



Carleton
University

NPSIA
The Norman Paterson School
of International Affairs

Summer 2022

INAF 5409/PSCI 4809

Black Sea Security: Regional Challenges, Global Implications

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1. Course description

This course aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the Black Sea regional security challenges and their implications for the wider European, transatlantic and global security. The core part of the course will be focused on the period between the two Russian wars in Ukraine (2014-2022), however some background information will be provided when necessary.

The course is structured in two main parts. The first, will address major security issues defining regional agenda at the current stage (political-military crises, including frozen and hot conflicts in the region; energy and economic security; information and hybrid threats etc.). The second, will explore the strategies (if any) and policies of the key regional and global stakeholders. Special emphasis will be made on the regional stance of Turkey, which enjoys a unique status in the Black Sea basin as a NATO member and a strategic partner of both Ukraine and Russia.

While focusing on practical aspects of regional security dynamics and diplomacy, the course will equip the students with necessary knowledge and analytical tools to dive deeper into the subject, better understand current developments and enhance political forecasting skills. A balanced mixture of lectures and interactive sessions, workshops and creative writing assignments will enable participants to apply lessons learned in different contexts from the early days of the course.

2. Learning outcomes:

- Understand major contemporary security issues in the Black Sea region and their implications for the European, transatlantic and global security;

- Acquire knowledge of the regional strategies and policies of key regional (Russia, Ukraine, Turkey) and non-regional actors (US, NATO, EU, China);
- Critically analyze Turkey's foreign policy in the region and its role in enhancing the transatlantic dialogue and security;
- Get the grasp of major military, political, economic and diplomatic trends currently unfolding in the region and be able to reflect on their possible future developments;
- Understand the nature and methods of the Russian "hybrid warfare" targeting regional countries and its threats for the transatlantic security;
- Apply practical skills in scenario planning, strategic forecasting, preparing policy briefs and recommendations.

3. Schedule

1). July 4. *Introduction to the course.*

"Framing the Black Sea Region: A Periphery in the Centre of Europe"

Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. 2009. "The "Security Paradoxes" of the Black Sea Region". Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. Vol. 9 (3): 225-241.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14683850902934143>

Aydın, Mustafa. 2009. "Geographical Blessing vs. Geopolitical Curse. Great Power Security Agenda for the Black Sea Region and a Turkish Alternative". Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. Vol. 9 (3): 271-285.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683850902934283>

"The Geostrategic Importance of the Black Sea Region: Brief History". Center for Strategic and International Studies. 2017. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/geostrategic-importance-black-sea-region-brief-history>

2). July 6. *"Security Dynamics in the Black Sea Region: Military, Political, Maritime, Energy Dimensions"*

Hodges, Ben. 2020. "The Black Sea ... or a Black Hole?" Center for European Policy Analysis. <https://cepa.org/the-black-sea-or-a-black-hole/>

"Ukrainian Storm Warning: A Great Danger to Europe in the Maritime Domain". 2020. Center in Defence Strategies. https://defence.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/CDS_Maritime-Security-Report_2020.pdf

Klymenko, Andrii. 2021. "Security Risks in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in 2021". Black Sea Institute of Strategic Studies. <https://www.blackseanews.net/en/read/183685>

Winrow, Gareth. 2007. "Geopolitics and Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region". Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. 7 (2): 217-235.

3). July 11. *"Grey Zone Between War and Peace: Information Warfare, Subversive Operations and Hybrid Threats"*

Chivvis, Christopher. 2017. "Understanding Russian Hybrid Warfare and What Can Be Done About It?"
https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/testimonies/CT400/CT468/RAND_CT468.pdf

Russian Octopus in Action. Case "Ukraine". Ed. by V. Horbach, A. Pinchuk et al. Eastern Europe Security Institute. 2020. https://easterneuropesecurity.institute/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/SPRUT_WEB_A5_ENGL-1.pdf

"Chinese Disinformation in the Black Sea Region and Western Balkans". 2022. German Marshall Fund of the United States. (Online Panel Discussion).
<https://www.gmfus.org/event/chinese-disinformation-black-sea-region-western-balkans>

"Ukraine in Flames. How Russian Propaganda Works During the War?" 2022. (Online Panel Discussion). <https://uacrisis.org/en/ukraine-in-flames-34>

