

THE DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT OF RA-GEORGIAN POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD*

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Georgia has transit strategic importance for Armenia. The purpose of this article is to present the development of RA-Georgia relations, the impact of changes in political leaders, and geopolitical developments in both countries in the post-Soviet period. The following objectives were set in the given research:

- 1. to study RA-Georgia relations and their changes, basic and main documents,***
- 2. to analyze the influence of political leaders and geopolitical developments of the two countries on bilateral relations,***
- 3. to present the role of regional and extraterritorial actors, balancing policy and influence in regional developments.***

The systematic methods of historical-comparative, event, and content analysis were used in the research.

The research resulted in the following conclusions:

- 1. Based on the historical and geopolitical circumstances of the two countries, they have always emphasized the neighborly relations between the two countries and their development.***
- 2. The character of relations can be considered strategic and friendly. Georgia can have a positive influence on the RA-Azerbaijan and RA-Turkey dialogue. RA can be an important bridge in Iran-Georgia relations.***
- 3. Georgia-Azerbaijan-Turkey strategic cooperation can become a big threat for Armenia.***

Key words: *Armenia, Georgia, Bilateral relations, Regional policy, Security, Regional cooperation, South Caucasus.*

Introduction

A new course of relations between Armenia and Georgia began in the 1990s. The entire region, being in a rather complicated and tangled state, had its influence on the formation of the relations between the two countries, as both newly independent states were under various threats, up to the loss of independence. The two countries pay quite a lot of attention to their relations with each other and try to constantly develop relations, both in bilateral and multilateral fields.

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Since the declaration of independence, regional factors such as.

- The different character of the approaches shown by the parties in the relations between the regional powers (Russia, Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan),
- The disunity of the parties regarding the settlement of regional conflicts,
- Georgia's strategic cooperation with Turkey and Azerbaijan in the conditions of Turkey and Azerbaijan's policy aimed at isolating Armenia,
- Differences in approaches to involvement in regional processes and international organizations, etc.

From the beginning of the 1990s, the turbulent events in Georgia and Armenia caused great obstacles for the formation of bilateral relations. However, taking into account the previous experience and a number of other circumstances, the two states also initiated steps aimed at creating the prerequisites for contact with each other. As a result, diplomatic relations were established between the two countries already on July 17, 1992, and already in 1993. The RA Embassy in Tbilisi was opened in July (RA, MFA, RA-Georgia bilateral relations 2023). The agreement "On Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Security" signed between the two countries on May 19, 1993 was quite significant (Ratifying the Agreement on Friendship 1995).

Armenian-Georgian Relations Prior to Saakashvili's Presidency

The first and second presidents of Georgia have always emphasized the role of RA in the foreign policy of Georgia, about which statements have been made many times. I would also like to mention that the relations with the neighbors have a great role and importance for RA, in which special attention is paid to the relations with Georgia. During the tenure of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the first president of the Republic of Armenia, Georgia, as a neighboring country, was important in Armenia's foreign policy direction, the clear proof of which was the state and official visits to both sides and the many agreements signed during those years. In 1998 after the February elections, Robert Kocharyan was elected the second president of RA, who in his turn gave a new impetus to foreign policy and especially to Armenian-Georgian relations. On April 28-30, during the summit of the heads of the CIS countries held in Moscow, the President of Armenia supported Georgia's point of view regarding the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. This was an additional boost to that relationship. On April 29, R. Kocharyan and E. Shevardnadze had the first meeting in Moscow, during which the presidents confirmed their willingness to continue cooperation, develop and deepen bilateral relations, both in the fields of political and economic, as well as regional cooperation (Caucasus Report 1998). In November 1998, within the framework of the official visit of the RA President Robert Kocharyan, various meetings were held with the official representatives of the neighboring country and an agreement was reached to activate the bilateral economic relations using the existing legal framework between the two countries, and they also agreed to sign new agreements for closer cooperation in the future. The Georgian side expressed interest and willingness to develop cooperation with Armenia in a number of regional projects. About a month later, on December 21-23, the Ministers of Transport of Armenia, Georgia and Bulgaria met in Yerevan and agreed on the creation of a railway corridor between the three states through the Poti-Varna ferry connection (Karapetyan 2012). In the concept of national security of Georgia, Armenia is mentioned as its close partner, a good neighbor, with whom there are areas of overlap of interests and great prospects for the development of cooperation, and these factors can contribute to the stabilization of bilateral political ties (National Security Concept of Georgia 2005). In the concept of national security of RA (The decree of the President of RA 2007), the relations

