

**PO/ IR 357 RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER:
POWER, CONFLICT AND CHANGE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION**

IES Abroad Freiburg
European Union Program Syllabus

SEMESTER: Summer

DESCRIPTION:

The ongoing political crisis in Ukraine and the unilateral annexation of the Crimean Peninsula by Russia and the increasingly troubled relationship between Turkey and the EU/US clearly show that the end of the Cold War did not lead to a single European security order based on commonly shared norms and principles. Recent events in the Black Sea region do not only highlight increasing economic competition, cultural challenges, shifting power relations and a renewed flexibility of geopolitical structures. On a more fundamental political level the very constitution of international society and basic principles of international politics like for instance sovereignty and legitimacy are at stake. In this course we will analyze how these processes reshape the international system and the wider European political order. In addition, a focus on the Black Sea region also permits an assessment of the EU's capacity to transform, influence and stabilize its geopolitical environment.

CREDITS: 3

CONTACT HOURS: 45 hours

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

INSTRUCTOR:

PREREQUISITES: One course in international relations, political science, or post World War II European History.

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

Lectures, presentations, case studies, group projects and simulations in the classroom.

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Active Course Participation - 15%
- Critical Writing Assignment and Presentation - 25%
- Midterm Exam - 30%
- Final Exam - 30%

Course Participation

Course discussions are based upon the compulsory readings and teaching introductions to the subject given at each session. The lecturer will give an introduction and background to the topic and all students are expected to join the seminar discussions following the teaching introductions with (prepared) questions and points related to the readings. Additional material may also be distributed in class by the instructor in order to briefly develop relevant points raised.

Grading Rubric for Student Participation

A	Excellent participation The student's contributions reflect an active reading of the assigned bibliography. Skillfully synthesizes the main ideas of the readings and raises questions about the applications and implications of the material. Demonstrates, through questions and comments, that he or she has been capable of relating the main ideas in the readings to the other information discussed in the course, and with his or her own life experience. The student makes informed judgments about the readings and other ideas discussed in class, providing evidence and reasons. He/she respectfully states his/her reactions about other classmates' opinions and is capable of contributing to the inquiry spiral with other questions. The student gets fully involved in the completion of the class activities.
B	Very good participation The student's contributions show that the assigned materials are usually read. Most of the time the main ideas are identified, even though sometimes it seems that applications and implications of the information read were not properly reflected upon. The student is able to construct over others' contributions, but sometimes seems to interrupt the shared construction to go over tangents. He/she is respectful of others' ideas. Regularly involved in the activities but occasionally loses concentration or energy.
C	Regular participation The participant evidences a regular reading of the bibliography, but in a superficial way. He/she tries to construct over others' ideas, but commonly provides comments that indicate lack of preparation about the material. Frequently, contributions are shallow or unarticulated with the discussion in hand.
F	Insufficient participation Consistently, the participant reads in a shallow way or does not read at all. Does not participate in an informed way, and shows lack of interest in constructing over others' ideas.

Critical writing assignment and presentation

The critical writing assignment (15%) is a short essay of 800 – 1000 words, double spaced. It is to be written on session-related topics, which will be decided upon between student and instructor by Session 8. Students will make a short presentation about their essays (10%). This assignment will develop the capacity for critical academic analysis and will serve as a basis for seminar discussions. For detailed guidelines please see the Moodle page under "Assignment Guidelines".

Midterm Exam

The midterm exam (90 minutes) consists of three short essay questions (out of five questions) covering the material of the first eight sessions. A list of study questions and a detailed guideline will be provided on Moodle.

Final Exam

The final exam (90 minutes) consists of three essay questions (out of five questions) covering the material of all of the semester with a focus on the sessions after midterm examination. A list of study questions and detailed guidelines is provided on Moodle.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Analyze the complex and changing geopolitical configuration in the wider Black Sea region.



- Discuss specific issues of international security and conflict management.
- Demonstrate an understanding of selected problems of international politics and international law as well as of their implication for the stability of the international order.
- Analyze the multi-faceted dimensions and strategic importance of the EU as a foreign policy actor in a multipolar international order.

