

## CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH CAUCASUS: THE CONTEXT OF THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE

**George Gvartadze**  
Doctor, Professor,  
Akaki Tsereteli State University

**Salome Karchkhadze**  
PhD student,  
Kutaisi University

### Abstract

In today's increasingly intensified international competition and the world full of growing threats, the need to deepen cooperative relations between states is being activated with new force. World history is full of examples of both militaristic and political associations that were formed and changed according to specific historical circumstances.

No less important unions, the formation of which has an economic basis. In this case, the main motive of cooperation is to obtain a synergistic effect and strengthen positions on a global scale, to gain an advantage in the competitive struggle, to use existing resources and conditions more fully and effectively, etc.

A new understanding of cooperation is the implementation of the political initiative - Eastern Partnership by the European Union, which allows the Eastern neighboring countries of the European Union to start closer cooperation both with the member states and with each other, which can be considered as a new formula for their future success.

The Eastern Partnership initiative is a very big contribution from the European Union to the stability and development of the Eastern neighboring countries and, at the same time, it is a very good opportunity to support European security and the achievement of global goals. That is why the right steps taken by both sides lead to the achievement of multifaceted positive results for all parties involved.

From the mentioned point of view, it is especially important for the European Union to promote the development of the South Caucasus states when they become supporters of the international order and regulations. We consider this to be one of the important directions in which the cooperation between the EU member states and the countries of the Eastern Partnership (including the South Caucasus) should be developed. Therefore, it is a mutual interest and mutual need, which should be well understood by all EU member states.

**Keywords:** Eastern partisanship; regional commons; Regional cooperation

### Introduction

In the modern world, in the conditions of increasingly intense international competition and growing threats, the need to deepen cooperation between states and regions is becoming more and more active. World history is full of precedents of both militaristic and political associations, which were created and changed according to specific historical circumstances. For example, during the American Revolution, the American colonies, supported by France, fought against Britain. But in both world wars of the 20th century, the United States, Great Britain, and France joined forces against Germany. Later, during the Cold War, these four countries stood together against the former Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries. Currently, Western and Eastern Europe, Great Britain, USA, Canada, etc.,

have united against Russia and fully supported Ukraine. We want to remember the words of Winston Churchill: "We have no lasting friends, no lasting enemies, only lasting interests." It is the "interests" (in the listed cases, mainly political and military) that lead to the rapprochement and confrontation of the states.

At the modern stage, more and more importance is given to unions, the formation of which has an economic basis. In this case, the main motive of cooperation is to obtain a synergistic effect and strengthen positions on a global scale, to gain an advantage in the competitive struggle, to use existing resources and conditions more fully and effectively, to jointly deal with current challenges, etc.

A new understanding of cooperation is represented by the EU's political initiative - the Eastern Partnership, which allows its eastern neighboring countries to start closer cooperation both with the EU member states and with each other, which can be considered a new formula for their future success. The mentioned initiative, based on its content, is not limited to political or economic motives and covers a much wider range of problems, such as social, human rights, ecological, etc.



Cooperation of this nature is appearing to us as a mutually beneficial process, which should result in more dynamic, rule-of-law based, society-oriented, stable regions (eg: Europe, South Caucasus) and states, that will be united not only by economic and political interests, but also by values, principles, future visions and aspirations.

Based on the challenges and tasks facing Georgia, within the scope of this work, we have set as the goal of the study the analysis of the current situation of cooperation between the countries of the South Caucasus and the possibilities of its deepening, taking into account the global, common regional and intra-state approaches and developing recommendations based on them in terms of further improvement of the situation. The purpose of the research determined the structure of the work, within the scope of which the discussion developed in three main directions: description of the idea of Eastern Partnership in the context of the South Caucasus region, analysis of the current situation in the region, development of recommendations regarding future prospects.

### **1. "Eastern Partnership" as a global strategy for rapprochement with the European Union and its regional context**

The Eastern Partnership<sup>1</sup>, as it is known, is a political initiative aimed at deepening and strengthening relations between the European Union (member states) and its six eastern neighbors (Azerbaijan, Belarus, Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine). In July 2021, Belarus officially withdrew from the initiative. Since the activation of the partnership until today, a number of important changes have taken place in the world, which have had a significant impact on the content of the initiative and the attitude towards a specific country, which has also reflected on the perspective of each of them. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the "Eastern Partnership" should not be seen as an alternative to the prospect of joining the European Union. On the contrary, its purpose is to promote the deepening of the integration process of the partner countries in the European Union, the spread of common values and economic development.

