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THE BLACK SEA REGIONAL SECURITY AND GEOSTRATEGY BALANCE: A “NEW COLD WAR” SCENARIO

INTRODUCTION

The Black Sea Region is one of the main factors in the make-up of security and stability in Europe and Asia. In addition to the numerous other issues in the region, ethnic conflicts, ongoing state-building processes, the presence of vast natural resources, and strategic transport and energy corridors mean that the region is an extremely important and sensitive area.

In geographical terms it is difficult to specify the boundaries of the Black Sea Region, since there are numerous regional and sub-regional structures. In the post-Cold War period there has been a large measure of openness to several neighboring areas, such as the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Caspian region. This kind of openness makes it difficult to define both the nature of the region and its borders. It is reflected in terms such as “Black-Caspian Seas Region” and “Black-Mediterranean Seas Region.” Some analysts have even argued that the Black Sea Region is simply an intellectual invention. In order to avoid confusion, this policy report is based on the definition adopted by the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSECO). The Black Sea Region is one of the main factors in the make-up of security and stability in Europe and Asia. In addition to the numerous other issues in the region, ethnic conflicts, ongoing state-building processes, the presence of vast natural resources, and strategic transport and energy corridors mean that the region is an extremely important and sensitive area.

In geographical terms it is difficult to specify the boundaries of the Black Sea Region, since there are numerous regional and sub-regional structures. In the post-Cold War period there has been a large measure of openness to several neighboring areas, such as the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Caspian region. This kind of openness makes it difficult to define both the nature of the region and its borders. It is reflected in terms such as “Black-Caspian Seas Region” and “Black-Mediterranean Seas Region.” Some analysts have even argued that the Black Sea Region is simply an intellectual invention. However, the Black Sea area is fitted to notion of regionalism that accounts for ideas or ideologies, programs, policies and goals that seek to transform an identified social space into a regional projects. Since regionalism postulates the implementation of a program and the definition of a strategy, it is often associated with institution building or the conclusion of formal agreement (Fiedler, Stelmach, 2018: 14). That

is why when two Black Sea littoral states Bulgaria and Romania became full members of the EU in 2007, a new regional cooperative initiative was endorsed labeled as “Black Sea Synergy.” The initiative, on its turn, was very congruent with the European Neighborhood Policy (with five eastern ENP partners also being active in Black Sea Cooperation) (*Black Sea Synergy*, 2007).

At the end of the Cold War, the states around the Black Sea regained their freedom and escaped from a bipolar conceptual straitjacket. This historical event not only marked the start of a move towards independence, democracy and market economy, but also unleashed hitherto suppressed ethnic, national and territorial conflicts, and even terrorism. From the early 1990s onwards the region witnessed armed conflicts and an increase in political tension. Political and territorial disagreements such as border disputes and clashes between both peoples and states are the main reason why the prospects for regional security cooperation are rather bleak. The Black Sea basin was of secondary importance for the Euro-Atlantic community during the 1990s as it focused on stabilizing and integrating central and eastern European countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea. However, in the 21st century the changing global and regional balances created new political and security dilemmas for the Black Sea Region. The global and regional powers increasingly supported competing political and security agendas which, although they occasionally contradicted each other, were clearly interlinked.

After 11 September 2001 the US increased its involvement in the region, for example with new programs in Georgia and Ukraine. This went hand in hand with the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) enlargement processes and global political developments. The differing approaches to the creation of security and stability in the region led to tension and rivalry between the regional actors.

In the post-Cold War period, the Black Sea Region failed to develop a cooperative security vision or structure in which the regional actors would have been the principal stakeholders. The Russian-Georgian War in August 2008 showed quite clearly that the initiatives designed to pacify the region had not produced a security system capable of preventing or containing internal and interstate conflicts. One lesson that can be learned from the August 2008 crisis is that the interplay of regional and global forces will continue to dominate future political and military issues in the region. It remains to be seen whether the war in August 2008 will lead to a new cooperative security environment in the Black Sea Region. Finally, all kinds of security issues ranging from energy security to environmental degradation and from terrorism to illegal trafficking in arms, human beings and drugs continue to be unresolved as a result of international rivalry.