with Georgia are mentioned as friendly and it is also mentioned that Georgia is important as a state with high-level relations with Armenia in the region, and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields and their deepening derives from the long-term strategic interests of Armenia and Georgia. Georgia is also important for Armenia due to the presence of a large Armenian community living in that country. The Republic of Armenia cooperates with the Government of Georgia in the direction of solving the socio-economic problems of Georgian-Armenians, including the Armenian community of Samtskhe Javakheti region.

The external factor was an obstacle in the development of bilateral relations, in the hands of a number of states and large international structures, which tried to quickly establish themselves in the South Caucasus region and fill the gap created here after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In RA-Georgia relations, there is a number of uneven or unsolved problems, around which both sides are trying to reach mutually beneficial solutions through negotiations. The relations between the two countries have a rather large influence on the differences between the parties regarding the settlement of regional conflicts. On November 5 (1999), Shevardnadze, speaking at the session of the Government of Georgia, stated that one of the main priorities of the country's foreign policy is relations with its closest neighbors, Azerbaijan and Armenia, and also stated that Georgia can assume a unique role in the regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, emphasizing that everything should be done to fully involve Armenia in regional programs, because Armenia's isolation is not in Georgia's interests (Minasyan 2012). The President of Georgia E. Shevardnadze's official visit to Yerevan in 2001 (RA, MFA, RA-Georgia bilateral relations 2024). (October 23-24). Within the framework of the latter, the parties signed the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Security between the Republic of Armenia and Georgia (according to Article 1 of that "Great" Treaty, the two countries sought to deepen partnership relations) (RA, MFA, RA-Georgia bilateral relations 2024). With the new agreement, the parties also undertake to hold consultations in the event of a situation creating a threat to the security of their countries and the region, in order to determine measures and actions for the maintenance of peace and mutual security. In addition, the parties undertake not to undertake any action directed against the other party, as well as not to allow the formation of such groups and organizations in their territory that may create danger or cause economic damage to the other party. It should be noted that the above-mentioned "Great" contract shows that Yerevan was able to use the recently created geopolitical situation in the region, simultaneously, for the protection of Armenia's national interests and for ensuring stable and long-lasting peace. Agreeing with the point of view of the Armenian side that RA-Georgia relations are one of the most important guarantees of maintaining stability in the region.

However, sometimes many promises made by Georgia had a more declarative character and Georgia continued its traditional policy in the European structures, that is, to silently defend the anti-Armenian resolutions presented by Azerbaijan. On May 4, 2001, on the eve of the meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, the Committee of Delegates of Ministers of the Council of Ministers discussed the draft resolution of the Committee of Ministers, where the Council of Ministers included the Caucasus, in particular, the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. Here, Azerbaijan proposed an amendment to the principles of the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, giving the priority to the peaceful settlement of the conflict to the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan (Tbilisi recognizes the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan 2011), and the delegate of Georgia, Lana Gogoberidze, supported the Azerbaijani amendment (Sportel and Tchikoidze 2011). Unfortunately this is not the only case when Georgia openly supports Azerbaijan and its anti-Armenian propaganda, thus violating the agreements with the RA

official circles and provisions of a number of bilateral agreements. 2003 was quite an important period in Armenian-Georgian interstate relations. As a result of the presidential elections held in February, Robert Kocharyan was re-elected to the position of president (The second (President of the Republic of Armenia 2008). On June 27 of the same year, at the invitation of the President of Georgia, Shevardnadze, he went on a two-day official visit to Tbilisi. The main topic of discussion was that Robert Kocharyan emphasized that Armenia is faithful to the principles it adopted within the framework of friendly relations with Georgia. A number of agreements was also reached regarding future activities, covering fields like free trade, indirect taxes, goods and services etc. At the end of the meeting, the parties ratified protocols. (Agreement "Between the Government of RA and The Government of the Republic of Georgia on Free Trade"; Agreement "Between the Government of RA and The Executive Authority of Georgia on the Principles of Collection of Indirect Taxes During the Export and Import of Goods (Works, Services)").

