



**INTERNATIONAL BLACK SEA UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY of EDUCATION and HUMANITIES**

**AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM**

**The U.S. Foreign Policy Priorities in the Post-Cold War Period (1990-2016): Georgian Case - from Transnational Challenges (Including Migration) towards Enhancing Institutional Transformation**

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**Extended Abstract of Doctoral Dissertation in American Studies**

**Tbilisi , 2018**

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## INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact, that international political events have impact on providing further socio-economic and political development of the different states especially from global power political center perspectives, there are still remaining some negative factors on how the “super-power” actors influence the processes and what are their foreign policy implications at large.

The situation in the Global Politics now is certainly different than it was in time of classical Cold War period and when the global power was transformed from bipolarity into unipolarity and then shifting into multi-polarity word order. The US has prioritized its geopolitical activities, foreign policy missions and explored new types of the instruments and tools for achieving them at any levels, mainly at the national level. Moreover, the US foreign-policymakers are eager to define new “geopolitical entities and depict new geographical areas in case of the Caspian Basin that is another modality which by academic level is labeled as Caucasus-Caspian Region” (A Future Vision For The Caucasus Caspian Region And Its European Dimension, 2007). Mainly in this respect a new reality was emerged in post-bipolar period of time that influences on the current policy making process in the US. One of the tools for achieving these missions is being considered “soft power” together with “smart power” and “hard power” as real tools for performing foreign policy goals and objectives in proper way. (Nye, 2009) .Hence, the approaches appeared in the recent times are mainly most powerful enough to real influence on the political processes taken places in various areas of the world and promoting those that more correspond national interests of Georgia. In addition to that the approaches are one of the best tools to deal with challenges facing the state (notable, migration).

Therefore, security problems still remain the major issues unresolved in modern political arena. The 9/11 event is believed to be the security dilemma condition when anti- terrorism campaign started in US and military response formed in order to defend the national state security. As about individual security that is considered to be the other level of this concern it refers security of individuals and groups of people within states (Cohen, 2009). In the post-Cold War environment this concern became actual and gained importance as one of the most valuable notions of enforceable universal human rights. Today US is enable to implement its foreign policy missions and promote its national interest that is tightly interconnected with the regional and global security environments, even in the Post-Soviet Space where in Cold War period, the US was not capable to pursue.

## **Problem Statement**

As the US foreign policy is influenced by a lot of complicated factors, the problem question demanded to be set accurately and scrupulously. The questions are sought to catch on and debate each and every detail of this research, is observed from the earliest stage of engagement in the regional affairs, tackling asymmetric challenges, namely in the Caucasus-Caspian region and in local levels – launching strategic partnership cooperation with Georgia and this policy has been implementing under the aegis of the three USA Administration – Clinton, Bush and Obama and seems to be following up by Trump Administration too. Moreover, Georgia-USA strategic relations are promoting institutional framework for political development and enhancing national interests. Therefore, the questions below represent an attempt to cover the aforementioned issues to a maximum possible extent.

It is necessary to point out that there is lack of analytical researches in Georgian language, that is the main reason for Georgian society (especially in the regions of Georgia) not to be aware of US foreign policy goals and missions, the true processes of international relations and international security affairs where the US plays the dominant role. The specifics of understanding of the US influence on the political, economic and social development of Georgia is not completely shared and acknowledged by Georgian society (for example, lobbyism phenomenon in US foreign policy making process) (Hudson, 2003).

### **The Goals of the Dissertation Work were:**

1. To investigate the problems – which are connected with the main missions and priorities of the US foreign policy, related to the promotion of democratic values, economic and political integration of the states and regions of the world;
2. To analyze foreign policy of the US linked with the formation of a new International Order and how it achieves with usage of various instruments and tools as of energy security, “soft power”, etc.; (according to US national security strategy)
3. To scrutinize and define how regional cooperation between actors stimulate and promote stability and peace at the regional level.
- 4 To study importance of the U.S. foreign policy missions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century toward regional and local geopolitics, including toward political and economic development of Georgia.

5. To clarify and analyze USA national interests transformation from theoretical into practical provisions and their demonstration into real-political framework.

Theoretical frame of the research is based on the variety of sources: books, scientific articles, media sources, monographs.

Primary sources are mainly obtained from: sufficient books, scientific articles, publications made by international institutions, NDI research results, official documents issued by Georgian and the USA governments, Georgian government decisions, archives (decisions by International institutes and Georgia which have been retrieved from free internet web-sites), and correspondence.