ATTENDANCE POLICY:

All IES courses require attendance and participation. Attendance is mandatory per IES policy. Any unexcused absence will incur a penalty on your final course grade (1 absence - 1%, 2nd absence -2%, 3rd absence – 3%). Any student who has more than three (3) unexcused absences will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Any student who misses more than 25% of a course, whether the absences are excused or are unexcused, will receive an “F” as the final grade in the course. Absences due to sickness, religious observances, and family emergencies may be excusable at the discretion of the Center Director. In the case of an excused absence, it is the student’s responsibility to inform the Academic Dean of the absence with an Official Excused Absence Form, as well as any other relevant documentation (e.g. a doctor’s note), and to keep a record thereof. The absence form must be turned in as soon as possible before the class, in the case of a planned absence, or immediately upon return to the Center, in the case of an unplanned absence, in order for the absence to be considered excused. It is also the student’s responsibility to inform the professor of the missed class. Students can collect and submit the Official Excused Absence Form from the office of the Academic Dean.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE:

Students are expected to abide by the IES Abroad Code of Academic Integrity. The detailed IES Abroad academic integrity code can be accessed on Moodle. All work submitted by a student for academic credit should constitute the student's own original work. Regardless of the quality of work, plagiarism will result in a failing grade for the course and/or an academic review and possible expulsion from the program. Plagiarism may be broadly defined as “copying of materials from sources, without acknowledging having done so, claiming other’s ideas as one’s own without proper reference to them, buying materials such as essays/exams, and using AI-generated content without disclosure.” As AI tools continue to evolve, learning how to use them responsibly is an important emerging skill. Some of our courses allow students to explore the use of generative artificial intelligence (GAI) tools such as ChatGPT for some assignments and assessments. The instructor of each course will communicate whether GAI may be used in a course and provide specific guidelines and procedures for its appropriate use.

TESTS, QUIZZES, OR PRESENTATIONS MISSED DURING UNEXCUSED ABSENCES CANNOT BE MADE UP!

ASSIGNMENTS NOT HANDED IN ON THE DUE DATE WILL BE SUBJECT TO A 3% PENALTY PER DAY POST-DUE DATE (with the exception of students who have an excused absence).

Cell phones are to be switched off during class.

Updated information on your course and readings can be found on the Moodle platform at

<https://moodle.iesabroad.org/>

CONTENT:

Week	Content	Assignments and Readings
PART I: The Wider Black Sea Region in a Global Context: Actors, Structures, and Processes		
Session 1	Introduction: The Black Sea Region in the 21st Century	Required Reading: - King, <u>The Wider Black Sea Region in the Twenty-First Century</u>, pp. 1 - 19. Recommended Readings: - Ciuta, <u>Parting the Black Sea (Region) Geopolitics, Institutionalisation and the Reconfiguration of European Security</u>, pp. 51 - 78. - Gherva, <u>The Black Sea</u>, pp. 234 - 266. - Ivan, <u>New Regionalism or no Regionalism? Emerging Regionalism in the Black Sea Area</u>, pp. 13 – 30.
Session 2	International Law and the Constitution of International Society	Required Reading: - Schmidt and Williams, <u>The Normativity of Global Ordering Practices</u>, pp. 1 – 13. Recommended Reading: - Bull, <u>The Anarchical Society</u>, pp. 3 - 22.
Session 3	Emerging Powers and Regions in the Post-Cold War International Order	Required Readings: - Ikenberry, <u>Three Worlds: The West, East and South and competition to shape global order</u>, pp. 121 - 138. - Miller and Saltzman, <u>Beyond the Three 'Isms': Rethinking IR and the Post-Cold War Order</u>, pp. 385 - 414. Recommended Readings: - Buzan and Waever, <u>The Post-Soviet Space: A Regional Security Complex Around Russia</u>, pp. 397 - 436. - Chatre and Delory, <u>The Black Sea Area within the International System</u>, pp. 50 - 62. - Saari, <u>Managing Distrust in the Wider Black Sea Region</u>, pp. 215 - 225.
Session 4	The Role of Culture, History and Identity in International Relations	Required Readings: - Edgar, <u>Rulers and Victims Reconsidered</u>, pp. 429-40. - Kratochwil, <u>History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the "Second" Great Debate and Assessing its Importance for Social Theory</u>, pp. 181-199. Recommended Readings: - Walker, <u>Turkey's Imperial Legacy: Understanding Contemporary Turkey through its Ottoman Past</u>, pp. 494-508.