Developments in Georgia during the First Period of Saakashvili's Presidency

In the extraordinary presidential elections of January 4, 2004 in Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili was elected president with an absolute majority of votes (Kandelaki 2006). It is worth noting that the newly elected young president introduced quite serious and radical changes in the internal and external political life of the country. Saakashvili, who had an extreme pro-Western orientation, announced the importance of relations with Armenia. It was no coincidence that he arrived in Yerevan on a two-day official visit on March 12, 1.5 months after assuming the post of president. During the press conference, he announced that Armenia is an excellent partner for Georgia and he is in Armenia primarily on a visit to the heart (Saakashvili wants to "learn" from Kocharyan 2004). Then there were statements regarding the discussion of issues and problems on the agenda of bilateral relations and their solution in the near future. It is also noteworthy that during the meeting, Georgian President Saakashvili emphasized that Armenia plays an important role in Georgian-Russian relations, and Georgia plays an important role in Armenian-Turkish relations. RA President Robert Kocharyan paid a return visit on November 21, where he met with high-ranking officials of Georgia. The strained Russian-Georgian relations could not leave their mark on the Armenian-Russian relations, as Armenia is Russia's strategic ally. The next event of 2005, which had an impact on Armenian-Georgian relations, was the agreement signed on May 25 between Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey, by which the parties planned the construction of the Kars-Akhalkalak-Tbilisi-Baku railway (Lussac 2008), which was rather negatively received by Armenia, because it contributed to the isolation of Armenia in the region. Despite the fact that Georgia made a formal proposal to involve Armenia in regional programs, which was initially rejected by the parties, in particular, Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul and Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev announced that Armenia would be able to participate if it resolves the Karabakh conflict. Another important event in 2005 the opening of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline (Starr and Cornell 2005) was the act of isolating Armenia once again. As a result of these programs, Georgia would have serious financial gains, which would later be effectively used in the way of solving its foreign political relations. Georgia's position regarding the Armenian Genocide is noteworthy, where Georgia states that in 1915, Armenians were forcibly deported, avoiding the terms **genocide**, **extermination** or other similar terms. Russian-Georgian relations sharply worsened due to Georgia's decision to withdraw Russian peacekeeping troops from Tskhinvali, the capital of South Ossetia. These troops were there to maintain peace within the framework of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), actually covering up Russian influence in Tskhinvali region. Russia had quite moved away from the South Caucasus, losing its

influence on Georgia, and was trying to provoke separatist aspirations in the territory of the latter. Georgia, which had clearly chosen the path of European integration, orienting its foreign policy to the west, having the support of the USA there, wanted to keep South Ossetia so that it would not inherit the fate of Abkhazia. The situation escalated sharply after July 8, when Georgia unilaterally closed the only legal Georgian-Russian crossing, Upper Lars (Silaev and Sushentsov 2012).

The period of Serzh Sargsyan's Presidency and Relations with Georgia

In the presidential elections of 2008, Serzh Sargsyan was elected the President of Armenia (The biography and activity of Sargsyan Serzh 2019), he also gave great importance to Georgia and its role and place in the events in the region in foreign policy. It should be noted that Armenian-Georgian relations had a dynamic development during the 10 years of the second president Robert Kocharyan's tenure. Solutions were given to a number of issues of concern to both sides, but **a number of issues remained unresolved** and incomplete (In particular, the delimitation and demarcation of the borders remained unresolved. Although during the meetings it was talked about its necessity and creation of a relevant committee), there were a number of unused opportunities, which were considered as an agenda issue in the foreign policy considered by Serzh Sargsyan. However, the post-election upheavals that took place in Armenia in the spring of 2008 also strained Russian-Georgian relations, which led to a 5-day war in South Ossetia in August (Blandy 2009), and that was the reason that only on September 30, 2008, the newly elected President of Armenia, Serzh Sargsyan, had a two-day official visit to Georgia. This also proved that the neighboring Georgia has a great importance in the foreign policy of Armenia. The president also repeatedly added and noted that maintaining, deepening and strengthening friendly relations with Georgia has always been in Armenia's interests. During his speech, President Serzh Sargsyan described Georgia's role for Armenia as "strategic", which Robert Kocharyan avoided for many years. The new leader of Armenia, Nikol Pashinyan, also attaches great importance to Armenian-Georgian relations. On May 30, 2018, Nikol Pashinyan made his first official visit to Armenia's northern neighbor, Georgia (Nikol Pashinyan's visit to Georgia 2018). During the 32-year history of Armenia's independence, this is the first time that the head of the country makes the first official visit to Georgia and Samtskhe Javakheti region, where he also had meetings with the Armenian community.