### **Research Questions**

Hence, the research developed the following research questions:

- 1) How and which way the Caspian Basin as an important part of post - Soviet space has been and do perceive under the aegis of the USA foreign policy implications in Post-Bipolar period and how it has been reflected in the conceptual and official documents?
- 2) How new types of challenges in aegis of so-called “asymmetric challenges” do have effect the regional security provisions and how it causes serious political turmoil in local actors on the example of Georgian migration?
- 3) Have challenges and opportunities had impact on institutional transformation provisions at national level (namely, on institutional transformation in Georgia)
- 4) Having considered the USA regional foreign policy implications whether the USA has been pursuing its national interests on global level?

### **Hypothesis**

The Cold War ending has fundamentally changed and shifted the USA foreign policy agenda and the main priority has been converting from Global into the regional levels particularly in those regions where the USA was unable to pursue its national interests and foreign policy goals before. By doing so, the USA exploits the new type of foreign policy instruments under the aegis of the “soft power”, including promotion of democratic values and institutional transformation in the strategic partnership states, including Georgia, tackling with new types of challenges (for instance, asymmetric challenges)

facing up by the state. Hence, the research triggers the hypothesis: *the combination of three powers Soft, Hard and Smart ones promoted US foreign policy goals successfully in the Post -Soviet spaces on the example of Georgia.*

## **Research Methods**

The scope of this dissertation work definitely prioritized the *Qualitative Research* that is based on preliminary study of variety of literature, official documents and exploration. Furthermore, it focuses on “the interpretations, formulations, speeches delivered by different government officials, policy makers, critics, etc. It also represents methods of analysis, definitions and explanations, arguments and statements, understanding of each detail in the whole sophisticated context. Qualitative research depicts the significance and importance of every nuance and detailed data” (Mason, 2002) .that are highlighted in the dissertation work.

This dissertation work proves exploratory character as it gives conclusion on the base of comparison of two presidents, President Obama and president George W. Bush presidency period, through the outlined theoretical framework (that is given in the second chapter of the dissertation work), it permanently focuses on the different and similar courses, ways or approaches, strategies and plans of foreign policy these two presidents use. This piece of work includes their viewpoints, decisions that were made under the influence of different actors, conditions and circumstances. One of the best examples of policy making process that is given the dissertation work is the foreign policy performed toward Afghanistan. In this process, Valerie Hudson’s foreign policy analysis theory is represented and developed through the comparative study of US foreign policy towards Georgia.

One of the most important methods of the dissertation work is the *Content Analysis*. It consists of “revision, judgment and assessment of main documents that deals to foreign policy and defense, reports and data made by US intelligence and defense community. These are the documents that depict information about new international threats and challenges, theories about how to adopt new national security methods, regular guidelines and instructions issued by the Department of State and White House.” (Hudson, 2006). It also includes interviews with presidents, important parts of the speeches dedicated to defense and foreign policy made by them (particularly speeches made by the Presidents of the US) where the major pillars are underlined and highlighted.

The majority of the books, used for this research mainly depict the Post-Cold War period and correspondingly consists of every important detail that deals to that period. Due to these books and documents the dissertation work gains extra benefits that provides the best opportunity to realize the new approaches, courses and strategies of US security, meanwhile the previous decades.

The dissertation also represents the method of *Case Study*. There are some considerations that are represented as a case study: the first case study is about the using “Soft Power” (particularly foreign aid) as the main political instrument to achieve the Foreign policy goals and for further strategic partnership with Georgia. The Case also indicates the benefits Georgia as a pivot state status holder country has gained from the USA government. Another case depicts the main causes of geo-strategic interest’s realization of the US toward Caucasus - Caspian - Central Asia region, and particularly Georgia as one of the gateway regions where the US national interests are being preserved and pursued.

The dissertation also exploits one of the most interesting method – *Foreign Policy Analysis* method. “Foreign policy analysis finds itself most interested in decisions taken by the human decision makers in positions of authority to commit the resources of the nation-state, though it is quite possible to analyze decision-makers who do not hold such positions. Mainly the FPA very clear manner explains behaviors, attitudes, values and aspirations those one who is reconsidering and realizing the foreign policy priorities under aegis of the governmental structures. Indeed the FPA implies both elements of the analytical provisions – foreign and domestic policy analysis. Often the approach is named and referred “two-level” game that means those who are responsible for decision making process have to play double games or double level games - on regional and on international level” (Hudson, 2006).

This dissertation work consists of Descriptive *Statistical Analysis*. It represents the gained data of the words ,that are frequently used in the speeches delivered or stated in the written documents by the above mentioned presidents words (e.g. war against terrorism, national security, etc.) in order to find contrast and similarities between the style and rhetoric of these presidents. During dissertation writing process and I intended to use my questionnaires and interviews, in order to gain statistics on the issues stated in the work and represent reality. Thus, as a research method the study employs an online and face-to-face interviews with open-ended and close-ended questions.