Osadchuk, Roman. 2022. "How Ten False Flag Narratives Were Promoted by Pro-Kremlin Media". Atlantic Council DFRLab. <https://medium.com/dfrlab/how-ten-false-flag-narratives-were-promoted-by-pro-kremlin-media-c67e786c6085> (optional)

4). July 13. *Session on writing policy briefs. Group work*

Fonberg, Robert. 2020. Practical Guide to Writing Briefing Notes in the Government of Canada. Defence and Security Foresight Group. https://uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/ca.defence-security-foresight-group/files/uploads/files/dsfg_policy_brief_writing_guide_v2.pdf

Gaber, Yevgeniya. 2021. Turkey's Policies in the Black Sea: Horizon 2030. https://uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/ca.defence-security-foresight-group/files/uploads/files/dsfg_gaber_policy_brief_september_2021.pdf

5). July 18.

"Ukraine and the Black Regional Security: Why It Matters for the World?"

A discussion with Ambassador of Ukraine to Canada H.E. Yuliya Kovaliv (tbc)

Kuleba, Dmytro. 2022. "How Ukraine Will Win. Kyiv's Theory of Victory". Foreign Affairs. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-06-17/how-ukraine-will-win>

Reznikov, Oleksii. 2022. "Europe's Future Will Be Decided in Ukraine". Atlantic Council. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/europes-future-will-be-decided-in-ukraine/>

Snyder, Timothy. 2022. "The War in Ukraine is a Colonial War". <https://www.newyorker.com/news/essay/the-war-in-ukraine-is-a-colonial-war>

Philippe Breedlove, Iulia Joja, Gönül Tol, Mamuka Tsereteli. "Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and Implications for the Black Sea Security". Middle East Institute. (Online Panel Discussion). <https://www.mei.edu/events/russias-invasion-ukraine-and-implications-black-sea-security>

Aslund, Anders. 2022. "Russia's War on Global Food Security". Atlantic Council. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/issue-brief/russias-war-on-global-food-security/>

6). July 20. "Getting Russia Right: Three Scenarios for the Post-War Europe"
Group Work

Nigel Gould-Davis, James Nixey, James Sherr, et al. "Myths and Misconceptions in the Debate on Russia". Chatham House. 2021. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/05/myths-and-misconceptions-debate-russia>

Plokhyy, Serhii. "The Empire Returns: Russia, Ukraine and the Long Shadow of the Soviet Union". 2022. Financial Times. <https://www.ft.com/content/0cbbd590-8e48-4687-a302-e74b6f0c905d>

"Uncovering the True Origins of Russia's War: Conversation with Timothy Snyder"
<https://www.msnbc.com/msnbc-podcast/why-is-this-happening/uncovering-true-origins-putin-s-war-timothy-snyder-podcast-transcript-n1294084> (podcast)

Sherr, James. 2022. "The Fear of Victory". International Center for Defence and Security. <https://icds.ee/en/the-fear-of-victory/>

"Russia's Geostrategic Activities in Eastern Europe. A Study of Russian Actions Targeting Belarus, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Ukraine".

Ed. by D.Batashvili. Rondelli Foundation. 2020.
<https://gfsis.org/publications/view/2851> (optional)

7). July 25. *"Turkey's Security Dilemma in Black Sea Region: Navigating Between Russia, NATO, and Ukraine"*

Gaber, Yevgeniya. 2020. "Turkey's Black Sea Policy: Between "Russian Lake" and "NATO's Backyard"", UA: Ukraine Analytica. 1 (19): 43-53. <https://ukraine-analytica.org/turkeys-black-sea-policy-between-russian-lake-and-natos-backyard/>

Işık, Yörük. 2022. "Strong Turkey-Ukraine Ties Are Key to Black Sea Security". Middle East Institute. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/strong-turkey-ukraine-ties-are-key-black-sea-security>

Aydıntaşbaş, Aslı. 2022. "Turkey, NATO and the Ukraine War. Why Erdoğan's Grievances Are About More Than Sweden and Finland". European Council on Foreign Relations. <https://ecfr.eu/article/turkey-nato-and-the-ukraine-war-why-erdogans-grievances-are-about-more-than-sweden-and-finland/>

