# The Role and Place of Georgia in the Globalized World

Tamar MKALAVISHVILI\*

#### Abstract

The article focuses on explaining the importance of the role of Georgia in the globalization processes. Main positive aspects are indicated with the Scientificcitations. Foreign policy has become one of the main important challenges of the new government of Georgia so article will provide you with the information about the relationship between Georgia and EU, NATO, and USA. Foreign Trade of Georgia is one of the most important factors, which determines the country's active involvement in the Globalization processes and my article aims to provide you with important information concerning the main crucial processes in this direction.

Keywords: Economy, Globalization, International, Politics, Trade

## Introduction

After the disintegration of the world communist system, accordingly after the collapse of the USSR, the convenient base for the development of the globalization was created, because most of the countries from the post-Soviet space, also countries from the Central and Eastern Europe gained opportunity to be more integrated to the world political and economic system. In this regards it is important to mention about the increasing role of the economy in the world and here should be mentioned that the volume of the trade among the different nations in the world today is about 20 trillion US dollars, volume of the foreign direct investments is about 1.5 trillion US dollars and at the same time world GDP is about 177 trillion US dollars and furthermore we should mention here about the active role of the different international economic and financial institutions, which promote the process of the globalization. In this regards it is necessary to mention about the world trade organization on the share of WTO member states is coming more than 19% of the world trade, furthermore the role of the EU because of the 16 % of international aid is coming on the European Union and at the same time EU is one of the clear example, how it is possible to promote the international cooperation among the different nations in case of EU there are 28 nations forpromoting the international processes. It is also important to mention here about the World Bank Group, International Monetary fund etc. It is necessary to point out that of course Georgia after becoming independent state gained the opportunity to be part of the globalized world and to put its maybe modest contribution to the international economic and political order. It is also crucial to mention that Georgia today is a member of more than fifty international intergovernmental organizations and it has diplomatic relations with more than 100 states in the world. And for providing more successful implementation processes for Georgia in the globalized world, of course it is necessary to promote rational foreign policy. (Gogolashvili K. 2014).

Foreign policy became one of the main important challenges of the new government of Georgia, which was mainly determined by three main factors:

- 1. After the election, new government was concentrated on the internal-political issues. Also Cohabitation was one of the main problematic issues, which provoked interest of international society. Therefore, Georgian Government very often had to be in the role of defendant;
- 2. In foreign countries and in some specific political circles of Georgia, questions concerning the possible changes in the political orientation made the government to be in the regime of self-explanation:
- 3. New government should implement all tasks, which were mentioned in the election program. Government by the assistance of foreign policy, should strengthen the country's security and accordingly it should have the reliable image in the international arena

The problem of cohabitation did not have the positive impact on the foreign policy of Georgia. In many cases (For example the Assembly of the Council of Europe) international tribune was used-fornot solving important issues of the country, but resistant politicians, to express their positions concerning the other issues or to prove their own justice, used it.

Western States and politicians very often expressed their remarks concerning the internal political activities of the government and they expressed doubt about the existence of the selective justice. Critics were from international countries and tribunes. Critical analysis of the foreign politics of Georgia also appeared in the American Press, "Washington Post". Critics covered two main issues:

- 1. Imperfections and mistakes which really existed;
- 2. The lack of communication with foreign partners.

<sup>\*</sup> M.A., International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia. E-mail: tmkalavishvili@ibsu.edu.ge

## Geopolitical Situation in Europe after "Cold War" Period

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Organization of Warsaw Pact, power vacuum created between the weak states of Russia and the West. History shows us that such vacuum between the two or more poles can cause:

- 1. Either one of the great powers or alliances unilaterally expands into the middle area or the latter is partitioned into spheres of influence by them;
- 2. The area between two or more poles is recognized by them as a buffer zone and the countries in this region assume neutral or non-aligned status by or, more often, against their own will; i.e. they are "neutralized".