Another important issue is energy security. The need to achieve energy supply diversity on the one hand and the risks associated with energy dependency on Russia on the other show the importance of gas and oil from other sources being piped to the European markets through the region. The energy dispute between Russia and Ukraine in late 2008 and early 2009 clearly illustrated the importance of energy security for the region and the EU. In addition to exploration, production and transport-related problems, oil and natural gas have become one of the main security issues in the Black

Sea Region, which as the principal energy transit route, is also a testing ground for the interaction between producer, consumer and transit countries. This means that the region is not only a potential hub. There are also numerous rivalries.

Finally, a number of problems associated with soft security issues which range from environmental concerns to the potential for social unrest and economic collapse need to be analyzed, especially if there is a likelihood that they will disrupt political stability and security in the region. Potential destabilizing threats such as the global financial crisis also need to be kept under review, as does the impact of the crisis on the countries in the region or on the redefinition of the roles of the regional powers, and the opportunities arising from a redefinition of the global economic environment.

By and large, the Black Sea region is also increasing of geoeconomic importance especially with regard to developing energy security provisions in aegis of the European Union via the import and providing transit opportunities from the Caspian Basin, Middle East and Central Asia and becoming somekind of energy gateway that is so important for providing and fostering security and stability implications in the Pan-European Area. It is interesting to underpin that energy security in Wider Black Sea region is defined by the concrete scientific and academic analytical school approaches reflected in international relations, like interdependence theory (Chifu, Sauliuc, Nedea, 2010).

GEOPOLITICAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE BLACK SEA REGION – WIDER BLACK SEA IMPLICATION FOR THE WORLD POLITICS

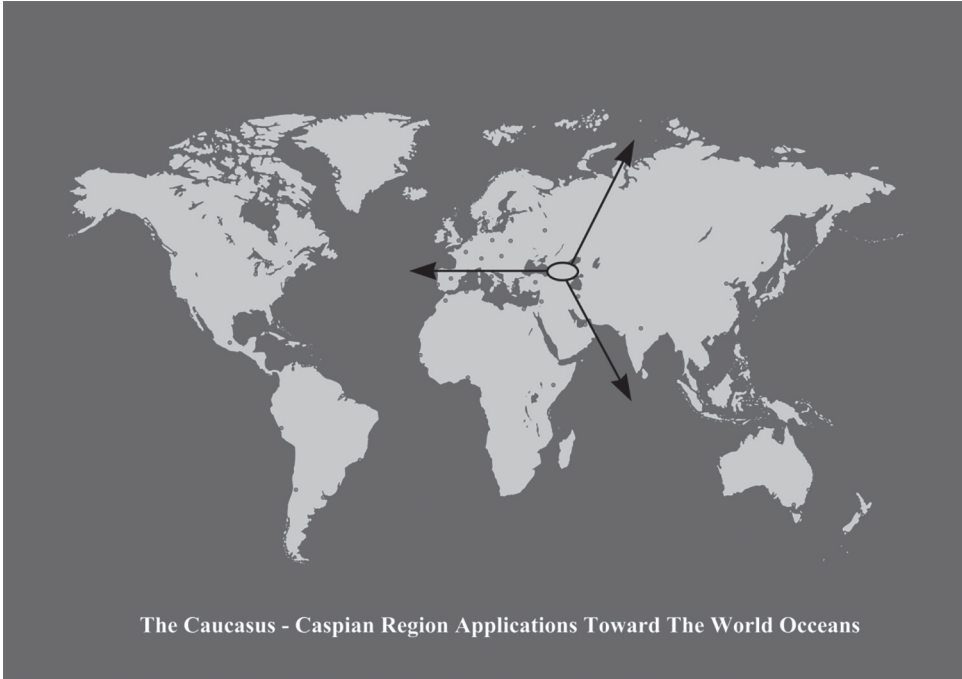
In above mentioned passage was depicted geographical implications for the Black Sea region but due to the geopolitical transmission and transformation after bipolar system demolition in contemporary international relations the regional security is being increased steadily. There are several indications why the region has become so important and unique not only in Cold War period but mostly afterwards. Here is to mention first of all very unique geopolitical implication of the region. The region is applicable with primary accessibility to "Three Oceans" line (Nord, Atlantic and Indian Oceans – see Map#1) via gateways Black Sea Basin, Persian Gulf and Central Eurasia. Moreover, concrete geopolitical determinants of importance of the region is considered with three main criteria having pure geopolitical meaning.

