

Winter Semester 2016/2017

SYLLABUS

Course Title:

BLACK SEA POLITICS AND SECURITY

Lecturer: Dr. Maryna Vorotnyuk

Contact: Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University,
Gondova 2, 81499, Bratislava

Schedule: Wednesday, 9.05-10.35, R. 216.

Consultation hours: Wednesday, 10.35-12.00, R.215

Course Description and Rationale

This course is designed to give insight into the politics and security dynamics of the Black Sea region. It familiarizes students with the notion of the (Wider) Black Sea region which includes Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Romania and Bulgaria. The course covers the institutional framework and underlying causes of the regional conflicts which are quite abundant. With the Russian-Ukrainian conflict underway the whole dynamics is rapidly changing shifting the traditional understandings of power balances and stability.

It aims to highlight the positions of the major international actors here. Special emphasis is put on how the European Union is shaping its actorness in the region, and its Eastern Partnership instrument is changing the regional political setting. Referring to the policies of Russia as a former hegemon and the EU as an emerging normative power here, the course traces the basic contradiction between the Europeanization trends and ‘Post-Sovietness’ in the domestic political agendas of the Black Sea states.

Course Objectives

The course has the following objective:

- to develop the knowledge of political and security processes in the Black Sea region

Learning Objectives

Students are expected to obtain a specialized knowledge on the developments within the Black Sea region providing them with a necessary background for analysis, further academic research or policy-making. Class discussions and research paper are to sharpen their independent analytical and discussion skills.

Course Format

The course is delivered through lectures and in-class discussions being based on permanent interaction between the instructor and students. Assigned readings should provide the reference point of analysis to be developed during the lecture.

Course Requirements and Assessment

Students are required to attend the classes regularly, be involved in class discussions, read the assignments before the class. Taking notes is particularly encouraged. The evaluation will be also based on the quality of the presentation each student is expected to make during the course. The topic should be chosen individually but approved by the instructor beforehand. It is essential to use primary sources (official documents, data etc), as well as scholarly analysis for backing the main arguments in the presentation.

50 % - Active participation

50 % - Essay/Presentation

Evaluation:

A – 85-100 % D – 58-67 %

B – 76-85 % E – 50-58 %

C – 67-76 % Fx – < 50

COURSE STRUCTURE

Week 1. Introduction to the Course

Minchev, Ognyan. “Major Interests and Strategies for the Black Sea Region”. Framework Analytical Review. Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. Available from: <http://www.iris-bg.org/files/Black%20Sea%20Framework%20Analytical%20Review.pdf> Aydin, Mustafa. “Europe’s New Region: Black Sea in Wider Europe Neighbourhood”. Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies 5, no. 2 (May 2005): 257-283. Karadeniz, B. “Security and Stability Architecture in the Black Sea”. Perceptions. (Winter 2007): 95-117. Available from: [http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/volume12/winter/winter-005-PERCEPTION\(bulentkaradeniz\)%5B5%5D.pdf](http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/volume12/winter/winter-005-PERCEPTION(bulentkaradeniz)%5B5%5D.pdf)

Week 2. Black Sea Region: Recent Developments and Implications of Ukrainian-Russian Conflict.

"Introduction". In Unrewarding crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia. Ed. by Anahit Shirinyan and Louisa Slavkova. Sofia Platform, 2015, pp. 6-11.

Solonenko, Iryna "Ukraine’s EU-Russia Dilemma: the Essence of the Choice" In Unrewarding crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia. Ed. by Anahit Shirinyan and Louisa Slavkova. Sofia Platform, 2015, pp. 68-90.

Vorotnyuk, Maryna "Ukraine in the Black Sea region after anexation of Crimea: position and interests" in 'Russian-Ukrainian conflict: potential for deescalation', Caucasian House, Institute of World Policy, Tbilisi-Kyiv, 2015, pp.15-20. Available at https://www.academia.edu/14568534/Ukraine_in_the_Black_Sea_region_after_anexation_of_Crimea_position_and_interests_in_Russian-Ukrainian_conflict_potential_for_deescalation_2015.

