



**The Black Sea Region  
and EU Policy**  
**The Challenge of Divergent Agendas**

*Edited by*  
**Karen Henderson and Carol Weaver**

# THE BLACK SEA REGION AND EU POLICY

*For Alistair (CW)*

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## The Challenge of Divergent Agendas

*Edited by*

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# List of Abbreviations

AK Party	Justice and Development Party
AMD	Armenian Dram
AP	ENP Action Plan
AZN	Azerbaijani Manat
bcm	billion cubic metres
BLACKSEAFOR	Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group
BSEC	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BSF	Black Sea Forum
BSS	Black Sea Synergy
CEE	Central and East European (countries)
CFE	Conventional Forces in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CoR	Committee of the Regions
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSF	(Eastern Partnership) Civil Society Forum
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DABLAS	Danube and Black Sea Task Force
EaP	Eastern Partnership
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECT	Energy Charter Treaty
EDP	Energy Diversification Policy
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EU	European Union
EUBAM	EU border assistance mission to Moldova and Ukraine
EUMM	European Union Monitoring Mission
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
EUSR	EU Special Representative
FMF	Foreign Military Financing
GEL	Georgian Lari
GTEP	Georgia Train and Equip Programme
GUAM	The GUAM (Georgia Ukraine Azerbaijan Moldova) Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
IMET	International Military Education and Training

IMF	International Monetary Fund
INOGATE	International Oil and Gas Transport to Europe
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ND	The Northern Dimension
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEC	Southern Energy Corridor
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
tcm	trillion cubic metres
TRACECA	Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USD	US dollars
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization

# Notes on Contributors

**Karen Henderson (Editor)** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Leicester, as well as having been Visiting Professor at the Comenius University, Bratislava and the Central European University, Budapest. She has many book and journal publications to her credit, especially on the subject areas of post-communist democratization processes and the domestic politics of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Her research also includes EU eastern enlargement and the area of freedom, security and justice.

**Carol Weaver (Editor and Author)** has been involved in European politics for many years and is now building on her political research with a PhD, her primary research being focused on the EU and the Black Sea region. She teaches part time at the University of Leicester and previously consulted, lectured and published within the disciplines of Psychology and Computer Science. She is also the editor of a website on European politics.

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**Marek Cichocki** is the programme director at the Natolin European Centre in Warsaw and the managing editor of the periodical on European integration *Nowa Europa* as well as co-editor of the philosophical yearbook *Political Theology*. His main research areas are EU enlargement and European constitutionalism. In 2007 he was co-negotiator on the Lisbon Treaty representing the President of Poland.

**Mukhtar Hajizada** is a PhD candidate at the University of Leicester. His main research is focused on regionalization in the wider Black Sea area and the EU's external policy instruments including Black Sea Synergy and Eastern Partnership. Prior to this, he graduated from Istanbul University and The Academy of Public Administration (Baku). He gained professional experience at the headquarters of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC PERMIS) during the period of the Black Sea Synergy negotiations.

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**Kataryna Wolczuk** is the deputy director of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES) at the University of Birmingham as well as Senior Lecturer in East European Politics. Her main research interests are relations between the EU and the post-Soviet states in Europe within the context of the Eastern Partnership, the institutional framework, constitutional politics and executive-legislative relations in Ukraine, as well as nationalism, nation-building and national identity in post-communist countries.

# Foreword

This book covers an important area of research which highlights the need for a closer understanding of the European Union's relationship with its neighbouring states to the East, particularly so in regard to the Black Sea region which has strategic significance for economic and political stability for the European continent as a whole.

The accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 brought the EU to the shores of the Black Sea and inevitably put the region on its foreign policy agenda. The conflict in South Ossetia in August 2008 and the Ukrainian energy crisis in early 2009 alerted us to the tensions that exist in the 'shared neighbourhood', and which continue to influence the development of EU–Russia relations. The EU has evolved a range of initiatives which today comprise its eastern policy, and what makes this contribution to the literature on this topic especially valuable is the attempt to pull the various strands together, and to investigate the extent to which the EU has been successful in creating a coherent and credible approach to the specific policy and security challenges it faces in the Black Sea region. Energy security is, for many, the obvious concern but effective conflict prevention and crisis management, and the more general issues of tackling terrorism, organized crime, illegal immigration and environmental sustainability, as well as supporting the construction of stable, democratic and prosperous states represent together a huge set of challenges. Moreover, geopolitical considerations are also very important, with a range of other actors as well as the EU actively engaged in the Black Sea region, each with their own agendas and specific national interests. Russia and Turkey have historically been the key regional powers but, since the end of the Cold War, the US has had a major presence, and Ukraine is also aspiring to be a regional player. It is therefore particularly valuable that this book does not only focus on the EU but also provides detailed analysis of the role of the other actors in the region and explores the complex pattern of relationships between them.

The authors bring an impressive range of academic and practitioner-based expertise to this project, and the editors are to be congratulated for their achievement in weaving the chapters together to produce a clearly-structured and focused discussion of the complexities surrounding this important topic. This book is also a very welcome demonstration of the value of collaborative research projects between EU specialists and Russian and East European area specialists which was the prime motivation for the creation of the EU–Russia Research Network, supported by the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) and the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). The result is an exceptionally balanced and

informative analysis that sets recent EU policy initiatives into the wider framework of the geopolitics of the region and enables a realistic assessment to be made of both the opportunities and challenges it is likely to face in the future.

Jackie Gower (King's College, London)  
and Graham Timmins (University of Stirling)  
Coordinators of the BASEES-UACES EU–Russia Research Network

# Acknowledgements

This book was conceived as a response to the growing importance of the wider Black Sea region to the citizens of the European Union and to EU policy making. Given the complexity and diversity of the Black Sea states, and indeed the multiple definitions of the countries and actors involved, we felt that the challenge of divergent agendas in the region was a subject worthy of further attention.

In order to provide comprehensive coverage of the complex issues that affect the EU and the Black Sea region, this work brings together a European team of authors who contribute their differing and complementary expertise. The coordination of their efforts was greatly assisted by discussions at the workshop ‘A Clash of Agendas? EU Policy in the Black Sea Region’, held at the University of Leicester in May 2009, which was attended by the majority of the book’s authors. We should particularly like to thank the workshop’s sponsors: the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Leicester; the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES); the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES); and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. We are also grateful to His Excellency Fakhraddin Gurbanov, Ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan in the UK, who provided the keynote address at the workshop and to Krassimir Nikolov, Paul Flenley, Jonathan Fryer, J. Simon Rofe, Inna Hakobyan and Jackie Gower for their contributions.

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Karen Henderson  
University of Leicester

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# Maps



**Map 1**      **The EU and the Eastern Partners (Joint Research Centre, European Commission)**