic institutions.

## 3 – Related upcoming events (cont.)

### **9<sup>th</sup> East Asian Conference on Slavic-Eurasian Studies**

**"Globalisation and Modern Eurasia: History, Trends, Challenges for Change"  
Ulaanbaatar (Mongolia), 30 June – 1 July 2018**

The Mongolian Association for Central and Eastern Europe (MACEES) and the Institute of International Affairs, Mongolian Academy of Sciences will co-host the 9th East Asian Conference on Slavic-Eurasian Studies in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia on June 30 - July 1, 2018.

The main goal and objectives of the 9th East Asian conference on Slavic and Eurasian studies are to exchange views and opinions by researchers and academic scholars, facilitate constructive discussions on current and future challenges and to define possible ideas for their effective solutions. Under the framework of the general theme, the following topics will be presented and discussed during the conference:

- Eurasian development: history, advanced traditions; for instance, the Silk Road that has connected East to West back in XIII-XIV centuries, intersection of nomadic and settled civilisations, cultural and religious interchanges;
- Factors and frameworks for Eurasia development: external and internal policies, challenges of multi-pillar world order;
- An effective Eurasian co-operation mechanisms: possibilities and aspirations of integrating diverse interests of countries in the regions;
- Regional co-operation in the field of culture and humanity: comparative studies and interdisciplinary analysis of social sciences.

Under the framework of the general theme, presentations on political and economic studies, sociology and history, linguistics and literature, philosophy, anthropology and psychology and geographical studies will be welcomed. Each panel proposal must have at least three presenters, a chair, and no less than two discussants. Individual paper proposals are also cordially invited. The deadline for applications was 2 March 2018.

### **International Summer School on Migration, Baku (Azerbaijan), 1 – 7 July 2018**

The International Summer School on Migration is organised within the framework of two EU-funded projects, namely, the "Support to Implementation of the Mobility Partnership with Azerbaijan" (MOBILAZE) project and the "Sustaining Migration Management in Georgia" (ENIGMMA 2) project. Both projects are being implemented in Azerbaijan and Georgia by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) in close co-operation with Azerbaijani and Georgian state institutions involved in migration management.

The purpose and an ultimate objective of the one-week Summer School are to further develop and foster critical academic exchange and reflection on migration issues among master students and young professionals of different disciplines in Azerbaijan and Georgia. The programme of the Summer School focuses on research-oriented, multidisciplinary and innovative academic courses on issues related to the migration situation and policy in the EU as well as in Georgia and Azerbaijan. Understanding that frontal teaching hardly leads to effective achievement of learning objectives, the organisers of the Summer School specifically strive to provide the opportunity for participants to join different workshops, led by prominent migration experts in addition to the lectures. Teaching will be accompanied by research, practical exercises and interactive discussions. Finally, in order to have a complete learning cycle, participants will have the chance to develop, finalise and present small-scale projects during the Summer School (such as development of a survey, evaluation and legal analysis, etc.). International academia experts from *inter alia* the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, University of Sussex, the Sorbonne University School of Economics and the Maastricht University Graduate School of Governance, ICMPD as well as Azerbaijan and Georgia will lecture and mentor students.

**The deadline for applications is 31 March 2018.** For more information, please see <<http://www.enigmma.ge/summer-school/>>.



## 3 – Related upcoming events (cont.)

### 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Baku Summer Energy School ADA University, Baku (Azerbaijan) 8 – 21 July 2018

The Baku Summer Energy School (BSES) is an annual two-week certificate programme of the Caspian Center for Energy and Environment (CCEE) of ADA University, held in July in partnership with the State Oil Company of the Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR), British Petroleum in Azerbaijan and ExxonMobil. It brings together world-renowned scholars, academics and policy makers to examine and gain a better understanding of global energy and environment issues and their practical application. **The deadline for registration is 15 May 2018.** Specialists dealing with energy and environment related issues are warmly invited to attend.

BSES studies a wide range of issues: Fundamentals of Energy, Energy Law, Energy Economics, Geopolitics of Energy, Environmental Issues, and Strategic Management. A special focus of the programme is on the Caspian Basin, including regional pipeline network development, geopolitics of the Caspian and its legal status, and the strategic outlook of SOCAR. Upon completion of the programme, participants will be issued a certificate. The programme provides a balanced approach in studying energy and the environment. BSES instructors and speakers are leading national and international experts from academia, public and private sectors:

- World renowned scholars in the field of energy and environment, such as: University of Oxford, Princeton University, Sciences-Po, Russian Academy of Sciences, Total Professors Association, ADA University;
- Ministers and heads of governmental agencies, such as: Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Energy, Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources, Head of the State Oil Fund (SOFAZ).

While learning at the Baku Summer Energy School, participants will also enjoy outstanding recreational opportunities, including swimming in the legendary Caspian Sea. Living in downtown Baku provides excellent opportunities for nightlife, shopping, dining and sightseeing. For more information, please visit <http://www.ada.edu.az/en-US/Pages/Baku-Summer-Energy-School-2018.aspx>.

### UACES Graduate Forum Conference 2018 "An Actor on Multiple Stages: The EU as a Local, Regional and Global Power" University of Leuven (Belgium), 12-13 July 2018

Since its inception, the EU has grown into a more complex political, legal and regulatory object that affects numerous aspects of its citizens' lives. The organisation has also grown into an actor that is relevant at the regional and even global level. The different stages on which the EU is present are reflected in the challenges it is facing: Brexit, Russia's awakening, the future of the eurozone etc. [UACES](#) is more than ever embracing the complexity and the diversity of European studies; and this conference organised by the [UACES Graduate Forum](#) is no exception. We invite submissions of abstracts from PhD students and Early Career Researchers (ECRs) in the field of European Studies, which includes disciplines such as Political Science, Law, International Relations, History, Economics, Sociology, Geography and Anthropology. Some of the questions the conference will address include:

- What is the impact of the EU on one or more of these "stages"?
- Are there challenges to the EU's ability to bring about change?
- Can the EU survive on multiple stages at once?

This annual two-day research conference provides a friendly environment for doctoral students and ECRs to present their work, receive feedback and dialogue with each other. [Funding is available](#) for participants. Research presentations will be complemented by a keynote address and roundtable discussion. As the flagship event of the [UACES Graduate Forum](#) (formerly: UACES Student Forum), the conference is a prime venue for networking with colleagues and presenting innovative research.

The **deadline for submissions is Sunday 8<sup>th</sup> April 2018 23:59 GMT**. Submissions are invited from PhD students and Early Career Researchers (up to 3 years after PhD viva) worldwide. Abstracts (max. 200 words) for individual papers, or proposals for a panel are expected.

## 3 – Related upcoming events (cont.)

### **Berlin Summer School in Social Sciences "Linking Theory and Empirical Research" Humboldt University, Berlin (Germany), 16 – 26 July 2018**

The Summer School aims at supporting young researchers by strengthening their ability in linking development of their current research designs.

In the first week, we address the key methodological challenges of concept-building, causation / explanation, and micro-macro linkage that occur in almost all research efforts. We strive for a clarification of the epistemological foundations underlying methodological paradigms. In the second week, these methodological considerations are applied to central empirical fields of research in political science, sociology, and other related disciplines. In this second part of the programme, participants are assigned to four thematic groups according to their own research topics. The thematic areas covered are *"External Governance, Interregionalism, and Domestic Change"*, *"Citizenship, Migration, and Identities"*, *"Social Struggle and Globalization"*, and *"Democracy at the Crossroads"*.

The programme is characterised by a varied format comprising lectures, workshops, seminars, and one-to-one consultations. During the Summer School, participants will also have the opportunity to present and discuss their own work extensively. Participants will be provided with hands-on advice for their research designs.

The School brings together a faculty of renowned international and Berlin-based scholars. Among the confirmed international lecturers are Donatella della Porta (Scuola Normale Superiore), Steve Fleetwood (University of the West of England, Bristol), Macartan Humphreys (Columbia University/WZB Berlin), Nikita Dhawan (University of Innsbruck), Staffan Lindberg (University of Gothenburg), and Hendrik Wagenaar (University of Sheffield). The Berlin Summer School was co-funded by the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (BGSS) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

**The application deadline is 31 March 2018.** For more information, please see <https://www.berlinsummerschool.de/>.

### **18th Annual Aleksanteri Conference "Liberation – Freedom – Democracy? 1918- 1968-2018" University of Helsinki (Finland), 24 - 26 October 2018**

The Aleksanteri Institute of the University of Helsinki will hold the 18th Annual International Conference aiming to bring together scholars, experts, and advanced graduate students from a variety of disciplines such as history, political science, sociology, geography, law, economics, and media and cultural studies.

In 2018, we have multiple commemorations of historical events that shaped the development of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia, including:

- 1918 – The end of the Great War, and the disintegration of old Empires drew a new map of Europe and Eurasia, providing radically new possibilities for societal evolution.
- 1968 – the year which can be remembered not only for the crushing of "socialism with a human face", but also as the beginning of welfare socialism and the socialist market economy strengthening entrepreneurialism and individualism – and, as such, the beginning of the end of the communist system.

These, and other events that will be marked by commemorations in 2018, bore consequences in the spatial context, on the idea of the nation state, and the perceptions of the most desirable societal system. These events constantly modified the key values of freedom and power-people relations. When we look back to these previous 100 years – we can ask ourselves: Did liberation mean freedom? Did freedom mean democracy? Did democracy bring security, well-being, and equality for the people? Moreover, is democracy irreversible? Complementing academic activity, the conference programme will also include cultural events and roundtable discussion by public figures with hands-on experience of historical changes.

**The deadline** for submitting paper, panel, and roundtable proposals **is 14 May 2018**. Please submit your proposal via the [website](#).



## 4 — Disseminating DESCnet

### Young Researchers Seminar "Teaching in a Multicultural Environment", University of Tartu (Estonia), 8 - 14 February 2018



Nine doctoral students and junior researchers from DESCnet partner institutions participated in a unique workshop which combined practical sessions on teaching methodologies with participation in the workshop "Ethnopolitics in Central and Eastern

Europe in a State of Flux" and the parallel winter school "People and Territories: Biopower and Geopolitics in the Black Sea and the Caucasus".

The increasing cross-border mobility as a by-product of globalisation has made classrooms increasingly diverse in terms of culture and political ideologies. While this cultural diversity can enrich classroom discussion with various perspectives and opinions, it can also present a challenge for instructors dealing with a growing number of highly sensitive and controversial cross-border or cross-cultural issues. This young research workshop first and foremost presented participants with a toolkit of techniques and resources for teaching such sensitive issues in a productive, sustainable, yet non-conflictual manner. A majority of participants found that the overall content of the seminar was of "excellent or good quality" and were particularly satisfied with the sessions dedicated quality teaching methodologies in a multicultural classroom.

