

# Security Challenges and Democracy in the Black Sea Region

## Black Sea Summer University Booklet

14-20 July, 2022 | Tbilisi, Georgia

*The programme is organized by the Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE) in partnership with the Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP), with support of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and New Vision University.*



საქართველოს პოლიტიკის ინსტიტუტი  
GEORGIAN INSTITUTE OF POLITICS



# PROGRAM

Thursday  
July 14th, 2022

Arrival and accommodation (international participants); Free time.

Friday  
July 15th, 2022

Venue: New Vision University - Auditorium Audimax,  
11 Nodar Bokhua Street, 0159, Tbilisi

9:30 - 9:55	Registration with coffee
10:00 - 11:00 Opening session Presentation of partners and candidates	Prof. Kornely KAKACHIA, Director, Georgian Institute of Politics H.E. Diego COLAS, Ambassador of France to Georgia Marie-France PERDIGON, Director, Summer University Programme, CIFE Nice Ekaterine AZARASHVILI, Chancellor, New Vision University
11:00 - 12:30 <i>"Making the Perfect Mediator: China vs. Türkiye in the Black Sea Region"</i>	Prof. Thomas Maria KRUESSMANN, New Vision University, Georgia
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30 <i>"Black Sea security under strain: why the stakes are higher after the Nagorno-Karabakh ceasefire"</i>	Assoc. Prof. Ivanna MACHITIDZE, New Vision University, Georgia
16:00	Organized walking tour in Tbilisi

Saturday  
July 16, 2022

Venue: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU) - Auditorium 107,  
1 Chavchavadze Avenue, Tbilisi

9:30 - 11:00 <i>"European neighbourhood: changing security environment and the EU's effectiveness"</i>	Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem ÜSTÜN, Nişantaşı University Istanbul, Turkey
11:00 - 12:30 <i>"EU's new approach towards Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. Way ahead after membership bid"</i>	Ivane CHKHIKVADZE, EU Integration Programme Manager, Open Society Georgia Foundation (OSFG), Georgia
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30 <i>"Differentiated Integration in Turkey-EU relations: security, migration, energy policies and customs union"</i>	Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem ÜSTÜN, Nişantaşı University Istanbul, Turkey
15:30 - 17:00	Free time to visit Tbilisi

Sunday  
July 17th, 2022

Full Day Excursion to Mtskheta

Monday  
July 18, 2022

Venue: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU) - Auditorium 107,  
1 Chavchavadze Avenue, Tbilisi

9:30 - 11:00 <i>"The future democracy and governance. A perspective on the Black Sea"</i>	<b>Dr. Florent PARMENTIER</b> , General Secretary, The Center for Political Research in Political Science at Sciences Po (CEVIPOF), France
11:00 - 12:30 <i>"Geopolitics as a factor in democratization in the Black Sea region"</i>	<b>Prof. Ghia NODIA</b> , Ilia State University, Georgia
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30 <i>"Foundations of democracy in light of legal systems and its relations to security"</i>	<b>Hossein TABATABAEI</b> , Researcher of Law and Policy of Energy, Iran
15:30 - 17:00	Free time to visit Tbilisi

Tuesday  
July 19, 2022

Venue: Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU) - Auditorium 107,  
1 Chavchavadze Avenue, Tbilisi

9:30 - 11:00 <i>"EU and democratization in the Black Sea region, between 'State capture' and democratic renewal"</i>	<b>Prof. Florent PARMENTIER</b> , General Secretary, The Center for Political Research in Political Science at Sciences Po (CEVIPOF), France
11:00 - 12:30 <i>Preliminary findings of the research paper "The challenges of the wider Black Sea Security after the Russian invasion of Ukraine: the case of Georgia"</i>	<b>Introductory remarks:</b> <b>Prof. Kornely KAKACHIA</b> , Director, Georgian Institute of Politics <b>Speaker:</b> <b>Salome KANDELAKI</b> , Junior Policy Analyst, Georgian Institute of Politics <b>Discussants:</b> <b>Teona AKUBARDIA</b> , Deputy Chair, Defence and Security Committee, Parliament of Georgia <b>Alexander VINNIKOV</b> , Head, the NATO Liaison Office in Georgia <b>Q&amp;A</b>
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30	Exams for ECTS Credits for the students wishing to acquire Credits Free afternoon for the others
15:30	Closing ceremony and distribution of the Certificates

