Review Journal of Social Psychology & Social Works

Volume :2, No:2 Print ISSN:3006-4716 http://socialworksreview.com Online ISSN: 3006-4724

Navigating Strategic Security Landscape in the Black Sea: A Multi-Theoretical Analysis and Prospective Scenarios

Dr. Assad Mehmood Khan¹

^{1,}Associate Professor (HoD), Department of Urdu/IR,Minhaj University Lahore assadphdir@gmail.com

Abstract

The Black Sea region serves as a critical arena for geopolitical competition, with far-reaching implications for regional stability and global security. Understanding the complexities of its strategic security landscape is imperative for formulating effective policies and strategies to address emerging challenges. Considering this hypothesis, the purpose of this research focused on analyzing the motives and actions of major stakeholders, including Russia, the United States, and other regional players, and assesses their impact on the security landscape. Additionally, the study forecasts prospective scenarios to anticipate future developments and their implications. The study adopts a multi-theoretical method, integrating insights from Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism, and Game Theory to analyze the strategic security landscape of the Black Sea. Data analysis employs various Game Theory models, including Stag Hunt and Prisoners' Dilemma, to elucidate strategic interactions among actors in the region. Prospective scenarios are forecasted using Dominant Strategy analysis. Results underscore the complex interplay of interests and the potential for heightened security risks in the Black Sea region. The study provides valuable insights for policymakers, analysts, and stakeholders to develop strategies to address emerging security challenges and foster regional stability.

Keywords

Black Sea Region, Geopolitical Competition, Strategic Security, Regional Stability, Security Challenges

Introduction

The Black Sea is a noteworthy water body, strategically essential because of its volume and location. It creates an important line among Europe, Asia and the Middle East and spanning approximately 436,000 square kilometers (Flanagan, Stephen J., et al., 2020). The Black Sea possesses uniqueness due to its geostrategic location, significant economic potential, and proximity to emerging global powers. The environment of evolving power politics in the Black Sea region is bubbling and just waiting for the boiling point. Russia, as being part of the revisionist bloc, Russia is challenging the established world order through its dealings in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine (Rahmany, 2022, p. 104). However, the Western countries including NATO and the European Union are not ready to merge with this new modified planning. The heightened political environment has thrown this region in the situation of danger, where clandestine and explicit diplomatic activities among critical players make the abstract medley clearer. The major players belonging to various states make different strategic

triangles to create balance with each other. However, the efforts of each key player move for developing balance, which later compounding to unbalancing milieu (Gabrichidze & Reisner, 2021, p. 7). Specifically, the annexation of the Russians over Crimea in 2014 and existing war between Russia and Ukraine erupted since 2022 have enhanced the strategic value of the Black Sea. The major stakeholders of the region including NATO, Turkey, Russia and the European Union have possessed vital strategic interests, which ultimately arising into geopolitical conflicts among these states in the region (Demirel, 2020, p. 24). Due to emerging of the Black Sea as a significant strategic hub, Russia is prompt to show its military power and eager to fortify its southwestern borders. The strategic objective of NATO is to increase the defensive system of member states (Romania and Bulgaria) and carrying out concerted army exercises and enhancing patrolling of Naval forces to show deterrence to the potential hazards of Russian forces. The concentration of NATO forces and joint military exercises play an important role in contribution of overall geopolitical threats and conflicts in the region (Chiriac, 2024, p. 78). Control of Turkey over the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles is posing a significant role in the dynamics of the region of Black Sea. Through maintaining controlling over these chokepoints, Turkey has established its strategic interest to ensure stability in the region and making balanced relations with Russia and NATO (Ersen & Köstem, 2020, p. 234). The unparalleled position of Turkey in the region of Black Sea makes it in the center of the geopolitical planning parameters as it has the acquisitive approach to foster its relations with many other countries in pursuing its strategic goals (Atanasiu, 2022, pp. 82-103). However, the European Union is interested in fortification of energy supply routes, encouraging a stabilized environment in the region and supportive of the independence of territorial states (Ukraine and Georgia) Primarily, the Black Sea is considered as main energy transit passageway having a number of pipe channels for shifting of oil and gas from the Caspian region to Europe (Abuselidze, G., 2021, pp. 133-148). This phenomenon has created major concerns in the regional among concerned key players. Reliance on the energy supply routes over the Black Sea enhances its central and strategic significance. The regional security situation has been more complex and complicated by economic issues and the emergence of non-traditional warnings like cyber raids and hybrid warfare, which mainly exist in the security environment. These factors are interrelated with each other and accentuate the intricate security situation in the region of Black Sea, which also demanding multifarious solutions to address these consistent issues (Åtland, 2021, p. 305). This study revolved around the complicated strategic security mechanics of region of the Black Sea and utilizing a multi-theoretical framework. By examining this research, the importance of the Black Sea is highlighted in context of determining broader global security dynamics as well as emphasizing the requirement for a comprehensive and subtle understanding of the complicated factors prevalent in the strategic location of the Black Sea.