It is true that, Europe after the Cold war contained both elements, but it should be mentioned that 1st one was mainly used by the powerful states.

Georgia has been stuck in a geopolitical limbo or transition period in a long time, because on the one hand, Russia is trying to turn Georgia into its satellite and drag it into the CIS, CSTO and EEU or is considering a temporary alternative of accepting Georgia's neutral buffer status, but not withdrawing its forces from the occupied regions of Georgia in order to wait for a future opportunity to convert the country into its satellite. However, the military occupation of the Georgian territories of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region /South Ossetia by Russia following the 2008 August Russia-Georgia war is a serious obstacle to Georgia's NATO aspirations as well as to its position of a genuine buffer. In this situation, theoretically, Georgia can play five different geopolitical roles in the region:

- 1. Buffer between the Russia and the West If Russia will finish the military occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, or the occupation power of Russia will be replaced with the contingent of international peace and Georgia will become neutral state and will stop its aspiration towards the NATO and EU. One hypothetic variations of this scenario can be the neutral Georgia, which is not the member of NATO, but is the member of European Union. In this case Georgia will become the buffer state between the NATO and Russia.
- 2. NATO ally - If Russia will finish the military occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, or the occupation power of Russia will be replaced with the contingent of international peace and Georgia will become the member of NATO (and at the same time member of EU).
- 3. Russia's Satellite If Georgia will recognize the military power of Russia in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and will neglect European Union and NATO and also will change its direction in foreign politics, will declare the neutrality and will become a member of CIS, CSTO and EEU.
- 4. Shatter belt If the Russian occupant army neither withdraws from Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region / South Ossetia, nor is it replaced by an international peacekeeping mission, while Georgia Joins NATO and/or the European Union, which would be jury imply Georgia's integration into these organizations with its internationally recognized territory, but would de facto be equal to the splitting of Georgia along the lines of Russian military occupation into spheres of influence by Russia and the West.
- 5. Bridge between the Russia and the West If rivalry between Russia and United States of America, NATO and European union will be changed with real cooperation and friendship, Russia will stop the occupation of Abkhazia, Tskhinvali region/ South Ossetia, will recognize the Unity of the territories of Georgia, will not perceive Russia as the danger and will improve the political, economic and military connections with Russia and the West, will become the member of NATO or European Union, or becomes a member of both organization. It is an ideal scenario, where the power politics

will be transformed into the regional cooperation, as it happened after the World War II in West Europe. (Surmanidze T. 2015).

The first, second and fourth scenarios can be continued with the fifth scenario, which is the best option for Georgia. Despite the fact that Georgia prefers the second scenario, which means the desire to become the member of NATO, according to the nowadays conditions, Georgia more or less belongs to the fourth scenario, which in generally is not good for Georgia.

The research question of the paper will be the following: Is Georgia ready or not to become the plenipotentiary part of the world democratic society?

# Relations of Georgia with the European Union

As it is known that Georgia, since the foundation of the statehood on the territory of the country about the 3000 years ago was always considered as a part of Europe and it was always intention from the Georgian Society to be the part of the European Family. For example the active participation of Georgia in the Great Silk Road project, which was promoting Georgia to be one of the leading transit states and also providing increasing volume of trade with European nations, furthermore contacts with Byzantium, later with Roman empire and Greek cities also, visits of Georgian Diplomats, for example Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani to Rome and his meeting with the Pope of Rome and King of France and later intension of Georgia during the period of 1918-1921 to be part of the League of nations and to establish close relations with Germany and later with Great Britain, represent its clear example of the Georgian intention to be the part of the European family. After the restoration of the National Independence of Georgia and when in March, of 1992, 12 EU member states (within this periods there were 12 states) recognized the independence of Georgia and of course convenient base for the development of international cooperation between EU and Georgia have been established. In this regards it is necessary to point out here about 1996s trade and cooperation agreement between EU and Georgia, which entered into the force in 1999. Since 2004, Georgia has become a member of the EU neighborhood policy. In November, 2006 Georgia -EU signs action plan and since 2009 Georgia became a member of the Eastern Partnership Programme. Later, it is necessary to point out the increasing volume of the trade. Nowadays about 26-27 person of the Georgian Foreign Trade is coming on the share of the EU member states. In June of 2014 Georgia, with other states signed Associate agreement with European Union, we know that 6 other states refused to sign this agreement. Accordingly Georgia of course pays important attention to the relations with EU and itiscrucial to mention about the relation in the field of defense and Security. We know about the active participation of the Georgian Military Service in the peacekeeping and antiterrorist operations on the territory of Central African Republic and Mali and also active participation of EU mission on the territory of Georgia near the occupied territories. (Gogolashvili K. 2014).