These unique geopolitical indications are sought to be as following:

- 1) ***Combination of three concepts: Talasokratia+Telurokratia+Montekratia;***
- 2) ***"Eurasian Balkan" acronym for spurring new asymmetric challenges;***
- 3) ***Key international energy gateway providing unlimited delivery of energy resources to international markets.***

Nevertheless the geopolitical implication is only so-called "macro" level of analysis and is fitted to Pan-regional classification and global political relevance of the region. In order to provide so-called "micro" level of analysis and importance of the region in aegis of the regional and local implications there are some approaches to make classification of the Black Sea region. The classification is based on classical geopolitical identification similar that of British geopolitical school founder Professor

Map 1. The Black Sea Region applicability toward “Three Oceans” line



Helford Mackinder’s “Heartland Theory.” According to his theory Mackinder defined the global geopolitical system into three main territorial areas: “Pivot Area” (or another way “Heartland”), “Inner or Marginal Crescent” and “Lands of the Outer or Insular Crescent” (Tuathail, 1996). *Even* Mackinder endorsed simplistic dictum upon based on which he identified then world order:

“Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;
 Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island;
 Who rules the World-Island commands the World” (Kaplan, 2012).

In this respect, based on the classical geopolitical methodology is possible to define geopolitical identification of the Black Sea region. Having considered the above-mentioned passage is necessary to figure out the following possible configuration. The configuration is clearly identified regional geopolitical architecture in three concrete circles, similar of British classical geopolitical school approach:

- **Black Sea Basin** – “*Inner Core*” *Ring* – namely six littoral states of the Black Sea itself (Bulgaria, Turkey, Ukraine, Georgia, Russian Federation);
- **Black Sea Region** – “*Outer Core Ring*” – the land and seascape from the Balkans to the Caucasus and fro Ukrainian and Russian steppe to Anatolia;
- **Wider Black Sea Region (Area)** – “*Close Outer*” *Ring* – the territory encompasses the following geopolitical spaces MENA, Caspian Basin, South and Eastern Europe.

Considering the geopolitical classification is important to clarify the dispositional characteristics of the regional “circles.” The scheme means demonstrating true geopolitical content each of the “circles” – for instance, *Black Sea Basin* associated with “Talassokratia”¹ geopolitics, *Black Sea Region* – associated with “Montecracy”² geopolitics and *Wider Black Sea Area (Region)* – associated with “Telurokratia”³ geopolitics. Roughly this is geopolitical modality of the Black Sea region and follow up the British geopolitical school founder Mackinder’s dictum is very possible to create the same version for the regional dimension to be relevant for contemporary global geopolitics.

However historical provisions detrimental influenced the regional geopolitics. The most important and critical challenge is the fact that there are a large number of actors and clashing interests within the Black Sea Region. In security terms the region suffers from several historical legacies. The Black Sea Region used to be treated as a ‘passive area’ and analyzed as the periphery of more significant geographical units. Thus the Black Sea basin has been variously described as the backyard of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, as an extension of Soviet zone of influence, as the frontier of Europe, and, finally, as the extension of the Mediterranean world. Moreover, the existence of several distinct sub-regions within the Black Sea Region, i.e. the Caucasus, the Balkans and to a certain extent the Mediterranean, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, is another factor that destabilizes the area. Time and again sub-regional identities have prevented the emergence of a Black Sea identity, created instability, and impeded the establishment of a comprehensive regional security framework. There are both regional and non-regional actors in the Black Sea Region, and three principal actors exert varying degrees of influence on the available security policy options (*reflection of the passage is below*). At present time, The Black Sea region is becoming very important one to world markets because it has large oil and gas reserves that are only now bargaining to be fully developed (taking in consideration of energy resources of Azerbaijan, the Ukraine, Romania, Russia, transit potency of Georgia, Bulgaria, Turkey and very closed disposition toward the Caspian Basin). Developing these resources has resulted in competition both between companies to get the contracts to develop this potential, and between nations to determine the final export routes. According to experts of the RAND Corporation the Caspian oil potential today is 2% of the world’s total (Venezuela has one-fourth of such reserves; Iraq, one-seventh; and Saudi Arabia, one-seventeenth). Therefore, the Caspian Sea region’s oil and gas potential and the Black Sea region’s transition ability have attracted much attention since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Due to the unique geopolitical location, the Black Sea region interlines four very important areas: the Middle East, the Central Europe, the Central Asia and Western Europe thus more raising political status of the region for the international society. The nations in the Black Sea region and nearby “gateways” (term used by the American scientist Saul B. Cohen (Minix, Hawley, 1998) and in this context means geographical one for key passages of the Black Sea for shipping of oil and gas) – the

¹ Talassokratia – geopolitical means sea power domain in politics.