Wednesday  
July 20, 2022

The departure of the International Participants

## HONORABLE GUESTS

H.E. Diego COLAS – Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to Georgia

## LECTURERS & SESSION OVERVIEWS

### Prof. Thomas Maria KRUESSMANN

Thomas Kruessmann is a German-qualified lawyer with many years of experience working as attorney-at-law and consultant in Vienna and Moscow. Currently, he is Senior Expert Counsel with the Vienna law firm Lansky Ganzger + Partner as well as a member of the advisory board of Urus Advisory London/Moscow. He is the Academic Director of the Master's programme "International Corporate Compliance and Business Ethics" at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow). In addition, he is the coordinator of the Erasmus+ Capacity Building in Higher Education Project "Modernisation of master programmes for future judges, prosecutors, investigators with respect to European standard on human rights" for Ukraine and Belarus with the University of Graz. As President of the Association of European Studies for the Caucasus, he devotes himself to European Studies in the wider Caucasus region, including by acting as series editor of the book series "European Studies in the Caucasus". He is the founding director of the Russian, East European & Eurasian Studies Centre at the University of Graz (2010-2015) and Visiting Professor at Kazan Federal University (2015-2016).

Beyond the Caucasus, his research interests extend to issues of comparative, European and international criminal law, as well as corruption and compliance. He is chair of the Supervisory Board of the Higher School of Jurisprudence/ Higher School of Economics in Moscow and maintains close relations with a number of leading universities in Russia, Ukraine and Central Asia.

### Topic - *“Making the Perfect Mediator: China vs. Türkiye in the Black Sea Region”*

The looming world food crisis as a result of the blockade of Ukrainian grain exports is prompting the UN to make every effort to resolve the situation. Unfortunately, there is a weak legal regime currently in place to prohibit the weaponization of food. To make matters worse, the UN Security Council continues to be blocked by Russia's veto power. Hopes are now pinned on the role of mediators who might help to resolve the situation. At different times, both China and Türkiye have offered themselves to act in such a capacity. The class will draw on the experience with peace operations and conflict management to discuss the pros and cons of the respective country's merits as mediators. **The key questions of the lecture are as follows:**

1. Is there a legal regime in place to prevent the use of food as a weapon?

2. Is there a theoretical framework to analyze mediation efforts in the “new geopolitics of peace operations”?
3. What are the respective interests of China and Türkiye regarding Ukrainian grain?

**Assoc. Prof. Ivanna MACHITIDZE**

Ivanna Machitidze obtained her MA degree in International Relations and European Studies from Central European University (Hungary-Austria) and her PhD from Donetsk National University (Ukraine) with a specialization in Political Science. Dr. Machitidze holds the position of the Program Coordinator of the BA International Relations (January 2014 – September 2019) and MA International Relations and Politics Programs (September 2017 – September 2019) at the International Black Sea University (Tbilisi, Georgia). Since January 2019 Dr. Machitidze has been the Accreditation Expert of educational programs in the field of Political Science and International Relations. Ivanna teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in both English and Georgian at the New Vision University and International Black Sea University. Her research interests include regionalism and democratization-related issues with a focus on Eastern Europe and Russia.