Statement of The Problem

This paper probe into the complicated and webbed security environment of the Black Sea, thus, focusing on conflicting interests of power players in the region for comprehensive understanding of the joint implications on stability and global security mechanics in the region of Black Sea with evolving strategies to reduce the level of threats and foster peaceful and stabilized environment in the region.

Research Objectives

To interpret the interests and activities of major powers comprising of Russia, NATO, Turkey and the European Union in the region of Black Sea.

To build and analyze potential future scenarios for the region of Black Sea and its security environment.

To suggest guidelines, corrective measures and recommendations for regional players for mitigation of regional threats and encouraging environment of peace and stability in the Black Sea.

Research Questions

What are the vested interests of countries or group of countries like Russia, Turkey, NATO and the Europe Union in the Black Sea region?

How can actual future scenarios for the secured environment in the region of the Black Sea be formulated and analyzed?

What can be policy guidelines and suggestions taken for regional and global stakeholders for reducing threats and encouraging peace and stability in the region of Black Sea?

Significance of The Study

This research study focused on combining qualitative and quantitative strategies to disclose abstract impressions and provide a platform for the key players to create their future interests and plans in the region adopting collaboration with other stakeholders of the region of the Black Sea. Moreover, this study is meant for encouraging the major powers for reducing potential risks and promoting stability in the region.

Literature Review

The conduct of this research faced scarcity of contents of material and literature which would support the writer in exploration of the consequences and implications of ongoing or emerging conflicts in shaping the international power structure in the region of the Black Sea. In addition to this, also lacking in extensive and encompassing investigation as how conflicting interests of major powerful states formulate the structure of strategic security in the region of the Black Sea. Additionally, more in-depth scrutiny of exquisite balance of Turkey is needed between NATO seriousness and its mutual ties with Russian government. There is a dire need of scenario planning, which is required to be enhanced encompassing non-traditional security scourges of cyber-attacks and hybrid warfare. In the nutshell, applicable executive systems are important for formulation of policy commitments in the highly intense and complicated geopolitical matrix of the Black Sea.

Research Methodology

This research highlights used multi-theoretical framework and incorporated Liberalism, Realism, Constructivism, Marxism, and Game Theory to explore a thorough and subtle analysis of the strategic security environment of the region of the Black Sea. It also utilized various models of Game Theory, comprising of the Stag Hunt and Prisoners' Dilemma for analyzing of the strategic interactions and decision-making procedures of regional stakeholders. It is further added that this research utilized Dominant Strategy analysis to imitate and predict actual future visualization and give a comprehensive understanding of the complicated environment of the region of the Black Sea.

Black Sea: The Epicenter of Emerging Geopolitical Contest

The intersecting interests of these major powers in the Black Sea region contribute to a complex and often contentious geopolitical environment, graphical illustration in Figure-1 (Kormych, B. & Malyarenko, T., 2022). The Russian conflict with Ukraine has created the canvas of interests

and strategic stakes in the region of Black Sea, in these scenario Russian forces are heading towards maintaining control over the Crimean and asserting their dominance in the region. However, opposing international actors like the US and the NATO are utilizing their own influences in the region for countering Russian forces through proving military arsenal and equipment to Ukraine and their allied forces. Turkey has its deep-rooted strategic interests and stakes in establishing control over the straits such as Bosphorus and Dardanelles and making exquisite balance with establishing relationship with key players of the region (Russia and NATO) as well as expanding its targeted objective in the area (Celikpala & Tatlioglu, 2023, p. 748). In the same arena of the Black Sea, China is not directly involved in armed race; rather it is navigating towards its maritime routes to ensure its trading routs and supply of goods through its strategic initiative of Belt and Road Initiative and making economic influence in the global and European markets (Vincenti, Giacomo, 2021, p. 31).