Bechev, Dimitar. 2018. "Turkey and Black Sea Security: Ten Years After the War in Georgia". <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/turkey-and-black-sea-security-ten-years-after-the-war-in-georgia/>

8). July 27. *"Turkish Foreign Policy in the Age of Uncertainty: A Perspective on the Transatlantic Cooperation"*

A discussion with Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Canada H.E. Kerim Uras (tbc)

Devlen, Balkan. 2020. An Alliance in Trouble? Turkey and NATO in 2025. Defence and Security Foresight Group Working Paper. https://uwaterloo.ca/defence-security-foresight-group/sites/ca.defence-security-foresight-group/files/uploads/files/dsfg_devlen_workingpaper_0.pdf

Aydintasbas, Asli. 2020. The Turkish Sonderweg. Erdoğan's New Turkey and Its Role in the Global Order. <https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/Content/Images/Document/the-turkish-sonderweg-erdogans-new-turkey-and-its-role-in-the-global-order-d383b9/the-turkish-sonderweg-erdogans-new-turkey-and-its-role-in-the-global-order-d383b9.pdf>

Çelikpala, Mitat. 2019. "Viewing Present As History: That State and Future of Turkey-Russia Relations". EDAM. Foreign Policy and Security Series. https://edam.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/MITAT_VIEWING-PRESENT-AS-HISTORY.pdf

August 1. No class, civic holiday.

9). August 3. Crisis Simulation Exercise. Details will be provided in due course.

Background reading:

Blank, Stephen. 2008. "Russia and the Frozen Conflicts in Strategic Perspective". *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 19(3): 23-54. DOI:[10.1215/10474552-2008-012](https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-2008-012)

Shelest, Hanna. 2022. "From Soft Security to Hard Security in the Black Sea Region – Does the OSCE Fit?" *Security and Human Rights*. 1-15. doi:10.1163/18750230-bja10008

Chankvetzdze, Natia, and Murusizdze, Ketevan. 2020. "Black Sea Conflicts: Militarization and Peacebuilding". Middle East Institute. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/black-sea-conflicts-militarization-and-peacebuilding>

10). August 8. "Looking at the Black Sea from the Transatlantic Perspective: Regional Policies of the NATO, US, and Canada"

Polyakova, Alina. 2021. "Black Sea Security: Reviving U.S. Policy Toward the Region". Centre in European Policy Analysis. <https://cepa.org/black-sea-security-reviving-us-policy-toward-the-region/>

Flanagan, Stephen J., Chindea, Irina. 2020. *Russia, NATO, and Black Sea Security*. RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RRA300/RRA357-1/RAND_RRA357-1.pdf

Speranza, Lauren, and Hodges, Ben. 2022. "10 Ways to Boost NATO's Black Sea Defences" <https://cepa.org/10-ways-to-boost-natos-black-sea-defenses/>

Shelest, Hanna. 2020. "NATO in the Black Sea: Transformation of Approaches and Tailored Presence" in *Black Sea Region in the World Politics: Actors, Factors and Scenarios for the Future*. Ed. O. Brusylowska, V. Dubovyk, I. Koval. Odesa. 27-46.

"Eight Points from the Ukraine Expert Community on the NATO Strategic Concept 2030". 2022. Ukrainian Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism" http://prismua.org/en/eight_point_nato/

Hodges, Ben, Bugajski, Janusz et al. 2020. "One Flank, One Threat, One Presence: A Strategy for Nato's Eastern Flank". Centre for European Policy Analysis. https://cepa.org/cepa_files/2020-CEPA-report-one-flank-one-threat-one-presence.pdf (optional)

11). August 10. *“When No Strategy Is the Strategy: The Role of the EU in the Black Sea”*

Açıkmeşe, Sinem, and Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. 2014. “The Black Sea Region: The Neighbourhood Too Close to, Yet Still Far from the European Union”. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. 16 (3): 279-285.

Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. 2014. “The European Union and the Black Sea Region in Search of a Narrative or a New Paradigm”. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. 16(3): 286-299. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2014.928534>

Meister, Stefan, 2021. “Strategic Sovereignty in the EU’s Southeastern Neighborhood: The Black Sea as Part of a Larger Geopolitical Region”. Heinrich Boll Foundation. <https://www.boell.de/en/2021/01/25/strategische-souveraenitaet-der-suedoestlichen-nachbarschaft-der-eu-das-schwarze-meer>

12). August 15.