"The greatest take-away was the fundamental contribution on how to provide sustainable teaching techniques for our students... and how to meet students' needs in the course" said workshop participant Volkan Ipek, from Yeditepe University. In reflecting on his experience, Volkan further shared that a session on deep knowledge and surface knowledge, and the grouping of the class into two groups (those supporting deep knowledge and those

supporting surface knowledge) "helped [him] see how these two concepts differ from each other and which one could be the best for the student."

In addition to providing participants with "a huge amount of literature and techniques for learning and teaching effectively", Ani Grigoryan from the National Academy of Sciences (Armenia) and other participants also appreciated that this workshop ran parallel to two other academic events. Ani mentioned how the conference on Ethnopolitics at Tartu gave workshop participants an opportunity to network with "exceptional professors from leading universities in Europe".

Furthermore, involvement in the Kääriku Winter School, after their own workshops on teaching methodology, allowed participants to evaluate different teaching methods and see how they were applied in a real multicultural setting.

Overall, the organisation, structure, and applicability of this workshop helped participants "learn new teaching skills (like the concept of a learning diary and the importance of self-reflection) and gain knowledge on the situation of national minorities in other European countries". Christa Helene of Graz University reflected that these features of the workshop, combined with the opportunity to learn from others about their diverse experiences working in different countries with varying university structures, helped to identify a broader range of possibilities to overcome common challenges. Based on her experience in the Young Research Workshop on Teaching in A Multicultural Environment, Christa believes that "Future programmes could do follow-up meetings of the participants to check on their progress and to strengthen the network."



*By: Heidi Erbsen DESCnet Communications  
Coordinator*

## 5 – News and ongoing

### **AESC development perspectives beyond the year 2018**

The Association of European Studies for the Caucasus was founded in October 2016 by the DESCnet consortium. It is an entirely membership-driven association, registered as a non-commercial entity under Georgian law, with its seat at New Vision University in Tbilisi. AESC is open in particular to students, young researchers and academics from this region. There is a discount scheme in place to offer free membership for applicants who hold citizenships from the wider Caucasus region. For more details, please visit the AESC's website at <<http://aesc-online.eu/membership>>.

By February 2018, AESC has for the first time applied for Jean Monnet Support to Associations funding. In doing so, its goal is to become independent, to expand its activities and to become sustainable beyond August 2018 as the date of completion of DESCnet.

After two annual conventions held in Istanbul in 2017 and (forthcoming) in Tbilisi in April 2018, AESC is now setting out to plan its activities for the period of 2019-2021. So far, AESC's activities have been sustained by the efforts of its five board members the majority of which comes from the DESCnet consortium. DESCnet also provided the AESC with the website and includes AESC news items into the given Newsletter. We are now aiming to become independent of DESCnet and to professionalise our operations in the interests of members.

For these reasons, there are three major goals for the upcoming 3 years:

- 1) Improvement of technical / administrative processes in working with AESC members;
- 2) Stimulation of research on European Studies in the region;
- 3) Academia-policy dialogue and cross-sectoral collaboration.

Ad 1) AESC requires a basic operational structure beyond the efforts of its Management Board members to sustain its activities. Therefore, a part-time workplace needs to be created to administratively support the most important deliverables of the Association in the given time period. In the spirit of involving AESC members, the AESC website needs to become independent and interactive (blog, etc.) to foster the exchange of opinion on a number of issues in the field of European Studies. The Newsletter should continue the tradition of the DESCnet Newsletter as a primarily academic publication outlet that collects information on European Studies research in the region that is otherwise unknown and not collected or compiled anywhere else.

Ad 2) As the only regional European Studies association in the Caucasus, AESC is eager to collaborate with national European Studies associations and to create added value in holding annual conventions by teaming up with other players. For 2019-2021, the goal is to break new ground for innovative European Studies issues related to the various geographical dimensions of the region: West, East and North-South. In addition, each convention will rest on an agenda-setting session held in the year before to motivate researchers to get together in AESC topical sub-groups and define new research topics within the given general framework. Thus, the 2018 Convention (still to be held under DESCnet) will prepare the topic "West" by exploring Caucasus-Black Sea dimensions of European Studies. Consequently, it is planned to hold the 2019 Convention in Odessa by teaming up with such partners as National Odessa University, the Black Sea Universities Network (BSUN) and the International Center for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS). The topic "East" will be defined by exploring regional European Studies issues in the Caspian Sea basin.

## 5 — News and ongoing (cont.)

Based on the 2019 agenda-setting, it is planned to hold the 2020 Convention in Baku in co-operation with Azerbaijan State University of Economics, the Azerbaijani European Studies Association and partners from Central Asia. Finally, the 2021 Convention, to be held in Tbilisi, shall be devoted to "North-South" issues, including both the role of Russia in the Caucasus and the EU's way of involvement, and issues of relations with Iran and Turkey both for the EU and for the countries in the South Caucasus.

Ad 3) Academia-policy dialogue is a critical component of the annual AESC conventions, but it is also critical to the entire AESC operations. Therefore, AESC will use any opportunity to deepen its relationships with political players in the field of European Studies and implementation of the Association Agreements (e.g., the Committee on European Integration of the Georgian Parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Division on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration) as well as relevant foundations and donor organisations. As an NGO under Georgian law, AESC is also eager to participate in civil society projects and engage with partners in a cross-sectorial manner.

AESC is thus positioning itself in a dynamic and ever-changing environment. Following up on the 2015 European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) review and the 2016 EU Global Strategy, the EU seems to be achieving greater success in creating co-operative relations with neighbouring countries that are located in the Russian Federation's perceived sphere of influence. The signing of a major Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement with Armenia during the 2017 Eastern Partnership Summit and the ongoing negotiations with Azerbaijan on an Enhanced Partnership and Co-operation Agreement add to the earlier successes with Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic. Still, creating such frameworks does not automatically lead to a process of Europeanisation. Bringing European Studies to higher education and making EU Studies subjects visible in the

respective national research communities is a long way to go. However, European Studies associations have proven helpful to catalyse researchers who are still isolated and lack access to materials and exchange with peers. They will help to elaborate new conceptual approaches grounded in the specific reality of the region; in addition, they will be informed by the broader discourses prevalent in the respective mother disciplines. Finally, they will help to foster interdisciplinary approaches that are still not widely adopted in the Caucasus region.

# AESC

**Association of European  
Studies for the Caucasus**

Offering a set of annual conventions to actually "drive" certain sets of Europeanisation and European Studies issues (in the West / East / North-South dimensions explained above) is a major new approach on promoting research on a number of cutting-edge topics. An important additional dimension is to integrate various social science perspectives into a coherent European Studies framework. On the academic level, the structure of many programmes still reflects classical divisions between political science and international relations, law and sociology, economics and transformational studies. It is very difficult to present European Studies approaches in this traditional academic environment because the interdisciplinary nature of European Studies can often not be adequately expressed. Also, lecturers are themselves not trained to analyse developments in a more complex Europeanisation perspective; instead, they hark back to the basics of their own subject and do not manage to open up broader understanding to their students.

## 5 — News and ongoing (cont.)

The annual conventions and the agenda-setting process, which will be spanning the year from the previous convention to the upcoming one, primarily serve the abovementioned purposes. In this context, it is important to note once again that AESC is a membership-driven organisation. Whereas annual conventions are open to everybody, within the association there should be an intensive exchange with members, both in the topical sub-groups driving the agenda-setting process and around such media as website (blog) and newsletter. By giving individual members the possibility to share their interests and engage in debate, AESC will considerably support the visibility of EU Studies subjects.

An important objective of AESC is to advise local, regional, national and European policy makers and to disseminate the outcomes of the research. Every annual convention will be prepared in collaboration with partners from not only academia, but also various foundations, donor organisations, political institutions and others. The goal is to make sure that the presentation of research will lead to an enhanced academia-policy dialogue during the conventions. Making these debates more tangible and disseminating the outcomes is another important dimension of holding annual conventions. For the upcoming three conventions, in collaboration with Columbia University Press and Ibidem press a new book series called "European Studies in the Caucasus" is currently under preparation. It will be inspired by the series "Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society" <<https://cup.columbia.edu/series/soviet-and-post-soviet-politics-and-society>> and will capture the major presentations given at each annual convention. In addition to these scholarly outputs ensuring dissemination, the website and newsletter will be centrally important dissemination tools.

Enhancing active citizenship is the ultimate goal of the AESC's activities. By promoting cutting-edge research on a number of issues of Europeanisation, there will be a constant transfer of EU values, approaches and practices to the researchers in the field as well as to students actively involved in our activities. Researchers, in turn, will bring their results to societies and create visibility. Nevertheless, there are two further dimensions in bringing active citizenship. The one is the personal involvement of researchers from the region in an association which is responsive to them and offers them venues to express their opinions (e.g. via the blog section of the website or by using the newsletter as a communication outlet). The second dimension is AESC's own NGO status and the possibility to take part in NGO-directed activities towards conflict resolution, mediation, strengthening civil society and building trust between communities. It is also planned to register AESC for the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum and take an active part in NGO-related activities.

*Thomas Kruessmann*  
*President, AESC*





## 5 – News and ongoing (cont.)

### Call for papers "European Studies"

ECSCA Moldova announces a call for papers to be published in the journal "European Studies" in 2018. The papers' content shall focus on EU affairs: legal studies, economic studies, historical studies, political and administrative studies, international relations and diplomacy studies, comparative regionalism studies, intercultural dialogue studies.

Original scientific papers in English can be sent by e-mail to [secretariat@studiieu.org](mailto:secretariat@studiieu.org) (cc [vasile.cucerescu@ymail.com](mailto:vasile.cucerescu@ymail.com)) until May 31, 2018. More information is available at <http://www.studiieu.org/announcements/call-for-articles-european-studies-2018>.

### First E-Learning Course on the Eastern Partnership by Konrad Adenauer Foundation

For the first time, the Belarus country office of Konrad Adenauer Foundation offers an eLearning course on the Eastern Partnership (EaP). The basic information materials on the EaP will be provided in Google Classroom app in English and Russian languages.

The basic course is intended primarily for Belarusian students, young professionals and all individuals who are interested in the EU-Belarus relations and Belarus' role in the Eastern Partnership programme, and have little or no prior knowledge on the topic. The aim of the course is to provide a brief overview of the EaP history, latest developments and current challenges to present evaluation of the EaP from the Belarusian perspective.