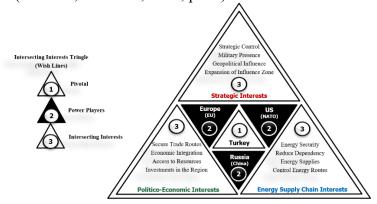


Figure-1: The Epicenter of Emerging Geopolitical Contest (Source: Author)

The Black Sea region has economic interests of key players such as Turkey, NATO, US and China and this region has achieved great geopolitical and strategic importance in view of economic perspectives. As for Russia, it has great reliance on energy transit routes for exporting and transporting the oil and gas resources to European countries through the medium of Black Sea (Druzhinin & Lachininskii, 2021, p. 336). The US is also maintaining its secured trading routes and applying restrictions and sanctions on Russian for determining dynamics of regional economic perspectives. However, Turkey has its interests and focusing on maintaining its important coastal trading chokepoints as well as investing on the trading routes and trying to keep its position strong in the arena of global business. China is considering the Black Sea as its strategic trading route for its Belt and Road Initiative and looking for investment as much possible in projects of infrastructure and securing the business sea routes that connect China with Europe, Middle East and Asia. This phenomenon involves with huge amount of investment for establishing infrastructures of domestic sea ports and logistics networks in order to foster connection with global powers for assistance of the economic integrity and improvement of the efficiency of trade mechanism (Catrinel, 2021, pp. 250-273).

Besides the primary interests and motives, each country has its own dimensions and strategic alignments in the region of the Black Sea which formulate their strategies and actions in the region. As for Russians, they possess their cultural and historical acquisition and pose their assertion on these domains, whereas the USA is maintaining and looking for its motto of promoting principles of Democracy and Human Rights and eager to support the Ukraine in the war efforts with the Russians (Rubinson, 2021, p. 696). As for Turkey is concerned, its objective is to promote its cultural traits through employing compressible power initiatives and also investing its relations and encouraging its domestic diasporas to enlarge its orbits and making connectivity with the other regional key players. China is looking for promoting its diplomatic presence in the Black Sea, fostering political alliances and boosting its insight for a multi polar

existence. Currently, after Russian Ukraine war, complicated webs of interests of various powers are prevalent in the region, highlighting the complicated geopolitical matrix in the region of the Black Sea (Cafruny, Fouskas, Mallinson, & Voynitsky, 2022). The Black Sea has become a geopolitical flashpoint for major players of the region and angles of their interests are interesting with each other into conflicts and collisions. In the meanwhile, Turkey is establishing an exquisite balance between its relations with regional key powers like Russia and NATO (Nyadera & Ceter, 2024). Such intricate and complex environment of the region has ripened the mutual conflicts, array of competitions and tensions among the key countries.

Strategic Triangles

The strategic triangles are reached by considering the current state of the Black Sea region in relation to the emerging world, as well as regional order and realignments, as depicted on the world map in Figure-2.

Russia-Turkey-China

The triangle of key players such as Russians, Chinese and the Turkish pose a complex and intricate network. Where, Russia has jointed its hands with China to enhance its economic relations, to establish its regional influence and to make a strategic coalition with Chinese against dominance of the western powers, NATO alliance in particular. China is protecting its trading supply routes through Belt and Road Initiative as well as making its alliance with strategic objectives of Russians. However, Turkey is striving for balancing economic collaboration with Chinese and Russians. In such geopolitical scenario, two opposing elements such as economic cooperation and strategic animosities collocate in the delicate force of equilibrium (Shokri Kalehsar, 2021, pp. 45-121).