Session 5	Europe's Transformative Power and the Limits of Expansion	Required Readings: • Börzel & Lebanidze, <u>The transformative power of Europe" beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood</u>, pp. 17 - 35. • Sijursen, <u>Rethinking Liberal Order: The EU and the Quest for Global Justice</u>, pp. 2203 – 2220. Recommended Readings: • Açıkmeşe and Dizdaroğlu, <u>Squaring the Circle: The EU's Operational Impact in the Black Sea Region</u>, pp. 314 - 325. • Samokhvalov, <u>Reinvention of Europe and EU-Russia Relations in Putin's Era 2000-2010</u>, pp. 169 - 209. • Triantaphyllou, <u>The EU and the Black Sea Region in Search of a Narrative or a New Paradigm</u>, pp. 286 - 299.
"Experiencing Europe: "European Parliament" Course-Related Trip Destination: Strasbourg, France (1 day)		
PART II: Power, Influence and Competing Geopolitical Strategies in a Shared Neighborhood		
Session 6	Conceptualizing Power and Influence in International Politics	Required Readings: • Feklyunina, <u>Soft Power and Identity: Russia, Ukraine and the 'Russian World (s)'</u>, pp. 773–796. Recommended Readings: • Rutland and Kazantsev, <u>The Limits of Russia's 'Soft Power'</u>, pp. 395 – 413. • Sergunin and Karabeshkin, <u>Understanding Russia's Soft Power Strategy</u>, , pp. 347 – 363. • Tsygankov, <u>Crafting the State-Civilization. Vladimir Putin's Turn to Distinct Values</u>, pp. 146-159.
Experiencing Europe: "EU Institutions" Course Related Trip Destinations: Brussels, Belgium, and Paris, France (7 days)		
Session 7	Former Soviet Bloc Members' Relations with Russia: Bulgaria and Romania	Required Readings: • Naumescu, <u>Stability, Ambiguity and Change in the Discourses of NATO Allies in the Black Sea Region: The Cases of Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey</u>, pp. 187 – 209. Recommended Readings: • Dumitrescu, <u>Writing "Eastness": Romania and the Conundrum of Regionness in the Black Sea Area</u>, pp. 1 - 11

		• Ralchev, “Elusive Identity: Duality and Missed Opportunities in Bulgarian Foreign Policy in the Black Sea Region”, pp. 122 – 150. • Sanders, The Black Sea Region Caught Between East and West, pp. 202 – 225.
Session 8	The Clash of Geostrategic Visions and Its Implications for Political Practice	Required Readings: • Aydin, Contending Agendas for the Black Sea Region: A Regional Alternative’, pp. 47 - 61. • Mikhelidze, After the 2008 Russia-Georgia War: Implications for the Wider Caucasus and Prospects for Western Involvement in Conflict Resolution, pp. 1 - 25 Recommended Readings: • Beehner et al., Analyzing the Russian Way of War: Evidence from the 2008 Conflict With Georgia, pp. 1 – 91. • De Waal, The Caucasus: An Introduction, pp. 131 - 166. • Tuathail, Russia's Kosovo: A Critical Geopolitics of the August 2008 war Over South Ossetia, pp. 670 – 705. • Zürcher, The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus, pp. 140 - 151.
Session 9	The Struggle for Power and Influence in a “Shared” Neighborhood	Required Readings: • Goldthau and Boersma, The 2014 Ukraine-Russia Crisis: Implications for Energy Markets and Scholarship, pp. 13 – 15. • Wilson, Ukraine Crisis: What it Means for the West, pp. 1 – 235. Recommended Readings: • Address by President of Russian Federation (March 18, 2014). • Gvosdev and Marsh, Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors, London: CQ Press, 2014, pp. 1 – 456. • McMahon, Ukraine in Crisis, pp. 1 – 8. • Morozov, Subaltern Empire? Toward a Postcolonial Approach to Russian Foreign Policy, pp. 16 – 28. • Onuch and Sasse, The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest, pp. 556 – 587. • Trenin, The Ukraine Crisis and the Resumption of Great-Power Rivalry, pp. 1 – 28.
Session 10	Midterm Exam	
PART III: EU – Russia Relations: From Competition to Conflict?		