Within the framework of the initiative, both the implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) is promoted and concrete perspectives are offered to the partner countries, in order to achieve full rapprochement with the European Union, and it is focused on the further improvement of the economic and political situation through the support of reforms. In order to achieve this, bilateral and

---

<sup>1</sup> The European Commission published the Communiqué on "Eastern Partnership" on December 3, 2008, which was approved by the European Council on March 19, 2009.

multilateral cooperation formats are being developed. Bilateral cooperation is focused on the creation of a broad political and legal framework, while multilateral cooperation ensures the deepening of cooperation in the fields of common interests and the development of opportunities to jointly overcome existing challenges. It involves the strengthening of regional cooperation by creating joint projects in such topical areas as security, migration, trade, transport, energy, environmental protection, etc.

Within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy, joint priorities for cooperation have been developed, which correspond to the challenges of our time and are adapted to the development of the region. In addition to good governance, democracy, rule of law and human rights, three other sets of joint priorities have been identified, each covering a wide number of areas of cooperation:

- 1) economic development, with a view to stabilization;
- 2) the security dimension and
- 3) migration and mobility.

Bilateral cooperation with most neighboring countries is drawn up by joint documents (partnership priorities, association agenda or similar). They are signed between the partner country, the European Union and its member states and establish the political and economic priorities of cooperation.

The EU's relations with its neighbors are guided by its global strategy,<sup>2</sup> which, among other important priorities, places significant emphasis on regional cooperation. A lot of attention is paid to the regional context in the "Eastern Partnership" project, within which one of the priority directions for using accumulated monetary resources is "regional development programs". The main goal of it is to maximize the reduction of economic and social differences between the partner countries. In addition, the "Eastern Partnership" agreement especially emphasizes the importance of cooperation based on the principle of joint ownership, which promotes equal distribution of responsibility for all participating parties. Such an approach takes the cooperation between the states (also in the South Caucasus) to a completely new level, focusing on combining efforts and coordinated actions. The term "region" can include both internal regions of individual states, as well as bilateral, sub-regional, inter-regional connections and even global players associated with regional (including joint) initiatives.

EU regional cooperation is based on specific regional strategies, such as, for example, the "Eastern Partnership" and the "New Agenda for the Mediterranean". Strategic priorities of regional cooperation are further reflected in regional multi-year indicative programs. Regional cooperation complements national aid programs, solves regional challenges, promotes cooperation between partners, etc. The EU also supports cross-border cooperation (CBC) between EU countries and neighboring countries that share land or sea borders. Transboundary cooperation also includes transnational cooperation within larger transnational territories or around sea basins and interregional cooperation. The CBC programs aim to support sustainable development across the EU's external borders, reduce disparities in living standards and address common challenges beyond these borders.

Within the framework of bilateral cooperation, Georgia has achieved significant success and we have already signed an "Association Agreement", Agreement on "Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area", Agreement on "Visa Facilitation and Readmission". Although, in this regard, Georgia has made more progress compared to other countries of the South Caucasus, but the current situation does not allow for relaxation, and further integration with the Euro-Atlantic structures is still facing a number of challenges.

It is true that the rest of the states of the South Caucasus are still far from a similar result, but following the change in the world geo-political situation and the reduction of Russian influence in our region, the further acceleration of integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures appears to us to be a very real process.

---

<sup>2</sup> Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs\\_review\\_web\\_0.pdf](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf) [L. s. 14.03.2024].

## **2. Modern economic alliances and prospects for the development of economic cooperation in the South Caucasus**

The situation created in the modern world (globalization, continuing crisis situations, new world order, etc.) significantly conditions the deepening of economic cooperation between states and the formation of various unions. Of course, this process is not only characteristic of modernity and it has a centuries-old history. In general, economic alliances imply cooperation between states in monetary and other resources, optimal use of national wealth and other areas. However, at the modern stage, as a result of the growth of economic globalization and financial integration, the growth of the interdependence of the economies of countries and regions, economic alliances have experienced a qualitative change and it can be said that they have moved to a new level of development.