Despite of the above-mentioned problems and difficulties, the government of Georgia has significant achievements in the relations with the European Union. First of all we should mention the completion of negotiations about the Association, including the agreement about the deep and comprehensive free trade.

It is important to mention that the visits of the different representatives from the different European structures had a great importance among other activities such as the activities of Ministry of foreign affairs, in the integration process with European and Euro Atlantic structures. During the visit of Prime Minister in Latvia, Georgia got the guarantees about the Associate. At the same time a real perspective of this agreement appeared in 2014.

We have a huge progress concerning Visa Liberation. The process started in 2010, when Readmission Agreement entered

into force, which implied decreasein the visa fees for the citizens of Georgia during the entrance to the Schengen zone. Nowadays, EU should consider the abolishment of the visa regime with Georgia during the entrance to the Schengen zone for 90 days. Which means that, Georgian people will use the benefits of Liberalization, which makes possible a free movement on the territory of the Schengen zone.

## **Georgia-NATO Relations**

The relations with North Atlantic Alliance started since June5, 1992, when Georgia became the member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and later it is important to mention that Georgia in 1994 joined the NATO programme partnership for peace and within the period of 1998-2002 the General Secretary of NATO had a several important visits to Georgia. After the Rose Revolution period for the first time Georgia declared about its intention to become the plenipotentiary member of NATO. In October, 2004 the individual partnership action plan for Georgia was approved by NATO and in September 2006, the new process between two sides have been started when NATO member countries during the meeting in the frame of the General Assembly of the United Nationsadopted the intensified dialogue programme for Georgia and we know during the Bucharest Summit of NATO in April of 2008, NATO member countries agreed that Georgia and Ukraine one day would become plenipotentiary member of the alliance.

In the relationships between the North Atlantic Alliance and Georgia the main role has played NATO-Georgia Commission, which has been functioning since September 2008. In the framework of bilateral cooperation, Georgia has to implement Annual National Program. It is quite dynamic process in this above-mentioned relationship. The organization of the meeting with the North Atlantic Council of NATO in Georgia in 2013, emphasized its significant attitude toward Georgia. The same visit expressed the will of Council, which deals with the support of Georgia in the integration process with NATO

Georgia managed to utilize the decision of 2012, made during the NATO's Chicago Summit, and expand its cooperation with NATO's aspirant countries such as Bosnia- Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro. It should be mentioned that with the initiation of Georgia, significant meetings were held in the mentioned format, which aimed to deepen the collaboration. (Surmanidze T. 2015).

In 2013, Ministers of Defense of NATO aspirant countries visited Batumi, were the meeting was held related to the perspectives of the integration to the Euro-Atlantic structures.

Georgia still continues to contribute its significant role in the International Security. Within the mission of ISAF, Georgia represented the biggest contributor country, among the nonmember states of NATO. It is crucial to mention that the frequency of armed attacks on the dislocation of Georgian Soldiers has increased since 2013 and the number of Death of Georgian soldiers increased till 29.