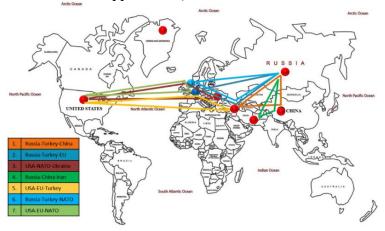


Figure-2: Strategic Triangles in the Black Sea region (Source: Author)

Russia-Turkey-EU

The triangle among key players like Russia, Turkey and the European Union has its complicated array of geopolitical, security and economic interests in the region of the Black Sea. In this context, Russians are involved in maintaining their dominance in the area, fortifying their energy route networks for export and import initiatives and working with Turkey and the European Union in various spheres. Turkey acts as a crucial energy transit center and stabilizing agent and making economic ties balance with Russians and its strategic relationship with the European Union. Energy safety, economic competition and the values of democracy are primarily focused by the European Union while involving with Turkey as well as steering conflicts with the Russians (Rusetsky, Dorokhina, & Boychuk, 2022).

US-NATO-Ukraine

This triangle is marked with mixture of common security apprehensions, regional stabilized environment and mutual political interests of the states (Shelest, 2020, pp. 96-111). The USA is supportive of preventive arrangements of the NATO forces, facilitating the Ukraine as its ally, ensuring the security framework of the region and counterbalancing the dominance of the Russia. As for Ukraine is concerned, it is looking for boosting its surveillance and defense mechanism, securing assistance for its domestic integrity, confronting domestic issues like war situation in Easter Ukraine through cooperative environment of NATO and the USA. This triangle of key players underscores the joint efforts of the countries for ensuring stability in the region, tackling with aggression emerged from opposing agents, encouraging cooperative and collaborative environment and posing a strong shield against the common security challenges.

Russia-China-Iran

It includes a complicated interplay of geopolitical involvement, collaborative approach towards economy and regional tendencies (Grajewski, 2022, pp. 164-183). Russia has its cooperative approach with China and Iran in various fields of interests. China is securing its trading routes for expansion of its economic influence in the region with business initiatives, especially developing projects of infrastructure and energy with Russia and Iran in the region of the Black Sea. In the region of Middle East, Iran is a key player which has its strategic objectives on the issues of the geopolitics and collaborative approach on the economic dimensions particular in energy and transit initiatives.

US-EU-Turkey

This triangle exists in the region of the Black Sea, which is representative of a dynamic interaction of the geopolitical interests, economic boding and issues of the security (Poghosyan, 2022). The United States posed as major country in the area and ally of the NATO, has collaborative approach with the European Union and Turkey in various areas of interests. Turkey is considering itself as epicenter of energy transportation with status of regional power. It develops its balanced approach with the United States and the European Union as well as securing its interests in the region (Rimanelli, 2022, p. 101).

Russia-Turkey-NATO

The triangle, Russia is seeking to put its assertive ambition over Crimea and trying to establish dominance in the region of the Black Sea. Turkey is protecting its interests of the routes of energy transportation and focusing on stabilized environment in the region. In the region, opposing interests of the key countries, their historical conflicts and reflections on the geopolitical environment are intersected which lead to a challenging landscape in the region (Florensa, 2022, pp. 17-31).

Multi-theoretical application

Realism

There is a clear manifestation of Realism Theory in the region of the Black Sea, where major key countries are struggling to pursue their vested interests and garbing the power steering as much as possible. For example, Russian has annexed Crimea, which shows application of the theory of Realism. However, the presence of the Americans and the NATO forces also indicates their enthusiasm for achieving their military influence and building of alliance with friendly countries to counter the risks and detected threats for maintaining the regional influence over other powers.

Liberalism

In the Black Sea, there is a continuous struggle among the key players to achieve economic independence and mutual collaboration by their own goals and strategies. Such behavior of the countries indicates the theory of Liberalism. Moreover, European Union is committed in promoting trade cooperation and developing projects of infrastructure. China is committed in making investment through the Belt and Road Initiative and highlighting the strategic importance of the common interests in shaping mechanics of the region. Moreover, Turkey is committed in balancing the elements of realism and liberalism in view of combining security apprehensions for improvement of the business activities along with regional stability.

Marxism

Socioeconomic activities reflect the theory of Marxism in the region of the Black Sea. It highlights unbalanced proportionality of the power and disparities in resources. The presence cum dominant stance of the Russian forces and the US in policy making of the region of the Black Sea reflect the influence of capitalist theory and unequal balance of relations among the key powers. However, the theory of Constructivism is emphasizing the part of identity, standards and conceptions in formulation of the collaborative steps and initiatives like security cooperation of NATO and promotion of the democracy by the European Union.