² Montecracy – geopolitical jargon implies influence of mountainous geographic terrain on foreign political and military strategic decisions.

³ Telurokratia – geopolitical jargon means land power domain in politics.

Caucasus – Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ukraine, Turkey, Romania, Russia, Bulgaria are already major energy producers and exporters, and production will increase with additional investment, technology, and the development of new export outlets. The Caspian Sea is 700 miles long and contains 6 separate hydrocarbon basins. However, the Caspian Sea strategic reserves importance is difficult to consider by exclusion of the South-East Europe and the South Caucasus regions. The South Caucasus' strategic importance cannot be overestimated: it is a link between the North and the South (Russia and the Persian Gulf), it is a source of oil and gas for the European and Pacific markets (Maisaia, 2007). Besides one should perceive the regional geopolitical perspective. The Caucasus has an important geopolitical role to play as a link between the North and the South (Central Eurasia, which is Russia, and the Middle East) and the West and the East (Western Europe-the Balkans-the Caucasus-Central Asia-Southeast Asia-the Far East). The true mechanism of managing the “resources” distribution requires stable and cohesive political stability and basement. It drives all nations to engage into a new relationship mechanism and by joint effort to build democracy, free-minded society and rigid statehood. Otherwise to say the broader *Black Sea-Caspian-Central Asian* dimension, bringing in all countries of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, would be based on the existing mechanism of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSECO) where the countries of the Caucasus and the South-East Europe are members. The BSECO itself would be upgraded in operationally, with full membership now appropriate for the EU in view of the status of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey as accession candidates, and possible association links with the South Caucasus as well as their membership in the NATO. The institutionalization might be laying foundation for further development of the Black Sea reserves exploitation to benefit all participated nations and societies. This is a real chance for the regionalization success achievement and integrative negotiation ends.

MILITARY DIMENSION OF THE WIDER BLACK SEA REGIONAL SECURITY: NATO AND RUSSIA'S “NEW COLD WAR” COMPETITION

Threat assessment criteria is being considered as the most prevalent academic instrument in reaching true realms of logics of international relations. In the 21st century threat identification has determined and transformed into concrete systematic modality. Having considering the “Copenhagen School” securitization concept where there are five ring of security provisions that are enlisted in the following way:

- Political Security,
- Military Security,
- Economic Security,
- Society Security,
- Environment Security.

Therefore with enumerating “five ring” provision in 20–21st century's two academic sub-fields in international relations have been emerged. Namely, Strategic and Security studies as a whole, represented the most important contribution to the research of security issues in aegis of the political science. Even today, some authors consider

them to be the only real research platform in the area of research of security (Ondrejsek, 2014). In that manner is important of true classification of threat identification that could be clarified in manner of: threat-challenge-risk. However, the classification is still plausible and general and yet to have confirmed in academic and analytical methodology frame. Nevertheless, there are two types of the threat that is already identified but in general way – symmetric and asymmetric threats (Beraia, 2017). Namely, military security dimension is more applicable for analyzing situation and importance of the region in aegis of international politics. Treating the region from the military perspective is necessary introduce a jargon **“Geostrategic Gateway”** – space or area vitally important from global security and military perspectives, like “southern limited flank” in aegis of the CFE Treaty of Istanbul OSCE Summit. Relatively the Black Sea regional security is referred as “Geostrategic Gateway” mainly due to contemporary “New Cold War” provision where a coercive competition between NATO and Russia for getting dominance over the Black Sea region.