The reading list of the online course contains the main documents of the EaP and various articles, as well as short tests at the end of each thematic chapter. Participants, who will successfully complete the test questions, will receive a certificate at the end of this course.

For more information, please visit <http://www.kas.de/belarus/en/events/76341/>.

### Call for Expressions of Interest Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowships in the field of Russian, East European, and Baltic Studies at the University of Tartu, Estonia

The Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies and the Centre for EU-Russia Studies at the University of Tartu are looking to host exceptional fellows in the framework of the EU's Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowships scheme. The scheme enables eligible applicants to come to the University of Tartu for a period from 12 to 24 months with the aim of research, career development, and knowledge transfer.

We are particularly interested in applicants with expertise relevant to Russian, East European and Baltic Studies (with a focus on contemporary political and societal developments). The Skytte Institute combines top-level research with a dynamic, international learning environment at all three levels of higher education. The Institute has built up considerable competences in Russian and Eastern European Studies. Since 2011, the Institute has been a home to the Centre for EU-Russia Studies (CEURUS), which pools relevant competences from a range of disciplines, including the Social Sciences, Economics and Law.

#### Eligible researchers

- are of any nationality;
- have a doctoral degree or at least four years of full-time equivalent research experience;
- have not resided or carried out their main activity (work, studies, etc) in Estonia for more than 12 months in the 3 years immediately prior to the deadline for submission (12 September 2018).

Experience suggests that successful applicants have strong CVs, with publications in well-ranked international journals, and significant professional experience (e.g. teaching, participation in research projects, international experience, non-academic professional experience). Please send a request to Dr Piret Ehin ([piret.ehin@ut.ee](mailto:piret.ehin@ut.ee)) by April 16, 2018.

## 5 — News and ongoing (cont.)

### In Profile: Center for Russian, Caucasian and Central European Studies

In February 2018, the Center for Russian, Caucasian and Central European Studies (CERCEC - EHESS / CNRS) launched its First International Newsletter in English. CERCEC is at the forefront of social science research on the Russian Empire, the former USSR, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Central and Eastern Europe. For some years now, CERCEC has been engaged in re-reading and re-shaping the political, social and cultural history of these areas. In France, it provides an impetus for research to renew empirical knowledge and the scientific paradigms mobilised to analyse it. Our researchers aspire to enrich the social sciences by developing original scientific proposals based on their field surveys. Researchers and teacher-researchers are also heavily involved in training activities within the EHESS at the master's and PhD level. Seminars dedicated to master's students provide training in Russian history and Soviet history as part of the specialisation course "History of the Russian, Caucasian, Central European and Central Asian Worlds" within the programme "History and Civilizations" of the EHESS. CERCEC researchers supervise many doctoral students.

For the years 2018-2022, CERCEC activities will be organised around five scientific axes relating to our areas of competence:

- Fronts and Borders of Empire (16th-21st centuries)
- Actions and Norms. Social, Economic and Legal Practices from the 17th Century to the Present
- Science and Technology in the Arts of Government
- Violence and Criminal Justice in Reorganizing Societies (20th-21st Centuries)
- Creation, Dissemination and Reception of Cultural Property in the Imperial, Soviet and Post-Soviet Space

For more information, contact Françoise Dauce, Director ([francoise.dauce@ehess.fr](mailto:francoise.dauce@ehess.fr)) or Larissa Zakharova, Co-Director ([larissa.zakharova@ehess.fr](mailto:larissa.zakharova@ehess.fr)) or visit the Centre's website at <http://www.cercec.fr/#>

### In Profile: The Georgian Programme at St Antony's College, Oxford University

The Georgian Programme is organisationally subordinated to Russian and East European Studies in the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies (SIAS) at St Antony's College. It has been established with the following principal objectives:

- To act as a focus for the academic study of and research on Georgia, in its regional environment, across the University of Oxford.
- To help coordinate such study and research in the social sciences and the humanities, including modern history
- To ensure close interaction in particular between REES and the Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre at St. Antony's College on all matters related to Georgia.
- To encourage visiting attachments by postdoctoral scholars from Georgia for periods of up to one year.
- To organise seminars and other meetings on Georgian topics, and for speakers from Georgia.
- To raise the profile of Georgian studies and research in the UK and beyond, through interaction with other universities and research centres with similar interests.
- To direct attention to materials and sources on Georgia in the university.

For more information, please see the Programme's website at <<http://www.rees.ox.ac.uk/georgian-programme>>.



## 5 – News and ongoing (cont.)



UNIVERSITY OF TARTU  
Johan Skytte Institute of  
Political Studies

### OSF Eurasia Programme Fellowships

The University of Tartu (Estonia) announced a call for applications for doctoral candidates and PhD-holding academics in the Social Sciences for a five-month resident fellowship at the Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, supported by the Eurasia Programme of the Open Society Foundations. The call is addressed to citizens of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

The purpose of the fellowship programme is to enable scholars from the target countries to develop analytical and research skills, and build international networks. **The fellowship period is 13 August – 13 January 2019. The deadline for applications is 10 May 2018.**

The fellowship programme focuses on political and societal transition in Eurasia and Eastern Europe in a comparative perspective. Post-communist transformation processes in the region have produced a variety of political outcomes, ranging from dictatorships to hybrid regimes to consolidated democracies. The record on governance and quality of public institutions is equally mixed: while some countries are plagued by endemic corruption and inefficient governance, others have succeeded in building accountable, open and innovative public institutions. The region remains dynamic, as authoritarian regimes face public demands for democratic change, greater accountability and better performance – and sometimes react by further constraining dissent. In countries that have succeeded in building well-functioning democratic institutions, backsliding remains a possibility, as democratic institutions face economic pressures and are challenged by populists promising simple solutions to complex problems. Finally, transformation processes in Eurasia and Eastern Europe continue to unfold in a complex international environment, and are influenced by external actors pursuing different – and often competing -- interests and agendas.

For more information, please see  
<<https://skytte.ut.ee/en/research/osf-eurasia-programme-fellowships>>.

### DESCnet publications survey continued

Below please find an updated list of the journals that are being regularly scrutinised for publications related to European Studies in the Caucasus. New entries are in italics. If you know of any other journals that you would like to have considered in the future, please contact the Newsletter editor Thomas Kruessmann at [kruessmann.thomas@gmail.com](mailto:kruessmann.thomas@gmail.com).

Black Sea Security  
Caucasus Analytical Digest  
Caucasus Edition. Journal of Conflict Transformation  
Caucasus International  
Caucasus Survey  
Central Asian Affairs  
East European Politics  
Eastern Journal of European Studies  
Ethnopolitics (formerly Global Review of Ethnopolitics)  
Eurasian Geography and Economics  
European Foreign Affairs Review  
European Politics and Society  
Euxeinos. Governance and Culture in the Black Sea Region  
Global Affairs  
Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power  
Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies  
Journal of Borderland Studies  
Journal of Caucasian Studies  
Journal of Contemporary European Studies  
Journal of European Integration  
Journal of Slavic Military Studies  
Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society  
Nationalities Papers  
Post-Soviet Affairs  
Problems of Post-Communism  
Romanian Journal of European Affairs  
Russian Politics  
Southeast European and Black Sea Studies Journal  
The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review

## 6 – Opinions and comments

### Aspirations and Realities of a Disunited EU and its Aspiring Eastern Neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>

By: *Oliver Reisner, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia*

On 4-5 December 2017 the Parliament of Georgia hosted the International Parliamentary Conference "EU and Partners – Embracing Diversity for Stronger Unity" in Tbilisi. It was organised by the Parliament of Georgia, on the initiative of the European Integration Committee of the Parliament, with support from the European Union (EU) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and attended by Parliamentary Delegations from 17 countries from member states, candidate or neighbourhood countries, as well as the European Parliament to discuss the obligations, challenges and agenda of EU integration. Indeed, a topic highly relevant for an aspiring country like Georgia! At the same time, the conference offered insights into the systemic insufficiencies characteristic of the current crisis inside the EU from a parliamentary viewpoint sixty years after the conclusion of the Treaties of Rome.

As set out in the beginning by the organiser, Mrs **Tamar Khulordava**, Chairperson of the European Integration Committee at Parliament of Georgia, the conference was meant to discuss the present and future of the engagement of the EU with its Eastern Partners who "all have different ambitions, but still coming closer to each other". She praised the role-setting model of the EU in creating unity, stability and prosperity over the last 60 years for its aspiring Eastern Neighbours. Its image among the partners "may only be slightly stained, but is not shaken". Together with experts and Georgian civil society representatives they discussed "how, if at all, the EU integration process promotes democracy, institution building and sustainable development within candidate and Eastern Partnership Countries". So, what can the EU deliver to its aspiring partners in the East under the given circumstances? This was in fact the main topic of the conference.

Consequently, Mr **Irakli Kobakhidze**, Speaker of Parliament, formulated Georgia's unchanged expectations of a greater participation in the European integration project as an acknowledged best performer in the EaP with an exceptionally high economic growth of 4.9% and a democratic change of government in parliamentary elections in 2012. **Prime Minister Kvirikashvili** stressed the success and "the uniqueness of the European Union project, which remains the best example of regional integration and cooperation between the nations" in the year of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaties of Rome. Then he referred to the recent 5<sup>th</sup> EaP Summit's acknowledgement of Georgia's democratic and other reforms. In Brussels they agreed on 20 new objectives for co-operation with transparent, democratic, responsive institutions and addressing the occupied territories. He emphasised the recently adopted constitutional changes towards a full parliamentary system in Georgia with full proportional representation and no majoritarian candidates in 2024. This was presented as an indicator for an improved electoral system.<sup>2</sup>

To **Janos Herman**, ambassador of the EU to Georgia, the parliamentary system is about the future, not only about integration (or a means for it). An integrative bottom-up approach is fully supported by the EU as an "efficient contributor" to democratisation with different sets of tools. For the EU, he appreciated Georgia's achievements as a very solid foundation for co-operation. With political integration out of sight, MPs should create ideas beyond the existing Association Agreement Implementation plan. **Niels Scott**, Head of UNDP Georgia, emphasised similarities between EU integration and the UN, based on global values such as human rights, democracy, environmentalism, inclusiveness, but warned that "business" should not be allowed to continue "as usual".

<sup>1</sup> International Parliamentary Conference: EU and Partners - Embracing Diversity for Stronger Unity, 4-5 December, 2017 Tbilisi, Georgia (11.03.2018).

<sup>2</sup> <http://georgiatoday.ge/news/8411/PM-Opens-EU-Partnership-Conference-Hosted-by-Georgian-Parliament-in-Tbilisi> (11.12.2017) NB. In the latest election with a 40% proportional vote the "Georgian Dream" party has won an outright constitutional majority thanks to the almost 100% victory of its candidates in the majoritarian system.