Another method used in dissertation work is the *Survey Method*. It is the climax of the work as it provides a broad range of information about the issues discussed above. For the study purpose the

primary data is used as it is original in nature and is directly related to the problems represented in the dissertation work. The data in the work is collected through the online interviews, (skype interviews) questionnaires, (that included close-ended, open-ended and partly close-ended questions) face to face interviews.

Finally, the dissertation is concentrated on the *SWOT Analysis* – “as a key instruments for carrying our research of bilateral relations between Georgia and USA derailing from case of business planning theory assuming company’s current situation. The strengths and weaknesses of a company are identified, along with opportunities and threats in its environment. SWOT analysis makes it possible for analysis to measure the current state and future potential of a company. If the strengths and opportunities outweigh the weakness and the threats, the company is in a good position. And vice versa a company is in a bad situation if the weaknesses and threats are dominant” ( (Konyshev, 2016). The same scenario rests for the state relationship, if weaknesses and threats are prevail of opportunities and strengths it means that relations are very bad and adversary and vice versa.

## **Methodology**

After the Cold War, current provisions of the international relations theory have been transformed into geopolitical shifts under the aegis of contemporary international relations system. Increasing the level of global security development, emerging the new conflict (such ethnic) caused international theories to complicate. In this regard, Black Sea Security Identity comes up as significant space that contains huge potential of geostrategic and geo-economic importance toward world politics. In this regard, research is more appropriate to use of *Realist, Neoliberal and Constructive* approaches over the definition of security.

Realism is an international relations theory, according to the theory world politics is a field of conflicts among actors pursuing power (Ondrejcsák, 2014).

“Human nature is a starting point for classical political realism. Realists view human beings as inherently egoistic and self-interested. The moral principles of Realists, and especially today’s *neo-realists*, consider the absence of government, literally – anarchy. That is considered as the major determinant of international political outcomes. The main characteristic features: lack of a common rule-making, the deep belief about the international arena as a self-help system. Realists claim that each state is responsible for its own survival and is free to define its own interests and to pursue power”



(Hudson, 2006). Realists view security as a central issue. They claim that it is possible to achieve security, due to increasing power and engagement in power-balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors. Realists think that wars are fought to prevent competing nations from becoming militarily stronger. They are generally skeptical about the relevance of morality to international politics. This can lead them to claim that there is no place for morality in international relations, or that there is a tension between demands of morality and requirements of successful political action, or that states have their own morality that is different from customary morality (Ondrejcsák, 2014).

Idealism as well as realism in international relations is considered to be a traditional theory. Idealists express dissatisfaction with the world. They have always tried to answer the question of “what ought to be” in politics. Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero these are the names of political idealists who supposed that there were some universal moral values on which political life could be based (Hudson, 2006).

One of the key concept of political science, Machiavellianism – generally is considering a radical type of political realism. It implies both domestic and international affairs. It is considered to be a doctrine which denies the relevance of morality in politics, and claims that all means (moral and immoral) are justified to achieve certain political ends (Hudson, 2006).

According to Realism theory, – the national interests includes not only cooperation and collaboration as the major goal to reach, but also expresses uncertainty and doubt about the efficiency and usefulness of international organizations as the way for achieving secured and peaceful world. This approach was very common particularly during and at the end of Cold War, where the states showed willingness to keep a balance of power scenario due to permanent armament. Therefore, the theory of realism was dominant theory during the Cold War and it represents one of the traditional approaches to security research. It was based on the power of states, which mainly impact on the international world system. The Realist positions were dominant even in Post-Cold War period (Ondrejcsák, 2014).

Liberalism is a school of thought in international relationship. The key feature of the theory is rejection of power politics as the only possible outcome of international relations. Liberals believe that international institutions play a key role in cooperation among states (Mises, 2002). They claim that with the correct international institutions, with increasing relations between them (including economic and cultural exchanges) states have the opportunity to reduce conflict. Liberals firmly believe that international diplomacy can be a very effective way for states to interact with each other

honestly and support nonviolent solutions to problems. Thus, the states will be able to enlarge prosperity and well-being and reduce conflicts and threats (Mises, 2002).

Liberalism is one of the main schools of international relations theory. Liberalism comes from the Latin word “liber” that means “free”, referred originally to the philosophy of freedom. As for liberalism theory, the key basis of the research is collective security, including at regional level. (Mises, 2002). According to Kant, “the cooperation is supposed to be an arrangement and concur of interests in political and economic sphere. In addition to that, the liberalism presented for the contemporary world political level via carrying through their policy in countries had founded, spreading especially the following ideas: existing transnational cooperation, including at regional scope, gradually is breaking the creating of bipolarity and unipolarity; the cooperation is sectorial, as a result economic started to adopt political characteristic features, that will be tend to security cooperation modality, not only in defense organization (on case of the EU) liberal cooperation but it will also will strengthen the pluralistic views of the international community (NGO, interest groups, movements). As a result, Neoliberal theorists encouraged cooperative security in order to regional security and cooperation (Mises, 2002).