Due to the strain relations between the West and Russia, from one standpoint an economic war between EU/USA and Russia via sanction policy level and a military confrontation between NATO and Russia via demonstration “military muscles” between competing forces. In that scope, mainly NATO-Russia military confrontation one of the dangerous “combat zone” is sought to be the Black Sea Basin and its littoral territories which is labeled as the “Black Sea Security Dimension.” The flawed geostrategic situation in the area is making possible to deteriorate geostrategic environment in the area further on and the indication derives from those actions taken by the Kremlin incumbent authority. As it is known, on July 27th 2015 a new naval doctrine was declared and later approved by the President of the Russian Federation. This document has identified new version or interpretation of the military doctrine that was approved by the National Security Council in December of 2015. The naval doctrine has identified strategic areas and basins, such as the Arctic and the so-called “Atlantic” direction, which includes the Black Sea basin. The doctrine also undermines the role of the fleet (both military and civilian), the shipbuilding industry, harbours and rigging infrastructure as priorities for the further development of Russia’s naval economy. How is seen based on these documents, Russia is trying position itself as a great power with ability to increase its military capability on the Caspian-Black-Mediterranean Seas axis. The centre of this axis is the Black Sea, a basin from which NATO risks being excluded. The Russian policy-makers seek to regain its nation’s great power status-quo with domination in the basin with controlling three key points: Crimea, the mouths of the Danube and the Bosphorus. Having considered the latest events, Russia has partially achieved the strategic goals – first occupied and then annexed the Crimea and reinforced military positions and capabilities in the peninsula, with creation of so-called “Mediterranean Task Force” within the Black Sea Fleet and detachment of combat ships and boats for the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf region, Russia pursued getting its control Bosphorus (the Task Force was reinforced by the nuclear carried submarine “Rostov-on-Don”, which sailed from Novorosiisk to join the Force and equipped with newest strategic weaponry system “Kalibr” missiles). With this reinforcement naval forces, Russia is seeking to get under the control the third pillar – the mouth of Danube. However, in order to more reinforce its presence in the Black Sea

basin, the Russian authority announced that 30 new ships are to be supplied to the Black Sea Fleet, including six new frigates, six new submarines and other smaller vessels for naval landing. In addition to that the Black Sea Fleet will be reinforced its anti-access strategy (A2/AD) against NATO forces. Moreover, according to the “Jamestown Foundation” – official Moscow decides to set up in the Crimea an “unapproachable fortress” and military key-spot. In the peninsula with only 2.2 million population, the Russian militaries received several SU-27SM and MIG-29 fighters, SU-25M ground attack aircraft, IL-38N maritime patrol and anti-submarine aircraft KA-52K attack helicopters and KA-27ASW helicopters. In addition, the Kremlin is sought to deploy at the Crimea its strategic military armaments, which enables to carry on nuclear warheads. A regiment of TU-22M3 strategic bombers, which can be used as platforms for different high-precision missiles, will be deployed at Gvardeyskoye airfield, 15 kilometers northwest of Simferopol. Having considered the fact that in the North Caucasus Military District now transformed into operational-strategic HQ “South” already deployed strategic bomber jets with nuclear devices and equipment TU-160 “Black Bear” and TU-95M in Engelsk airfield and in Rostov-na-Donu military airfield already arrived “4+1” generation modernize aircrafts SU-34 and SU-35 also capable to carry on nuclear tactical bombs and “air-to-land” cruise missiles with precision guide systems, as well as creation of two battery of strategic strike rocket complex “ISKANDER-M” targeting Georgia and Ukraine becomes clear that Russia have sufficient enough strike capabilities to operate properly at any operational directions. This is enough to demonstrate military “muscle-show” toward these yet uncontrolled nations. The Kremlin decision to launch unprecedented before massive military drills “KAVKAZ-2016” second phase in aegis of the sudden alert mission operational-tactical level with involvement of 11 thousand servicemen and with usage of strike military capabilities – S-300M air-defense complexes, SU-34 jets, tactical-operational rocket systems “ISKANDER-M”, etc. means that Russia seriously considers beginning of war campaign in the region at any directions. According to Warsaw based magazine: “New Eastern Europe,” together with the new naval infantry and Special Forces units, some of which have already been used as part of its hybrid war, Russia will own a significant strike force, which could help implement different military combat operations in the Black Sea basin with clearly demonstrated the might of its Black Sea fleet by deploying both offensive and defensive systems (Petriashvili, 2019). In 2016 the Russian Ministry Defense announced some interesting points on further reinforcement of the military capabilities in the area. As for example, Russian government would spend \$2.4 billion by 2020 to provide its Black Sea Fleet with state-of-the-art ships, submarines, air defense systems and naval infantry. On similar way, the Caspian Fleet is being reinforced with new military ships and vessels equipped with sea-to-sea and sea-to-land cruise missiles “Kalibr” and “Bulava,” even covered the operational tactical zone in Syria and Iraq. Taking together all these factors, and precise attention to the regional security environment, if the Russian government completes its missions in that way how it prescribed in the naval doctrine, the Black Sea Fleet will have full control over the Black Sea by 2020. In that retrospective provision, the military balance at present time between the NATO and Russian forces decreased in proportion of 2:1 in favor to the NATO ones but in that reinforced conditions by 2020