A great example of an economic alliance is NAFTA (North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement), which eliminated many tariffs between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Another good example of an economic alliance is the European Union - a group of European countries that agreed to recognize the euro as an official currency, unify customs borders, converge financial markets, etc.

Economic integration processes are mainly active among young and developing states. For example, we can mention: Benelux, Latin American Association for Integration, Central American Common Market, Caribbean Union, West African Economic Union, Swami and others. The positive results of cooperation are particularly evident in times of crises and unions, and close cooperation is of crucial importance both at the global and regional levels.

The experience gained and the results achieved in the field of economic cooperation and alliance formation in the world make us think that it is appropriate for the states of the South Caucasus to fully study the world experience and think about the future close economic rapprochement with each other.<sup>3</sup>

We can freely say that the world has entered the era of establishing a new global order. Consequently, countries like Georgia should review their foreign and domestic economic visions and respond to current changes and new opportunities as soon as possible. We will find here that a complex approach to the issue of this scale is necessary, which should mean the use of opportunities of partner and friendly countries and the activation of regional cooperation to enter international markets. This is because, in most cases, it is cooperation at the international level that is the guarantee of overcoming problems, because independently countries, comparatively, have a hard time dealing with challenges that cannot be predicted and, therefore, prevented in fact.

Based on the above, we think that the use of similar approaches by the countries of the South Caucasus is necessary, which will gain even more importance in the near future. Moreover, following the decline of Russia's influence in the region, the common European aspirations of the South Caucasus states (especially among the representatives of the younger generation) are becoming more and more evident. The time is not far when Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia will deepen their efforts towards economic rapprochement and finding ways to jointly overcome global challenges, in which the Eastern Partnership initiative can play an essential role. Therefore, the research and analysis of this process becomes more and more important.

Based on the above, we consider one of the important challenges facing the countries of the South Caucasus to be the search for cooperation opportunities and main directions on a regional scale, in order to overcome the current crises and achieve success in global competition.

## **3. "Regional Commons" - a possible new direction of regional cooperation**

Within the framework of the Eastern Partnership (and not only), while discussing the prospects of cooperation between the countries of the South Caucasus, it is also possible to activate the issue of the so-called "Global commons". As a result of rapid economic development, growing international trade and multiple crises, a more chaotic international space is created and new challenges emerge. This is especially true for issues that are of a general human nature and cannot be limited to any one country

---

<sup>3</sup> Gvartadze, G. The role of local budgets in the regional policy of the state, monograph, Kutaisi, (in Georgian). 1999.

or group of countries. The so-called "Global commons" are areas that are not under the control or jurisdiction of any state, but are open to use by countries, companies, and individuals from around the world.

At the international level, their management is connected with increasingly complex processes in terms of meeting the interests, responsibilities and unification of the efforts of states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations. The management process is effective if there are appropriate regulations, binding agreements, institutionalized governing bodies and effective enforcement mechanisms. If we look at the experience of the last decade, it is easy to notice that for those challenges that are not covered by the UN legal framework (for example, air and sea pollution), more and more stakeholders are fighting to protect these global commons. As such, we can consider leading states and international organizations, as well as individual activists and volunteers.

It is true that such interests are dynamically growing, but this does not mean that they are trying to fundamentally change or violate the globally agreed rules of the game and existing approaches to governance. Many authors share the opinion that they do not have a declared interest, and moreover, they do not have the power to "disrupt the existing approaches to general management in the modern liberal international order."<sup>4</sup> However, it should also be noted that the parties involved in the process increasingly diverse, multiple, and competing interests unwilling to shoulder the costs associated with protecting the common good will likely continue to attempt to influence management efforts to suit their own interests. In this case, in order to maintain stability, it is necessary to take a more prominent place in the development of similar globally managed processes, as well as regional players, whose interest and influence on the respective territory is much greater than that of other interested parties. Moreover, examples of this already exist, even in the form of the European Union and its policies.