The concept of “Cooperative Security” does not belong to post–Cold War invention. The idea was introduced in the 18th century by Immanuel Kant. Today, in the globalized world of the 21st century, the term Cooperative Security has become very popular and advanced as strategists and policy–makers try to outline modern approaches to security for the present uncontrolled and tense situations and for vague and unpredictable future. Having considered the theoretical frame, it is to highlight that the “Cooperative Security” is a strategic system where there are four main rings of security:

1. To protect individual security
2. To keep pace and stability that refers keeping of collective security
3. To take collective decisions against aggression
4. To keep stability via take political, economic, military actions (Cohen, 2009).

As it is known, traditional concepts of security do not provide adequate solutions to the current challenges of intrastate conflict and regional political instability. The major schools of thought in international relations — realism and liberalism — reflect a time when war was considered to be a legitimate instrument of policy. Today, many states, especially in Western Europe, are less concerned

about deterring or defending against aggression than about preserving the overall stability of their region. Such countries have much to gain by working together to decrease the likelihood of conflict. Their goal has often been called “cooperative security” (Hoffmann, 2010).

As for Social Constructivism, it tries to find answers to questions that deal with existence of humans in the society (Social Constructivism is a variety of cognitive constructivism that emphasizes the collaborative nature of much learning. Social constructivism was developed by post-revolutionary Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky. Vygotsky was a cognitivist, but rejected the assumption made by cognitivists such as Piaget and Perry that it was possible to separate learning from its social context. He argued that all cognitive functions originate in, and must therefore be explained as products of social interactions and that learning was not simply the assimilation and accommodation of new knowledge by learners; it was the process by which learners were integrated into a knowledge community” (Hoffmann, 2010). The Copenhagen School approaches to security studies is a critical approach that also draws on ideas of constructivism. This approach is unique in the way as it focuses on the issues of security interact with domestic politics. Copenhagen School emphasizes the idea of “securitization”. The term is used to refer a process by which certain actors transform domestic issues into international politics or national security issues” (Ondrejcsák, 2014). The Copenhagen School is tightly linked with constructivism because it introduces new threats of national security. For example, the war of terror in the U.S. can be seen in this way. Moreover, the Social Constructivism was created from the position that world and its international relations are the result of any political and social interactions and researches. A scientific analysis is conducted in this sphere is used to explain the political relations on the international relationships (Hoffmann, 2010).

The democratic peace theory is a widely accepted theory within the international relations studies and policy makers. This theory has had a major influence on the U.S. foreign policy decisions regarding the spread of peace and democracy in order to make the world a better place; therefore, it is appropriate to explain, as this was the intended meaning of the “New World Order” policy. The fundamental idea of the democratic peace theory is that democracies will not go to war with other democracies.

All three presidential administrations that are mentioned in the dissertation work have embraced this foreign policy objective of building a peaceful world, particularly President George W. Bush who stated that, “And the reason why I’m so strong on democracy is democracies don’t go to war with

each other. And the reason why is the people of most societies don't like war, and they understand what war means...I've got great faith in democracies to promote peace. And that's why I'm such a strong believer that the way forward in the Middle East, the broader Middle East, is to promote democracy" (Bush, 2004).

The theory has had problems in terms of applying their rules of peaceful resolutions in the international relations as the majority of wars that are battled by democracies have been for different reasons other than for promoting democracy or self-defense. There have also been concerns in terms of how one can define the words democracy, war etc. As there have been both advantages and disadvantages with the Democratic Peace theory, the goal of spreading democracy in order to create peace and decrease the occurrence of wars is still the main aim of the U.S. policy of the new world order (Pugh, 2007).

"Feminist Political Theory" criticized the canon of Western political thought, pointing out if you add women and things that women do into the theories of Marx and Hobbes you get some very different outcomes. The theory has developed its own theories of democracy and political representation, pointing out that the division of gender fundamentally alters the meaning of democracy, equality, liberty, etc. " (Malik, 2015).