Analysis of the Main and Basic Documents of Bilateral Relations

2005 on July 8, the Parliament of Georgia adopted the concept of national security of Georgia (National Security Concept of Georgia 2005), where the importance of building a pro-Western foreign political line was mentioned in the section of the main priorities of foreign policy, and in relations with neighbors, in particular, to continue "partnership" with Russia, "pragmatic cooperation" with Armenia.

In the Foreign policy strategy of Georgia (2006-2009) the following was written: *There are historically established good-neighborly ties between Georgia and Armenia and Azerbaijan. Intensification of partnership between the three states of the South Caucasus is of immense importance for the further development of the region. Georgia will deepen its strategic partnership with the Azerbaijan to attain energy security, fully exploit the potential of South Caucasus transport corridor and implement new large-scale regional projects. Georgia will continue close cooperation with Armenia over the broad spectrum of bilateral interests. Georgia supports wider participation of Armenia in regional*

projects and welcomes the intensification of Armenian partnership with European and Euro-Atlantic bodies, which should have a positive impact on regional security. To ensure an effective fight against international terrorism, Georgia will cooperate with states of the region, in particular with immediate neighbors: the Russian Federation, Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Armenia (Foreign policy strategy of Georgia 2006-2009).

It seems that relations with Azerbaijan are given greater importance, marking them as strategic. The same can be viewed in 2019-2022 strategy, which covers a wide range of issues that the country aims to address in the next four years.

Some of the key priorities for Georgia in 2019-2022 are:

- Sovereignty and territorial integrity,
- European Union and NATO integration,
- Sustainable economic development,
- Bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region and worldwide
- Contribution to the global security (Foreign policy strategy of Georgia 2019-2022).

In the National Security Concept of Georgia (National Security Concept of Georgia 2011), the parts related to Armenia are presented in several contexts. First, the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is mentioned. In particular, the Security and Environment Chapter states: *Moreover, the military aggression by the Russian Federation worsened the security environment in the Caucasus region as a whole. In addition, the instability in the North Caucasus and the unresolved conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh both negatively impact Georgia's security environment. The creation of a peaceful and cooperative environment in the Caucasus region would pay positive dividends for the security of Georgia (Ibid.).* The 9th Chapter of the Concept of Economics Security Policy states that Georgia will continue its economic relations with Armenia and a number of other countries. Cooperation in the South Caucasus Chapter talks about the importance of regional cooperation programs. In the section concerning Armenia, it is stated that: *The unresolved Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is undermining the stability of the countries in the region. Georgia would welcome a peaceful resolution to this conflict, based on the principles of international law and greater involvement of the international community in the peace process. Georgia enjoys close cooperation with Armenia in all areas of mutual interest. Georgia believes that the deepening of good neighborly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with Armenia is in line with the national interests of both countries and strengthens the traditional friendship between them, while also fostering economic prosperity and political stability.*

Georgia aspires to strengthen trade, economic, and transportation ties with Armenia. Cooperation in trade, transport infrastructure, tourism, and other fields will support the economic development of Georgia and Armenia.

Georgia supports Armenia's active participation in the European Union Eastern Partnership and welcomes Armenia's more active cooperation with NATO. Georgia welcomes all efforts to normalize Turkish-Armenian relations and to establish good neighborly ties between them (National Security Concept of Georgia 2011). "Government

2020-2024 Directed to the "Building a European State" program is also of great importance.

After the 2020 parliamentary elections, the Parliament of Georgia approved the new composition of the government, a new program of ministers and Government, which defines the vision of the ruling party. According to the plan, the construction of the European state is one of the priorities of that period from 2021 to 2024. The "European state" is the main pillar of the document, which revolves around it in various directions, including foreign policy and security. Here, Georgia emphasizes the development of Armenia's relations with Western organizations and countries and welcomes this process (Georgian Foreign Policy The Quest for Sustainable Security).

Georgian diplomat David Zalkaliani presented on August 9 (2021) a 10-year plan of the Foreign Ministry, determining where the country is heading to in the coming decade.