**Topic - “Black Sea security under strain: why the stakes are higher after the Nagorno-Karabakh ceasefire”**

The autumn war in Nagorno-Karabakh and the outcomes of the ceasefire turned unexpectedly into a game-changer, with implications far beyond the South Caucasus. In the aftermath, the escalation of events created long-lasting shifts in the region’s dynamics. Back in 2020, Russia’s brokering of the truce after hostilities between Azerbaijan and Armenia marked a “diplomatic victory”, enhancing its position as a leading, and what is more alarming, the only viable peacemaker in the area, which seemed a lasting pattern. Moreover, an increasingly belligerent Turkey, now a crucial partner for the West and Ukraine, will lead to far-reaching consequences for the wider Black Sea security architecture. Under the circumstances of Russia’s unprovoked and unjustified aggression against Ukraine, the Black Sea area requires a new identity and impetus for acting in concert against Russia. Most importantly, this new identity should be developed with the view to implement common goals among partners. **The key questions of the lecture are as follows:**

1. Are we already witnessing a brand new “Black Sea identity” looming large?
2. Which countries can assume the leadership role in the Black Sea area?
3. Can/should Russia be isolated from the key regional cooperation initiatives?

## Assoc. Prof. Dr. ÇIĞDEM ÜSTÜN

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem ÜSTÜN specializes in European Studies. After she graduated with a Bachelors in Political Science and Public Administration from Bilkent University, she earned her MA at the University of East Anglia in European and International Studies. She holds a PhD in European Studies from the University of Limerick (Ireland), where she focused her research on the Comparison of EU and Turkish Security Cultures. Her research interests are EU-Turkey relations, EU-Turkey neighborhood policies. She is the author of “Rise and Fall of Europeanization: What is Next for Turkey-EU Relations? Peter Lang, 2018” and “Turkey and European Security Defense Policy: Compatibility and Security Cultures in a Globalized World, IB Tauris, 2010.” She is an adjunct lecturer at the Political Science and International Relations Department in TOBB-ETU in Ankara. She is in the advisory board of Association for Development Migration and Social Policies (DEMIS) and responsible for its publications such as reports and the Working Paper Series. Since 2018 she has been a consultant for İzgirişim Consultancy in İzmir working with local governments and civil society organizations.

Her publications can be reached via <https://independent.academia.edu/cigdemustun>.

**Topic #1 - “European neighbourhood: changing security environment and the EU’s effectiveness”**

**Topic #2 - “Differentiated integration in Turkey- University Istanbul, Turkey EU relations: security, migration, energy policies and customs union”**

## Ivane CHKHIKVADZE

Ivane Chkhikvadze works as an EU Integration Programme Manager at Open Society Georgia Foundation (OSGF). He focuses on EU-Georgian relations and runs the projects promoting Georgia’s integration into the European structures. He was the country analyst of the European Stability Initiative for two years. Before, Vano Chkhikvadze worked for the Eurasia Partnership Foundation and prior to joining the Foundation, he served at the Office of the State Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Georgia, where he assisted in monitoring and evaluating the implementation of EU programmes and European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan for Georgia in the field of economic integration, public awareness, capacity building, education and trafficking. He also supervised the implementation of EU projects related to regional cooperation. Vano Chkhikvadze holds a Master's Degree from the College of Europe in European Advanced Interdisciplinary Studies, and from the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs in Policy Analysis.

**Topic – “EU’s new approach towards Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. Way ahead after membership bid”**

After Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine and Ukraine’s decision to apply for EU membership, Georgia and Moldova quickly followed suit and submitted their applications in March 2022. Now, Georgia and the EU are standing at a historic crossroads. The Georgian government’s insufficient democratization efforts, its lack of determination regarding the country’s European orientation, Georgian domestic polarization, and broader EU challenges affect both parties’ abilities to bring the membership bid on track. **The key questions of the lecture are as follows:**

1. What is the window of opportunity created by the Ukraine war, and what is the reaction of GEO and Moldova?
2. How can the trio format function now? What are the challenges and opportunities the trio faces today?
3. EU conditionality – are they moving targets?
4. Georgia’s EU membership process - is the last chance missed?