The study of international Relations was slow to take on a Feminist dimension until 1990, when both of them as academic study and also as a practice were matched. Now Feminist International Relations is both: a critical and a creative approach to understanding, that refers to a new style of acceptance-women in the mainstream, women in the center of politics, economics, etc. But it has to be mentioned that consideration of women is the key but consideration the gender is completely different thing. When the gender is taken into consideration immediately the nature of social difference is reflected. Thus, the gender conflict is the most interesting point in the Feminist political theory, as it proves that the more society is gender-equal, the more secure world is and the less it is engaged in conflict.

### **Theoretical and Practical Value**

The research is based on the analysis of the conflict situations in the post-bipolar period and theoretical framework composed of Geopolitical, Human rights, Transnational and International integration theories. Theoretical framework is also viewed from the 21st century notion of human security issues.

As for the practical value, it is important to stress that the US foreign policy regional approaches are decisive phenomenon and is being expanded after the bipolar order when the Post-Soviet Space has been regarded one of the sphere of the American geopolitical interests. Hence, namely these new indications and provisions of the national foreign policy and national security concept are perceived as practical applicability in realization of the US national interests in contemporary international politics, for instance, Caspian Basin energy security vitality in aegis of the US national security and foreign policy priorities. It is important to actualize and consider this aspect of the US foreign policy for Georgian academic and public community consideration, particularly, extensively used by the American Studies students and professors throughout Georgia.

The peculiar issue of contemporary the US foreign-policy making and systematic approach, its applicability to regional cases (again in context of the Caucasus-Caspian or Black Sea security dimension) has been viewed from the perspective of Georgian political and expert society as the most decisive implications for Georgia's foreign and security mission and goal identification and formulation. Georgia has witnessed the phenomenon from multi-discipline academic framework for promoting Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration aspiration and Georgia-US strategic partnership reinforcement. Furthermore, as the SWOT analysis is one of the significant points of the dissertation work due to the data collected and represented in it, the dissertation work will be of great value to Georgian politicians, policy makers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, etc. to respond promptly to the urgent matters in the present and to predict the possible challenges and find optimal solutions in future.

### **Novelty of the Research**

The dissertation work will deeply analyze and present the U.S. most recent foreign policy missions in 1990- 2016 transitional geopolitical period and the policy-making and implementation process which differs from the period of "Cold War" one as well as to observe in time when the international political system has expanded to include the whole, the super-power's foreign policy is being transformed into new modality. The dissertation will be triggered the following novelty proscriptions:

-Identification and clarification of military dimension of asymmetric challenge (according to the American strategic documents perceived as transnational challenges as a political jargon) as a modern international political threat in aegis of transforming world order and in aegis of the USA National Security Policy implications. (Foust, 2012) Moreover, considering the factor, the asymmetric

challenges is associated with another new dangerous phenomenon – asymmetric warfare. This form of warfare has been focused on since 9/11 tragic event in US when the world was concentrated on comparably new phenomenon of terrorism. Asymmetric warfare is a war between belligerents whose military power, tactics, equipment, plans are completely different (Ondrejcsák, 2014). The factor of asymmetric warfare is one of the most serious geostrategic menace in aegis of the Black Sea Security Dimension, namely in scope of military conflicts in Syria-Iraq and in Donbas, Ukraine as well as conflicts in the whole Caucasus space (South Caucasus and North Caucasus regions).

The dissertation reflects as a novelty factor of migration as an omnipotent provision attributed of having influenced to processes of international relations. In that respect, the migration has been considering as one of the key challenge to global security for despite of fact that the migration could be treated from positive modality. However, new form of migration as a potentially new term of international relations - “economic migration” represents and affiliated as a new challenge, mainly asymmetric one. (Migration, 2016) It depicts negative aspects of migration and its threats, highlights the problem – existence of stress, fear and worry between immigrants and the residents of host country.

-Introduction and review from academician perspective of new instruments and tools aiming at further achieving U.S. foreign policy goals and missions at global, regional and local levels in Transitional geopolitical period that is new concept of “soft power” already became popular not only in theoretical but also real political levels. The research reflects how new realities (challenges and opportunities) influence on further institutionalization of governmental structures at national levels on USA and Georgia cases and how is possible with instruments of “soft power” arranging institutional reforms and transformation leading toward “good governance” modality in case of Georgia (Cohen, 2009).

The *SWOT Analysis* –is represented in the dissertation work as a key instruments for carrying our research of bilateral relations between Georgia and US to depict the authentic and valuable insights not only about the benefits Georgia gained from its “elder strategic partner” but , it also provides real facts about weaknesses , strengths and challenges our country face and should be defeated.

### **Limitations of Dissertation**

The purpose of the dissertation work was to analyze and represent the main missions and priorities of the US foreign policy, encompassed such elements as promotion of the economic and political values,

process of political integration, institutional transformation in Georgia as well as how the USA government tailors “soft power” instruments to promote democratic institutional building.