The attitude of the European Union and Eastern Partnership countries, especially the South Caucasus (as an interconnected and compact region) to the mentioned issue, can be explained as follows: the leading place in the world system of managing global commons is occupied by the USA, which is the direct initiator in this direction of a number of institutions of international importance (ITLOS, ICAO, ITU). Therefore, it has a healthy ambition to be an independent, unique leader in this field, which means that it will not give up its own positions, even in favor of international unions. Therefore, any multilateral agreement on carbon emissions, marine pollution, space debris management and other issues that are not regulated by international agreements may require additional initiatives and involvement from both the EU and developing countries or groups of countries.

The European Union maintains the binding function and gives impetus to the building of institutions, strengthening and perfection of the normative base. This may cause South Caucasus countries and various interested parties (if they decide to get closer to the EU and, moreover, to join) to review and rethink their strategies, goals and interests.

We note here that different regions of the world are rapidly gaining strength and establishing positions in the global context. Consequently, in the future, it will be increasingly difficult to motivate them to unite and contribute to a common rules-based order, if it is not their desire. It is true that the EU has limited leverage to exert direct influence on the various "powerful players" of the world to push them to cooperate on certain issues, but it can promote the development of international institutions and individual regions to limit any attempts to disrupt existing joint agreements. These include:<sup>5</sup>

- On the one hand, the language of "responsibility", which is often used by Western countries in order to pressure developing states to change their approach to various issues,
- On the other hand, the language of "rights" that emphasizes the right of states and individuals to access and protect common goods.

<sup>4</sup> Gerald, Stang. Global commons: Between cooperation and competition, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 2013. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab\\_segments=0%2Fbasic\\_search\\_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1) [L. s. 14.03.2024].

<sup>5</sup> Gerald, Stang. Global commons: Between cooperation and competition, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 2013. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab\\_segments=0%2Fbasic\\_search\\_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1) [L. s. 14.03.2024].

Based on the above, if we shift the emphasis to the regional level, then together with "global", we can also talk about "regional commons". The wording, of course, is conditional and aims to expand the area of regional cooperation, taking into account the global context and unifying efforts to overcome common problems. Taking into account the location, potential and future prospects of the South Caucasus region, the directions for deepening intra-regional cooperation and the management of "regional commons" may be highlighted as follows:

- Cyber space, which is one of the biggest challenges for the modern world. It is related to the issue of state security and significantly determines economic stability. Therefore, the formation of a unified policy, the maximum convergence of legislation, the introduction of standards, the mutual exchange of data, may be the key issues in which direction we will begin to deepen cooperation;
- Digital infrastructure, the strengthening of which should ensure the maximum reduction of differences in Internet access, the strengthening of interstate electronic commerce opportunities, the increase in the scale of online education and, in general, the raising of the level of access to education, etc.;
- Management systems, which should be perfected and strengthened in accordance with the spirit of public administration reform, the idea of "good governance", and the goals of sustainable development developed by the United Nations. It should mean: diversity and maximum convergence of public services, their online availability, etc.;
- The function of the transport corridor is one of the most important, which will increase the possibility of establishing the South Caucasus as a transport-logistics hub. For this purpose, it is necessary to cooperate in the direction of simplifying and speeding up the circulation of relevant documents and information between the borders, convergence of the corresponding systems, etc.

Moreover, all of the above is reflected in EU4Digital<sup>6</sup> and Eastern Partnership initiatives, and their development is one of the powerful means of achieving the goals.

In view of the modern challenges of state development, the deepening of cooperation between the countries of the South Caucasus should be focused on overcoming such challenges as:

- formation of a sustainable, stable and integrated economy in the region, promotion of small and medium businesses; unifying efforts in terms of employment and labor migration regulation;
- Public administration reform and sustainable integrated development of local governments;
- Unification of efforts in the direction of the problems caused by climate change and the formation and development of environmental systems; prevention, preparedness and fight against natural and man-made disasters;
- Construction of a legal, democratic, social state and formation of an inclusive society;
- Further strengthening of higher education and research potential, promoting the formation of a solidary civil society;
- Strengthening of energy systems, increasing energy efficiency and maximum limitation of energy dependence on Russia, increasing the intensity of use of renewable energy sources;
- Integrated border management, etc.<sup>7</sup>

Achieving success in deepening the economic cooperation between the countries of the South Caucasus depends a lot on the discussion and good understanding of similar examples. In this regard, one of the best can be considered the existing models of cooperation between the Baltic and Eastern European states, which has been repeatedly reviewed by various authors (including us). Like the Baltic countries, the vision of the South Caucasus states should be directed towards the formation of three interrelated unified economic models. This will make it possible to create an integrated economic zone in our region, where there will be common factors and connections, however, adequate space will be provided for maintaining the individuality of each participating party, with a view to the prospects of further integration into the Euro-Atlantic structures.