the balance will be absolutely opposite in the same proportion but in Russia’s favour. In that configuration, Georgia is in dangerous positions due to its littoral space and its unfrozen sea ports that Russia needs very badly. Hence, Georgia is to be perceived new aggressive steps from the Russian authority after the Parliamentary elections, namely toward the ports directions. Hence, the Georgian government and society have to very attentive toward any provocations spurred from the Russian sid.

CONCLUSION

The Black Sea regional geopolitics is still actual and very relevant from theoretical framework of international relations and security studies and from realpolitik perspective. However, this achievement would be made fragile, as the Black Sea region has become one of the world’s most tragic humanitarian, political and economic disaster zones. The region enters the 21-st century still drinking the deadly cocktail of 19th century nationalism and great power rivalry. The insecurity of the region also blocks the development of the wider **Black Sea-Caspian-Central Asian** economic axis. New dangerous challenges – terrorism, arms smuggling, illegal migration and low intensity conflicts really subvert the Security System of the region. As a distinctive part of the Eurasia geopolitical space, the Black Sea region indeed plays the role of the **Geostrategic Gateway** (implicated above) but with demolition of legal frames in aegis of the CFE Treaty provisions and the Russian Federation military aggression in Ukraine with full-pledged conventional war against the sovereign nation of Ukraine transformed the Gateway into real combat front zone or theater of war area with military science jargon applicability – **Theater of Operations** (Ney, 1967). The military scientific methodological approach corresponds a reality of geopolitical configuration presented in the area and concept of realpolitik is dominated and implicated by engaged parties (governmental and non-governmental actors) behaviors. Among concrete military new threats and risks could be considered asymmetric ones linked with such phenomenon as are: international terrorism, arms and weapon smuggling, narco-cartel networks, “new wars”, etc. These threats are not related with so-called “historic ones”, however the ones have very long-standing roots. All these threats are correlated with the “Eurasian” space.

It is indeed interesting historic passage that namely Halford Mackinder divided classical Eurasia geopolitical space as largest continental landmass into a “vast” heartland consisting of Russia and Central Asia and surrounded by diverse “rim lands.” Several politicians and geographers of that time correctly outlined that political power derives from control of the world’s sea lanes (Starr, 2023). Certainly the provision is still relevant case for the processes of contemporary international security system and from certain aspects is relevant to contemporary Eurasian geopolitics where one of the “sea lane” could be considered the Black Sea Region that also embraces into “rim lands” with making a possibility influence on the events taking places in the Eurasia area. As concrete case for illustration is possible to consider “rim land” confrontation border line between Russia and NATO in aegis of the Black Sea Basin itself as a “Theater of Operations” between “Talassocratic” power (NATO) vs. “telurokratic” power (Russia) in frame of hybrid war strategy. As it is known from NATO perspec-

tive, The Alliance identified three geostrategically special regions at this stage for more active actions in the context of strategic defense and deterrence (defense and deterrence) (NATO Defence and Deterrence, 2023). Those became the basic questions of this summit: **the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea**. In general, NATO returned to collective defense strategy and temporarily is under the way to forget collective security one temporarily. This is a new game where the South Caucasus is becoming a “red frontier” line between the game actors: NATO and Russia. It seems that the priorities of NATO and Russia in the region are evolving within the frameworks of the so-called “security dilemma,” where the parties are trying to build their military capabilities and the tools of political pressure on the countries of the region, compete with each other in geostrategic dimensions. In the exclusive case is correct to introduce new security concept – “Regional Security Dilemma” on case of the Black Sea Region with emergence of concrete military challenges, like: arms race, militarization of the regional littoral and sea spaces, military low-intensity conflicts, terrorism, etc. The military-political importance and relevance of the Black Sea Region to the Alliance strategic missions and approaches as the main “Geostrategic Gateway” was mentioned and fixed at the NATO Warsaw Summit Communiqué where at the 112 Paragraph was identified as follow: “We will deepen our focus on security in the Black Sea Region” (NATO Warsaw Summit, 2016). The NATO leadership even formulated new identification of the region as “**Black Sea Security Dimension**” in 2004. As for the Russian Federation military strategic view, the regional security is being considered as the most important element for promoting its geostrategic missions. According to modern Russian military doctrine adopted in December of 2014, its Armed Forces are designated concrete geostrategic mission to protect national economic interests, including provide military security to strategic objects of the Russian Federation at any regional dimensions, including, first of all, the Black Sea Region (Maisaia, 2023: 77–78).