Dissertation work did not provide and aims at further scrutinize and explore deep analysis bilateral relations and its geopolitical implications between the USA and its strategic partners and so-called “pivot states” and what are future strategies in fostering these relationship, mainly after the Post-Cold War period up to 2016.

### **Structure of Dissertation work**

The dissertation thesis includes the following parts: introduction, three chapters, conclusion and references SWOT analysis and appendices that also involves three research feedbacks, questionnaires that had been used in the research processes.

## **Chapter 1. The US Foreign Policy Goals and Identification of Geopolitical Code in Post-Cold War Periods**

In the modern age, the process of globalization, global geopolitics and international political processes are extremely important. Taking into account the significant role of so-called “superb-powers” (notable the US, Russia, European Union and China) in the development of the international political processes, which will be very positively reflected on the resolving of the different kinds of the global problems in the World.

The dissertation work takes a look at the political system of the U.S. and its implications toward foreign-policy making provisions, etc. and it is researched and analyzed. According to the Foreign Policy Agenda of the Department of State, the goals of the foreign policy of the United States, are to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community. In addition, the House of Committee on foreign affairs defines some of its jurisdictional goals that are expressed in exporting controls, including nonproliferation of nuclear technology and nuclear hardware. Moreover, it should be highlighted that implementing measures to foster commercial interaction with foreign nations and to safeguard American business abroad are significant objectives as well as international commodity agreements; international education; and protection of American citizens abroad and expatriation. As some policy

makers think, international relations are becoming increasingly complicated and more complex as it involves a wide range of issues

The first chapter highlights one of the political tools hard power vice versa soft power. Hard power was the traditional form of foreign policy tool in the previous century, but in the 21st Century, soft power has been emerging as a new method to implement various political decisions. Many scholars have studied soft power as a behavior influence outcome in the post September 11 period, but the dissertation work mainly uses Joseph Nye, Jr.'s definition and explanation of the term and its significance, as the main political tool in foreign policy making process.

The definition of soft power has been closely linked with the name of Joseph Nye, Jr. who first coined this term. Dr. Joseph Nye, Jr, a noted foreign policy scholar and practitioner, used the phrase "soft power" firstly in 1990. Nye describes soft power as the possibility to gain what you want through attraction, appreciation and mass appeal rather than through violence, leadership and coercion. He sees strong relations with allies, economic assistance programs, and vital cultural exchanges as examples of soft power. In spite of the fact that Nye's concept's has become very popular, current power scholarship is still divided about the nature of power. Some scholars see capabilities as the most important and crucial factor while the others completely disagree with it and claim for the opposite. They believed that it was a behavior outcome. Nye built his concept as a behavior outcome, or as he calls it "relational power concept" on the multiple faces of power. As power literature has developed, so did Nye's initial definition of soft power. Earlier versions of Nye's soft power definition were: "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment" meant, that in order to gain respect, admiration or recognition culture, values and foreign policies of other nations ought to be appreciated and understood. Later, Nye's definition was developed and extended. Soft power was reformulated as the new challenges, new ways to influence on others due to cooperation, collaboration, interaction and outline the structure of persuasion, in order to attain preferred outcomes or achieve the goal.

The dissertation work also represents other scholars' viewpoints that outline many approaches and assumptions about the development of foreign policy. It is widely argued if the decision-making approach has been more important than any other. As they suppose there are three central concepts: decision, decision makers and the decision making process. Foreign policy is, a series of decisions made by a group of people who can be labelled decision – makers. Foreign policy decisions do not



simply emerge in response to external stimuli, rather they are processed through an identifiable machinery within the state.

The following sub-chapter represents the U.S. Foreign Policy Implications on regional geopolitics. This part of the dissertation work focuses on the term -geopolitics that is defined as the study of the influence of geography on international politics and international relationships. Geopolitics is represented as a method of studying and observing the foreign policy to understand, explain and predict international political behavior through geographical variables. Geopolitics highlights the power of politics in relation to geographic space. As it is mentioned, topics of geopolitics include relations between the interests of international political actors, interests focused to an area, space, geographical element or ways, relations which create a geopolitical system. However, there are different type of academic definitions of geopolitics that identify true contents of the jargon.

For much of the 20th century, geopolitics drove American foreign policy. Successive presidents sought to prevent any single country from dominating the centers of strategic power in Europe and Asia. To that end the United States fought two world wars and carried on its four-decade-long Cold War with the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet empire ended the last serious challenge for territorial dominion over Eurasia. The primary goal of American foreign policy was achieved.

This part of the dissertation work mainly focuses on the post–Cold War period, defines and characterizes it and represents its main political events. The chapter follows Bill Clinton’s presidency period, highlights the main pillars of his policy.