**Dr. Florent PARMENTIER**

Florent Parmentier, Ph.D., is Secretary-general of the CEVIPOF - Centre of political research - of Sciences Po. He is also research associate of the Chair of geopolitics of HEC Paris. He lectures in European politics, strategic foresight, political institutions and negotiations at Sciences Po and University Mohammed VI (Rabat, Morocco). He has published several books and articles on European and post-Soviet politics. He intervenes regularly on mass media in France and abroad. He is a reservist of the French Marine forces.

**Topic #1 – “The future democracy and governance. A perspective on the Black Sea”**

Democracy is in retreat in several regions, including Europe. The notions of democracy, rule of law, governance and pluralism should be analysed properly to apprehend current political dynamics. This session provides a methodology and a perspective to the evolution of democratic regime adapted to the Black Sea region, as well as scenarios.

**Topic #2 - “EU and democratization in the Black Sea region, between 'State capture' and democratic renewal”**

In its foreign policy, the EU has both 'possession goals' and 'milieu goals'. Its ambitions to be surrounded by functioning democracies is confronted to logics of 'state capture', criminality and corruption. Yet, at a time when democracy is in question, the EU could rely both on its democratic traditions (social dialogue, institutions) and democratic innovations.

## Prof. Ghia NODIA

Ghia Nodia is the professor of politics in Ilia Chavchavadze State University in Tbilisi, Georgia. Since 1992, he is the chairman of the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), an independent public policy think tank in Tbilisi. In 2008, he briefly served as the minister for education and science of Georgia. He has published extensively on democratization, state-building, security, and conflicts in Georgia and the Caucasus, as well as on theories of nationalism and democratic transition. His work has attracted international attention and are often used as a reading material for students in different universities around the world. Apart from his academic work, he has been involved in pro-democracy advocacy efforts in Georgia and internationally, and has been a frequent participant of international congresses and conferences on related topics. He is also a frequent commentator on ongoing political events in Georgian and international media. He has served on the first Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy. While being based in his native Georgia, Ghia Nodia has done research and teaching in different universities and Centers of Advanced Studies in Europe and America. Namely, he has spent time in Woodrow Wilson Center, Universities of Berkeley, Bonn, and Glasgow, has held Emile Franqui Chair in the Free University of Brussels, spent an year in Wissenschaftskolleg – Center for Advanced Studies in Berlin. He serves on editorial boards of *Journal of Democracy*, *Comparative Strategy* and advisory board of *Caucasian Survey*.

### Topic - “Geopolitics as a factor in democratization in the Black Sea region”

In the post-Cold War era, geopolitical considerations were largely excluded from the language of democracy promotion in the West. Russia, on the other hand, viewed democracy promotion primarily through the lens of geopolitics, as a western instrument aimed at squeezing Russia out of its “legitimate” sphere of interest. Russia’s neighbors, such as Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, shared this general view, linking the issue of democracy vs autocracy to that of the western vs Russian influence respectively. American and, especially, western European politicians and analysts strongly resisted “geopoliticization” of democracy agenda; however, Russian military invasions, especially the last invasion of Ukraine, makes it impossible to ignore the link. **The key questions of the lecture are as follows:**

1. How can geopolitical orientation and democracy correlate?
2. Why were the considerations of geopolitics excluded from the democracy promotion agenda?



3. How did the war in Ukraine change the western perception of the geopolitical aspect of democratization policies?
4. How issues of geopolitics and democracy interact in the case of Georgia?

## **Hossein TABATABAEI**

Seyed Hossein Tabatabaei is Faculty Member and Director of the international law department in Tarbiat Modares University, and Visiting Lecturer by the European Center of International Education (CIFE). In recent years, his focus has been on comparative legal studies. He has a PhD in international law, in the Law Institute of Peace and Development (I'IDPD), and obtained D.U. Law and energy policy from European International Training Centre (CIFE). Additionally, he is the first graduated Master of Law in International Trade from Faculty of Law and Political Science University of Allameh. Part of his professional experiences include collaboration with Gide Loyrette Nouel and contractual consulting to various commercial companies, especially in the field of oil and gas.