Session 11	What is Security? Processes of Securitization in International Politics	Required Readings: • Kendall-Taylor, Frantz and Wright, <u>The Global Rise of Personalized Politics: It's Not Just Dictators Anymore</u>, pp. 7-19. • Samokhvalov, <u>Reinvention of Europe and EU-Russia Relations in Putin's Era 2000–2010</u>, pp. 169 – 209. Recommended Readings: • Somer, <u>Understanding Turkey's Democratic Breakdown: Old vs. New and Indigenous vs. Global Authoritarianism</u>, pp. 481-503.
Session 12	The Geopolitics of Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region	Required Readings: • Scholl and Westphal, <u>European Energy Security Reimagined: Mapping the Risks, Challenges and Opportunities of Changing Energy Geographies</u>, pp. 1 – 34. Recommended Readings: • Blockmans, <u>Crimea and the Quest for Energy and Military Hegemony in the Black Sea Region: Governance Gap in a Contested Geostrategic Zone</u>, pp.179-189. • Dubien and Fanés, <u>Security and Energy Security in The Black Sea Region</u>, pp. 1 – 20. • Konstadinides and Prontera, <u>Forms of State and European Energy Security: Diplomacy and Pipelines in Southeastern Europe</u>, pp. 273-298.
Experiencing Europe: “EU Member States Course Related Trip” Destination: Stockholm, Sweden (6 days)		
Session 13	Coercive Diplomacy and the Logic of Sanctions	Required Readings: • Klinova and Sidorova, <u>Economic Sanctions and Their Impact on Russian Economic Relations with the European Union' Problems of Economic Transition</u>, pp. 218–234. Recommended Readings: • Cross and Karolewski, <u>What Type of Power has the EU Exercised in the Ukraine-Russia Crisis? A Framework for Analysis</u>, pp: 3-19. • Götz, <u>Russia, the West and the Ukraine Crisis: Three Contending Perspectives</u>, pp. 249-266
Session 14	European Union vs. Eurasian Union: Competing Projects of Integration	Required Reading: • Popescu, <u>Eurasian Union: The Real, the Imaginary and the Likely</u>, pp. 1 – 45.

		Recommended Reading: • Sergi, <u>Putin's and Russian-Led Euroasian Economic Union: A hybrid Half-Economics and Half-Political Janus Bifrons</u>, pp: 52-60.
PART IV: Reshaping the International Order – between Constitutionalization and Fragmentation		
Session 15	Theorizing Change in the International System	Required Readings: • Öziğci, Theorising Systemic Appeasement in International Politics, pp. 54 – 89. Recommended Readings: • Bethlehem, <u>The End of Geography: The Changing Nature of the International System and the Challenge to International Law</u>, pp.9–24. • Gilpin, <u>War and Change in World Politics</u>, pp. 1 – 272. • Holsti, <u>Change in the International System: Interdependence, Integration, and Fragmentation</u>, pp. 20 – 51. • Koops, Theorising Inter-Organisational Relations: The “EU–NATO Relationship” as a Catalytic Case Study, pp. 13 – 38.
Session 16	Beyond Geopolitics: Who Determines the Rules of the Game?	Required Readings: • Coldea, <u>The Intelligent Nexus: Security, Development and Intelligence Cooperation in the Black Sea Area</u>, pp. 41 – 46. Recommended Readings: • Ademmer and Wolczuk, <u>Beyond Geopolitics: Exploring the Impact of the EU and Russia in the “Contested Neighborhood”</u>, pp. 1-18. • Makarychev and Morozov, <u>Multilateralism, Multipolarity, and Beyond: A Menu of Russia's Policy Strategies</u>, pp. 353-373. • Repez, Human Security Aspects In the Extended Area Of The Black Sea, pp. 142 – 149. • Shelest, From Soft Security to Hard Security in the Black Sea Region–Does the Osce Fit?, pp. 106 – 120. • Tsygankov, <u>Russia in the Post-Western World: The End of the Normalization Paradigm?</u>, pp. 347-369.
Session 17	Globalization and Sovereignty – Redefining Legitimate Political Authority	Required Reading: • Volk, <u>The Problem of Sovereignty in Globalized Times</u>, pp.716-738. Recommended Reading:

		• <u>Cohen, <i>Globalization and Sovereignty. Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalism</i>.</u> • Scheuerman, '<u>Globalization, Constitutionalism, and Sovereignty</u>', pp. 102 - 118.
Session 18	At the Border of Order? Europe Between Unity and Division	Required Reading: • Sakwa, <u>The Death of Europe? Continental Fates after Ukraine</u>, pp. 553-579. Recommended Readings: • Asenjo, <u>A Multifaceted Historical Overview on European Unity</u>, pp. 186 – 189. • Ghenea, <u>National Identity and European Unity: A Symbolic Approach</u>, pp. 11 – 20. • Kaya, <u>Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity</u>, pp. 1 – 280. • Prozorov, <u>Russian Postcommunism and the End of History</u>, pp. 207-230 • Zwolski, <u>Diversified in Unity: The Agenda for the Geopolitical European Commission</u>, pp. 270 – 287.
Session 19	Final exam	A detailed study guide will be posted on Moodle

COURSE-RELATED TRIPS:

- EU Parliament Trip: Strasbourg, France – 1 day
During this one-day trip, which is thematically linked to the second course-related trip (EU Institutions) you will visit the European Parliament in session in Strasbourg, France. There you will attend the parliamentary session, get a guided tour through the parliament and meet an MEP who will discuss current events and elaborate on the workings of the European Parliament.
- EU Institutions Trip: Brussels, Belgium and Paris, France – 7 days
This course related trip will take you first to Brussels, the EU's institutional power center. In Brussels you will have the opportunity to meet with not only EU officials but also representatives of national delegations to the EU, think tanks and NGOs, as well as academic experts. The EU institutions you will visit include the European Commission, the Council of the EU and the European Council and you will have a chance to discuss with those actors who draft, shape and finally take decisions in the European Union. You will continue to have first-hand experience of the EU by visiting various agencies, institutions, and museums in Paris, you will meet French academic experts to discuss French culture, economy, politics and society.
- Member States Trip - 6 days-Stockholm
The member states of the EU are still characterized by different state structures, economic ideologies and cultural identities. On this trip, you will learn about the current issues, opportunities and challenges of European integration. Experiencing the particularities and cultural diversity of these societies is essential in order to understand the variation in terms of domestic debates and national preferences when it comes to such important issues like, for instance, immigration, macroeconomic integration as well as European security.

The destinations may vary according to topicality and nature of challenges of the EU and its integration process.