Having considered above-mentioned, there is a probability to make correlation of political power transformation into new Dictum and geopolitical Maxim in Halford Mackinder’s classical ones style as methodological instrument for clarification of the Black Sea Region geopolitical importance to world politics at present time. The Maxim could be explored the following manner:

*“Who rules Black Sea Basin commands the Eurasia (Post-Soviet Space):
Who rules Black Sea Region commands the Pan-Europe:
Who rules Wider Black Sea Region commands the World Politics”.*

Namely the provision reflects true nature of the regional security system as coherent and cohesive geopolitical entity in order to provide correct forecast development scenarios at regional level. New methodological pattern based on the British classical geopolitical school Mackinder’s “Heartland” theory and modernized due to contemporary international political provisions and realities, reiterates the vision that a “pivot area/Heartland” a sizeable region in Eurasia over which regional political control by a given country will in turn determine that’s country’s supremacy over world politics (Scott, Alcenat, 2008: 3).

It covers confrontation among Global Powers in aegis of “New Cold War” started in 2014 emerged at the Black Sea Region. Hence, the “securization” modality is very

applicable to the realms of the regional security and provided by so-called “Copenhagen School” representatives security three rings out of the five ones are applicable as threat and challenges perception context, for example:

Political security ring: fierce competition of four powers: the EU, USA, Russia and China expressed their concrete national and supra-national interests toward the Black Sea Region in aegis of the “New Cold War” scenario is geopolitical implication of the matter. Here is to be mentioned even the NATO’s approach to the region in context of “Black Sea Security Dimension” as well as the EU foreign policy model of “Black Sea Synergy Initiative” adopted in 2007 are defined the political security provision of the region as well as littoral states geopolitical initiatives;

Economic security ring: there was an attempt to create concrete economic cooperation mechanisms in order to bolster economic security provisions at the regional level. The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSECO) was initiated by Turkey just after collapse of the Eastern Socialist Block and demise of the USSR and the organization was created in 1992. Moreover, energy security provision is also envisaged in aegis of the Black Sea Region with severe completion of the Eurasian and European energy projects: South Stream 1–2 vs. NABUCO/Trans-Caspian Gas Pipelines;

Military security ring: the provision is associated with emergence new types of the military threats and risks undermining the security pillars of the region. Russia’s direct aggression toward Ukraine, Russia’s hybrid war against Georgia (in case of so-called “Creeping Occupation”) and occupied territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali Region, activities of Russia private military companies, etc.

Therefore, the Black Sea Region is really matters from global political stability standpoint and links with concept of “rim of instability” causing various problems for the international community.

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ABSTRACT

The Black Sea region is increasingly becoming a priority on the international agenda. In fact, a regional approach is emerging as actors understand that common problems need to be addressed jointly. Nevertheless, cooperation efforts are hampered by a number of factors, such as uneven economic and political development within and among countries, nationalist forces, and longstanding animosities between regional players. In this context, it is imperative to foster sound policies aimed at strengthening dialogue and cooperation so as to contain and ultimately resolve conflicts with peaceful means. However, there is little policy-oriented research on the challenges and opportunities for cooperation in the Black Sea region. The purpose of this paper is to assess the impact of terrorism and its dangers towards the Black Sea region. The work also describes the significance of international terrorism and its general definitions. Besides, the result and findings are based on theoretical studies and assumptions and the result of the analysis of the “Case Study” of the Black Sea region. Case study examines how the Black Sea region influences the spread of terrorism and what threats it poses for this region. Furthermore, the aspects of what makes the region important on international arena are analyzed and the existent and potential security issues are examined, as well as strategic importance of the region for the EU and NATO is analyzed even from academic framework – “Securitization” theory (Buzan, Wæver, De Wilde, 1998). The theory is based on security studies conceptual background and the background spectrum includes: the Copenhagen School and Critical security studies as the type (Ondrejcsak, 2014). Moreover, the Black Sea regional security and geopolitics are to be reviewed and scrutinized in several modalities in aegis of the Securitization theory, like military and economic sectors. The hypothesis provides provision that the Black Sea regional security has already become indispensable part of the contemporary international security system and determines tendency in geostrategic balance at global level. In addition to that the Black Sea Region has to contend with numerous threats of a conventional and non-conventional kind. These hard and soft security problems make the region volatile, insecure and unstable. That is