Constructivism

In this theory, the prime focus is laid on the contents of identity, criterion and conceptions in determining the cooperative initiatives as security cooperation of NATO and fostering of democratic principles through the European Union.

Game Theory

Game theory extends meaningful understandings aimed intersecting strategic concerns as well as fostering policy-making across power-players. Moreover, evaluating potential scenarios through different game theory techniques including Prisoners' Dilemma and Dominant Strategy offered insight aiming collaboration challenges vis-à-vis probable conflict determinants.

Chicken Game (Zero-Sum Game)

Zero-sum game contextualizes potential geo-strategic scenario considering Team 1 lead by Russia having China and Iran as members, Team 2 lead by US having European interests backed by EU and NATO, while keeping Turkey has potential swing-player (Table-1). Probability resemblance offered high stakes contesting scenario where either side remain engaged in intermediating the challenges either resolve and persuade aggressive posters aimed strategic-economic concerns. Therefore, Head-on posture by team 1 considering energy supply chain interruptions, economics security threats and strategic proxy would result in major confrontation. Thus, adding escalation to current situation. While Head-on poster by team 2 would too add into the escalating scenario. However, Veer-off posture offered a statuesque, thus following win-win situation. Whatever way, Turkey being potential swing-player presented a pivotal place and role in the power play game.

Table-1: Chicken Game (Zero-Sum Game)

| Turkey | Team USA (NATO, EU) | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| + | | Head-on (Hero) | Veer off (Coward) |
| Team Russia (China, Iran) | Head-on (Hero) | 0, 0 | 4, 1 |
| | Veer off (Coward) | 1, 4 | 3, 3 |

Stag Hunt (Non-Zero-Sum Game)

Maintaining the scenarios' Team settings in play, non-zero-sum game offered contemporaneous cooperation in the probable scenario (Table-2). Resultantly, the collective good stance fosters regional collaborations, economic relationships and cohesive partnerships among players. Where, Team 1 would lead, while China would increase its economic influence including BRI exploitations, and also offers space for regional cooperations, thus involving Iran in play. Meanwhile, Team 2 would access way out and maintenance of energy supply chain security. However, opting for selfish-game would result in aggressive behaviors and worsen conditions, while Turkey maintains pivotal role during all stages of the game.

Table-2: Stag Hunt (Non-Zero-Sum Game)

| Turkey | Team USA (Hub) | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| + | | Collective Good | Selfish Gains |
| Team Russia (Spokes) | Collective Good | 3,3 | 0,2 |
| | Selfish Gains | 2,0 | 1,1 |

Prisoners' Dilemma (Non-Zero-Sum Game)

The Prisoners' Dilemma, considered the definitive play where either situation of cooperation or defection foster apprehensions (Table-3). Possibly, provided either Team 1 and 2 opt corporation, would foster reduced escalation, energy supply security and strategic statuesque. However, there is potential threat of defect by anyone during the play. Moreover, if one team opt corporation while other defects foster limited gains for defecting team. However, other confronts further escalating strategic and energy supply chain security challenges. Furthermore, contemplated defect by any of the teams would experience escalating behaviors, threatening economic and energy supply chain security concerns. Interestingly, Turkey's role as swing-player can adversely affect either team's decision.

Table-3: Prisoners' Dilemma (Non-Zero-Sum Game)

| Turkey | Team USA (NATO, EU) | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|
| + | | Cooperate | Defect |
| Team Russia (China, Iran) | Cooperate | 3,3 | 0,5 |
| | Defect | 5, <mark>0</mark> | 1,1 |

Dominant Strategy Analysis

"Dominant Strategy Analysis", contemplates above scenario and interpretates the option of making most suitable decision concerning the situation during the game of power players, thus

offering balancing state (Table-4). Therefore, both teams 1 and 2 either opt to cooperate or defect, will conclude opportunity for optimum advantages. Moreover, the Strategic Dominance is possibly obtained when either of the Team 1 or 2 go for cooperation, thus, offers optimal opportunity for either team. However, attaining and preserving balancing state across such complexed scenario necessitates trustworthy strategic-economic re-alignment by all power players in the game.