The next sub –chapter represents material about the U.S. Foreign Policy Provisions after 9/11– Bush’s Administration Doctrine: Global War on Terror (2001-2009) and its implications on institutional transformation. This part of work mainly includes information about George Bush-Junior Presidency period, outlines his foreign policy goals and undermines his principles in military strategy planning .It is obvious that, his vision in foreign and military strategic mission perspectives were triggered by the September, 11. 2001 terrorists attack in New York and Washington led to another major shift in US foreign policy.

## **Chapter 2. New Dimensions of the U.S. Foreign Policy in Caspian Sea Basin and Political Instruments**

The second chapter of the dissertation work includes three sub- chapters. The first sub chapter observes the progression of Bush and Obama doctrines, according to U.S. foreign policy interests during 2001-2016 particular period. Here is the Doctrinal Comparative Analysis: Bush vs. Obama.

According to critics President Obama is vividly advocates of Nye's soft power ideology and he supports his viewpoint. Obama's political views are believed to have dual identity: one of citizen of the United States and at the same time world citizen. For Obama, as well as for Nye, it is important to know what others think about America and use this knowledge while constructing US multilateral foreign policy. For both of them soft power is not about popularity it is about gathering respect which leads to trust and in turn trust enables achieving desired outcomes. Another fact that emphasizes Obamas commitment towards use of soft power is the Nobel Prize that he received after the expressed desire to create the world where there is no place for nuclear weapons. During his speech at the awarding ceremony, the president once again outlined the importance of soft power. However, at the same time, Obama underlined the significance of peace as the main condition of the world order which will not only be achieved through soft power means.

Some critics oppose Barak Obama's administration policy decisions. They argue that Obama mostly was using hard power politics. Their arguments include:

- 1) increased amount of US troops in Afghanistan by 35000 soldiers
- 2) unmanned drones used against terrorists
- 3) failure to close Guantánamo
- 4) killing Osama bin Laden.

For this reason, critics point out that even if Obama speaks in the language of soft power, his actions are of hard power. As a counterargument to this statement, it is worth analyzing President's speech at Oslo in 2009, where Obama mentioned that soft power and diplomacy are crucially important but not everything may be solved or achieved through them. So, here are the limits of soft power. According to President Obama only negotiations will not convince al Qaeda members to stop using force. The

force sometimes is important since “it is a recognition of history, the imperfections of man and the limits of reason” (Obama, 2009).

So, it may be said that Obama was soft power-leaning president in hard power world, because as president notes peace is not achieved only through desire for it, peace requires responsibility and that is why NATO and organizations alike are still needed. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that even in Afghanistan Obama had different intentions while increasing number of troops, his desire was to - counter-terrorism operations

The next part of the work represents the information about Energy security of Caspian Sea and the role of Georgia in regional geopolitics. Georgia takes an important part in the regional geopolitics and self-determination of nations in the region. However, implications of the Georgian economy are a secondary factor when discussing broader implications. The construction of a Caspian pipeline through Georgia, has transformed the country into a new dimension. The delivery of Caucasus – Caspian energy resources to international markets as in times of the bipolar geopolitical order the region was considered as an extremely important part of the Soviet Union. Now the region is being given great attention due to the new approach to transfer vast potential of geo-economics technologies like- oil and gas pipelines, energy strategies, choke points and gateways.

The Caspian Sea – is a region that had the potential to become a major source of great-power contention in the 20-21<sup>st</sup> century. In this regard a new Black-Sea- Caspian Sea Region (BSCSR) is reviewed due to the vast energy corridor perspective

The dissertation work also represents the Charter on Strategic Partnership between Georgia and the United States that demonstrates the financial, economic, cultural, political, assistance of U.S. On January 9, 2009 in Washington D.C. the Charter on Strategic Partnership between Georgia and the United States was signed that clearly represents the fact that the United States remains the significant international guarantor of Georgia’s sovereignty. This Charter displays the central framework of bilateral strategic relations between Georgia and the United States. It supports Georgia’s territorial integrity, political independence, strengthening the democracy and stability.