### **Topic - “*Foundations of democracy in light of legal systems and its relations to security*”**

With the expansion of trade among countries and continents, and according to the complexity of societies and relationships, we have witnessed the influence of different legal traditions and legal systems to each other, in recent decades. In the meantime, understanding that each value and legal concept has been based on which legal tradition, helps us for a deeper and more accurate understanding of the world through a comparative point of view.

In this regard, two important issues that should be considered are security and democracy. In this presentation, we will see that security is the issue of all legal systems and traditions, but in the case of democracy, there are differences between legal traditions (and legal systems) that should be considered and discussed.

# Impact of Russian Invasion of Ukraine on the wider Black Sea Security: Case of Georgia

## Round-table discussion

The Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP) welcomes the Summer University to a public event – a round-table discussion that will bring together young researchers, experts and academia. The round-table discussion will present preliminary findings of the ongoing research by the Georgian Institute of Politics on the impact of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on the wider Black Sea Security, with a particular emphasis on Georgia. The study aims to analyze the perceptions of the political elites in Georgia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan regarding the dynamic security challenges in the Black Sea region in the wake of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The event is organized under the project “Black Sea Cooperation for Stronger Security: Georgia, Ukraine and Azerbaijan” financially supported by the Black Sea Trust for the Regional Cooperation (BST), which aims to strengthen cooperation on security issues among the civil society actors in the countries of the Black Sea region: Georgia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan. The project is being implemented by GIP in partnership with the Caucasus Policy Analysis Centre (CPAC, Azerbaijan) and Foreign Policy Council “Ukrainian Prism” (Prism UA, Ukraine).

## SUMMER UNIVERSITY PARTICIPANTS

Family name	From	University degree or qualification
Abdimominova Karina	<i>Kazakhstan</i>	Student in Political Science and International Relations (4rd year), University of Nazarbayev, Nur Sultan, Kazakhstan.
Bzhalava Vakhtang	<i>Georgia</i>	MA in Conflict Analysis and Management, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Behnke Clara	<i>Germany</i>	Student in Politics and Sociology, University of Bonn, Germany.
Chkhaidze Nicholas	<i>Georgia</i>	BA in International Relations (4 <sup>rd</sup> year), International Black Sea University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Dalouche Lucas	<i>France</i>	Master degree in Russian and Post soviet Studies (2 <sup>nd</sup> year), University Paris Nanterre.
Dolidze Ketevan	<i>Georgia</i>	MA in International Relations (2 <sup>rd</sup> year), Illia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Dzandzava Nutsa	<i>Georgia</i>	BA in International Relations (3 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Ekseulidze Beka	<i>Georgia</i>	MA in Public Policy Administration; Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Gelashvili Mariana	<i>Georgia</i>	MA in Public Policy, Georgian Institute of Public Affairs, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Galakhvaridze Rati	<i>Georgia</i>	MA in Public Law and Policy, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
Gorgodze Badri	<i>Georgia</i>	BA in International Relations (3 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia; simultaneously studying at Cukurova University (Turkey) within ERASMUS+ exchange program.
Javakhishvili Lela	<i>Georgia</i>	PhD candidate in Culture and Media Sociology, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