The plan titled *"Foreign Policy Focused on Western Values and the Country's Interests: 10-year Vision, 10 Goals"* lays out 10 key goals covering de-occupation, the EU and NATO membership aspirations, bilateral partnerships, regional cooperation, relations with Russia, and other foreign policy issues. The ten goals to be achieved in ten years as per the plan are as follows:

1. Launching "irreversible" process of the country's de-occupation and achieving "substantial progress" towards strengthening Georgia's sovereignty and restoring its territorial integrity by 2030;
2. Applying for the EU membership by 2024, obtaining membership candidate status by 2030, and opening membership talks with the 27-member bloc;
3. NATO membership plan developed with the Alliance, full preparedness for the NATO's "political decision" to make Georgia its member;
4. Achieving tangible results "in terms of upgrading the high-level formats of bilateral relations to a new strategic level" to contribute to pursuing diverse domestic and foreign policy interests;
5. The establishment of a comprehensive U.S.-Georgia alliance reinforced by military-political and trade-economic components;
6. The establishment of the South Caucasus "as an area of cooperation, good neighborhood and dynamic development overcoming existing differences" through "a well-balanced and mutually beneficial regional policy based on partnerships;"
7. Emergence of the possibility of normalization of political ties with Russia in accordance with the principle of de-occupation and the territorial integrity of Georgia – the beginning of the real process of conflict resolution.
8. Launching an EU-Georgia connectivity dialogue, establishing Georgia as a regional leader and "assuming the important function of a bridge connecting the East and the West;"
9. Achieving enhanced investment capacities, effective implementation of national, regional and international economic projects, preferential treatment for Georgian export goods and diversified export markets;
10. A further strengthened diaspora with successful cultural and educational centers abroad by 2030. (Georgian Foreign Ministry Unveils 10-Year Action Plan)

This document is important to understand Georgia's foreign policy priorities until 2030 and the place that Armenia has there. The document talks about the importance of Georgia's regional policy, as well as the development of relations with Armenia. The section related to Georgia in the 2020 National Security Strategy of Armenia is noteworthy, namely point 10 of chapter 4 states that stability in neighboring Georgia and

Iran is of great importance to Armenia. Based on its mutually beneficial, special neighborly relations with Georgia and Iran, Armenia will develop effective cooperation in various directions, while keeping these relations free from geopolitical side effects (National Security Strategy of the RA 2020).

It is also crucial that the RA Government's 2021-2026 program highlights its commitment to fostering and advancing special and neighborly relations with Georgia.

An inter-parliamentary friendship group was formed between Armenia and Georgia. The intergovernmental commission for economic cooperation operates between the two countries, the 12th session of which was held in January 12, 2023 in Yerevan under the leadership of the Prime Ministers of the Republic of Armenia and Georgia. Following Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan's working visit to Georgia in July, Armenia and Georgia announced their intention to engage in high-level dialogue on strategic issues, creating an additional impetus for effective cooperation. (RA, MFA, RA-Georgia bilateral relations, 2023). Prime Minister Pashinyan visited Georgia on October 26 (2023) to participate in the 4th Tbilisi Silk Road Forum. Azerbaijan's PM Ali Asadov also participated in the event.

"After the banquet, an informal contact took place between the prime ministers of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan," the Prime Minister's Office said in a statement (Pashinyan held informal meeting 2023). This event could be a good precedent as the leaders of Georgia have repeatedly stated that they are ready to act as a mediator in the settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, and Tbilisi can be the platform for these meetings and discussions.

Meetings and contacts between high-ranking officials of RA and Georgia and heads of sectorial departments are of a periodic nature. Regular consultations are held between the foreign ministries of the two countries (RA, MFA, RA-Georgia bilateral relations 2024). In this discussion, it is important to highlight the fact that the Georgian-Russian economic relations are gradually developing, which can be a fertile ground for the regulation of political relations as well. And it is no coincidence that the Russian Federation ranks second among Georgia's foreign economic partners, second only to Turkey (Turkey, Russia, China Georgia's top trading partners 2023).

Conclusion

Summarizing the dynamics of the development of Armenian-Georgian political relations, we can draw the following conclusions.