“Thinking Globally, Acting Locally: Rising Interests of China and Japan in the Black Sea”

“China in the Broader Black Sea Region”. Report of the GLOBSEC, Wilfried Martens Centre for European Security, Black Sea Trust of the German Marshall Fund. 2021. <https://www.martenscentre.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/China-in-the-Broader-Black-Sea-Region.pdf>

Udovik, Violetta. 2020. “The Black Sea Area in Japan’s Expanding Strategic Horizons”. *UA: Ukraine Analytica*, 1 (19): 72-79.

Chang, Felix. 2022. Japan-Russia Relations After the Russian-Ukrainian War. Foreign Policy Research Institute. <https://www.fpri.org/article/2022/06/japan-russia-relations-after-the-russian-ukrainian-war/>

Wrap-up and debrief.

Policy briefs due by **August 20**.

4. Evaluation

Class participation (20%): Regular attendance and active participation in all classes are required and expected. The course will include lectures, interactive sessions, group work and discussions with invited speakers. Your participation marks will be based on home preparation, engagement in class discussions and with assigned readings.

Individual presentation (25%): You will have to (1) choose a topic of your interest related to one of the course modules; (2) prepare a presentation based on the background

information, possible scenarios and your personal assessment of the problem; and (3) present it in the class. Further details will be provided during the introduction session.

Crisis simulation exercise (25%): We will do a crisis simulation exercise that will enable you to put your newly acquired knowledge into practice in a simulated regional security crisis. Details of the crisis scenario and your assigned roles will be provided in due course. Taking active part in the simulation is required and expected.

Policy Brief (30%): You will have to write a policy brief (around 900-1000 words excluding references) for the Canadian Department of National Defense or Global Affairs Canada on a topic relevant for the course, focusing on assessment of current strategic environment, implications for the region and policy recommendations for the Canadian government. There will be a session on how to write a policy brief where you will also receive feedback on your proposed policy brief topic. The topics have to be confirmed with the instructor by *July 22*. Policy briefs are due *August 20* at the latest. More information will be provided in due course. There will be no *final exam*.

Carleton University's grading system will be used for the evaluation.

5. Brightspace

This course uses Brightspace, Carleton University's learning management system. This is where all the course material will be posted. To access your course in Brightspace, please go to <https://carleton.ca/brightspace/>. For help and support, please go to <https://carleton.ca/brightspace/students/>.

6. Communications

Please do not hesitate to contact the instructor if you have any questions or concerns. Please use your Carleton email account for all course-related correspondence and make sure to include "INAF 5409" in the subject line. Students are encouraged to check Brightspace and their Carleton email account regularly for all course-related correspondence and announcements.

7. Copyrights

Carleton University is committed to compliance in all copyright matters. Noncompliance is a violation of the Canadian Copyright Act. In addition to any actions that might be taken by any copyright owner or its licensing agent, the University will take steps against any breach of this policy. In Canada, copyright for a work is given automatically to the creator of the work. The work does not need to be marked or declared as copyrighted in order to be copyrighted. The majority of works in Canada are copyrighted. It is important for students to understand and respect copyright. Copyright determines your usage rights for a particular work,

which includes textbooks, web pages, videos and images, both electronic and hard copy. Students may not photocopy entire or major portions of books or other works, even if it is only for their personal use. Fair dealing makes some allowances for copying small portions of works. See Carleton's Fair Dealing Policy for more information. If journal articles or portions of works are available through the library, either as hard copies or electronically, students may make a single copy for their personal use. Students may not distribute copies of works that are under copyright. Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including the course outline, PowerPoint presentations, lecture notes, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s). For more information, please see the Carleton's Fair Dealing Policy and the library's copyright website: www.library.carleton.ca/copyright.

8. Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Academic integrity policy can be accessed at <http://www2.carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity>.

Complementarity: Students are encouraged to build up expertise in areas that may cross multiple courses. It is acceptable to write assignments on related topics. However you may not simply cut and paste your work from one assignment to another, or essentially submit the same work for two or more assignments in the same or different courses. If you plan on writing on related topics in different courses, you must inform the instructors and discuss what will be acceptable in terms of overlap, and what is not. Failure to notify the faculty members will be viewed unfavorably should there be a suspicion of misconduct.