Recommended

Grotzky, Daniel and Mirela Isic. "The Black Sea Region: Clashing Identities and Risks to European Stability". Policy Analysis, no. 4. Munich: Centre for Applied Policy Research, October 2008. <http://www.cap.lmu.de/download/2008/CAP-Policy-Analysis-2008-04.pdf> "A 2020 Vision for the Black Sea Region" A Report by the Commission on the Black Sea, May 2010. Available from: http://www.blackseacom.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/Paper/A%202020%20Vision%20for%20the%20Black%20Sea.pdf

Makarychev A. Securitization and Identity: The Black Sea Region as a "Conflict Formation" / A. Makarychev / PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 43. - December 2008 Available at <http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/63311.html>.

Week 3. Russian policy towards the Black Sea neighbours. Eurasian Union vs. Eastern Partnership.

Makarychev, Andrey. "Russia and Its Neighbours: Possessive Love, Abusive Friendship?" In *Unrewarding crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia*. Ed. by Anahit Shirinyan and Louisa Slavkova. Sofia Platform, 2015, pp. 106-120.

Kimberly, Marten. Putin's Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy and Intervention in Ukraine. *The Washington Quarterly*. 38:2 pp. 189–204, Available at <http://twq.elliott.gwu.edu/putin%E2%80%99s-choices-explaining-russian-foreign-policy-and-intervention-ukraine>.

Popescu, Nicu. Eurasian Union Uncertainties. PONARS Policy Memo 385, September 2015, Available at <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/eurasian-union-uncertainties>

Kateryna Boguslavska. *The First Steps of the Eurasian Economic Union: Disputes, Initiatives and Results*. Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich. Available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Detail/?lng=en&id=192642>.

Sergey Minasyan. Armenia Keeps on Balancing between the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 377. August 2015. Available at <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/armenia-keeps-balancing-between-european-union-and-eurasian-economic-union>.

Week 4. Regional Policies of Key Actors: EU's Black Sea Strategy

Delcour, Laura. "Escaping Geopolitical Entrapment: the EU's Eastern Policy in Light of EU-Russia Rivalry" In *Unrewarding crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia*. Ed. by Anahit Shirinyan and Louisa Slavkova. Sofia Platform, 2015, pp.92-105.

Dimitrios Triantaphyllou. "The European Union and the Black Sea Region in Search of a Narrative or a New Paradigm, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 2014. 16:3, 286-299.

Recommended

"Europe's Next Shore: the Black Sea Region". Occasional Paper 53, Paris: Institute for Security Studies, June 2004. Available from: <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/aym01/aym01.pdf>

Simon, Jeffrey and Eugene B. Rumer. "Toward a Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Black Sea Region", Occasional Paper 3, Washington D.C.: Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, 2006. Available from: http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Occasional_Papers/OCP3.pdf

Yannis, Alexandros. "The European Union and the Black Sea Region: the New Eastern Frontiers and Europeanisation". ICBSS Policy Brief, no. 7. Athens: ICBSS, May 2008. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=567

Emerson, Michael. "The EU's New Black Sea Policy - What Kind of Regionalism is This?" CEPS Working Document, no. 297. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2008. Available from: http://shop.ceps.be/downfree.php?item_id=1680

Popescu, Nicu and Andrew Wilson. "The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood," Policy Report. London: European Council on Foreign Relations Report, June 2009. Available from: http://ecfr.eu/page/-/documents/ECFR_eastern_neighbourhood_report.pdf

Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. "Linking the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with the Eastern Partnership and the Black Sea." In *Med.2010 Mediterranean Yearbook*. Barcelona: Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (2010),132-135. Accessed 18 June 2012. http://www.iemed.org/anuari/2010/aarticles/Triantaphyllou_Eastern_en.pdf

Aydın, Mustafa and Sinem A. Açıkmeşe. "EU Engagement in the Black Sea: The Views from the Region." In *The Eastern Partnership in the Black Sea Region: towards a New Synergy*, edited by Adam Balcer. Warsaw: Demos Europa Centre for European Strategy (2011), 7-27. Accessed 19 June 2012. <http://www.eucers.eu/wp-content/uploads/BSR-ES-Cooperation-Demos-2011.pdf>

European Commission and High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. "Eastern Partnership: A Roadmap to the autumn 2013 Summit." Joint Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Brussels, 15 May 2012. Accessed 18 June 2012. http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/docs/2012_enp_pack/e_pship_roadmap_en.pdf

O'Dowd, Liam and Bohdana Dimitrovova. "Promoting Civil Society Across the Borders of the EU Neighbourhood: Debates, Constraints and Opportunities." *Geopolitics* 16(2011): 176-192. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14650045.2010.493784#preview>

Altmann, Franz-Lothar, Johanna Deimel and Armando García Schmidt, "Democracy and Good Governance in the Black Sea Region," Policy Report IV, Commission on the Black Sea, 2010.