- The two countries based on the historical and geographical realities, have always emphasized the development of relations with each other, mutually beneficial cooperation, as well as mutual interests, which have always been a historical necessity for both sides.
- despite the contradictions that arose between each other at the time, the relations between the parties mainly developed in a strategic and friendly atmosphere,
- From the point of view of regional stability, Georgia has always been one of the most important links for Armenia and will continue to be as long as our neighbors continue their blockade policy, isolating Armenia from regional developments.
- Taking into account Georgia's good relations with neighboring Turkey and Azerbaijan, the Georgian side can become an important player in the process of regulating Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations by investing all its potential.

- Armenia, as a partner state, trying to conduct a balanced policy, can obtain a connecting bridge role in Georgian-Iranian relations.
- Despite the differences in the foreign policy direction of the neighboring states, both sides emphasize each other's role and importance and show caution in their relations with each other.

The political line adopted by the two friendly states since the formation of the Third Republic continues even today, giving special importance to bilateral relations. In recent years, despite the certain retreat of Georgia's European integration, Georgia continues to emphasize the Western direction in its foreign policy, and Georgia's status as a candidate for EU membership has given rise to new hopes for Georgia. In this matter too, everything is not clear, because after the latest developments and especially after the adoption of the Law on Foreign Agents, the EU Ambassador to Georgia announced that the accession process of Georgia is currently suspended. Georgia is now oriented towards the West and is trying to ensure its security by deepening military relations with the United States, with the aim of joining NATO. The above can be an additional stimulus from the point of view of establishing deeper relations with RA, which deepens relations with the EU and NATO member states.

The role of Georgia will continue to be important for Armenia, especially in the case of Turkey and Azerbaijan's policy of isolating Armenia, and although Georgia is able to reap great economic benefits with its transit role and use this factor as political leverage, it is still interested in the process of regulating Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and the region. with stability, because stability can be a stimulus for greater economic development for all countries in the region. At the same time, the deepening of Georgia-Azerbaijan-Turkey relations in all directions, including the military, can turn into a serious threat to the National Security of the Republic of Armenia.

Based on the issue, we can conclude that the changes of the regimes in both countries did not bring great changes to the development of relations, the relations had the character of dynamic development in different directions, but different leaders gave different impetus to the development of these relations. It should be noted here that geopolitical developments also had a great impact on these relations.

It is true that today there is a deepening of relations between the two countries, but the corresponding efforts are not consistent and sufficiently stable, they lack a strategic approach, and it often turns into a mere reaction to the problems that have arisen. A more effective approach at the governmental level would be the development and implementation of a joint strategy for the cooperation of the two countries, which would define the goals in different time perspectives, evaluate the perspectives of future cooperation and also the existing challenges and obstacles. It is desirable that, in parallel, civil non-governmental organizations, educational and research institutes, professional and business associations also search for ways to deepen cooperation, its financing, optimization and institutionalization in common areas of interest. Support and assistance for such efforts by Western partners would be extremely important and valuable. The deepening of military cooperation would also be important in the ways of cooperation between the two countries. A favorable geopolitical environment has been created for the above circumstance. The democratic development of the two countries further increases the mutual interests between the parties, but more work and consistency are needed in the existing processes. Against the background of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and Western-Russian tension, new realities have emerged in the region, and it seemed that the Georgian side would worsen relations with the Russian Federation, but the Russian Federation has become the second leading state among Georgia's foreign trade partners. Day by day, the Russian Federation increases its influence in Georgia and it seemed that

it would have a positive effect on the relations between Armenia and Georgia, taking into account the strategic and alliance relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation, but there is an increase in tension in the relations between the RA and the RF, and the relations between the RA and the West are recording dynamic development. All this also affects RA-Georgia relations. Against the backdrop of tense West-Georgia relations, the developing RA-West relations can create new realities in the region, where the parties may have new challenges, so it is necessary to develop a joint strategy with the Georgian side, which will be aimed at ensuring bilateral relations and regional stability. The West is trying to resolve regional conflicts by depriving Russia of additional tools and regional presence. This competition, which has also been joined by Iran, creates new threats in the region, which can be dangerous for Armenia and Georgia, so it is necessary to deepen relations with Georgia and neutralize the above-mentioned threat, as well as threats which are coming from the Georgia-Azerbaijan-Turkey trilateral deepening relationships.

