

‘Moral Power’ of the European Union
in the South Caucasus

Syuzanna Vasilyan

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of the European
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Caucasus

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*To my late grandparents Misak Vasilyan, Siranush Vasilyan,
Gohar Movsisyan and Zaven Gasparyan who, having lived through wars
and peace, transmitted intellectual stamina and configured my curiosity
in politics and international relations*

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The venture of writing “*Moral Power of the European Union in the South Caucasus*” has been intriguing and laborious. The roots of my academic interest in political science were formed due to the political instability, economic devastation and conflict-ridden environment on the former Soviet terrain in the 1990s, while my inquisitiveness in international relations was framed as an exchange student in the USA in 1999–2000 with the competitive scholarship awarded by the United States Department of State. My academic advisor Professor Dr. Alan Cooper at Otterbein College—renamed into Otterbein University—played a major role in shaping and helping to sustain that scholarly drive. The internship at the Embassy of Armenia in Washington, DC in 2000 was instrumental for “sculpting” my vocation in politics and diplomacy.

The research on issues, notably, security and regional cooperation, pertaining to the case study—South Caucasus—was triggered when I was based at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Office in Yerevan in 2000 and the Council of Europe headquarters in Strasbourg in 2003, respectively. Academic papers were written on democracy and conflicts when I was an M.A. student at the Central European University (CEU) in 2002–2003. My interest in the EU’s history and decision-making and the undertaken analysis of EU’s policy was incepted during my second M.A. studies with the prestigious Praesidium Libertatis scholarship and the research on the thesis submitted to Leiden University in 2005. Being lured by morality, the conceptual framework of “moral power” was devised in 2007–2008 when I was a

Ph.D. researcher/lecturer at Ghent University, and with the grant of the Fonds Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek—Vlaanderen (FWO) it was bolstered at the European University Institute (EUI) in 2009–2010. The research placement at the European Parliament in 2009 allowed to receive first-hand experience through a close-up exposure to the EU’s inter-institutional and policy developments. Acting as a consultant for projects commissioned, among others, by the Council of Europe and the European Commission has allowed to appose the scholarly research with the political realm. The experience obtained working in the governmental, intergovernmental, non-governmental and private sectors (in the USA, Armenia, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Italy) has allowed to validate my scholarly outlook.

With my Ph.D. comprising a bundle of book chapters and articles, which constitute the backbone of the monograph, the publication was imminent provided the incessantly changing dynamics in EU’s policy and the South Caucasus. Meanwhile, the book would not have ripened without the people I encountered on my professional journey. Among them were those articulating resistance and criticism against its “ambitiousness” pushing me back and those admiring and praising my courage to propose a novel framework of theoretical and methodological value prone to be of broader use in political science. The former helped me to pursue this expansive scholarly project with more rigor, the latter stimulated the desirable vigor. With international relations being analogical to human interaction, the types of “power” were selected through possession and realization of humane capacities, while the parameters of “morality”—through appreciation and depreciation of human qualities.

Sharing thoughts with Professor Dr. Zachary Selden who was the discussant of my paper at the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) conference in Montreal in 2007, Professor Dr. Thomas Diez and Ian Manners whom I met at the same event, helped to boost and solidify the scholarly base of my work. The comments of Professor Dr. John Constantelos who acted as the discussant of another paper pertaining to a part of the monograph at the International Studies Association (ISA) conference held in San Francisco in 2008 was also instructive. The feedback received from the late Professor Dr. Frances Harbour who was the discussant of my paper at the conference of the ISA in San Diego in 2012 was helpful. She encouraged my research on moral theory and international relations advising useful sources. Her loss was painful to learn about.

My deep thankfulness is to be extended to Professor Dr. Friedrich Kratochwil—a most brilliant scholar of international relations—who acted as my Ph.D. supervisor at the EUI in 2009–2010 and from whom I have learned most on all the sub-disciplines in political science—political philosophy, international relations theories, international law and international political economy. The discussions with him on theoretical, policy and methodological issues have been precious. The subsequent conversations with him as a lifetime mentor on a plethora of political topics when I was a Visiting Professor at the Central European University (CEU) in 2010, then a Visiting Fellow at the EUI (in 2013, 2015) have been highly inspiring. The discussions about morality with distinguished philosophers Professor Dr. Stephen Holmes in 2013 and Philippe Van Parijs in 2015 about morality, utopia and ethics at the EUI have been enlightening and motivating for my monograph. The friendly staff members at the Historical Archives of the European Union, European Documentation Center and the EUI library played a key role by assisting with locating and catering essential resources even if a vast amount of them was closely consulted but not directly used in my monograph.

My former colleagues Dr. Arshak Balayan, Aleksandr Grigoryan and Professor Dr. Bruce Boghosian, then President of the American University of Armenia (AUA) in the period from 2011 to 2015 when I was working as Assistant Professor and throughout 2012–2015 as Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies at the AUA, conveyed amicable interest in my research. The upgrade of the research through further empirical work was carried out in this time frame. My gratitude goes also to Professor Dr. Aude Merlin at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB) for friendly collaboration in 2015–2017 and exchanges in Russian on numerous issues pertaining to the former Soviet space.

The stay at the University of Padova as a Visiting Scholar in 2011 and interactions with Professor Dr. Elena Calandri and Professor Dr. Leonardo Asta were indispensable for finalizing the initial article drawing on the skeleton of the newly devised conceptual framework of “moral power”. It was also in Padova in 2012 that after my guest lecture and the conference on “Challenges and Perspectives of Contemporary Russia” organized by Professor Asta the participants were treated to a visit to Capella degli Scrovegni to admire Giotto’s masterpiece—The Last Judgment. Besides being mesmerized by the captivating beauty of the artwork, my mind distilled an intellectual meaning from it in the form

of international relations theories. Ever since I have used the image chosen as a cover for this book as a slide to explain the theories during my course entitled “International Relations in Theory and Practice” taught at the AUA. The lower left is representative of (neo-)liberalism, the lower right—(neo)realism. The Christ as the main judge together with other judges is expected to deliver a verdict: this evokes constructivism. The angels above reflect goodness soaked into morality as the ultimate overarching level depicted on both sides of the fresco.