## 6 – Opinions and comments

**Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Janelidze** was more concrete in his welcome remarks, acknowledging the EaP summit as an example of the "practical unity with EaP countries." The adoption of a Declaration for future strong collaboration set the political frame for co-operation according to "individual interests," but also clearly declined any membership perspective. So they had to emphasise what they have got: Georgia's successful performance reflected in a positive report by the EP, and an Action Plan 2017-2020 with strategic objectives focussing on strengthening the visa-free regime and DCFTA, so that "gradually we will become members of the EU internal market." This is reflected in the fact that currently the EU is Georgia's biggest trading partner. Several directions of co-operation and integration were agreed, as for example the deepening of collaboration with special EU agencies, sectoral co-operation and an attempt to increase the effectiveness of results of co-operation with the EU (Horizon 2020, ERASMUS+ etc.). He stressed the purpose that further EU integration must be felt by each individual citizen of Georgia. Finally, he appreciated the role of EUMM in conflict mitigation along the administrative borderline with Abkhazia and South Ossetia. However, with all the detailed enumeration of fields of co-operation the most pressing question was not stated: What should come next after visa liberalisation? Especially since Georgian Foreign Minister Mikheil Janelidze at the 8<sup>th</sup> meeting of EaP foreign ministers stressed the importance of the EaP Summit for determining new perspectives for deepening Georgia-EU relations and achieving the desired level of integration, which is – no secret – full membership. Thus the title somehow resembles the slogan of the 5<sup>th</sup> EaP summit "Stronger Together", but was the issue of managing expectations in the Eastern Partnership sufficiently addressed?<sup>3</sup>

Five major panels then discussed integration with the EU as a framework for promoting internal reforms, pointing out the benefits and challenges associated with the EU-inspired transformation by the Association Agreements in different countries, EU partnership instruments and co-operation frameworks, legislative challenges on the way to implementing EU-driven reforms, and on the economic impact of the European integration on

business and trade.

The **first session** discussed "**European Integration – A Driving Force for Consolidating Democracy and Prosperity**." Tellingly, the panel did not state "EU integration", but was dedicated to political and economic reforms within co-operation scopes of the EU association agreements. The President of the Parliament of Montenegro, **Ivan Brajović**, praised the integration path and experience of his country towards EU and NATO. "The EU ensures peace, stability and economic welfare towards the member states. I believe that NATO and EU membership is inseparable as both organisations share identic aspirations", he stated. Thus, he underlined the importance of a membership perspective, existing for his country and the Balkans, but not for those of the EaP region.

The First Vice Speaker of the Georgian Parliament, **Tamar Chugoshvili**, spoke about democratic institution-building in Georgia. She noted some lingering challenges: as a result of the reforms by the ruling team, Georgia has been presented as a leading country amongst its East European neighbours. "Georgia, in legal harmonisation terms, has introduced lots of changes and developed new laws of European standards. As a result of the reforms, we are amongst the countries, connected with EU through EUAA and visa-free travel to Schengen. Naturally, it is the result of EU support and hard work of Georgia. We keep reforming for rule of law, human rights and the independence of the judicial system. At that, we work for improvement of the investment milieu, tax reforms and establishment of the Estonian model. We facilitate the development of local businesses to allow Georgian farmers to export their products to the European market." As a former NGO activist in the sphere of rule of law, she must have remembered the problem of a proper implementation of those laws and reforms. The previous government also claimed to be the best reformer in the region and then left a shattered judiciary behind. To her, it does not only matter what is adopted, but how the laws, rules and regulations are implemented, as demanded by the AA.

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<sup>3</sup> [http://www.ips-journal.eu/storage/topics/european-union/article/show/stars-in-their-](http://www.ips-journal.eu/storage/topics/european-union/article/show/stars-in-their-eyes-2515/)

## 6 — Opinions and comments (cont.)

The Deputy Chair of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada, **Borys Tarasyuk**, lamented that although Georgia and Ukraine share the same goal of EU integration, both countries do not relate to the EU in the same manner as Central European and Baltic countries. 2017 was a very important year in Ukraine-EU relations with the ratification of the EUAA and visa-free travel to Schengen. Concentration on the technical implementation of the AA through its Action Plan with more than 2.000 tasks and 5.000 concrete measures kept the Parliament busy with processing necessary legislation for state reforms. While the parliamentary majority is satisfied, the opposition criticises that the reforms do not sufficiently address the needs of the people and have no real impact, especially in fighting corruption. At least the revision of the Parliament's working group rules on AA implementation is somewhat encouraging. However, the war inflicted by Russia with its human losses of thousands of people, 1.8 Mio. IDPs and 20% of economic damage represent serious challenges for the near future. The EaP countries cannot be completely satisfied with the results of the 5<sup>th</sup> EaP Summit in Brussels where an acknowledgement of aggression was lacking. He concluded that recognising the progress in Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia was important, but not sufficient to meet the rising expectations for EU and NATO integration. The former Prime Minister of Lithuania and Deputy Chair of the European Affairs Committee, **Andrius Kubilius**, was not satisfied with the results of the EaP Summit either. The EU should have demonstrated more commitment offering clear new incentives for EaP countries; while Georgia and Ukraine managed to achieve a lot during the last years, there is more to be done. For example, having a comfortable constitutional majority deputies should resist the temptation of using it against the minority in Parliament. For him, AA & DCFTA-initiated reforms mainly helped the people in the agrarian sector in Lithuania. While the easiest part of reforms is over, there should now be a new big carrot, i.e. a membership perspective, while there are serious and painful reforms coming up. Therefore, the Georgian majority should focus not on popularity in opinion polls, but on "European-style reforms."

Lithuania will support these reforms with several billions of investments in Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova as a new kind of carrot until the membership perspectives is back on the table. Since both, majority and minority, are in favour of European integration, Georgia is in a good position and should start to benchmark its successes in implementing results of reforms against Western Balkans countries. Maybe Georgia could become no. 2 after Montenegro. The EU should have a more institutionalised approach, not only statements of EU aspirations, but new big and tangible support of European-type reforms. Implicitly, this hinted at the existing asymmetric relationship of the EU with the EaP region which has to democratise without a granted membership perspective.

The President of the European Affairs Committee of the Senate of Romania and former MEP **Gabriela Cretu** outed herself as an "old fashioned left-wing federalist" still heading for a United States of Europe. After seven decades of peace as the most important achievement, the EU does not have accomplished its mission yet. The challenge is about a European society that needs to cover all its citizens and not only a few; a European welfare state has not been completed yet. While the single market represents the most integrated field, there is no single market of labour, no European social system or salary scale, which provokes movements of labour from East to West, from regions to capitals. The EU is a model or reference frame, but not a solution. It has been used as a scapegoat for national governments' failing neoliberal policies, hiding the imbalance of powers between the EU and the Member States' level. At least a debate about necessary changes has been started, where the EU is more a moving horizon than a target. After a decade, Romania has not been successful in establishing a social welfare market economy; instead it provides cheap labour and tries to attract FDI. Economic growth cannot be equalled with progress. After 60 years of Treaties of Rome, the EU is quite a different institution, but still a building site. Unity has to be built with a brick in the wall and not somebody saying that the wall is built the wrong way.



## 6 — Opinions and comments (cont.)

Eleven years after it joined the EU, Romania is remembering what it experienced during its pre-accession period. It will support Georgian reforms across the Black Sea, not dividing, but uniting both. **Tamar Khulordava** commented that the transformative power of EU would not only apply to the neighbourhood, but to EU members as well.

**Clare Moody** as a UK MEP and EU-Georgia Association Committee member continued with the EU problems related to the social pillar, bloody conflicts, and requirements of European integration. The creation of a detailed framework and environment that delivers is needed. The Georgian government has worked hard on that. The EaP is a living partnership by European Parliament (EP), Member States and EaP countries. "There is much left to do on our side." The EaP Summit with its 20 goals for 2020 reinvigorated these goals. With its gender perspective it ensures that 51% are profiting the same way as the other 49%. While Georgia is doing very well in terms of delivering outcomes and communication, part of the process is also to build trust with the citizens and in the outcomes of their work. The UK does not have a proper communication with its citizens, which is a lesson now. She admitted her wish to listen and learn from EaP countries.

The following Questions and Answer session focused on the consequences of Brexit. **Gabriela Cretu** proposed to take Brexit as an opportunity to reform the EU. A lot of rights are not only human rights, but EU citizens' rights (mobility, employment etc.). Brexit changed the previous left-right wing balance. **Clare Moody** explained that Brexit has had another unifying effect among the remaining 27 Member States, but elements of British society are struggling with the effects of Brexit, "but at the moment we cannot do much." No automatism is set for Georgia's EU membership which is related to issues inside the EU. There are no simple formulaic solutions. **Tamar Khulordava** wanted to see EU integration not only as a technical process, but as a political one. **Borys Tarasyuk** stated that the Copenhagen criteria for membership would still be in power (democracy, rule of law, market economy, good governance etc.).

Having reached a state of economic integration with the EU internal market, its impact on the day-to-day life of Ukrainian citizens is still not felt.

However, this is not the EU's, but the Ukrainian government's fault. According to Tarasyuk, our major objective should be not to please somebody in Brussels, but our citizens. There is also a clear tendency of a growing understanding among Ukrainians for EU requirements. **Ivan Brajović** recalled that besides the fulfilment of requirements of "negotiations", there were much better conditions in the Yugoslav Federation in comparison to several other Central and Eastern European countries. 27 years have passed since the decline of Yugoslavia, 16 years his country is waiting for NATO and EU membership. He deemed the admission of new members very important for the future of the EU, which unfortunately Juncker excluded until 2020 because of Brexit. **Tamar Khulordava** stressed a merit-based approach and open-doors policy as very important points. Aspirant countries should not be threatened by Member States for certain political reasons (e.g. Ukrainian education bill rejected by Hungary), stated **Andrius Kubilius** and quoted Commissioner Hahn: "If the EU is not exporting stability in the neighbouring regions, others will export instability into this region."

The **second panel "Challenges of Implementing an EU-driven Legislative Agenda"**<sup>4</sup> was dedicated to the inter-relation between the legislative and executive authorities in the field of legislative reforms towards EU integration. The panellists spoke about the facilitation of competition between the governmental branches to speed up the process and quality of legislative reforms. Besides the role of the Parliament to ensure the formation of a legal frame compliant to the EU norms it also has to ensure strict Parliamentary oversight. However, there were some undesirable results of the complex reforms identified that referred to the responsibility and experience of EU Member States for guidance during the integration process.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.parliament.ge/en/saparlamento-saqmianoba/komitetebi/evropastan-integraciis-komiteti-143/axali-ambebi1910/evrointegraciis-sakanonmdeblo-dgis-wesrigis->

[ganxorcielebastan-dakavshirebul-gamowvevebi.page](http://www.parliament.ge/en/saparlamento-saqmianoba/komitetebi/evropastan-integraciis-komiteti-143/axali-ambebi1910/evrointegraciis-sakanonmdeblo-dgis-wesrigis-ganxorcielebastan-dakavshirebul-gamowvevebi.page) (11.12.2017).