Table-4: Dominant Strategy Analysis

| USA (NATO, EU) Vs Russia (China, Iran) | Cooperate | Defect |
|--|-----------|--------|
| Cooperate | 3,3 | 1,4 |
| Defect | 4,1 | 2,2 |

| Scenario | Manifestation | Implication |
|---|---|--|
| Mutual Cooperation (3,3) | Cooperative Security Framework | Regional Stability & Economic Growth |
| West cooperates, Russia defects (1,4) | Continued Tension & Military Buildup | Russia gains significant advantages |
| Russia cooperates, West defects (4,1) | Unilateral Dominance and Escalation | West (USA) gains strategic advantages |
| Mutual Defection (2,2) | Economic Isolation & Regional Fragmentation | Increased tensions & Latent conflict |

Potential Future Scenarios Cooperative Security Framework

For purpose of a substantial future outlook the Black Sea, there is a need to develop a cooperative security system in the region, through which all the key players and stakeholders (Russia, NATO and others) can join together. This phenomenon would help to promote mutual confidence, trust, a fair climate of diplomacy, a balanced and stabilized security approach and mitigation of conflicting environment among the regional players. Through collaboration of major powers, the measures can be taken to enhance for promoting costal security, mutual interests, conceptualized conflict resolution in the region, which can be transformed the confronting zone of Black Sea into a region of peace and prosperity.

Escalation and Military Buildup

However, an armed race, competitive military enhancement and intensified tensions can be surfaced through their conflicting mutual interests, historical enmities and regional competitions. Hence, the major key players like Russia, NATO and the US could lead the scenarios of military deployment, strategic military tactics and dominance of the region. As a result, such accumulation of varied military groups, competitive armed race and likely escalation of tension would significantly bring potentially threatened environment of chaos to the stability and security of the region of the Black Sea.

Proxy Conflicts and Hybrid Warfare

The geographical zone of the Black Sea may be affected with a surge of hybrid warfare and indirect conflicts through the exploitation and use of non-state agents, irregular warfare and information strategies by major key players for shaping up and influencing their regional mechanics and setting their strategic objectives and goals in the region. This phenomenon could generate proxy conflicts, cyber aggressiveness, and propaganda campaigns, secret operations among the major powers, which could further threaten to mutual diplomatic steps and develop complex issues for the overall traditional and regional security framework.

Regional Cooperation and Economic Integration

At the end, the future scenario of the Black Sea can be materialized through regional cooperation and economic integrity. This phenomenon is involved in promoting economic ties, business contracts and infrastructure of the projects that may further foster collaborative efforts and economic independence among major countries of the Black Sea. To keep up the momentum in the progress, many steps which include energy relationship, transit road networks and combined business efforts may bring about economic strength, mitigate vulnerabilities and develop common benefits in establishing the stability, growth, prosperity and brighter future in the region of the Black Sea.

Recommendations

In view of the analyzed potential success in the future scenario of the Black Sea, few following viable policy guidelines and recommendations are proposed for enhancing network of security framework, establishing stabilized milieu, reducing risks, and cooperative approach among the major stakeholders of the Black Sea. Moreover, initiatives of energy security, sustainable development, and environmental safety may be endorsed for ensuring brighter and prosperous future for the coastal countries of the Black Sea region. There is a requirement of establishing ruling system of international standards, ensuring sovereignty of the states, respect of domestic integrity of the states and implementation of the international laws in the region of the Black Sea.

Conclusion

To conclude, the complex geopolitical scenario of the region of Black Sea reflects a spectrum of challenges and array of opportunities for both regional and world-wide players. This investigative piece of research also underscores the significance of mutual efforts to enhance the essence of various elements like security, stability, and cooperation in the regional environment of the Black Sea. To achieve the said standards, there is a need of smooth engagement, combined security mechanics, conflicting resolution economic cooperation. Moreover, the regional issues can be resolved, opportunities can be achieved and better future can be enhanced for all the regional stakeholders of the Black Sea through maintaining of collaborated approach, shared perceptive and joint ventures by all the stakeholders.

