

REE 335 / GOV 365U / EUS 348
Security and Policy in Eastern Europe and Russia
Fall 2024 Semester

Instructor: Dr. Kiril Avramov, DSES

Class meets: MWF 1:00 pm-2:00 pm, BUR 136

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Instructor's Office Hours: Mondays 1:00 - 2:30 pm or by appointment.

Teaching Assistants:

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Courses' unique numbers: REE335 31-42440, GOV326U-37360, EUS348 13 -35545

Description:

This course will examine key contemporary security issues and policy dilemmas through the perspective of post-communist Eastern European countries from the 5th and 6th EU enlargement waves in the framework of their membership in supranational organizations. It will survey the existing and emerging internal policy debates concerning the challenges that Central and Eastern European states face vis-à-vis resurgent Russia's grand strategy and interventions, Chinese foreign policy outreach, energy security, as well as the challenges posed by terror, migration, and the pressures and uncertainties originating in EU's Eastern and Southern neighborhoods. The course examines the transformation of regional states' national security strategies, threat perception, and priorities transitioning from the former Warsaw Pact to full-fledged EU and NATO membership in shaping their respective national security priorities. The course is designed thematically and will focus on interpreting the respective countries' policy shifts and responses within the framework of the changing global security environment through the theories and concepts of EU security policy. A specific accent will be put on the "borderlands" threat perception, issue securitization, prioritization, and subsequent policy formation of the small states within the framework of the EU and NATO's

strategies in response to contemporary external challenges. The aims of this survey include the provision of students with conceptual tools to examine the role and place of Central and Eastern European states in the formation and adoption of EU's security policy, critical analysis of their contemporary key foreign and security policy dilemmas, as well as an opportunity for interpretation of the national interests, policy responses, interactions and foreign policy and security contexts of the respective countries in focus.

Learning outcomes:

The course will provide the students with an understanding of 1) key concepts, actors, and institutions in the framework of European security policy, 2) the context of threat perception and policy responses of Central and Eastern European countries regarding challenges posed by external actors and processes, 3) individual and country group specifics of national security interests within EU and NATO frameworks and 4) specific national perspectives (i.e., "small states," "borderland"/"periphery"), in regards with security challenges perception and policy response.

Target audience:

Students interested in or specializing in government and political science, international relations, intelligence studies, security studies, and especially Russian and Eastern European area studies.

Flags: Global Cultures

This course carries the Global Cultures flag. Global Cultures courses are designed to increase your familiarity with cultural groups outside the United States. You should, therefore, expect a substantial portion of your grade to come from assignments covering the practices, beliefs, and histories of at least one non-U.S. cultural group, past or present.

Attendance:

Regular attendance in this class is required. Make-up work will be allowed in exceptional cases, such as during documented medical leave, religious holidays, military service, or family emergencies. You must notify me in writing as soon as possible so I can arrange the make-up work. You are allowed to miss up to three undocumented absences without attendance repercussions. Each further undocumented absence will lower your course grade by one point (after the third absence, 100 -1.0 = maximum grade of 99, etc.). Students who arrive over 15 minutes late without a valid excuse will not receive credit for attending. Religious holidays will be respected, as per UT-Austin Policies.

Reading load:

Participants in the course are expected to read 75 to 120 pages per week. Students are expected to budget their time accordingly and complete all required reading selections before the class for which they have been assigned.

Discussion rules:

As this class has a discussion component and occasional small group work covering sensitive political topics, please observe the following rules during the discussions and small group work: (1) listen carefully and be respectful to the other participants in the discussion or group, (2) be sure that you understand the positions and opinions stated and ask for clarification, if necessary and (3) offer your viewpoint in a respectful and non-confrontational manner, to achieve constructive dialogue with the instructor and your colleagues.

Evaluation:

Grading will consist of the following four components:

- **In-class participation (5 %)**
- **Quizzes (40 %, i.e., 4 times x 10 % each quiz)**
- **Discussion (Canvas) (40 %, i.e., 4 times x 10 % each discussion)**
- **Final test (15%)**

Grading Scale:

Grading will be done in points (0-100 points)

A	100	to 94	C	< 77	to 74
A-	< 94	to 90	C -	< 74	to 70
B+	< 90	to 87	D +	< 70	to 67
B	< 87	to 84	D	< 67	to 64
B -	< 84	to 80	D -	< 64	to 61
C +	< 80	to 77	F	< 61	to 0

Late submission grading:

Each late submission will be subject to a 4 % reduction per day and will only be accepted within a three-business day window at the latest. Extensions beyond three business days will only be granted

in extenuating circumstances. In such cases, please get in touch with the instructor. Please note that this rule applies to all components of the overall grade.