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**ՀՀ-ՎՐԱՍՏԱՆԸ ԶԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ԶԱՐԳԱՑՄԱՆ
ԴԻՆԱՄԻԿԱՆ ՀԵՏԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՅԻՆ ՇՐՋԱՆՈՒՄ**

ԿԱՐԵՆ ՂԱԶԱՐՅԱՆ

*ԵՊՀ միջազգային հարաբերությունների ֆակուլտետի
քաղաքագիտության ամբիոնի ասպիրանտ,
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Վրաստանը Հայաստանի համար ունի տարանցիկ ռազմավարական նշանակություն:

Սույն հոդվածի նպատակն է ներկայացնել Հայաստան-Վրաստան հարաբերությունների զարգացումը, քաղաքական դեկլարաների փոփոխությունների և աշխարհաքաղաքական զարգացումների ազդեցությունը երկու երկրների վրա հետխորհրդային ժամանակահատվածում: Գիտական աշխատանքի ընթացքում մեր առջև դրվել են հետևյալ նպատակները.

1. Ուսումնասիրել Հայաստան-Վրաստան հարաբերությունները և դրանց փոփոխությունները, հիմնային ու հիմնական փաստաթղթերը,

2. Վերլուծել երկու երկրների քաղաքական դեկլարաների և աշխարհաքաղաքական զարգացումների ազդեցությունը երկկողմ հարաբերությունների վրա,

3. Ներկայացնել տարածաշրջանային և արտատարածաշնային դերակատարների դերը, բալանսավորման քաղաքականությունը և ազդեցությունը ռեգիոնալ զարգացումներում:

Գիտական աշխատանքը շարադրելիս օգտվել ենք պատմահամեմատական, իրադարձային և բովանդակային վերլուծությունների համակարգային մեթոդներից:

Ուսումնասիրության ընթացքում արել ենք հետևյալ եզրահանգումները.

1. Երկու երկրների պատմական և աշխարհաքաղաքական հանգամանքներից ելնելով՝ մշտապես կարևորել են երկու երկրների միջև բարիդրացիական հարաբերությունները և դրանց զարգացումը:

2. Հարաբերությունների բնույթը կարելի է համարել ռազմավարական և բարեկամական:

3. Վրաստանը կարող է դրական ազդեցություն ունենալ Հայաստան-Ադրբեջան և Հայաստան-Թուրքիա երկխոսության համար, իսկ ՀՀ-ն կարող է կարևոր կամուրջ լինել Իրան-Վրաստան հարաբերություններում:

4. Վրաստան-Ադրբեջան-Թուրքիա ռազմավարական համագործակցությունը կարող է մեծ սպառնալիք դառնալ ՀՀ-ի համար:

Հիմնաբառեր՝ Հայաստան, Վրաստան, երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, տարածաշրջանային քաղաքականություն, անվտանգություն, տարածաշրջանային համագործակցություն, Հարավային Կովկաս:

ДИНАМИКА РАЗВИТИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ РА-ГРУЗИЯ В ПОСТСОВЕТСКИЙ ПЕРИОД

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Грузия имеет важное транзитное стратегическое значение для Армении.

Цель данной статьи – представить развитие отношений РА-Грузия, влияние смены политических лидеров и геополитических событий на обе страны в постсоветский период. В ходе научной работы перед нами были поставлены следующие цели:

1. изучить отношения РА-Грузия и их изменения, основные и базовые документы,
2. проанализировать влияние политических лидеров и геополитических событий двух стран на двусторонние отношения;
3. представить роль региональных и экстерриториальных игроков, политику балансирования и влияния на региональные события.

В ходе исследования мы использовали системные методы историко-сравнительного, событийного и контент-анализа.

В результате исследования мы сделали следующие выводы:

1. исходя из исторических и геополитических обстоятельств, всегда подчеркивались добрососедские отношения между двумя странами и их развитие;
2. характер их отношений можно считать стратегическим и дружеским. Грузия может оказать положительное влияние на диалог РА-Азербайджан и РА-Турция, РА может стать важным мостом в отношениях Ирана–Грузия;
3. стратегическое сотрудничество Грузии-Азербайджана-Турции может стать большой угрозой для Армении.

Ключевые слова: *Армения, Грузия, двусторонние отношения, региональная политика, безопасность, региональное сотрудничество, Южный Кавказ.*