



2nd International Black Sea Symposium '09

The Black Sea Region:
the State of Play and the Way Forward

Kalymnos, Dodecanese,
Greece; 30 June – 5 July 2009

READING MATERIAL LIST



IN COOPERATION WITH AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF:



Hellenic Ministry of
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The Hellenic Observatory
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the Aegean



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Concept Note

The texts referenced below comprise the recommended reading for the 2nd International Black Sea Symposium. It must be stressed that the reading material listed under each session may also be relevant to several other topics and is not intended to constitute an exhaustive list. There is a wealth of information available on the Black Sea and all participants are strongly encouraged to seek additional material and to use it in advance. The best way to prepare for the Symposium is to read as widely as possible on the topics covered in the sessions.

All sources listed are obtainable either in electronic format or in hard copy. Links have been provided where available. During the Symposium a CD-ROM including all reading material listed below as well as hard copies of the relevant ICBSX Xenophon Papers will be provided to you. Please note that we will not be able to provide any additional print-outs. Therefore, we recommend that you bring your own printed copies, should you consider it necessary.

Wednesday, 1 July 2009

Session I: Icebreaking, Introduction to the Symposium

No recommended reading

Session II: The State of Play – Key Issues and Concerns

- 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>
- Kamov, Georgi. “The EU’s Black Sea Synergy: From Concept to Implementation”. In *The European Neighbourhood Policy: Time to Deliver*, edited by Krassimir Nikolov. Sofia: Bulgarian European Community Studies Association / Trans-European Policy Studies Association, 2008.
- Karatnycky, Adrian and Alexander Motyl. “The Key to Kiev: Ukraine’s Security Means Europe’s Stability”. *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 3 (May-June 2009).
- 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>
- _____. “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>

- _____ . “The Case of Turkey in the EU”. Sofia: Institute for Regional and International Studies, 2006. Available from: http://www.iris-bg.org/files/The%20Case%20of%20Turkey%20in%20the%20EU_eng.pdf
- Triantaphyllou, Dimitrios. “The ‘security paradoxes’ of the Black Sea region”. *Journal for Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 9, no.3. (2009): 225-241. (Forthcoming)

Session III: Addressing the Protracted Conflicts

- Amnesty International. “Civilians in the Line of Fire: the Georgia-Russia Conflict”. *Amnesty International Publications*. London: Amnesty International, 2008. Available from: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/EUR04/005/2008/en/d9908665-ab55-11dd-a4cd-bfa0fdea9647/eur040052008eng.pdf>
- Antonenko, Oksana. “A War with no Winners”. *Survival* 50, no. 5. (2008): 23-36.
- CARE International. *Community perceptions and conflict prevention needs in the Georgian-South Ossetian boundary area and among IDPs in Georgia*, March 2008.
- 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
- De 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
- 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. “Inside Track: Roses for the Bear”. *National Interest Online*, March 2009. Available from: <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=21432>
- 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
- 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.pdf
- King, Charles. “The Five Day War: Managing Russia after the Georgia Crisis”. *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 6. (October-November 2008).

Session IV: The Role of Stakeholders – United States, Russia, Turkey

- 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. (Forthcoming)
- _____. *Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea Area in the Context of EU-Russia Relations*. Xenophon Paper, no. 5. Athens: ICBSS, April 2008. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=497
- Aydin, Mustafa and Ömer Fazlioglu. “The Turkish Policy towards the Wider Black Sea Region and Its Chairmanship of the BSEC”. In *Unfolding the Black Sea Economic Cooperation: Views from the Region*, edited by Panagiota Manoli. Xenophon Paper, no. 2. Athens: ICBSS, July 2007. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=45
- 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.
- 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
- 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)
- 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
- Larrabee, Stephen. *The Russian Factor in Western Strategy toward the Black Sea Region*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2004.
- Taft, Patricia and David A. Poplack. “The Sum of Its Conflicted Parts: Threat Convergence Risks in the Black Sea Region”. Washington D.C.: The Fund for Peace, 2008. Available from: <http://se2.isn.ch/serviceengine/FileContent?serviceID=RESSpecNet&fileid=C6953A40-A8EB-F2A9-3D2F-0AB453C9DBF5&lng=en>