### **Chapter 3. New Asymmetric/Transnational Challenges and Opportunities and Their Regional Implications from the USA Foreign Policy-Makers Perspective toward Georgia**

The last chapter represents new asymmetric/transnational challenges and opportunities and their regional implications from the USA foreign policy-makers perspective toward Georgia. In the chapter it is reviewed what negative impact can perform Asymmetric/Transnational Challenges what might be their perceptions from the USA Foreign Policy-makers' perspective – terrorism, trafficking of human beings, particularly children and women, uncontrolled refugee migration, etc. It is also discussed what are the causes of migration problem at the regional security level, reasons are given for Georgian migration abroad, including the USA and it is also outlined how the gender models in labor migration have been changing. Moreover, the research topic focuses on the role U.S. foreign policy in migration from Georgia, particularly the gender aspects of labor migration from Georgia is, it emphasizes the reasons and features of the new role of Georgian women migrants living and working in the USA. This trend is reviewed from Asymmetric Challenge perspective as a negative case and from free labor movement as a positive case. International labor migration has become a key feature of the social, economic, and political development of Georgia. However, migration has dramatic consequences for the demographic structure of some Georgian regions and remittances sent through official channels are still beneficial for many Georgian families.

In the last sub-chapters mainly focus on Georgia-USA Cooperation for Promoting Cooperative Security and Good Governance in aegis of the Regional Security Scope: Stability vs. Stalemate. One of the key strategic missions of strategic relationship between Georgia and the USA is underscoring promoting of the institutional reform and reshuffling political system developing still since 1995 when first time was adopted the Constitution of Georgia. The reform promotion trend in the relationship certainly corresponds substantial goal of the national interests of the USA to promote democracy and liberal values abroad, mainly in so-called “pivotal state” (it means the most principal and strategically important nation for promotion the American national interests and regaining vital impetus that retrospect).. Therefore, signed up and agreed between parties, the “Strategic Charter Framework” document is one of the key indications of recognition from the USA government Georgia as one of the status-quo holder nation applicability. Hence, the strategic partnership as well as “pivotal state” status imply to improve institutional governance background and re-cope the best alternative modality of the “elder strategic partner” ones in order to stimulate and endorse so-called “good governance”

policy that on its own rested on 8 major characteristics: *Participation, Rule of law, Consensus oriented Equity and inclusiveness, Effectiveness and efficiency, Accountability, Transparency Responsiveness*

The final chapter that sums up the dissertation work represents the *SWOT Analysis of U.S. - Georgia Relation that gives the reader detailed information about the country's current situation*. The strengths and weaknesses of a country are identified, along with opportunities and threats in its environment. SWOT analysis makes it possible for analysts to measure the current state and future potential of a country. If the strengths and opportunities outweigh the weaknesses and threats, the country is in a good position. And vice versa a country is in a bad situation if the weaknesses and threats are dominant. SWOT analysis can also be used to build strategies for the future by considering how weaknesses can be turned into strengths, and how threats can be turned into opportunities.

## **CONCLUSION**

The dissertation work includes conclusion that is established on a deep analysis of the policy-making and implementation process that are differing from that period of Cold War. The work observes the time when the international political system has expanded to include the whole, the super-power's foreign policy and has been transformed into new modality. It includes not only the issues of foreign policy missions and goals of the USA government in post-Cold War period but it also highlights the facts about regional aspects of the policy-making. The research topic focuses on the main aspects and specifics of the U.S. foreign policy missions into Post-Cold War period and role of those new risks and priorities such as energy security, energy geopolitics, and adequate reactions to asymmetric challenges, including military ones, to cope with at regional levels, most focused on the Black Sea geopolitical area. This part also represents the answers to the research questions that are stated in the dissertation work and the conviction of the hypothesis. It also depicts the outcome of the surveys, I have obtained by face to face and online interviews with Georgian migrant women, their family members, ordinary citizens, members of Georgian Parliament.

**The main ideas of dissertation are reflected in the following publications:**

1. Beraia E. (2017). "Foreign Policy-Making Process in XX- XXI Centuries: Theoretical and Practical Background on the Example of the USA" , *Journal in Humanities*, Volume 6, issue 1, p.23-27

2. Beraia E. (2017). "Transnational Challenges- Migration from Georgia to us Gender Aspects of Migration", *American Studies Periodical*, 9<sup>th</sup> Edition p.84-92;
3. Beraia E. (2017). "The Influence of Asymmetrical Warfare on Contemporary International Security", *American Studies Periodical* , 10<sup>th</sup> edition p. 47-52
4. Beraia E. (2018). "Asymmetric challenges and their impact on International Relations", *the International Expert Conference*, Ostrowiec Swetokrzyski, Republic of Poland
5. Masaia V., Beraia E. (2018). "General Implications of Russia-USA Geostrategic Approaches toward Sub-Saharan Africa: "Soft Power" vs. "Hard Power" Strategies in Action: Sudan Case-Study Nr. 2 (9), Republic of Moldova, pp. 87-97
6. Maisaia V., Beraia E. (2018) "The Caucasus and its Geostrategic Positions: Energy-Transport Defense Pillars for Enhancing Gateway Region Status" "Revista Militara" Nr. 2 (18) Republic of Moldova pp. 85-91