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Aydın, Mustafa (2012) "Contending agendas for the Black Sea region." *Demokratizatsiya* 20 (4), pp. 47-61.
- Börzel, Tanja A. & Lebanidze, B. (2017) "The transformative power of Europe" beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood*. *East European Politics*, 33(1), pp. 17–35.
- Coldea, Florian (2016) The Intelligent Nexus. Security, Development and Intelligence Cooperation in the Black Sea Area, pp. 41 – 46. <https://iksconference.ro/>
- Edgar, Adrienne (2012) "Rulers and Victims Reconsidered", *Kritika* 13, no.2: pp. 429-40.
- Feklyunina, Valentina (2015) "Soft power and identity: Russia, Ukraine and the 'Russian world(s)'. *European Journal of International Relations*, 22(4), 773-796.
- Goldthau Andreas and Tim Boersma (2014) "The 2014 Ukraine-Russia Crisis: Implications for Energy Markets and Scholarship", *Energy Research & Social Science* Vol. 3, pp. 13 – 15.
- Ikenberry, John (2024) "Three Worlds: The West, East and South and Competition to Shape Global Order", *International Affairs* Vol. 100 (1), pp. 121 - 138.
- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, E. Frantz and J. Wright (2017) "The Global Rise of Personalized Politics: It's Not Just Dictators Anymore", *The Washington Quarterly*, 40, pp. 7-19.
- King, Charles (2008) 'The Wider Black Sea Region in the Twenty-First Century' in Hamilton, Daniel and Gerhard Mangott (eds.) *The Wider Black Sea Region in the 21st Century: Strategic, Economic and Energy Perspectives*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Transatlantic Relations, pp. 1-19.
- Klinova, Marina, & Sidorova, Elena (2016) "Economic Sanctions and Their Impact on Russian Economic Relations with the European Union" *Problems of Economic Transition*, 58(3), pp. 218–234.
- Kratochwil, Friedrich (2006) History, Action and Identity: Revisiting the "Second" Great Debate and Assessing its Importance for Social Theory, *European Journal of International Relations* 12(1) pp. 181-199.
- Mikhelidze, Nona (2009) After the 2008 Russia-Georgia War: Implications for the Wider Caucasus. *The International Spectator*, 44(3), pp. 1 – 25.
- Miller, Benjamin; Saltzman Ilai Z. (2016) Beyond the Three 'Isms': Rethinking IR and the Post-Cold War Order, *International politics* Vol 53, pp. 385 - 414.
- Naumescu, Valentin (2017) Stability, Ambiguity and Change in the Discourses of NATO Allies in the Black Sea Region: The Cases of Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey, *Croatian International Relations Review*, Vol. 23 No. 80, pp. 187 – 209.
- Öziğci, Yunus Emre (2022) Theorising Systemic Appeasement in International Politics, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, Vol. 16 Issue 2, pp. 54 – 89.
- Popescu, Nicu (2014) *Eurasian Union: the real, the imaginary and the likely* (Chaillot Paper No. 132). Paris: EUISS.
- Rutland, Peter; Kazantsev, Andrei (2018) The Limits of Russia's 'Soft Power', *Emerging Powers in International Politics*, pp. 395 – 413.
- Sakwa, Richard (2015) The Death of Europe? Continental Fates after Ukraine, *International Affairs* Vol. 91 Issue 3, pp. 553-579.
- Samokhvalov, Vsevolod (2017) Reinvention of Europe and EU-Russia Relations in Putin's Era 2000–2010, *Russian-European Relations in the Balkans and Black Sea Region*, pp. 169-209.
- Schmidt, Dennis R; Williams, John (2023) The Normativity of Global Ordering Practices, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 67, Issue 2, pp. 1 – 13.
- Scholl, Ellen; Westphal, Kirsten (2017) European Energy Security Reimagined: Mapping the Risks, Challenges and Opportunities of Changing Energy Geographies.
- Sergunin, Alexander; Karabeshkin, Leonid (2015) Understanding Russia's Soft Power Strategy, *Sage Journals* Vol. 35 Issue 3-4, pp. 347 – 363.