The content of this monograph was presented at public lectures I was invited to deliver at Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan as a Visiting Researcher in 2015 and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), USA, which hosted me as a Visiting Researcher in 2016. Professor Dr. Hidetoshi Nakamura, Airo Hino and Christopher Hobson at Waseda University, Professor Dr. Daniel Treisman, Arthur Stein and Adam Moore at the UCLA reinforced my conviction that the book will be of academic and policy value. The questions and comments, which were raised by peers, policy-makers, M.A. and Ph.D. students to whom different parts of the book were presented in different institutions (SciencesPo Paris, ULB, AUA, CEU, EUI, University of Tartu, Kent University Brussels campus, College of Europe Natolin campus, University of Padova, Ghent University) and numerous venues (conferences of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES), ISA, EUSA, Maastricht University) and policy events especially in Brussels, Yerevan and Tbilisi, helped me to fine-tune some important points.

My appreciation also goes to the diplomats of the Permanent Representations of the EU member states to the EU, as well as those of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to the EU in Brussels, Ambassadors and diplomats of the EU Delegation to Armenia, EU member states in Yerevan and Tbilisi, officials of different Ministries in Armenia and Georgia, the Russian Federation, Council of Europe (CoE), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), United Nations (UN) funds, programs and agencies, Energy Charter Secretariat, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in Brussels, Yerevan and Tbilisi, private energy companies and international NGOs in Brussels, the staff of the European Parliament, Council of the EU, the bureaucrats of the European Commission and the EU External Action Service (EEAS), former EU, USA, and NATO diplomats—all of whom requested to be anonymous but kindly allocated their time to the interviews and personal communications and expressed willingness to read the book.

Most importantly, the research for this book would not have been possible without the financial support of the European Union, which bestowed the title of the Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies upon me under the Lifelong Learning program at the AUA. Moreover, it would not have taken the shape it has without the research fellowship granted by the Bureau des Relations Internationales et de la Cooperation (BRIC) of the ULB in 2015–2016.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Association Agreement
AFET	Committee on Foreign Affairs
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in Europe
ANC	Armenian National Congress
AP	Action Plan
BMZ	Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
BP	British Petroleum
BRIDGE	Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections
BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CARDS	Community Assistance for Reconstruction, Development and Stabilisation
CDC	Community for Democratic Choice
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIB	Comprehensive Institute Building
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMS	Common Mediterranean Strategy
CoE	Council of Europe
COEST	Council Working Party on Eastern Europe and Central Asia
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
CORLEAP	Conference of Regional and Local Authorities for the Eastern Partnership

CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSF	Civil Society Forum
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CU	Customs Union
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement
DCI	Development Cooperation Instrument
DEVCO	Europe Aid Development and Cooperation Office
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Department General
DROI	Subcommittee on Human Rights
EaP	Eastern Partnership
EaPIC	Eastern Partnership Integration and Cooperation
EAEC	Eurasian Economic Commission
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Office
EEAS	External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EED	European Endowment for Democracy
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIDHR	European Initiative/Instrument for Human Right and Democracy
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENI	European Neighborhood Instrument
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighborhood Policy Instrument
EPNK	European Partnership for the Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict over Nagorno- <i>Karabakh</i>
EPP-ED	European People's Party
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EU-JUST THEMIS	EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia
EUMM	European Union Monitoring Mission
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEMIP	Euro-Mediterranean Investment and Partnership Facility
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of 20

GMP	Global Mediterranean Policy
GS	Global Strategy
GTEP	Georgia Train and Equip Program
GTZ/GIZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit/Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GUAM	Georgia Ukraine Azerbaijan Moldova
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IFS	Instrument for Stability
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMET	International Military Education and Training
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INOGATE	Inter-State Oil and Gas Europe
IRI	International Republican Institute
JCC	Joint Control Commission
LINKS	London Information Network on Conflicts and State-Building
MAP	Membership Action Plan
MARKT	Internal Market and Services
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MEDA	Mesures D'Accompagnement
MEP	Member of European Parliament
MIP	Multi-Annual Indicative Program
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIP	National Indicative Program
NMP	New Mediterranean Policy
NSA&LA	Non-State Actors and Local Authorities
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PABSEC	Parliamentary Assembly of the BSEC
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PANM	Pan-Armenian National Movement
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement

PERMIS	Permanent International Secretariat of the BSEC
PES	Party of European Socialists
PSC	Political and Security Committee
REHAB	Rehabilitation programme
RELEX	Department General External Relations
RMP	Redirected Mediterranean Policy
RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
SANCO	Health and Consumers
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SCPI	South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative
SEDE	Sub-Committees on Security and Defence
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SIGMA	Support for Improvement in Governance and Management
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SME	Small and Medium Size Enterprises
SOCAR	State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic
SSF	Single Support Framework
SSOP	Sustainment and Stability Operations Program
TABDC	Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council
TACIS	Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States
TAIEX	Technical Assistance and Information Exchange
TANAP	Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline
TAP	Trans Adriatic Pipeline
TEMPUS	Trans-European Mobility University Studies
TRASECA	Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia
TREN	Department General Transport and Energy
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UfM	Union for the Mediterranean
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNM	United National Movement
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia
UNSC	UN Security Council
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization

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