References

- Abuselidze, G. (2021). Competitiveness Analysis of the Georgian Transport and Logistics System in the Black Sea Region: Challenges and Perspectives. Computational Science and Its Applications, 133-148.
- Atanasiu, M. (2022). Turkey's Positioning in a Possible Political-Military Crisis Triggered by the Russian Federation in the Black Sea Region. Romanian Military Thinking, 82-103.
- Åtland, K. (2021). Redrawing borders, reshaping orders: Russia's quest for dominance in the Black Sea region. European Security, 30(2), 305-324.
- Cafruny, A., Fouskas, V., Mallinson, W., & Voynitsky, A. (2022). Ukraine, Multipolarity and the Crisis of Grand Strategies. Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies, 25(1), 1-21.
- Catrinel, A. (2021). "THE SILENT THREAT" CHINA'S GEOPOLITICAL "GAME" IN THE BLACK SEA REGION. Strategies XXI, 250-273.
- Celikpala, M., & Tatlioglu, E. (2023). Türkiye's Black Sea Policy for Energy Security. Vestnik RUDN. International Relations, 23(4), 748-761.
- Chiriac, O. (2024). Enemy at the Gates: NATO in the Black Sea. In O. Chiriac, The Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation: Implications for Balck Sea Security (pp. 75-100). New York: Springer.

- Demirel, N. (2020). TURKEY AND RUSSIA AS MAJOR PLAYERS IN THE BLACK SEA: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES. International Journal of Engineering Technologies and Management Research, 7(2), 22-30.
- Druzhinin, A., & Lachininskii, S. (2021). Russia in the World Ocean: Interests and Lines of Presence. Reg. Res. Russ, 11, 336-348.
- Erşen, E., & Köstem, S. (2020). Turkey's Interest in Closer Relations with Russia: Global, Regional and Domestic Dynamics. Siyasal: Journal of Political Sciences, 29(2), 231-245.
- Flanagan, Stephen J., Anika Binnendijk, Irina A. Chindea, Katherine Costello, Geoffrey Kirkwood, Dara Massicot, & Clint Reach. (2020). Russia, NATO, and Black Sea Security. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.
- Florensa, S. (2022). The Big Powers, the Mediterranean and the Impact of the War in Ukraine (US, EU, Russia, China). Reshuffling of Political and Military Alliances, 17-31.
- Gabrichidze, G., & Reisner, O. (2021). Experiencing Europeanization in the Black Sea and South Caucasus. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Grajewski, N. (2022). An Illusory Entente: The Myth of a Russia-China-Iran "Axis.". Asian Affairs, 53(1), 164-183.
- Kormych, B., & Malyarenko, T. (2022). From gray zone to conventional warfare: the Russia-Ukraine conflict in the Black Sea. Small Wars & Insurgencies, 34(7), 1235-1270.
- Nyadera, I., & Ceter, A. (2024). Revisiting the Challenges and Opportunities for Emerging Powers in a Multipolar International System: Lessons from Turkey. International Journal, 1-14.
- Poghosyan, B. (2022). U.S. Foreign Policy under President Trump: The Middle East, Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea Regions. Analytical Bulletin, 14, 17-42.
- Rahmany, D. (2022). IS RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE DISRUPTING WORLD ORDER? International Journal of Multidisciplinary Educational Research (IJMER), 103-106.
- Rimanelli, M. (2022). NATO vs. Russia: from the USSR's Threat of World War III to NATO Enlargements to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, 1949-2023. Florida Political Chronicle, 29(1), 101-114.
- Rubinson, E. (2021). Flexible democratic conditionality? The role of democracy and human rights adherence in NATO enlargement decisions. Journal of international relations and development, 24, 696-725.
- Rusetsky, A., Dorokhina, O., & Boychuk, A. (2022). From geopolitical anomie to a syncretic metamodel of the Greater Black Sea Region "Five Sea Region. Security and Defence Quarterly, 4-23.
- Shelest, H. (2020). NATO IN THE BLACK SEA: TRANSFORMATION OF APPROACHES AND TAILORED PRESENCE. In O. Brusylovska, V. Dubovyk, & I. Koval, BLACK SEA REGION IN WORLD POLICY: ACTORS, FACTORS, AND SCENARIOS OF THE FUTURE (pp. 96-111). Odesa: Odesa Mechnikov National University Press.
- Shokri Kalehsar, O. (2021). nternational Context of the New Era and the Caspian Sea Region. In O. Shokri Kalehsar, US Energy Diplomacy in the Caspian Sea Basin (pp. 45-121). New York: Springer.
- Vincenti, Giacomo. (2021). The Dragon's grip: Chinese presence in ports along the Belt and Road Initiative. Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 4-34.