- Sjursen, Helene (2023) Rethinking Liberal Order: The EU and the Quest for Global Justice, *International Affairs Vol. 99 Issue 6*, pp. 2203 – 2220.
- Volk, Christian (2019) The Problem of Sovereignty in Globalized Times, *Law, Culture and the Humanities*, 18(3), pp.716-738.
- Wilson, Andrew (2014) Ukraine Crisis: What it Means for the West, *Verlag: Yale University Press*, pp. 1 – 235.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Açıkmeşe, Sinem Akgül and Cihan Dizdaroğlu (2014) Squaring the Circle: The EU's Operational Impact in the Black Sea Region, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 16(3), pp. 314 - 325.
- Address by President of Russian Federation (March 18, 2014).
- Ademmer, Esther, Laure Delcour and Kataryna Wolczuk (2016) Beyond Geopolitics: Exploring the Impact of the EU and Russia in the "Contested Neighborhood", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 57(1), pp. 1-18.
- Asenjo, Marta Postigo (2017) A Multifaceted Historical Overview on European Unity, *Global Intellectual History*, 1(2), pp. 186 – 189.
- Beehner, Lionel et al. (2018) Analyzing the Russian Way of War: Evidence from the 2008 Conflict With Georgia, *Modern War Institute*, pp. 1 – 91.
- Bethlehem, Daniel (2014) The End of Geography: The Changing Nature of the International System and the Challenge to International Law, *European Journal of International Law*, Volume 25, Issue 1, pp.9–24.
- Blockmans, S. (2015) "Crimea and the Quest for Energy and Military Hegemony in the Black Sea Region: Governance Gap in a Contested Geostrategic Zone", *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 15 (2), pp.179-189.
- Bull, Hedley (1977). *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 3 – 22.
- Buzan, Barry and Ole Waever (2003) 'The Post-Soviet Space: A Regional Security Complex Around Russia', in *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Cambridge University Press, pp. 397 - 436.
- Chatré, Baptiste/ Delory, Stéphane (2012) "The Black Sea Area Within the International System: The Struggle for Influence between the United States and Russia." In Ivan, Ruxandra (ed.) (2012), *New Regionalism or No Regionalism*, London: Routledge, 1 – 18.
- Ciuta, Felix (2007) "Parting the Black Sea (Region) Geopolitics, Institutionalisation and the Reconfiguration of European Security." *European Security* 16 (1), pp. 51-78.
- Cohen, Jean L. (2012) *Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cross and Karolewski, What Type of Power has the EU Exercised in the Ukraine-Russia Crisis? A Framework for Analysis, pp: 3-19.
- Cross, Mai'a/ Karolewski, Ireneusz (2017), "What Type of Power has the EU Exercised in the Ukraine-Russia Crisis? A Framework for Analysis", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55 (1), 3 – 19.
- De Waal, Thomas (2010) *The Caucasus. An Introduction*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dubien, Arnaud, Vaquer i Fanes, Jordi (2010) "Security and Energy Security in the Black Sea Region." European Parliament, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/committees/studies.do?language=EN>.
- Dumitrescu, Lucian (2021) "Writing "Eastness": Romania and the Conundrum of Regionness in the Black Sea Area." *SAGE Open* 11 (1), pp. 1 – 11.

- Ghenea, Stefan Viorel (2015) "National Identity and European Unity: a Symbolic Approach." *Revista de Științe Politice/Revue des Sciences Politiques* 47, pp. 11 – 20.
- Gherva, Stella (2018) "The Black Sea." In Armitage, David et al. (eds.) (2018), *Oceanic Histories*, Cambridge: CUP, 234 - 266.
- Gilpin, Robert (1981) *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Götz, Elias (2016) "Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis: Three Contending Perspectives." *Contemporary Politics*, 22(3), pp. 249–266.
- Gvosdev, Nicolas K./ Marsh, Christopher (2014) *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors*, Los Angeles and London: Sage Publications.
- Holsti, Ole R. (2020) *Change in the International System*, London: Routledge, pp. 20 – 51.
- Ivan, Ruxandra (2012) *New Regionalism or No Regionalism? Emerging Regionalism in the Black Sea Area*, London: Routledge, pp. 13 – 30.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2019) *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*, London: Routledge.
- Koops, J.A. (2017) "Theorising Inter-Organisational Relations: The "EU–NATO Relationship" as a Catalytic Case Study." *European Security*, 26(3), pp. 315–339.
- MacMahon, Robert (2014) „Ukraine in Crisis.“, Council on Foreign Relations, www.cfr.org/ukraine/ukraine-crisis/p32540, pp. 1 – 8.
- Makarychev, Andrey and Viatcheslav Morozov (2011) 'Multilateralism, Multipolarity, and Beyond: A Menu of Russia's Policy Strategies', *Global Governance* 17: 3, pp. 353 - 373.
- Morozov, Viatcheslav (2013) 'Subaltern Empire? Toward a Postcolonial Approach to Russian Foreign Policy', *Problems of Post-Communism* 60: 6, pp. 16-28.
- Onuch, Olga/ Sasse, Gwendolyn (2016), "The Maidan in Movement: Diversity and the Cycles of Protest", *Europe-Asia Studies* 68 (4), pp. 556 – 587.
- Prozorov, Sergei (2008) 'Russian Postcommunism and the End of History', *Studies in East European Thought* 60 (3), pp. 207 - 230.
- Ralchev, Stefan (2015) "Elusive Identity: Duality and Missed Opportunities in Bulgarian Foreign Policy in the Black Sea Region." In Shirinyan, Anahit/ Slavkova, Louisa (eds.) (2015), *Unrewarding Crossroads? The Black Sea Region amidst the European Union and Russia*, Sofia: Sofia Platform, pp. 122 – 150.
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