## 6 — Opinions and comments (cont.)

The Chair of the European Neighbourhood Policy Department of the College of Europe Natolin Campus, **Tobias Schumacher** warned that the countries should concentrate not on the speed and efficiency regarding the challenges of implementation of the EU integration agenda, but secure public support for this process.

"We shall ensure that our society supports the EU integration process. It is also important for the government to integrate, achieve consensus and cover parties concerned, it also means hearing the opinions of the opposition as well, necessary to generate and maintain this process in support of high legitimacy." He underlined the importance of co-operation between government and opposition. Despite the oversight functions of the opposition parties, their attitude towards the Government shall be directed to co-operation to develop a policy for public support. "It is important to elucidate the process to them not to lose public support and the will to move into EU direction."

For the Chair of the European Affairs Committee of the Latvian Parliament, **Lolita Čigāne**, it was the right decision, instead of concentrating the oversight for EU affairs in one or several executive offices, to hand it over to the Latvian Saeima which gave the Parliament a very powerful standing to oversee all EU-related legislation also after accession. The Parliament also tried to explain the very complicated functioning of the EU in plain language to its citizens. EU affairs are not self-evident, but can even be very dangerous. The AA was very helpful in overcoming the challenges after the decline of the USSR, but very good neighbours in a Baltic community helped Latvia following the Scandinavian example. However, efficiency did matter too. Latvia was lucky, but had to act very fast. Thus, the transition from association to membership helped in overcoming the financial crisis. "We are ready to support EaP states in the implementation of reforms in an accelerated manner. They are observed by various countries and political parties and I believe that these countries are lucky as they are able to implement the agenda and approximate to EU". **Thomas Schumacher** summed up that speed and efficiency were very decisive in helping the Baltic countries to become EU members once the Russian Federation (RF) changed its foreign policy.

One of the major impediments he saw in the lack of communication with the population on the obligations of the legislative to translate technocratic language from Brussels into an understandable language on the ground.

**Senator Piotr Wach**, Deputy Chair of the Science, Education and Sports Committee and member of the Foreign and EU Affairs Committee of the Senate of Poland, underlined the importance of public support for EU integration. The "Polish way" to EU integration took over 13 years from 1991 until 2004 with four different governments. The first two terms (1991-1997) were marked more by a rhetoric preference towards EU integration than by practice. The result was a standstill concerning the introduction of EU legislation into the Polish laws. The second phase was more intensive for Poland, dealing mainly with the AA and its outcomes. The application for EU membership in 1996 was followed by an intensive co-operation in the EU integration committee, a national strategy of EU integration with the Sejm having an important role in it. During the third term of the Sejm (1997), a special committee on membership issues introduced "anti-obstruction" measures concerning the adoption of EU law into national Polish legislation as a reaction to overcome socialist state structures. The extraordinary Parliamentary Committee (1997-2001) with a broad range of members normally had three readings a day. In the fourth Sejm since 2001 one committee oversaw EU legislation and prepared for a two-days-referendum to escape from a low turn-out. In the end, only 58% of citizens cast their votes. He concluded that a smart chairmanship paired with diligence and stamina in the committees is very important. "You shall take care of public support. Various branches shall co-operate and good links shall be established with various institutions. Relations shall be clear and the country shall be unified on the EU integration path". For **Thomas Schumacher**, the commitment of Poland was expressed in the very close and strict timetables they gave themselves as well as parliamentary regulations that precluded potential obstructions or spoilers to revert the EU integration, especially under a more polarised political landscape. Public support in Georgia declined over the years.



## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

The First Deputy Chair of the EU Integration Committee, **Irine Pruidze**, stated that EU integration represents a main objective and not just an instrument for EaP countries.

Challenges would be everywhere: human rights, balancing social rights and competition during EU approximation process, the recent constitutional amendments strengthening the powers of the Parliament also in EU approximation legislation (harmonisation of national legislation with EU, monitoring & oversight of governmental politics in this field). Parliament has established a very good collaboration with civil society and is listening to their shadow reports at thematic hearings during different committee meetings e.g. on Black Sea ecology, social issues, implementation of commitments related to visa liberalisation. Having dissent on domestic policy with the opposition, she claimed, "we are united on foreign policy issues" and our "common view on EU integration" that was emphasised in a joint resolution on the importance of EU integration for Georgia's future. The MPs are working now on improving the explanatory notes beyond the issue of financial impact, but also referring to EU legislation in its regulatory impact assessments so that civil society can better follow the respective legislation. However, still 80% of laws are drafted by the Government of Georgia (GoG) due to lack of capacity and resources in the Parliament. All sectoral committees with specific fields have separate lines indicating relevance for EU approximation and integration of EU legislation into the Georgian one. The Parliament is responsible for the legislative process. As an example, she mentioned the new law on vehicle technical inspection coming into force in January 2018 that was welcomed by environmentalists, but rejected by the mainly poor car owners. Here, good communication is required to keep European integration firmly established as a corner stone of Georgian foreign policy. GoG is working on a concrete Roadmap to EU membership, where AA & DCFTA implementation are preconditions. "We need reforms to achieve the quality and standard of life and democracy in our country similar to Europe. It shall be the goal along with EU integration. EUAA and DCFTA serve the good impetus to address various challenges existing in the Parliament Government and society. (...)

EU integration is one of the milestones of domestic and foreign policy of Georgia. It is the deliberate choice of Georgian people. We shall work to maintain this support. Georgian Government plans to develop the road map for the ultimate goal – full-fledged membership of EU. We all understand that EUAA and DCFTA implementation is one of the pillars of the process." **Thomas Schumacher** summarised the overarching theme, to adopt and achieve an integrative approach with greater transparency to decision makers and larger society through thematic hearings of various interest groups in a bipartisan way, competition in parliament for power, ideas and opinions, which is good for the political development; democratic reform not just a tool, but important for legitimacy with electorate.

The member of the EU Integration Committee of Armenia, **Mihran Hakobyan**, assessed the results of the EaP Brussels Summit as "a historical event for Armenia" with the signing of a comprehensive and enhanced agreement with EU. "This agreement takes us to a new level, which is important for Armenia. We enhance co-operation with EaP and EU states". He emphasised: "Since we signed the EU agreement, we are ready to implement it within the shortest period. We expect hard work with legislative reforms and Parliamentary oversight". Certainly, this agreement is an indicator that the EU can differentiate in its neighbourhood. The Comprehensive and Partnership Agreement allows for a demand-driven deepening of joint relations, expecting visa liberalisation negotiations starting in the near future. Armenia is also at the final level of transition from a semi-presidential to a parliamentary system the role of which will be increased by Parliament's scrutiny and supervision. Most legislative initiatives at the moment come from the executive branch. As a Council of Europe Member State, Armenia has been deeply integrated in the European human rights legislation framework, but on the other hand they want to adapt it according to "local traditions". "Copy-paste is misleading! We want our laws to work."

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

**Thomas Schumacher** held that adjusting EU regulations towards local specifics needs to be taken seriously, also in Brussels. The role of the Armenian Parliament is going to increase and putting forward many more initiatives than in the past, which might also lead to greater oversight functions of the Armenian Parliament over the executive.

As one of the few political analysts, the programme manager of Open Society Georgia, **Ivane Chkhikvadze**, emphasised the advantages of Georgia in EU integration terms: "Public support grants the widest mandate to the executive and legislative authorities for reforming". Besides this "biggest advantage of full civil society support for AA", there is also common ground in foreign policy with EU & NATO membership aspirations. In addition, Georgia has been praised to be a frontrunner in reforms, obliging it to live up to European standards which lead to "certain challenges" as it is still the executive branch that sets the EU integration agenda and acts as the lead negotiator in the EU integration process. The current Parliament shows much more activism, and its role seems to be enhanced while a huge part of legislation still needs to be adapted to EU regulations. This represents a new experience for Parliament and civil society alike. In his opinion, Parliament has the capacity to be much more involved in foreign policy formulation from 2018 on, as the drafting of the Action Plan is to be done with the active involvement of Parliament. On the other hand, the EaP Summit Declaration does not make civil society happy. There are no catalysts of reforms, as EU membership perspective with visa liberalisation as a kind of test are mentioned. He is expecting clarification as soon as a Road Map to EU membership will be adopted. Civil society will be supportive. Underlining that Georgia is the leader among EaP states, he cautioned that "we shall move on". "The Parliament is able to be better involved in the processes related to the definition of foreign policy strategies of the country". **Thomas Schumacher** warned that the dominance of the executive can hide itself in self-contempt and then divert, if sustainable impact is not guaranteed, to a trial and error dynamic and learning by doing approaches.

After their statements the panelists answered questions from the auditorium. On the most difficult legislation to be adopted in the EU approximation process, **Lolita Čigāne** held that implementation of anti-corruption laws cannot easily be pushed through without an important role of civil society. **Wach** mentioned Poland's open market competition, after applying LGBT rights. In the same direction **Irina Pruidze** held anti-discrimination laws in the framework of visa liberalisation agenda as the most difficult issue in the past, but now it is consumer rights legislation, Georgia has to do a lot to find the right balance. On the question on how the EaP should proceed without such a support like in the Baltics, **Lolita Čigāne** responded that Georgia supported Ukraine in getting the visa-free regime, now it should help Moldova. **Wach** recommended to advocate your issue as much and diversely as possible, behave yourself concerning membership perspective. Mihran Hakobyan once again confirmed that Armenia is doing reforms for itself with great enthusiasm in terms of this agreement as an AA without DCFTA. Vano Chkhikvadze sees the need for a membership perspective to conduct more serious reform efforts (e.g. labour legislation & inspections), which also would provide more financial perspectives to attract more money to deliver on the given promises. Unfortunately, nobody answered the question, if civil society in Georgia should be more closely involved in the EU approximation legislation process (Misha Mirziashvili) or Kakha Nadiradze from the "Farmers Association" on how to secure investment in rural parts of the country for a more sustainable agriculture.