It is important to mention about the opening of the training center of NATO in Georgia and joint exercises with participation of NATO first of all American, British, Latvian Military service men and Georgian military service men and at the same time we know that at this stagethe Annual National Programme is in force, according to which Georgiain the beginning of each year takes responsibilities in the fields of politics and economics, military and security judiciary and democracy for the implementation reform with the purpose of the satisfaction of the standards of NATO.

# USA-Georgia Relations

The existence of the United States of America and its three-century experience is a crucial charge for the mankind.

It should be mentioned that from the last 90s the positive movements by means of development were made in Georgia and United States of America was one of the biggest supporter of our country in any sphere or field.

The review of the latest relationship between United States of America and Georgia makes visible how the foreign politics of Georgia is directly diverted towards the West.

It is crucial to mention that from 1990s USA has declared the region of Caucasus as the fundamental sphere of interest.

While talking about the relationship between USA and Georgia it is important to mention that, after the declaration of independence in Georgia, USA granted our country with100 million US dollars during the crisis. The support was not only financial because USA was lobbing Georgia in different kinds of financial or non-financial organizations. For example, with the active intervention of the United States of America, Georgia from 1994 till 2007 received loan with the amount of 600 million US dollar and World Bank has apportioned nearly 500 million US dollar for Georgia. This money was intended for the development of democratic institutions in the country.

In the 20th century, Georgia had some radical changes in the formation of Ministries, which were provided with the modern technologies. Reforms were made in law system, in schools and in medical units.

Also with the help of the USA many successful and necessary projects were implemented in the fields of military. Best example here would be the participation of Georgia in "Partnership for Peace", which was initiated by the USA.

It is crucial to mention that USA is the biggest supporter of Georgia, whose aim is to become the member of NATO. At the congress of USA draft law was presented, were the USA expressed its opinion and claimed that Georgia should immediately become the member of the North Atlantic Organization. According to this document, USA promised the financial aid to Georgia as well.

After the Rose Revolution in Georgia, with the support of the United States of America country experienced the positive and radical changes by means of Democracy and economy.

It is crucial to mention that during the Russo-Georgian war, USA was the main guarantee of sovereignty for Georgia. Despite of the fact that Georgia Lost Abkhazia and Samachablo, if not the strict position of USA, Georgiawould lose its sovereignty. The speech of President of the United States, Barak Obama was significant, when he in Moscow expressed his support toward the unity and sovereignty of Georgia. Also visit of Joseph Biden in Georgia in 2009 was also one more expresses ion of support.

As for the military cooperation, USA still continues the training of Georgian military service men. As it is known Georgia has sent nearly 950 service men to Afghanistan.

United States of America still remains as the main strategic partner of Georgia. The frame of cooperation presents the charter of strategic partnership, which covers four main dimensions: security and defense; Economic cooperation; Democratic and Civil Society; and contract between the people. Since November 2012, to 2013 the meeting of these four working groups was held.

On 14th of June, 2013, United States of America accepted the authorization act of defense, where the article 1244 deals with the cooperation with Georgia. The mentioned article contained the critics and strict evaluations towards Georgia. It is also important to mention that, in 2013 senator John McCain and Lindsy Gram expressed the significant claims to support Georgia.

#### Georgia-Russian Relations

Since the restoration of national independence, Georgia was trying to find the common interests with Russia, but unfortunately, because of imperialistic ambitions from the official Moscow side, Georgia lost control over Abkhazia and former South Ossetia Authonomous district in the beginning of 90-th, but culmination of the tension between two sides was war in August 2008. Main reasons were about the following issues: In order to analyze Russian actions of 2008, it is crucial to analyze the processes, which have started after the end of the cold war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and what is most important is to understand how Russia perceived that mentioned processes. Taking all this into the consideration, international environment around Russia was determined by several main factors:

- 1. The Expenditure of NATO towards the West has started in 1999 and 2004, when the three former states of Socialist Camp (1999) and later seven states (2004) have become the plenipotentiary members of NATO. In April 2008, NATO invited two more states (Albania and Croatia) and in 2007 Bulgaria and Romania also joined the alliance. Everything these were perceived by the Russia as the threat to its security.
- 2. In 1994 the leading oil companies of West and Azerbaijan signed an agreement, which was called the Contract of the Century. The mentioned contract leaded to the development of alternative transportation of the energy recourses. This transportation would be possible with evasion Russia. The Contract of the Century was including the transportation of the oil to the West. Oil was founded in Caspian Region. It is crucial to mention that Georgia was considered as the main transit state for the transportation. After the signing the contracts in 1999, Baku-Supsa and later in 2005, Baku-Tbilisi-Jeihan oil-pipe-line entered its exploitation. In 2006, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzrum pipelines were also in force. Everything these resulted that oil and natural air were on the market without Russia's transition. And according to the political Elite, it was the major pre-requisite of decreasing the Influence of Russia in European Union and in Post-soviet countries.
- 3. After the recognition of the independence of Kosovo by the majority of Western countries, Russia was very active in the Balkan region. Russia always supported the Slavic Orthodox Serbs and perceived this country as its strategic ally. In the beginning of 90s Kremlin openly declared its support to the Bosnian Serbs, which was expressed by sending the Russian voluntaries to war in Bosnia. In 1999-2008 Russia was very actively involved in the process of the determination of the legal status of Kosovo, where Russia was against of the international recognition of Kosovo. In February 17, 2008 Kosovo formally declared its independence. After this declaration all Western countries recognized the independence of Kosovo. By that time, President of Russia was Putin, who warned the world with global changes. Kremlin declared openly that, the precedent of the recognition of the Kosovo, would be spread to the "iced conflicts" on the territories of the former Soviet Union, and of course Putin in this case was talking about the conflict of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Russia aimed to give the appropriate response to the West for the recognition of Kosovo.

While talking about Russia, it is crucial to mention that Dialogue is the main challenge of the new government. At the end of the 2012, the Prime Minister of Georgia, appointed the special representatives for havingsuccessful relations with Russia. It is also important to mention that Russia also agreed on the mutual collaboration and from 2012 till 2013 three main meetings were held between Georgia and Russia.

Nowadays the dialogue between these two countries has only the humanitarian character.

It is crucial to mention that Georgia needs to maintain high dynamics in all kinds of relationships. The effectiveness of the foreign policy of Georgia, is mainly depended on the domestic politics, on

the implementation of reforms and on the fulfillment of obligations. It is considerable that, Georgia, with the ambition to become integrated in NATO, should have the communication with high standards and quality.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in March 2014 and its continuing military intervention in Ukraine have once again revitalized discussions about the future of the post-soviet states located between Russia and the West.

## Geopolitical Situation in Europe after "Cold War" Period

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Organization of Warsaw Pact, power vacuum created between the weak states of Russia and the West. History shows us that such vacuum between the two or more poles can cause:

- 1. Either one of the great powers or alliances unilaterally expands into the middle area or the latter is partitioned into spheres of influence by them:
- 2. The area between two or more poles is recognized by them as a buffer zone and the countries in this region assume neutral or non-aligned status by or, more often, against their own will; i.e. they are "neutralized".
- It is true that, Europe after the Cold war contained both elements, but it should be mentioned that 1st one was mainly used by the powerful states.