why the region is very vital for inter-governmental organizations, dealing with military security (NATO case) and local actors in case of Georgia's national security.

Keywords: Black Sea region, Copenhagen School, Critical security studies, Securitization, NATO, EU, Georgia's national security

BEZPIECZEŃSTWO REGIONALNE W BASENIE MORZA CZARNEGO I RÓWNOWAGA GEOSTRATEGICZNA: SCENARIUSZ "NOWEJ ZIMNEJ WOJNY"

STRESZCZENIE

Region Morza Czarnego w coraz większym stopniu staje się priorytetem na arenie międzynarodowej. Podejście regionalne wyłania się w miarę jak podmioty rozumieją, że wspólne problemy muszą być rozwiązywane wspólnie. Niemniej jednak wysiłki na rzecz współpracy są utrudnione przez szereg czynników, takich jak nierównomierny rozwój gospodarczy i polityczny w poszczególnych krajach i między nimi, siły nacjonalistyczne i długotrwałe animozje między regionalnymi graczami. W tym kontekście konieczne jest wspieranie rozsądnej polityki mającej na celu wzmocnienie dialogu i współpracy, aby powstrzymać i ostatecznie rozwiązać konflikty pokojowymi środkami. Niewiele jest jednak badań zorientowanych na politykę, dotyczących wyzwań i możliwości współpracy w regionie Morza Czarnego. Celem niniejszego dokumentu jest ocena wpływu terroryzmu i związanych z nim zagrożeń na region Morza Czarnego. Praca opisuje również znaczenie międzynarodowego terroryzmu i jego ogólne definicje. Ponadto wyniki i ustalenia opierają się na badaniach teoretycznych i założeniach oraz wynikach analizy „studium przypadku” regionu Morza Czarnego. Studium przypadku bada, w jaki sposób region Morza Czarnego wpływa na rozprzestrzenianie się terroryzmu i jakie zagrożenia stwarza on dla tego regionu. Ponadto przeanalizowano aspekty tego, co sprawia, że region jest ważny na arenie międzynarodowej oraz zbadano istniejące i potencjalne kwestie bezpieczeństwa, a także strategiczne znaczenie regionu dla UE i NATO, nawet w ramach akademickich – teorii „sekurytyzacji” (Buzan, Wæver, De Wilde, 1998). Teoria ta opiera się na podstawach koncepcyjnych studiów nad bezpieczeństwem, a jej spektrum obejmuje: szkołę kopenhaską i krytyczne studia nad bezpieczeństwem (Ondrejcsak, 2014). Co więcej, regionalne bezpieczeństwo i geopolityka Morza Czarnego mają zostać poddane przeglądowi i analizie w kilku aspektach w ramach teorii sekurytyzacji, takich jak sektory wojskowe i gospodarcze. Hipoteza zakłada, że bezpieczeństwo regionalne Morza Czarnego stało się już nieodzowną częścią współczesnego międzynarodowego systemu bezpieczeństwa i determinuje tendencje w równowadze geostrategicznej na poziomie globalnym. Ponadto region Morza Czarnego musi zmagać się z licznymi zagrożeniami o charakterze konwencjonalnym i niekonwencjonalnym. Te twarde i miękkie problemy bezpieczeństwa sprawiają, że region jest niestabilny i niepewny. Dlatego też region ten jest bardzo istotny dla organizacji międzyrządowych, zajmujących się bezpieczeństwem militarnym (przypadek NATO) oraz podmiotów lokalnych w przypadku bezpieczeństwa narodowego Gruzji.

Słowa kluczowe: basen Morza Czarnego, Szkoła Kopenhaska, krytyczne studia nad bezpieczeństwem, sekurytyzacja, NATO, UE, bezpieczeństwo narodowe Gruzji