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

The third panel was dedicated to **"Before and After Integration: Managing Citizen Expectations and Countering Anti-Western Propaganda"**,<sup>5</sup> but in fact the participants discussed the impact of growing anti-Western propaganda and populism which represent a threat to the EU and its image. This requires a more responsive strategic communication. The participants were cognizant with the Swedish example introduced by the Member of the Swedish Riksdag, **Tina Acketoft**. She felt having not done enough to prevent the rise in populism which is expressed in more refined xenophobic or anti-EU debates. As a liberal politician she needed to get much more engaged. The Chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, **Sophio Katsarava**, spoke about the current situation stating that EU support in countering Russian propaganda has serious effect on ongoing processes in Georgia and hence, relations with EU institutions are of particular importance. With over 70% the greatest part of the population supports the foreign policy of Georgia, though there are people under Russian propaganda through social media. **"We know the methods of the Russian propaganda machine and we are always adequate in response. We try to explain to the group of people who see the threat in the West as a result of Russian disinformation the real situation and respond to anti-Western propaganda with arguments and actions"**. Challenges on EU-US approximation are coming from vulnerable groups in Georgia asking what Europeanisation offers them. To her, counter-propaganda is a consistent way in crafting their narrative and collectively delivering its messages and actions to consolidate democracy via social media and TV channels.

The member of the European Affairs Committee of Lithuanian Seimas, **Rūta Miliūtė** acknowledged the impact of Russian "soft power" on her country. Russia holds military trainings near the Lithuanian border, accompanied with anti-Western propaganda through ordered articles in the biased magazines.

**"Russia tries to increase its impact and trigger conflicts in society. Our security services have to work hard to neutralize this propaganda. We also try to increase public awareness"**, - R. Miliūtė stated.

For the Deputy Chair of the European Affairs Committee of the Macedonian Parliament, **Vesel Memedi**, the EU is the best peace project, though today it encounters challenges, one of which is the anti-Western disinformation war that comes from the former Soviet Union. FYROM is identifying those organisations conducting this propaganda. **"Propaganda in former Soviet states is strong and every country tries to address it. Macedonia is amongst these counties trying to undertake various methods against disinformation"**.

Serbia is a different example in terms of Russian propaganda. As the Chair of the EU Integration Committee of the Serbian Parliament, **Nenad Čanak** noted, Serbia is in paradox. **"Russian Humanitarian Center still exists in one of the cities of Serbia, employees of which enjoy diplomatic status and privileges. Hence, the state fails to control their activity. State positions of Russia in Serbia are stronger and stronger and Russia tries to influence our citizens. Russia is not considered as a foreign state in Serbia, but as a domestic formation"**. Despite the fact that EU allocations for the development of Serbia exceeds Russian financing, the population still underlines Russian aid and expresses gratitude. He described propaganda are untrue commercials and populism as a lie on the expectations of the people.<sup>6</sup>

The 3rd panel thus closed the first day of the conference with a clear image of an enemy, but without discussing the issue of managing citizen expectations at all.

The 4th panel was moderated by the President of the Europe Foundation, **Ketevan Vashakidze**, dedicated to **"Deeper Engagement with the EU and among the EU Partners – Realities, Prospects and Modalities."**<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The International Parliamentary Conference discussed the Anti-Western propaganda and "Soft Power" policy (4 December 2017) <http://www.parliament.ge/en/saparlamento-saqmianoba/komitetebi/evropastan-integraciis-komiteti-143/axali-ambebi1910/saertashoriso-saparlamento-konferenciaze-antidasavluri-propagandis-da-rbili-dzalis-politikaze-imsdjeles.page> (11.12.2017)

<sup>6</sup> Nenad Canak at International Parliamentary Conference "EU and Partners –

Embracing Diversity for Stronger Unity" in Tbilisi, Georgia. Tuesday, 5 December 2017. (11.03.2018)

<sup>7</sup> Deeper Engagement with the EU and among the EU Partners – Realities, Prospects and Modalities. 05 Dec 2017 (11.03.2018)

## 6 — Opinions and comments (cont.)

The reporters spoke about forms of co-operation amongst the EU and European Free Trade Association member states, candidate countries and EaP states, considered economic and trade relations, as well as prospects of co-operation in energy and security spheres. They emphasised the need for a deeper political and economic integration with the EU without EU membership, including through gradual involvement of EU programmes on functional and sector integration.

The moderator underlined the declared ambition of Georgia related to EU membership. **"As people say in Georgia, they want to be back to the family. The country shall be transformed for this purpose. We want to have higher integration with EU and all the stages we pass serve our goal – to be back to our European family. We want the citizens to have better life quality, so on a daily basis we strive in all the directions which requires new partnership relations. The will of EU aspiration is high in the society. With the reforms we will approximate to EU. This is how the reforms are perceived – to serve for improvement of their life level and return to the family",** - she stated emphatically.

As a strong believer in junctions, critical turns towards EU integration, **Sergi Kapanadze**, the Deputy Chairman of the Parliament of Georgia from the opposition, is expecting a new junction in 2020. There were two junctions in EU-Georgia relations: the first in 2004 with the introduction of the ENP and the second in 2009 establishing the EaP. He proposed that the EaP countries should get something similar like the Instrument of Pre-Accession (IPA) used by the Balkan states even without a clear membership perspective (which Georgia deserves as well as Ukraine and Moldova). A more robust development programme would not be about money, but about assistance to design local demand, most of all the adaptation to regional development programmes that prepare pre-accession countries on how to absorb those huge EU funds to decrease inequalities among regions of the EU. He is also a believer in "strong conditionality" together with opening new chapters of co-operation with the EU and closing some chapters that are not essential for approximation. In parliamentary systems, executive oversight should be strengthened. In 2020 such a new instrument should be introduced.

It would be a good idea thus to open up Georgia's road towards accession, not just the "next association agenda", but an attempt to upgrade the political relationship with Georgia. Looking forward to the next Commission that does not exclude further enlargement, as Juncker did. Issues of political prisoners, weak institutions and others remain, but should not impact the further upgrade of our relations with the EU. "Georgia shall have a guideline to EU accession as we cannot progress without it. I would like the EU for 2020 to issue a new agenda to Georgia, as our relations need to be forwarded to the new stage. I believe, we can improve our relations and become an applicant state".

For the Head of the Moldovan Parliamentary Delegation and Co-President of the EuroNest Parliamentary Assembly (PA), **Marian Lupu**, in 2009 the EaP was not created for accession. Eight years later the EaP countries are not homogenous anymore in their foreign policy towards the EU. **"When establishing the EaP, the countries were on an equal level in strategic view terms. They had the similar view of relations with the EU. They were concentrated more on regional co-operation than European integration of these countries. Reality has changed. The EaP is based on a regional approach and does not exclude individual approaches. We shall recognise and respect sovereign right of the country to define their own priorities on domestic and foreign policy".** AZB will never be associated, ARM is somewhere in between, GEO, MD, UKR signed the AA and visa free regime, which have established a common platform of their declared interest in acceding to the EU one day. **"We shall have the chance of cohabitation within EaP, but we shall realize that every country applies different methods and instruments for enhancement of relations with EU".**

The last EaP summit emphasised differentiation as its topic with different ways and instruments to meet diverse demands of the respective EaP countries; e.g. in a joint address by the three Parliaments prior to the EaP Summit they established the "3AA working group" headed by Tamar Khulordava as a new platform for EaP countries with common aspirations to join forces politically.

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

He welcomed this institutional innovation of co-operation. **"It is the unique case, the only internal structure of the EuroNest PA with three co-presidents. (...) I believe such co-ordinated position shall be permanent to jointly implement our activity. Our political interest is to hold the dialogue with EU and use three simultaneous votes as one, appeal for the next stage of EU relations and enhance integration"**. This group will use the platform for the creation of new opportunities, especially in relation to EU enlargement. "We will be more successful with these instruments facilitating our countries to solve the social, political and economic systems. We will be able to achieve higher results". In the meantime, the existing format of the EaP which was NOT envisioned as a platform for integration, has to be continued until we have established a new format. In contrast to Sergi Kapanadze, the pre-accession instrument is more about financial assistance than providing expertise. Due to this assistance Moldova will be able to achieve much more serious results, for example in basic issues like dissolving the Russian monopoly in the provision of energy and thus averting political threats. The EU can support this diversification in the energy sector as a political priority, thus creating alternatives in economic as well as in political terms. Alternative sources could account to 30% coming from Romania or Ukraine channels which would be supported through financial and technical assistance from the EU. It is also about investments which is the first what we need. A new European Investment Fund should be created especially for EaP countries like a Marshall Fund. EU integration is very hard day-to-day work in transforming the institutional standards of the EaP countries, but it will bring more results in the long run.

The Chair of the Committee on European Affairs and Oversight of the European Funds of National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria, **Kristian Ivanov Vigenin**, noted the progress of Georgia for the last 20 years, but related to Bulgarian pre-accession experience he warned not to create too high expectations on membership.

As long as there are no new forms, ways of functioning or purpose for the transformation of the EU established, no new members can be accepted, which would be difficult to explain to the citizens of some Member States.

However, some aspiring states should be allowed step-by-step to include EU policies into their national Europeanisation agendas, starting with the DCFTA and entering the single European market which would make their economies more competitive. He expressed support to granting an EU membership perspective to EaP countries although the EU encounters the internal transformation, which is too complicated to open the door for other members. **"We shall find the best way to advance. We shall work for maximum approximation of EaP states to EU. We shall use various forms for their approximation so that the EU membership is the natural step. Step-by-step, involvement of these countries in various policies shall be ensured"**, - he stated. When the EUAs are implemented, the economies of the countries will be more competitive which will be simplifying their integration. **"Bulgaria does its best to enhance EU obligations on the Parliamentary and the Council level. We have close co-ordination on all the issues that may be solved with our joint efforts. All the policies shall be developed with your participation. You are the states participating in formation of these policies. We enhance this process to create equal regime of co-operation"**, - he stated. Another issue is the integration of neighbouring countries into the EU energy system that provides for more political choices as well. Also, digital connectivity is an important aspect of integrating them into the EU. The 20 deliverables by 2020 from EaP summit in Brussels are very wide and allow to achieve a lot. Looking into the next panel about "The Future of the EU", there will be hard choices to be made on how to fill the EU budget after Brexit and the readiness of other Member States to invest into the EU. A new Neighbourhood Instrument might be quite similar to a pre-accession instrument, but without the accession element. EaP countries have to lobby for it through "Cossack" meetings among Member States open for EaP countries. There are several decisions to be taken on the national parliamentary level, where EaP countries can share their views of a common future with the Eastern EU Member States. He stressed the importance that EaP countries are already included in the policy formation at this state, even if they are still not able to vote.