Georgia has been stuck in a geopolitical limbo or transition period in a long time, because on the one hand, Russia is trying to turn Georgia into its satellite and drag it into the CIS, CSTO and EEU or is considering a temporary alternative of accepting Georgia's neutral buffer status, but not withdrawing its forces from the occupied regions of Georgia in order to wait for a future opportunity to convert the country into its satellite. However, the military occupation of the Georgian territories of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region /South Ossetia by Russia following the 2008 August Russia-Georgian war is a serious obstacle to Georgia's NATO aspirations as well as to its position of a genuine buffer. In this situation, theoretically, Georgia can play five different geopolitical roles in the region:

- 3. Buffer between the Russia and the West If Russia will finish the military occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, or the occupation power of Russia will be replaced with the contingent of international peace and Georgia will become the neutral state and will stop its aspiration towards the NATO and EU. One hypothetic variations of this scenario can be the neutral Georgia which is not the member of NATO, but is the member of European Union. In this case Georgia will become the buffer state between the NATO and Russia.
- 4. NATO ally - If Russia will finish the military occupation of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia, or the occupation power of Russia will be replaced with the contingent of international peace and the Georgia will become the member of NATO (and at the same time member of EU).
- 5. Russia's Satellite If Georgia will recognize the military power of Russia in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and will neglect European Union and NATO and also will change its direction in foreign politics, will declare the neutrality and will become a member of CIS, CSTO and EEU.
- 6. Shatter belt If the Russian occupant army neither withdraws from Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region / South Ossetia, nor is it replaced by an international peacekeeping mission, while Georgia Joins NATO and/or the European Union which would be jury imply Georgia's integration into these organizations with its internationally recognized territory, but would de facto be equal to the splitting of Georgia along the lines of Russian military occupation into spheres of influence by Russia and the West.

7. Bridge between the Russia and the West – If rivalry between Russia and United States of America, NATO and European union will be changed with real cooperation and friendship, Russia will stop the occupation of Abkhazia, Tskhinvali region/ South Ossetia, will recognize the Unity of the territories of Georgia, will not perceive Russia as the danger and will improve the political, economic and military connections with Russia and the West, will become the member of NATO or European Union, or becomes a member of both organization. It is an ideal scenario, where the power politics will be transformed into the regional cooperation, as it happened after the World War II in West Europe.

The first, second and fourth scenarios can be continued with the fifth scenario, which is the best option for Georgia. Despite the fact that Georgia prefers the second scenario, which means the desire to become the member of NATO, according to the nowadays conditions, Georgia more or less belongs to the fourth scenario, which in generally is not good for Georgia. (Surmanidze T. 2015).

## Foreign-Trade Relations of Georgia

Foreign Trade of Georgia is one of the most important factors, which determines the country's active involvement in the Globalization processes. According to the Ministry of Economic and Sustainable Development of Georgia, Liberal foreign trade policy is one of the major principles of the economic policy of Georgia. The Government of Georgia implemented reforms in tariff policy as well as in technical regulations sphere, which resulted Georgia, to become the country, with the most liberal foreign trade policies in the world, which implies the facilitated foreign trade regimes and customs procedures, low import tariffs and minimal non-tariff regulations.

According to the same source existing trade regimes are very interesting and they are as following:

#### • Most Favored Nations (MFN)

Majority of the trade partners of Georgia are members of *World Trade Organization (WTO)*, *thus among the WTO* member States (158 countries) trade relations are regulated on the basis of MFN principles.

# • Generalized System of Preferences (GSP)

Major quintessence of Generalized System of Preferences is to

institute low rate tariffs of the base import tariff on goods imported from the beneficiary countries, which simplifies access of goods from developing countries to the markets of developed countries.

Georgia is the beneficiary of GSP regime of the following countries:

EU member states, USA, Japan, Canada, Switzerland, and Norwav.

#### · Free Trade Regime

Free Trade Regime implies liberation of trade from custom import taxes among the contracting parties, except the agreed exceptions.

Georgia has free trade regime with all CIS countries and Turkey.

## Multilateral International Agreements on Free Trade

Free trade regimes among the CIS countries, except Russian Federation, are regulated by the Multilateral Agreement on Creation of Free Trade Zone among the CIS countries (1994), and also in bilateral format with those countries Georgia has signed the bilateral agreements thereto.

Georgia is also a member of the multilateral Agreement on Creation of Free Trade Zone in the frame of the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development GUAM (2002).

