



**Introduction to Black Sea Studies**  
**MA elective course**  
**Spring Semester 2024-2025**  
**Class Hours: Tuesdays, 18:00-21:00**  
**Room 302**

**Instructor:** Professor Dimitrios Triantaphyllou

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**Office Hours:** Mondays, 11:00-14:00, or by appointment

**Course Description:**

The course focuses on understanding the challenges and the synergies in the Black Sea region. In particular, we will assess the regional cooperation process from both a historical and a theoretical perspective with a particular focus on how this process developed in the Black Sea region in the post-Cold War era, when it gained greater clarity and depth. We will also address issues related to economic cooperation and development, with a particular focus on the role of the Organisation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). We will also focus on several regional security issues, such as frozen and protracted conflicts in the region and energy security. In this context, the role of powerful regional and extra-regional actors such as Russia, Turkey and the United States will be assessed. Finally, the role of the European Union as a potentially rising power in the Black Sea region will be explored in depth. We will assess the European Neighbourhood Policy as well as more recent initiatives such as the Black Sea Synergy and the Eastern Partnership and how these affect the Black Sea region together with the growing role of the European Union in trying to resolve the various "protracted" conflicts in the region, as well as the parallel development of a coherent energy strategy. Finally, we will examine the impact of the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine since February 2022 and assess whether the aforementioned dynamics of regional cooperation can be saved.

The syllabus covers the span of 13 weeks covering the following topics.

**Modules:**

- Course Introduction: Why study the Black Sea?
- The Black Sea and its stakes
- The countries of the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia)
- The role of Russia and Turkey
- The European Union and its priorities in the Black Sea region
- Understanding the regional cooperation process historically and theoretically



- Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea Region
- European Neighbourhood Policy and the Black Sea
- Economic cooperation in the Black Sea region
- Security Issues in the Black Sea Region
- Energy Issues in the Black Sea Region
- Lessons learned and expectations for the future

### **Objective:**

**The objective is for the students to acquire a well-rounded perspective of the key issues at stake today in the Black Sea Region with a particular focus on interstate relations, the role and policies of key stakeholders, the nature and future of regionalism in the region and a particular focus on the cross-cutting issues of security, energy security, and democratization. Students will also acquire a greater understanding of the interplay between the EU and its policies and the regional states and the EU policies and instruments for the region.**

**Honor Code:** Panteion University has an Academic Ethics (Honor Code) policy which I strongly urge students to respect.

### **Course Requirements:**

- Individual presentations provided you have actively participated in class (roughly 50 percent of the grade)
- One final in class exam (roughly 50 percent of the grade).

**Project Presentation:** On the last day of class, Tuesday, 3 June, you are to make a 15-minute (max.) PPT presentation on the “Foreign Policy priorities in the Black Sea Region” of one of the following countries – Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece. You cannot make a presentation of the country you are from.

### **Subject matter to be covered:**

- **Course Introduction**

Course objectives and outputs  
Getting to know each other

- **The Black Sea Region in context**

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- **Regional Cooperation**

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Andrew Hurrell, “**Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective,**” in *Regionalism in World Politics*, ed. Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

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<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13563460500344484#preview>

- **Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea Region**

Sergiu Celac and Panagiota Manoli, “**Towards a New Model of Comprehensive Regionalism in the Black Sea Area,**” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 6, no. 2 (June 2006),  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14683850600694262>

Sergiu Celac, “**The Role and Potential of the Organisation of the BSEC**”, *CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper* 01, (Istanbul: CIES, November 2011),  
[https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/135476/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper\(01\)\(1\).pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/135476/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper(01)(1).pdf)

Panagiota Manoli, “**Black Sea Regionalism in Perspective,**” *CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper* 02 (Istanbul: CIES, December 2011),  
[https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/135477/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper\(02\)\(1\).pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/135477/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper(02)(1).pdf)

Panagiota Manoli, ed., “**Unfolding the Black Sea Economic Cooperation: Views from the Region,**” *Xenophon Paper* 2 (Athens: ICBSS, July 2007), <https://icbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Xenophon-Paper-2.pdf>

Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission on A Strong European Neighbourhood Policy*, COM(2007) 774 final, Brussels, 5 December 2007,



<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0774:FIN:EN:PDF>

\_\_\_\_\_, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on **Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy***, 4 December 2006, COM(2006)726 final, Brussels,

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- **The Black Sea Region and the European Union**

Council of the European Union, *Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit, Prague, 7 May 2009*, Brussels, 7 May 2009,

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\_\_\_\_\_, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, **Black Sea Synergy – A New Regional Cooperation Initiative***, Brussels, 11 March 2007,

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Cornelius Ochmann, “**EU Eastern Partnership: Fine, but what about Russia?**” *Spotlight Europe*, no. 2009/06 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, May 2009),

<https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/104886/2009-6%20EU%20Eastern%20Partnership.pdf>

Daniel Grotzky and Mirel Isic, “**The Black Sea Region: Clashing Identities and Risks to European Stability,**” *CAP Policy Analysis* 4 (October 2008),

<http://www.cap.lmu.de/download/2008/CAP-Policy-Analysis-2008-04.pdf>



Dimitrios Triantaphyllou and Yannis Tsantoulis, “Looking **Beyond the Georgian Crisis: The EU in Search of an Enhanced Presence in the Black Sea Region**,” *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 8 (Athens: ICBSS, 2008),

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281101493\\_Looking\\_Beyond\\_the\\_Georgian\\_Crisis\\_The\\_EU\\_in\\_Search\\_of\\_an\\_Enhanced\\_Role\\_in\\_the\\_Black\\_Sea\\_Region](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281101493_Looking_Beyond_the_Georgian_Crisis_The_EU_in_Search_of_an_Enhanced_Role_in_the_Black_Sea_Region)

Yannis Tsantoulis, “**The Black Sea Synergy and the Eastern Partnership: Different centres of gravity, complementarity or just sending the wrong signals to the region?**” *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 12 (Athens: ICBSS, February 2009), [https://icbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Policy\\_Brief\\_12\\_YT\\_old.pdf](https://icbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Policy_Brief_12_YT_old.pdf)

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Elena Gnedina and Nicu Popescu, “**The European Neighbourhood Policy's First Decade in the Eastern Neighbourhood**,” *CIES Neighbourhood Policy Paper* 03 (Istanbul: CIES, July 2012), [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/153116/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper\(03\).pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/153116/NeighbourhoodPolicyPaper(03).pdf)

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- **European Neighbourhood Policy and Regional Cooperation**

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**Future,”** *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no.20 (Athens: ICBSS, January 2010), <https://icbss.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/PB20.pdf>

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- **Economic Cooperation in the Black Sea Region**

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- **Security Concerns in the Black Sea Region**

Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, **“The ‘security paradoxes’ of the Black Sea region.”** *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 9:3, (2009), 225-241, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14683850902934143>

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- **Lessons Learned and Looking Ahead**

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**Athens, 24 February 2025**