Session V: The Prospects for Integration into Euro-Atlantic Structures

- 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. (Forthcoming)
- _____. "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

Session VI: The Energy Security Equation

- Baran, Zeyno. *Security Aspects of the South Stream Project*. Strasbourg: European Parliament, October 2008. Available from: <http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Baran-South%20Stream%20for%20EP.pdf>
- Roberts, John. "The Role of Azerbaijan in European Gas Supply and the Greek Interest". *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 15. Athens: ICBSS, May 2009. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=616
- _____. *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

Friday, 3 July 2009

Session VII: The European Union and its Eastern Policies

- Emerson, Michael, Gergana Noutcheva and Nicu Popescu. "European Neighbourhood Policy Two Years On: Time Indeed for an ENP Plus". *CEPS Policy Briefs*, no. 126. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007. Available from: http://shop.ceps.eu/downfree.php?item_id=1479
- 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.
- 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

Session VIII: EU-Russia Relations – Quo Vadis?

- Cameron, Fraser. “Medvedev’s First Year.” *New York Times*, 4 May 2009. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/05/opinion/05iht-edcameron.html>
- 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

Session IX: Democracy, Good Governance, Institution Building

- CIVICUS. “Civil Society Index: Country Reports”. Available from: www.civicus.org/csi/phase-one/csi-country-reports
- Democracy Digest. “Democracy Digest August 2008 Bulletin”. 2008. Available from: <http://www.demdigest.net/blog/about/democracy-digest-home/august-2008-bulletin>
- Freedom House. “Indexes: Freedom of the Press; Freedom on the Net; Nations in Transit”, 2008. All available from: <http://www.freedomhouse.org>
- 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
- 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
- Shevtsova, Lilia. “The Return of Personalized Power”. *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 2 (2009): 61-65.
- USAID. “The 2007 NGO Sustainability Index for Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia”. Washington, D.C.: United States Agency for International Development, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia. Available from: http://www.usaid.gov/locations/europe_eurasia/dem_gov/ngoindex/2007/complete_document.pdf

Saturday, 4 July 2009

Session X: Potential/Prospects for Regional Cooperation

- 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

- 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>
- Japaridze, Tedo. “A Memo on How to Make the EU-BSEC Relations Relevant and Productive”. *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 11. Athens: ICBSS, February 2009. Available from: http://www.icbss.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=595
- 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-helen-wallace.pdf>

Conflict Workshop Series

In our afternoon workshops we will focus on (a) identifying and analysing the factors that contribute to conflict in the Black Sea region, and (b) proposing steps that could be taken by both civil society and officials to create a better climate for resolving these conflicts. One of the outcomes we hope from the workshops is the formation of project teams with which everyone will commit themselves to collaborating after the symposium. During the workshops, we will initially form four groups. In Phase 1 of our work, each group will produce an analysis that they will present to the plenary. We will try to integrate these results into an overall picture of the region. In Phase 2, based on the results of the analysis, we will propose a set of projects, programs, policies, and procedures that could contribute to greater stability and improved relations among the parties in the region. In Phase 3, we will form teams built around selected proposals, developing communication mechanisms and procedures for working together after the symposium. Of course, we will remain flexible with the programme, and as circumstances change we might find a need to modify our plan. We believe that these workshops will be a good way to utilise the knowledge and skills you bring into the Symposium and the information you gain from the speakers in the morning sessions. Additionally, we hope that the workshops will produce useful results that can positively affect peace in the region. Finally, by working hard in the groups, we are sure that you will be more than ready to enjoy our evening meals ☺.

Recommended Reading:

- Broome, B. J. and Jakobsson Hatay, A. “Building Peace in Divided Societies: The Role of Intergroup Dialogue”. In *Handbook of Conflict Communication*, edited by John Oetzel and Stella Ting-Toomey, 627-662. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006.