#### Bilateral International Agreements on Free Trade

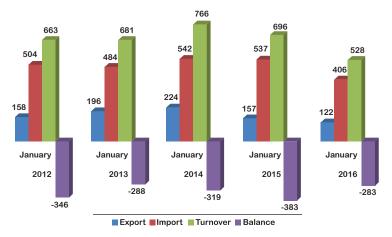
Georgia has signed Free Trade Agreements with the following countries: Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Ukraine, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Turkey.

Foreign trade gross revenue of Georgia in 2014 compared with the 2013 year has increased by 5% and amounted to 11 457 million LISD.

- Export reduced by 1,6% and amounted to 2 861 million USD.
- Import increased by 7% and amounted to 8 596 million USD.

According to the ministry of Economic and Sustainable Development of Georgia attraction of foreign direct investment (FDI) is

# Trade turnover of Georgia 2012-2016 January (Mln. USD)



Source: (Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia, 2016)

the one of the main priorities for Georgia. Liberal investment environment and equal approach to local and foreign investors makes country as an attractive destination for FDI. Stable economic development, liberal and free market oriented economic policy, 6 types of taxes only and reduced tax rates, reduced number of licenses and permissions, dramatically simplified administrative procedures, preferential trade regimes with foreign countries, advantageous geographic location, well developed and integrated transport infrastructure, educated, skilled and competitive workforce presents a solid ground for successful business in Georgia. From 2006 to 2014 foreign direct investments (FDI) in Georgia amounted to 10 972.2 million USD totally. In 2014, foreign direct investments amounted to 1 758,4 2 million USD, that is 86,7% higher compared to the same period of the previous year. According to preliminary data, in IIQ of 2015 foreign direct investments amounted to 354.7 mln. USD, that is the highest indicator since 2008 and is 80.8% higher (158.5 mln. USD) compared to the same period of the previous year.

#### **Conclusions and Recommendations:**

What the Georgian government should learn from the recent Ukrainian experience is that succumbing to Russia's demands and agreeing to a natural or non-bloc status, trying to balance between Russia and the West with the hope of being left in peace by Russia, makes absolutely no sense.

Therefore, the only possible safeguard for Georgia is to stay on a clear path of integration with the West, bound for eventual membership in Both NATO and the European Union. Such a policy increases the like hood that these countries will get political, economic and even military encroachments on its territory.

"The post - Cold war world order was once again shaken by Russia in March 2014 with its annexation of Crimea. This step was definitely far more brazen than Russia's recognition of the Georgian regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states in August 2008. If the United States, NATO and the European Union do not curb Russia's current aggressive behavior against its neighbors and make it pay a very high price for its deeds, Russia's next step might be to test the same strategy against smaller NATO members such as the Baltic States." (Turmanidze, 2015. P. 12)

Agreement concerning the Association with Europe, supports political associate as the main priority. What does it mean for Georgia? We can discuss this issue in four main different aspects:

- 1. Analysis the provisions of the Association Agreement
- 2. Areas for effective Application
- 3. Internal implications and external influences
- Foreign context

Analysis the provisions of the Association Agreement – Political model suggested to Georgia, covers two main different directions. In details it covers the strengthening process of Democracy and also the security of foreign politics and the cooperation in the sphere of defense. It should be mentioned that European Union has never distinctly dissociated the support to democracy, stability and defense. "The Treaty of the European Union "establishes the EU's external action on its guiding principles "Which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: Democracy, the rule of law, the universality, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and International Law". According to this treaty, European Union will try to establish the relationships and develop the cooperation with third world, and with international, regional or organizations, who share the above mentioned principles.

Exploring the Association Agreement between the European Union and Georgia Further, we can detect a strong attempt to bring the political cooperation between the EU and Georgia to

the highest possible level in both depth and scope. The Agreement intends to: "Increase the effectiveness of political cooperation and promote convergence on foreign and security matters, strengthening relations in an ambitious and innovative way."