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

The Chairman of International Relations and Inter-parliamentary Relations of Milli Majlis of the Republic of Azerbaijan, **Samed Ismayil Oglu Seyidov**, differentiated that diversity is one of the core values in Europe, not only the EU. "Azerbaijan has the strategic goal to approximate with Europe. We will do our best to implement this idea." Bringing "Europe" to our countries through a majority of its projects (e.g. the Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan, Baku – Tbilisi – Erzurum pipelines TAPP etc.) could be seen as a priority for a very specific way of co-operation. Several agreements have been signed with the EU and its Member States on energy routes as examples of co-operation with neighbouring states. **"Our country is a good example of how we can co-operate with neighbours. At the same time, we can bring the new approach and new contribution in co-operation with European institutions. We shall fulfill our homework. We have much to do, but both parties are assigned with the tasks – as our countries, so the EU. We can help each other. We shall change the views and attitude towards each other"**. For him, the conclusion of ten strategic bilateral agreements would indicate close co-operation with the EU. Investing in Europe, building alternative security pipelines Azerbaijan would bring security and its heritage to Europe. Through the co-operation with our neighbouring countries, mainly Georgia and Turkey, Azerbaijan intends to create new forms of co-operation. "Let's be friends!" He proposes to find mutually understandable ways in solving many problems with bureaucracy, islamophobia, xenophobia. He called for changing "our attitude" from tolerance as a priority value among EU institutions to respect for each other!

The Chair of the Joint Commission for the EU of the Congress of Deputies of Spain, **Maria Soraya Rodriguez Ramos**, expressed support to territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia and thanked Georgia for official support to Spain. She gave an overview on co-operation of EU and EaP states and noted that EaP has made steps forward and enhanced relations with EU. **"Spain always supported EaP unity. At the November Summit, we underlined support of strategic co-operation and ambitious partnership based on common values. We undertake to facilitate to protect democracy, rule of law, human rights and fundamental values, which is the milestone of EaP."**

**EaP is the instrument of approximation of the society"**. To her, the White Paper on the Future of the EU launched an interesting and intense debate relevant also for the EaP as a foundation for the EU and its security. She empathised with the participation of Georgia in various missions. "It makes Georgia an important partner for Europe as we combat organised crime with their support. All the tasks and objectives are the good way for enhancement of relations. EaP has all the ways to approximate to EU".

The outgoing State Minister for EU and NATO Integration of Georgia, **Viktor Dolidze**, stated that **"Georgia is the integral part of Europe and EU. Georgia as a country is highly enthusiastic about EU relations. Our country participates in operations and we have the success stories"**. He reviewed the directions in which Georgia achieved progress – EUAA implementation, strengthening parliamentary oversight, visa free regime. "Georgia is the most active EaP member, granting us better opportunity to fulfill all the assignments, implement reforms as prioritised in Georgia. We shall use time for reforming". He hoped that Georgia will have a new reality for 2020, having the chance not only to approximate but to accede to the EU. To him, strategic communication "is the important instrument to be applied as within so beyond the country with strategic partners". He underlined the necessity of public awareness about EU aspiration. "Acceding to the EU is not only a foreign policy priority to ensure the security of Georgia, but also a national priority to facilitate development of the country and creation of better conditions for our citizens. It is the priority as for the Parliament so for the Government. We jointly strive to implement this task", - he stated. Territorial integrity remains a number one priority of Georgia. He is expecting not only more investments, but also new investments after the summit as well as training. Finally, he acknowledged the achievements of the previous government, but claimed huge progress since 2012 and claimed that now more than approximation is needed. Budgetary support, digitalisation, etc. should be continued and citizens benefit from co-operation.

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

In the discussion Irina **Pruidze** referred to the ongoing debate about the future of the EU with the five scenarios elaborated in the White Paper and hoped that these are only challenges. She asked if there are still prospects for full-fledged membership for EaP or would the EFTA principles be the only ones available. Another **MP** saw two narratives, where some want to collaborate with the EU in order to become an economic stronger state like Azerbaijan while the European integration was a peace project. Therefore, it would be better to speak the truth instead of the two narratives of who is helping whom. A **Latvian MP** commented that the EU showed a strong unity after Brexit among the remaining Member States. Recently, the EU has launched several very successful projects strengthening Frontex at the EU external borders, co-ordination in the field of defence or - as a Swedish MP highlighted - the social agenda in the EU. The EU is strong in its collective action during difficult political times beyond bilateral relations. The fact that the EU was able to develop its relation with EaP and sign agreement with Armenia is a sign of an open door for further development. He also observed a change of tone of the President of the European Commission Juncker recently. **Roman Kakulia**, a Georgian MP, stressed the importance of real economic development in our countries, but doubted, how foreign investment will help individual citizen.

The **fifth and final panel** was dedicated to "**The Future of the EU**", moderated by **Mr Dirk Tornstraa**, a former senior official of the European Parliament who shared his observations with economic growth going up and unemployment down, with less refugees, a new social policy concept, a joint defence initiative. Some Member States continue EU bashing, but most Member States do understand that this kind of bashing is going to lead nowhere. Reform is the word on the agenda, Tusk, Juncker's state of the union scenarios, but reforms that can be implemented without any changes to the treaty. Grand Coalition in Germany together with France can bring up a full Europeanisation of reforms, there is strength in unity facing similar challenges like decline in demography, GDP, labour force productivity and increase in ageing.

Five out of ten big US companies are in the high tech sector, in the EU much less than 1. How about the finality of European integration? 2. Is an ever greater unity among EU Member States feasible? With or without a viable currency? 3. How to continue with cohesion policy? 4. Should the EU as a territorial unity have its own battle groups? 5. Is it possible to be an economic giant and a political dwarf? 6. Is it acceptable that EU Member States are disregarding its major values or EU decisions? 7. How to respond to the widening gap between Member States and citizens in the EU? Should there be more forms of direct democracy? 8. Is the EU a better platform to establish global industrial economy or business? Not the future instrument in a globalised world?

**H.E. Janos Herman**, EU Ambassador to Georgia, replied sibylline: "The future of the EU is not as it is used to be, maybe it is just the beginning after turning 60." He sees a meaningful debate emerging about the choice in the coming decades that will not be the same as in the past, but with an existential character. Leaving the finality question aside, the options on how to make a functional and acceptable decision on European integration should be considered. Some realities were not foreseen during the inception of European integration. A gradual re-emergence of Europe can be observed, where the right questions are posed and now common answers have to be found. Also some Member States return to the EU not only looking at its utilisation, implying answers to Dirk Tornstraa's affirmative questions "Yes, we are!" The issue is "How to best approach these issues?" Certainly, the EU has a solid foundation due to globalisation. "Georgia should know that there is an EU going to stay and to have a relationship. Take part in the debate and contribute to it in how we will develop our mutual relations! Use the positive opportunities! Feelings are sometimes important."

**Ms Salome Zourabichvili**, the first Deputy Chairperson of Diaspora & Caucasus Issues Committee, sees a future of the EU together with that of Georgia.

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## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

Their fates are intertwined as migration, frozen conflicts became threatening the EU stability after the 2008 war between Russia and Georgia as well as the Ukraine crisis in 2015 with its occupied territories. Russian propaganda was no issue for the EU until recently, democracy does not only challenge Georgia, there are more threats by "illiberal democracy" from inside EU societies, territorial integrity and sovereignty (Helsinki Charter, NATO) are facing separatisms (Catalonia, etc.), which are not only fears for us. In fact, we are coming closer, Georgia does not have a serious alternative to the EU with its own values (otherwise regional isolation). EU support will be needed to consolidate its values in practice. Creative solutions need to be found in the EU, but Georgia is frozen in the mantras of future membership! There is much more creativity on the Georgian side needed to realise what Georgians can do themselves. Carrots and sticks do not work anymore, new approaches need to be found, using its historical potentials as a country between East and West, new answers. We have to be much more audacious!

**Mr Ojars Eriks Kalniņš** (Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee of Saeima of Latvia) – Next year will be the 100th anniversary of Baltic states independence, out of which 50 years were occupied. Membership is not a final goal, but the end of a first challenge, then it continues on how to keep the organisation together, much more to do once you have joined, work in progress, never to be finished, otherwise it will be finished, some kind of moving target. Brexit agony is threatening other Member States to think twice about leaving the EU. Multi-speed Europe compromise between doing nothing and doing all. We are not interested in United States of Europe and federalism, but respect for national integrity and sovereignty, but within strong EU. Defence issues quite similar. Common defence policy as joint army for Latvia is a non-starter, this is for NATO. For us, the two pillars of our multilateral foreign policy is NATO in defence and EU in economy and political cooperation and joint diplomacy.

The relationship with China is to some degree segregating different EU Member States, but it is possible to manage these different foreign policy agendas. Georgia should consider that NATO and

the EU are moving targets that require regular re-adjustments by aspiring Georgia. Working successfully on resilience, he concluded, Georgia's achievements have not been adequately assessed.

Coming from the most pro-European country in the world with 80% of the population perceiving themselves as pro-EU, **Ms Keit Pentus-Rosimannus** (Deputy Chairperson of Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament of Estonia) highlighted the historical reason behind the successes of EU & NATO that are existential for Estonia. Nowadays the country is so very much intertwined with other EU economies, the EU is providing much more freedom to their students. That is why for Estonia keeping unity in the EU is very important. Looking at the last agreement on defence co-operation, the current state of the EU is much better than a few years ago. However, she recommended to find a better way of communicating this to their respective societies also in relation to enlargement policy. On the issue of how to cope with the growing international challenges (migration, climate changes, globalised economy etc.) she recommended: 1. Continue with the European integration which does not necessarily mean federalisation, 2. Find as many friends outside the EU and establish good relationship with them without further enlargement, 3. Increase security through increased co-operation (cyber security). accepting that NATO and EU are not competitors, but the EU needs to improve its own security.

**Mr Kakha Gogolashvili** (Director of EU Studies, Rondeli Georgian Foundation for Security and International Studies) held that the future of the EU is also Georgia's future. Academics and philosophers will never rule. Therefore, functional developments are crucial for the EU: 1. The EU must become more democratic given the importance of human capital facing demographic decline, 2. given the trends of the contemporary world the EU represents a good and transformative power based on values and prosperity which requires continued improvement of its competitiveness on a global scale. He did not see that an expansion of the EU as such would necessarily imply enlargement, already its values

## 6 – Opinions and comments (cont.)

are helpful around the EU, to shape themselves according to the European idea, becoming similar or compatible with EU. In that sense Brexit stimulated the renovation process inside the EU, he concluded.