---

<sup>6</sup> In more detail: <https://eufordigital.eu/geo/discover-eu/the-eu4digital-initiative/> [L. s. 14.03.2024].

<sup>7</sup> Available at: <https://www.consileum.europa.eu/media/53527/20211215-eap-joint-declaration-en.pdf> [L. s. 14.03.2024].

Cooperation in the management of "Regional commons", in our opinion, can be considered in close connection with the issue of "Regional value chains" as deepening of economic cooperation and provision of economic development. Global and regional value chains (GRVC) <sup>8</sup> are known to have driven the growth of international trade since 1990, and now account for almost half of all trade. This process led to an unprecedented economic convergence - poor countries began to grow faster and get closer to rich countries. However, after the 2008 global financial crisis, the pandemic, and now the Russia-Ukraine war, trade growth has slowed and the expansion of GRVCs has stalled.

Based on the listed problems, the trade-based growth model has been facing serious threats for almost twenty years, the reasons for which can be considered as follows:

- New technologies bring production closer to the customer and may reduce the demand for labor resources;
- Conflicts between large states may lead to reduction and/or segmentation of GRVCs;
- It can be said that the world has entered the era of establishing a new global order, which essentially increases uncertainty and makes future prospects unpredictable;

Even a few years ago, the World Bank's World Development Report 2020 noted the following: The trade for development paradigm, in the era of global value chains, discusses whether the path to development is still through trade and GRVCs. It concludes that technological change is, at this point, more of a boon than a problem, and that GRVCs can continue to stimulate growth, create better and more jobs, and reduce poverty, provided that developing countries implement deeper reforms to promote participation in these "chains.", and the industrialized countries will implement an open, predictable policy, and all countries will restore and develop multilateral cooperation. <sup>9</sup> The last two conditions mentioned here are fully in line with the idea and spirit of the Eastern Partnership.

A similar situation is not alien to the small and developing countries of Europe, Asia or South America. Therefore, for the further improvement of the current situation with us, it is appropriate to get to know, share and use their experience, as we mentioned in connection with the examples of the Baltic States.

## Conclusions

The deepening of cooperation between the states of the South Caucasus, in addition to the economic one, is caused by quite strong political events. The processes taking place in these countries are quite complex and contradictory and are influenced by many factors, both internal and external. In this regard, we consider it worth noting the fact that, at the current stage, the reduction of Russia's influence in the region has a significant positive effect on the expansion of opportunities for deepening cooperation between Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia and on ensuring their rapid economic growth, especially since the prerequisites for this (in the field of politics) are already in place.

From the mentioned point of view, in addition to strengthening the assistance of international institutions, it is no less important for the European Union to promote the development of the South Caucasus states when they become supporters of the international order and regulations. We consider this to be one of the important directions in which the cooperation between the EU member states and the countries of the Eastern Partnership (including the South Caucasus) should be developed. Therefore, it is a mutual interest and mutual need, which should be well understood by all EU member states. The Eastern Partnership countries are becoming the guarantors of the security of Central and Western Europe, and this was very clearly confirmed by the examples of Georgia (2008) and then, even more clearly, Ukraine (2014, 2022).

Similar to international cooperation in the context of global commons, in the case of the South Caucasus, we can talk about such special conditions' characteristic of the region as a whole, as well as

---

<sup>8</sup> GRVC – Global and Regional Value Chains. Often, only GVC is used in the sources, but for the purposes of this article, we will consider the "regional" compiler.