"The application of the Association agreement extends to areas such as the promotion of international stability and security based upon effective multilateralism, the fight against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international security and crisis management, addressing global and regional challenges and key threats, the promotion of the principles of territorial integrity, inviolability of internationally recognized borders, sovereignty and independence, peace security and stability on the European continent, the field of security and defense and regional cooperation." (Gogolashvili 2014, P. 6)

"Seemingly, as a tactic reference to Article 21 of Chapter 1 of the Union's founding treaty, the Association Agreement with Georgia in the part of cooperation in CFSP matters as one of the objectives sets to: "Strengthen respect for democratic principles, the rule of law and good governance, human rights and fundamental freedoms, including media freedom and the rights of peoplebelonging to minorities, and to contribute to consolidating domestic political reforms." (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union)

It should be mentioned that no other agreement signed by EU with third countries is a precise and ambitious in committing initiatives in the field of political cooperation and security.

**Areas for effective Application** – We have so many facts, which prove that Implementation of Association started before its ratification and signature:

- The attempt of European Union to Support Ukraine to protect the territorial unity, to consolidate the state and avoid the economic difficulties, already shows the results of the starting point of the Association. In case of Need, Georgia can have the same expectations from European Union too. It is important to mention here that in the conditions of continuing occupation from Russia, European Union does not stop to express its political support of Georgia, especially in the "non-recognition" policy.
- On 29 November, 2013, Georgia signed the Frame-work agreement, which was about the participation in EU-led crisis management operations, which enables the practical realization of the provisions of agreement.
- The EU and Georgia already carry on close consultations on the issues of regional security. Supposedly, most of the provisions depicted in the association agreement have already been or will soon start to be implemented as a result of the good political will and interest of the parties.
- International Implications and external Influences —It is important to find out whether the Association provokes the changes in the internal daily agenda of Georgia, to avoid and improvident and undesirable events. It is obvious that strong accent is stressed on the agreement signed on 27th of June, 2014. This is somehow a show of over-optimism, as the agreement will only enter into force after its ratification by 30 European Union parliaments. In Georgia Association agreement signature is considered as a kind of watershed after which there will be no stepping back from the European Integration path.

External Context —It is crucial to mention that Georgia started its association with European Union at a very difficult time. It is a period, when Russian Federation continues its annexation of the Georgian territories, thereby undermines all principles of International Law, destroying the European Security and stimulating the development of power politics in the wider region. It is important to mention that all three partner countries — signatories of the Association Agreements with the EU - in conflict with Russia and have territories occupied by the Country. The mitigation of this problem and its risks are one of the main priorities of Europe and its partners.

# References

Gogolashvili K. (2014). Expert Opinion. European Union-Georgian Political Association: Scope and Ambition. Georgian Foundation for Strategic International Studies. PP. 1-9

Kegley C., S. Blanton. (2011) World Politics. Trend and Transformation. Boston, USA. PP. 447-449

Surmanidze T. (2015). Expert Opinion. Georgia: Buffer or NATO Ally? Georgian Foundation for Strategic International Studies. PP. 3-12

The Treaty on the European Union (TEU), Article 21. Retreived-March 4, 2016 from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/228848/7310.pdf;

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Retreived-January 5, 2016 from: http://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/legal/pd-f/c 32620121026en.pdf

ფხალაძეთ. (2013). საქართველოსმაჯისცემა, ოქტომბრიდანოქტომბრამდე 2012-2013. გამომცემლობა "უნივერსალი" თბილისი 2013. გვ. 118-135. [Pkhaladze T., (2013) Georgian Pulse, Tbilisi, Publisher: "Universali", October 2012-2013. pp. 118-135]

ჩიტამე. ნ, (2008) გეოპოლიტიკა. თბილისი. გვ: 152 [Chitadze N., (2008) Geopolitics, Tbilisi. P.152]