

# Contents

Abstract.....	11
List of acronyms and abbreviations.....	13
Foreword by <i>Nicholas Ross Smith</i> .....	15
1. Introduction.....	17
2. Theoretical framework.....	27
2.1 The notion and conceptualisation of European integration and Europeanisation.....	27
2.1.1 Europeanisation: the EU “hits neighbours’ homes”.....	31
2.1.2 Differentiation of Europeanisation: candidates and neighbourhood.....	36
2.2 A fusion of constructivism and rationalism as analytic eclecticism to study the relations between the EU and its neighbourhood.....	40
2.2.1 The overview of rationalism and constructivism.....	41
2.2.2 Contrasting constructivism and rationalism for empirical analysis: logic of consequences versus logic of appropriateness.....	50
2.2.3 Constructivism and rationalism complementary framework to study the EU’s relations with neighbourhood through eclecticism and pragmatism.....	53
2.3 Conclusions to chapter 2.....	60
3. The beginning of relations between the EU and the post- Soviet South Caucasus in the 1990s.....	61
3.1 A brief historical overview of the South Caucasus region.....	61

The 1918-1921 period.....	66
The 1922-1953 period.....	69
The 1953-1991 period.....	72
3.2 General political and socio-economic conditions and developments in the South Caucasus states in the early 1990s.....	79
3.2.1 Attempts for post-Soviet democratisation.....	83
3.2.2 Economic conditions in the South Caucasus in the first post-Soviet years.....	89
3.3 Conflicts over South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno- Karabakh.....	94
3.3.1 Wars in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.....	94
3.3.2 The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia.....	98
3.4 The early stage of EU relations with the South Caucasus: Cooperation via the OSCE and the Council of Europe.....	104
3.5 Early economic cooperation: The Partnership and Cooperation Agreements and Technical Aid.....	110
3.6 Strategic significance of the South Caucasus in the context of EU energy policy .....	118
3.7 Conclusions to chapter 3.....	124
4. The European Neighbourhood Policy and the South Caucasus Unfolding new patterns of relations .....	125
4.1 The rationale behind the ENP in the EU agenda.....	125
4.2 The key objectives and principles of the ENP.....	128
4.3 General political and socio-economic conditions and developments in the South Caucasus states in the early 2000s.....	136
4.4 The South Caucasus in the context of the ENP.....	141
4.4.1 The incorporation of the South Caucasus into the ENP.....	142

4.4.2	Action Plans for Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.....	144
4.4.3	Financial aspects of the ENP .....	151
4.5	Implementation and results of the ENP in the South Caucasus .....	154
4.5.1	Implementation and results of the ENP in Azerbaijan .....	162
4.5.2	Implementation and results of the ENP in Armenia.....	164
4.5.3	Implementation and results of the ENP in Georgia .....	167
4.6	Conclusions to chapter 4.....	172
5.	The Eastern Partnership and the South Caucasus Relations through differentiation .....	173
5.1	The background of the creation of the EaP .....	173
5.2	The content, objectives and instruments of the EaP.....	178
5.2.1	The EaP meetings and bodies.....	181
5.2.2.	The EaP financial support.....	184
5.3	The South Caucasus between the EU and Russia .....	187
5.4	Country Studies .....	199
5.4.1	EU – Georgia relations in the context of the EaP: The AA, DCFTA and Visa Facilitation between the EU and Georgia.....	199
5.4.1.1	<i>The DCFTA and its effects in Georgia.....</i>	208
5.4.1.2	<i>Status Quo of the EaP in Georgia: Priorities and results .....</i>	215
5.4.2	Armenia in between the EaP and the Eurasian Economic Union.....	222
5.4.2.1	<i>Status Quo of the EaP in Armenia: Priorities and results .....</i>	230
5.4.3	EU – Azerbaijan relations in the context of the EaP: Developments from the AA to the Strategic Modernisation/ Partnership Agreements .....	234

5.4.3.1	<i>Status Quo of the EaP in Azerbaijan: Priorities and results</i> .....	241
5.5	Conclusions to chapter 5 .....	244
6.	Conclusion .....	247
6.1	Summary of the research .....	247
6.2	Review and discussion of the main conclusions .....	250
6.2.1	Complex factors and obstacles to EU-South Caucasus relations since the 1990s.....	251
6.2.2	Political conditionality and the South Caucasus countries' diverging patterns of persistence to the ENP .....	256
6.2.3	Pragmatic differentiation and three perspectives of the EaP .....	259
6.3	Final remarks and recommendations .....	262
	Bibliography .....	265