Towards a European Commonwealth of Nations: a Strategic Response to the EU 'Enlargement Fatigue'". Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2005. Available from: <http://www.iris-bg.org/files/EU%2520Commonwealth.pdf>

Kelley, Judith. "New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reforms through the New European Neighbourhood Policy". *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, no. 1. (2006): 29-55.

Jackson, Bruce. "The Future of Democracy in the Black Sea region," Paper based on a testimony before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Delivered by Bruce Jackson, President of the Project for the New American Century. 2006. Available from: http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_27.pdf

Tsantoulis, Yannis. "Black Sea Synergy and Eastern Partnership: Different Centres of Gravity, Complementarity or Confusing Signals?" ICBSS Policy Brief, no. 12. Athens: ICBSS, February 2009. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=594

Wallace, Helen. "The European Union and its Neighbourhood: Time for a Rethink". ELIAMEP Thesis 4. Athens: ELIAMEP, 2009. Available from: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/eliamep-thesis-4-2009-helenwallace.pdf>

Cheterian, V., 2009. "From Reform and Transition to "Coloured Revolutions." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 25 (2-3), pp.136–160.

Furman, Dmitri, "Imitation Democracies – The Post-Soviet Penumbra," *New Left Review* 54 (Nov-Dec 2008): 29-47.

Week 5. Eastern Partnership Initiative

Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives. July 29, 2015 - Available at: <http://www.gmfus.org/publications/reviewing-european-neighbourhood-policy-eastern-perspectives#sthash.wKzvNHFO.1kWtH2Ww.dpuf>.

Kasčiūnas, Laurynas, Ivanauskas, Vilius "Eastern Partnership In A Changed Security Environment: New Incentives For Reform" Vilnius, Lithuania November 2014.

Week 6. NATO and US in the region

Recommended

- Shaffer, Brenda. "The Caspian Region and American Security Policy." *Journal of International Security Affairs*. 3 (2002). pp. 45-57.
- Cooley, Alexander and Lincoln A. Mitchell. "No Way to Treat Our Friends: Recasting Recent US-Georgian Relations". *The Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 1. (January 2009): 27-41. Available from: http://www.twq.com/09winter/docs/09jan_CooleyMitchell.pdf
- Larrabee, Stephen. "NATO and Black Sea Security". In *The Wider Black Sea Region in the 21st Century: Strategic, Economic and Energy Perspectives*, edited by D. Hamilton and Mangott. Washington D.C.: Centre for Transatlantic Relations, 2008. Available from: http://shop.ceps.eu/downfree.php?item_id=1672
- Kupchan, Charles A. "NATO's Final Frontier Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic Alliance." *Foreign Affairs* 89(2012): 100-112. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66217/charles-a-kupchan/natos-final-frontier>

Week 7. Frozen Conflicts in the Black Sea Region (Part 1. South Ossetia and Abkhazia)

Kogan, Eugene. *The South Caucasus Countries and their Security Dimension*. March 2013. CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper. Available at

http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/165850/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/9a64eb82-ba82-4b81-a918-2edbdbbfbebd/en/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper%2811%29%281%29.pdf.

Recommended

Alexandrova-Arbatova, Nadia. "The impact of the Caucasus crisis on European and regional security". *Journal for Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 9, no. 3. (2009): 287-300. Kapitonenko, Mykola. "Resolving Post-Soviet 'Frozen Conflicts': is Regional Integration Helpful?" *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* 3, no. 1. (2009): 37-44. Available from: <http://www.cria->

online.org/Journal/6/Done_Kapitonenko_Resolving%20Conflicts.pdfDe Waal, Thomas. "The Karabakh Trap: Dangers and Dilemmas of the Nagorny Karabakh Conflict". Occasional Paper. London: Conciliation Resources, 2009. Available from: http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/CR_KarabakhTrap_DangersNagornyKarabakhConflict.pdf

Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. "The security paradoxes of the Black Sea region." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 9(2009): 225-241.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14683850902934143#preview> Celikpala, Mitat, "Escalating Rivalries and Diverging Interests: Prospects for Stability and Security in the Black Sea Region," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 10 (September 2010): 287-302. Antonenko, Oksana. "A War with no Winners". *Survival* 50, no. 5. (2008): 23-36. Gültekin-Punsmann, Burcu. "The Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform: an Attempt to Foster Regional Accountability. ICBSS Policy Brief, no. 13. Athens: ICBSS, April 2009. Available from:

http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=84&Itemid=101 King, Charles. "The Five Day War: Managing Russia after the Georgia Crisis". *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 6. (October-November 2008). Frichova, Magdalena. "Transitional Justice and Georgia's Conflicts: Breaking the Silence". ICTJ Report. New York: International Centre for Transitional Justice, May 2009. Available from:

http://www.ictj.org/static/Europe/ICTJFrichova_GEO_BreakingtheSilence_pa2009.pdf Japaridze, Tedo. "A 'New Caucasian' Chalk Circle? Why Georgia's Neighbours and Georgia Must Work Together to Talk with Russia" *EU-Turkey Monitor* 4, no. 3. Bonn: Center for European Integration Studies, December 2008. Available from: http://www.zei.de/download/zei_tur/ZEI_EU-Turkey-Monitor_vol4no3.pdf

Week 8. Frozen Conflicts in the Black Sea Region (Part 2. Nagorno Karabakh and Transnistria)

Secieru, Stanislav. *Protracted Conflicts In The Eastern Neighborhood: Between Averting Wars And Building Trust*. CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper. [http://www.khas.edu.tr/cms/cies/dosyalar/files/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper\(06\)\(5\).pdf](http://www.khas.edu.tr/cms/cies/dosyalar/files/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper(06)(5).pdf).

Recommended

Philips, David L., *Post-Conflict in Georgia* (Washington: The Atlantic Council, 2008). Fried, Daniel. "The Caucasus: Frozen Conflicts and Closed Borders". Statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Delivered by Daniel Fried, Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs. 2008. Available from: <http://www.internationalrelations.house.gov/110/43066.pdf>

Week 9. Regional Policies of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey

"Part 3. The East of Europe, West of Russia: What Role for Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey?" In *Unrewarding crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia*. Ed. by Anahit Shirinyan and Louisa Slavkova. Sofia Platform, 2015, pp. 121-189.

Recommended

- Aydin, Mustafa. "Geographical blessing versus geopolitical curse: Great power security agendas for the Black Sea region and a Turkish alternative". *Journal for Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 9, no. 3 (2009): 271-286.
- Tanrisever, Oktay, "Turkey and Russia in the Black Sea Region: Dynamics of Cooperation and Conflict," EDAM Discussion Paper 1, 2012.

Week 10. BSEC (Black Sea Economic Cooperation) as a Political Framework for Regional Cooperation.

Celac, Sergiu. *The Role and Potential of the Organization of the BSEC*. CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper. November 2011. Available at

http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/135476/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/2393557a-1b81-486c-b156-9f99fe0329d2/en/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper%2801%29%281%29.pdf.

Manoli, Panaiota. *Black Sea Regionalism in Perspective*. CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper. December 2011. Available at

http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/135477/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/8876f246-2fd8-4cca-92ed-b57c5e376672/en/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper%2802%29%281%29.pdf.

Recommended

Ladi, Stella. *Good Governance and Public Administration Reform in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) Member States*. Xenophon Paper, no. 6. Athens: ICBSS, December 2008. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=45

Week 11. Politics of Energy in the Black Sea Region

Godzimirski, Jakub M. "Energy in the Neighbourhood: Russian and EU Perspectives and Policies" *Polish Quarterly of International Affairs* 4/2014, pp.31-52. Available at http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=19331

Assenova, Margarita. "Russia-Ukraine War's Impact on European Energy: Developments in Europe's Energy Security Strategy" In *A Net Assessment of Developments in Eurasia Since the Start of 2014*, Jamestown Foundation, pp. 22-24. Available at http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/Net_Assessments_2014_-_Full.pdf

Recommended

Energy Cooperation among BSEC Member States: Towards an Energy Strategy for BSEC. Xenophon Paper, no. 3. Athens: ICBSS, October 2007. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=448

Kaveshnikov, Nikolay. "The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union." *European Security* 19(2010): 585-605. Accessed 18 June 2012. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09662839.2010.531707#preview>

Umbach, Frank, "The Black Sea Region and the Great Energy Game in Eurasia," Adam Balcer (ed.), *The Eastern Partnership in the Black Sea Region: towards a New Synergy* (Warsaw: DemosEuropa, 2011): 55-89

Week 12. Summing up