**Ms Ana Gomes** (MEP) asked what the EU stands for. EU would be about regulation, social justice and a rule-based world. There is some regress in the world concerning these issues. Therefore “we” have to take a more pro-active approach, also overcoming a neo-liberal policy. She showed herself confident that “We” are on the European level more and more reacting. Convergence of the European economy is absolutely essential, as well as further integration. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) as the only standard starts to govern the digital world was created in Europe, but does now work worldwide. PESTO – the common defence and security policy, created as a consequence of Brexit, showing that “we” understood that this is the way to go. She demanded some greater “strategic autonomy of the EU”, e.g. the social dimension came to the fore and cannot be neglected any longer, EU citizens need to profit from the Union. Her proposition is to regain control from deregulatory neo-liberal policies guiding the EU over the last decades. “We in the EP are definitely working on that.” The response to these challenges should not only be institutional adaptations, but an increase of real democratic scrutiny through national and European parliaments. She warned Georgians not to get fooled by enlargement talks, the EU will not be able to make a significant difference.

EU ambassador **Janos Herman** conciliatorily called that only “all of us together will get better solutions as alone” and only that way we will continue to strengthen the attractiveness of the EU. It would not be the question when will there be another enlargement, but it will come with conditions – for sure.

**Tamar KHULORDAVA summarised the two days conference emphasising the need for more engagement and formats of interaction in Parliament, with other parliaments and with the European Parliament in current affairs.**

**The essential importance of the EU lies in the fact that we can tackle the challenges of the world better together.** Finally, she expressed her gratitude to the participants and organisers of the Conference and stressed that the historical idea born 60 years ago creating the highest standard of freedom and solid guarantees of security for the citizens, as the correct model of development, that would today inspire its partners. Therefore, all partners should be interested in a strong and consolidated EU, as a strategic partner confident in its strength.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the **conference** facilitated the exchange of experience among EaP and candidate countries in direction of multilateralism, an exercise of socialisation with the participation of EU member states’ MPs and MEPs. However, the conference also demonstrated the current decline of supra-nationalism in European integration, continuously appealing to an enlightened self-interest of Member States, candidate countries as well as aspiring neighbours like Georgia and Ukraine. The smaller the country the greater is the awareness of the role of the EU for a voice opportunity on the international level. So, the problems of the EU and its partners differ widely. An all-embracing vision how to win over the citizenry was missing, the search for pragmatic solutions and self-affirmation of the not all too evident advantages (not only benefits) for ordinary citizens are responses to the declining authority of political elites in the wake of strengthening populist movements all over Europe. How to (re-) establish a dialogue with the citizens instead of improved communication strategies should certainly be a priority. The other priority should be a shift from looking back to the last sixty years of European integration under the condition of Cold War towards a reflection of the role of the EU in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In short, there is a need to re-invent pragmatic politics based on values as the “founding fathers” of the Union did. This was not discussed here among the representatives of the European citizens and therefore remains to be addressed.

<sup>8</sup> Tamar Khulordava expressing gratitude to the participants and organizers of the Conference. December 6, [2017](#). (11.03.2018)

## 7 — New publications

**Barkaia, Maia / Waterston, Alisse**

**Gender in Georgia: Feminist Perspectives on Culture, Nation, and History in the South Caucasus.**

*Berghahn Books: New York and London 2017*

Includes:

- Gaprindashvili, Lela: Pioneer Women: "Herstories" of Feminist Movements in Georgia
- Barkaia, Maia: "The Country of the Happiest Women"? Ideology and Gender in Soviet Georgia
- Tskhadadze, Tamar: "The West" and Georgian "Difference": Discursive Politics of Gender and Sexuality in Georgia
- Grabowska, Magdalena: Overcoming the "Delay" Paradigm: New Approaches to Socialist Women's Activism in Georgia and Poland
- Chkheidze, Ketevan: Women's Political Representation in Post-Soviet Georgia
- Sabedashvili, Tamar: The Domestic Violence Challenge to Soviet Women's Empowerment Policies
- Javakhishvili, Nino / Butashvili, Nino: Domestic Violence in Georgia: State and Community Responses, 2006-2015
- Arjevanidze, Nargiza: Remembering the Past: Narratives of Displaced Women from Abkhazia
- Regulaska, Joanna / Mitchneck, Beth / Kabachnik, Peter: Displacement, State Violence and Gender Roles: The Case of Internally Displaced and Violence-Affected Georgian Women
- Tsopurashvili, Salome: Images of "The New Woman" in Soviet Georgian Silent Films
- Sumbadze, Nana: Gender Equality: Still a Disputed Value in Georgian Society
- Zurabishvili, Tamar / Mestvirishvili, Maia / Zurabishvili, Tinatin: Georgian Women Migrants: Experiences Abroad and at Home
- Gvianishvili, Natia: Being Transgender in Georgia
- Rekhviashvili, Anna: Tracing the LGBT Movement in the Republic of Georgia: Stories of Activists.

**Bayramov, Agha / Nolan, Dermot**

**Academic vs. Government Discourse: Different and Similar Views on Regional Conflicts in the South Caucasus**

*Nationalities Papers 2018 Vol. 46 No. 2 pp. 318-322*

**Delcour, Laure**

**"You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink": The EU's and Russia's Intersecting Conditionalities and Domestic Responses in Georgia and Moldova**

*European Politics and Society*, published online 26

February 2018, available at

<<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23745118.2018.1441699>>

**Hamilton, Daniel S. / Meister, Stefan (eds.)**

**Eastern Voices. Europe's East Faces an Unsettled West**  
*Center for Transatlantic Relations: Washington D.C. 2017*

Includes:

- Kakachia, Kornely: Georgia's Euro-Atlantic Aspirations: Between Protracted Integration and Managing Expectations
- De Waal, Thomas: Wither the South Caucasus?
- Harzl, Benedikt: Stepping up the EU's Engagement in the Conflicts of the Caucasus
- Valiyev, Anar: Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy: What Role for the West in the South Caucasus?
- Grigoryan, Stepan / Grigoryan, Hasmik: Transparency and Rule of Law as Key Priorities for Armenia

**Harzl, Benedikt**

**Beyond Enlargement: Legal and (Geo-) Political Landmarks of the EU's Eastern Challenge**

*Review of Central and East European Law 2018 Vol. 42 No. 4 pp. 409-427.*

**Holland, Edward C. / Witmer, Frank D.W. / O'Loughlin, John**

**The Decline and Shifting Geography of Violence in Russia's North Caucasus, 2010-2016**

*Eurasian Geography and Economics*, published online 1 March 2018, available at <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15387216.2018.1438905>>.

**Imagine. Center for Conflict Transformation / CISR Berlin**

**Imagining the Future. Visions for Conflict Transformation**

available at <<http://caucasusedition.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Imagining-the-Future-Visions-for-Conflict-Transformation.pdf>>.

**Makarychev, Andrey**

**Incomplete Hegemonies, Hybrid Neighbours: Identity Games and Policy Tools in Eastern Partnership Countries**

*CEPS Working Document No. 2018/02 of February 2018*,

available at

<[https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/WD2018-02\\_AM\\_IncompleteHegemonies\\_final.pdf](https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/WD2018-02_AM_IncompleteHegemonies_final.pdf)>



## 7 – New publications (cont.)

**Kakachia, Kornely / Meister, Stefan / Fricke, Benjamin (eds.)**

**Geopolitics and Security. A New Strategy for the South Caucasus**

*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung / Georgian Institute of Politics / German Council on Foreign Relations 2018*

Includes:

- Simão, Licinia: The European Union's New Eastern Partnership Policy
- Shaffer, Brenda: European Union Energy policy: The Role of the South Caucasus
- Makarychev, Andrey / Yatsyk, Alexandra: Russia's Cooperative Hegemony in the South Caucasus: A Retrospective Actualization of the Model
- Gogolashvili, Kakha: In Search of the European Perspective: Georgia after the Association Agreement
- Valiyev, Anar: Azerbaijan's Policy Toward EU Integration: Unrecognized Strategic Partner
- Rzayeva, Gulmira: Infrastructure Cooperation: Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey
- Giragosian, Richard: Promise and Peril: The Armenia-Russia-Iran Axis
- Delcour, Laure / Kostanyan, Hrant: The Internal-External Nexus in the Eastern Partnership: Consequences of the EU's Crisis for the South Caucasus
- Cornell, Svante: The Impact of the Ukraine and Syria Conflicts on the Geopolitics of the South Caucasus.
- Mihelidze, Nona: EU Global Strategy, Resilience of the East European Societies and the Russian Challenge

**Makarychev Andrey / Yatyk, Alexandra**

**Illiberal Geographies: Popular Geopolitics and Russian Biopolitical Regionalism**

*Eurasian Geography and Economics*, published online on 6 February 2018, available at <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15387216.2018.1434804>>.

**Nagashima, Toru**

**Russias Passportization Policy toward Unrecognized Republics**

*Problems of Post-Communism*, published online 13 December 2017

**Sotiriou, Stylianos A.**

**The Irreversibility of History. The Conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia**

*Problems of Post-Communism 2018*, published online 19 December 2017

**Petrov, Roman / Van Elsuwege, Peter**

**Post-Soviet Constitutions and Challenges of Regional Integration. Adapting to European and Eurasian Integration Projects**

*Routledge 2017*

Includes:

- Blokker, Paul: The Evolution of Constitutionalism in the post-Communist Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Some Lessons for the post-Soviet space
- Burlyuk, Olga / Axyonova, Vera: Protecting the Rule of Law in post-Soviet States: The Relevance of European and Eurasian Integration
- Dragneva, Rilka: The Eurasian Economic Union: Balancing Sovereignty and Integration
- Dragneva, Rilka: The Association Agreements between the EU and Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine: Constitutional Issues of Sovereignty and Legitimacy
- Gabrichidze, Gaga: The Constitutional Order of Georgia and its Adaptability to the EU-Georgia Association Agreement
- Ghazaryan, Narine / Delcour, Laure: From European Integration Process to the Eurasian Economic Union. The Case of Armenia

**Popov, Anton**

**Re-enacting „Cossack Roots”: Embodiment of Memory, History, and Tradition among Young People in Southern Russia**

*Nationalities Papers 2018 Vol. 46 No. 1 pp. 1-19*

**Sadigov, Turkhan / Guliyev, Fahrid**

**Eroding Support for Democracy in Azerbaijan? Context and Pitfalls in Survey Research**

*Caucasus Survey*, published online 4.1.2018, available at <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23761199.2017.1408246>>.

**Sichinava, David**

**Cleavages, Electoral Geography, and the Territorialization of Political Parties in the Republic of Georgia**

*Eurasian Geography and Economics*, published online 22 February 2018, available at <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15387216.2018.1442734>>.

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