<sup>9</sup> Trading and Development in the Age of Global Value Chains, World Development Report 2020, available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2020> [L. s. 14.03.2024].

for individual countries, to which the provision of common-regional access, in general, can become an important prerequisite for the development and competitive advantage of the South Caucasus. First of all, we will consider air, water resources, transport-logistics systems, cyberspace (regional commons), sea, natural resources (individual advantages of states), etc.

It is necessary to note that the management of "regional commons" will be one of the biggest challenges that may arise in the process of ensuring a regional approach to the mentioned issue. Especially, this issue will become acute in crisis situations. Recent crises (for example, the pandemic) have shown us that even the most developed and powerful states, at first, took steps against a joint solution to the problem. Moreover, this can be expected in the case of developing countries. But it should also be noted that "regardless of what kind and scale of problems are created in the modern world, the most effective method of overcoming them can be considered the coordination of efforts and joint actions aimed at overcoming the crisis." At the same time, unification is given a decisive importance, and it does not matter whether it is at the world or regional level."<sup>10</sup>

As a result of the reasoning carried out in this article, we can say that the Eastern Partnership initiative is a very large contribution from the European Union to the stability and development of the Eastern neighboring countries and, at the same time, it is a very good opportunity to support European security and the achievement of global goals. That is why the right steps taken by both sides lead to the achievement of multifaceted positive results for all parties involved.

With the help of the Eastern Partnership, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia gain access to new markets and customers, which is particularly facilitated by free trade agreements. One example of such an agreement is the "Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area Agreement with the European Union" signed between the European Union and Georgia. The partnership also facilitates access to new markets for tourism development and offers opportunities for youth.

In summary, we can say that, even if the three countries of the South Caucasus are understood as a single economic sphere, this does not mean that there will be "one size fits all". Obviously, specific solutions, their respective challenges, policy goals, and so on, are country-specific. However, as a whole, the countries of the South Caucasus are desirable to create a closely connected integrated economic zone, as a result of which, in the long term, economic growth in any one country will benefit the unified economy of the region as a whole. And the possible failure of an individual country will be covered (insured) by the overall potential of the region.

---

<sup>10</sup> Gvartadze, G., Karchkhadze, S., „Possibilities of Specialized Development of Economy and Deepening of Regional Cooperation in South Caucasus States”, journal “Bulletin of Akaki Tsereteli State University”, #2(20), Kutaisi, 2022. <https://moambe.atsu.edu.ge/article/432> [L. s. 14.03.2024].



### Bibliography

1. Silagadze, Levan, Atanelishvili, Tamar, Foreign direct investments in South Caucasus countries at the present stage (comparative analysis), (in Georgian), 2019.  
<https://academlab.openjournals.ge/index.php/academlab/article/download/4094/4326/6451> [Last seen 14.03.2024];
2. Gavtadze, George. The role of local budgets in the regional policy of the state, monograph, Kutaisi, (in Georgian). 1999;
3. Gavtadze, George, Karchkhadze, Salome, „Possibilities of Specialized Development of Economy and Deepening of Regional Cooperation in South Caucasus States”, journal “Bulletin of Akaki Tsereteli State University”, #2(20), Kutaisi, 2022. <https://moambe.atsu.edu.ge/ge/article/432> [Last seen 14.03.2024];
4. Gerald, Stang. Global commons: Between cooperation and competition, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 2013.  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab\\_segments=0%2Fbasic\\_search\\_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06840.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A391713f440b9b773ec61c5562b6cdf8f&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_search_gsv2%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=search-results&acceptTC=1) [Last seen 14.03.2024];
5. "Agreement on a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area with the European Union", <https://www.economy.ge/index.php?page=economy&s=7> [Last seen 14.03.2024];
6. Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe, A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy, EU, June 2016.  
[https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs\\_review\\_web\\_0.pdf](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf) [Last seen 14.03.2024];
7. Trading and Development in the Age of Global Value Chains, World Development Report 2020, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2020> [Last seen 14.03.2024];
8. Eastern Partnership: Commission proposes new policy objectives for beyond 2020, Eastern Partnership: new policy objectives for beyond 2020 (europa.eu) [Last seen 14.03.2024];
9. European Neighborhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations (DG NEAR), European Neighbourhood Policy - European Commission (europa.eu) [Last seen 14.03.2024].