<b>Kakhidze Mariam</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	MA in International Relations (2 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia; simultaneously studying at Sapienza University of Rome (Italy) within ERASMUS+ exchange program.
<b>Kechakmadze Mikheil</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	DPhil in Politics Program, Oxford University, Oxford, UK.
<b>Kiryakov Kaloyan</b>	<b>Bulgaria</b>	Student in International Relations (Bachelor Programme), University of Gothenburg, Germany.
<b>Kusherova Symbat</b>	<b>Kazakhstan</b>	Student in Political Science and International Relations (4 <sup>rd</sup> year), University of Nazarbayev, Nur Sultan, Kazakhstan.
<b>Qoqashvili Ana</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	BA in Political Science (4 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
<b>Luraghi Manuel</b>	<b>Italy</b>	International Trade Lawyer, Master student in International Politics, Diplomatic School of Brussels, Belgium
<b>Morley Rose</b>	<b>Great Britain</b>	BA Geography, St Edmund Hall, Oxford, Great Britain
<b>Natchkepia Tamuna</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	MA in Public Administration (2 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and German University of administrative Sciences Speyer, Tbilisi, Georgia.
<b>Pichkhadze Tinatin</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	MA in European Studies IES Institute for European Studies (2 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.
<b>Sikmashvili Anano</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	BA in International Relation (3 <sup>rd</sup> year), Georgian Institute of Public Affairs (GIPA), Tbilisi, Georgia.
<b>Suginaka Ryosei</b>	<b>Japan</b>	Attaché, Embassy of Japan to Georgia.
<b>Tatur Mishta</b>	<b>Mauritian</b>	Master Degree in French and Literature, University of Bordeaux III, Master Degree in education, ISFEC François d'Assise, Bordeaux, France
<b>Tavshavadze Sophie</b>	<b>Georgia</b>	BA in International Relations (3 <sup>rd</sup> year), Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

## PROGRAM ORGANIZERS

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**Teona Zurabashvili**, Junior Policy Analyst, Georgian Institute of Politics (GIP), (Georgia)  
Contact info: +995 555 40 19 50; [Zurabashvili@gip.ge](mailto:Zurabashvili@gip.ge)

## VENUES

- **July 15 – Lectures:** New Vision University, **Address:** 11, Nodar Bokhua street.  
**Lunch:** New Vision University, **Address:** 11, Nodar Bokhua street.
- **July 16, 18, 19 - Lectures,** Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU), **Address:** 1 Chavchavadze Avenue,  
**Lunch:** Restaurant “Varazi”, Address: 2 Varaziskhevi St.
- **Excursion & Lunch:** “Armazi Tskharo”, Mtskheta.

## GEORGIAN RESTAURANTS & CAFÉS

- Sofia Melnikovas Fantastiuri Duqani: serves vegetarian Khinkali, <https://www.facebook.com/Sofia-Melnikovas-Fantastic-Douqan-186216914838587/>
- Tbili Sio: cafe/bar (with food) with outside seating <https://www.facebook.com/tbili.sio.public.garden/>
- Ezo: <https://www.facebook.com/EZO.Restaurant/>
- Café Leila: vegetarian; offers Gobi (bowl with mixed Georgian starters)  
[https://www.tripadvisor.de/Restaurant\\_Review-g294195-d7987536-Reviews-Kafe\\_Leila-Tbilisi.html](https://www.tripadvisor.de/Restaurant_Review-g294195-d7987536-Reviews-Kafe_Leila-Tbilisi.html)
- G.Vino or Vino Underground: for Georgian wine traditionally made in clay pots (qvevri) -  
<https://www.facebook.com/g.vinotbilisi/> and <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Vino-Underground/349171521822676>

- Racha: affordable & tasty [https://www.tripadvisor.de/Restaurant\\_Reviewg294195-d3378818-Reviews-Racha\\_Dukhan-Tbilisi.html](https://www.tripadvisor.de/Restaurant_Reviewg294195-d3378818-Reviews-Racha_Dukhan-Tbilisi.html)

## SIGHTSEEING



- National Gallery: collection of the most famous Georgian painters
- Museum of Georgia: thousand years old jewelry
- Take a cable car up to the fortress, from there walk to Mother Georgia and then down to the old town.
- For more views, climb up to the statue in Vake Park or take the ropeway to Turtle Lake
- Visit a traditional steam bath at Abanotubani
- Souvenirs: Small shop in the yard of Sofia Melnikova's (look above)
- Shops at Fabrika
- Dry bridge flea market
- For more traditional souvenirs: churchkhela, Georgian tea and Svanetian salt (e.g. from Badagi, 6 Roman Miminoshvili St); qvevri wine.

Recommended webpage for the **Walking Tour**: <http://tbilisifreewalkingtours.com>