In-class participation:

The class is lecture-style, but I ask for student participation and feedback multiple times during each session. Participation is critical in establishing in-class dynamics and gauging feedback regarding the perception of the material presented. Thus, active participation is crucial for our progress rather than just voicing the correct answer. Simple passive attendance will not count as in-class participation. Participation will be graded on a one-time basis at the end of the semester with an overall weight of 5%. Please see the rules regarding participation in the discussion.

Online tests and quizzes:

Online tests on Canvas will survey your familiarity with the ideas and concepts presented in the lectures and the mandatory assigned readings. The online tests will be administered during the corresponding scheduled class sessions and must be taken virtually but within the assigned time window. Please note that these tests, namely four standard quizzes, are worth 40 % of the overall grade, each worth 10% of the overall grade. The final online test is worth 15% of the overall grade.

Canvas discussions:

The discussions in Canvas will provide class participants with the opportunity to provide answers to the discussion questions posed by their instructor and engage in a collaborative conversation with their class colleagues. When answering concrete questions, the responses should reflect students' ideas and reflections and follow proper academic referencing. The referencing should follow APA style, and the sources should be referenced as footnotes in the general text. The responses aim to allow the students to share their reflections, ideas, and critiques of the reading assignments periodically. The periodic Canvas discussion assignments consist of your response to the prompts and question/s posed by the instructor, where your response should not exceed 220 words. In addition, you will have to pose one question to the general audience and answer, engage, or react to a question posed by a class colleague. Please note that four Canvas discussion assignments are scheduled throughout the semester, worth 40% of the overall grade, and each discussion is worth 10%.

Required texts:

These are the texts that contain the required reading for this course:

- Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). *Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Sixth Edition.* Rowman & Littlefield.
- Wengle, S. A. (Ed.). (2022). *Russian Politics Today.* Cambridge University Press.
- Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2022). *Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Fifth Edition.* Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bechev, D. (2017). *Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe.* Yale University Press
- Additional and optional reading, when necessary, will be uploaded to Canvas for corresponding lecture units.

Trigger warning & Chicago Statement:

This course and the materials it uses (textual and visual) may be disturbing or upsetting. In this regard, you would be asked to review the syllabus and course framework and decide if the subject of the "Security and Policy in Eastern Europe and Russia" course is one you would like to study and learn about in a class that upholds the Chicago Statement.

Chicago Statement

The course's content (readings, lectures, videos) is covered under the University of Texas at Austin's commitment to free speech and academic freedom as embodied in the Chicago Statement. One relevant excerpt of the statement reads:

"Because the University is committed to free and open inquiry in all matters, it guarantees all members of the University community the broadest possible latitude to speak, write, listen, challenge, and learn... it is not the proper role of the University to attempt to shield individuals from ideas and opinions they find unwelcome, disagreeable, or even deeply offensive... concerns about civility and mutual respect can never be used as a justification for closing off discussion of ideas, however offensive or disagreeable those ideas may be to some members of our community."

Each student must review the syllabus and course framework and decide if "Security and Policy in Eastern Europe and Russia" is a subject they would like to study and learn about in a class that upholds the Chicago Statement. Upon reviewing the syllabus, each student should indicate their

consent to the Chicago Statement in the “Quizzes” section in Canvas before attending the second class meeting of this semester.

Class and Online Discussion:

I encourage a classroom atmosphere where everyone is treated respectfully, but this does not preclude disagreement. Classroom and online discussion of the material is an integral part of the learning process. You must feel safe and relaxed so that you can speak up in front of the class without undue anxiety, even if you are uncertain of how your contribution will be received. Please feel free to contact me if anything in the classroom prevents you from speaking in class.

Sharing of Course Materials is Prohibited:

No materials used in this class, including, but not limited to, lecture hand-outs, videos, assessments (quizzes, exams, papers, projects, homework assignments), in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets, may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class unless you have my explicit, written permission. Unauthorized sharing of materials promotes cheating. It is a violation of the University’s Student Honor Code and an act of academic dishonesty. I am aware of the sites used for sharing materials, and any materials found online that are associated with you or any suspected unauthorized sharing of materials will be reported to Student Conduct and Academic Integrity in the Office of the Dean of Students. These reports can result in sanctions, including failure in the course.

Class Recordings:

Class recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

Questions? Comments? Concerns?

I highly value your feedback. If you enjoy your class, please let me know. Please let me know if there are aspects of the class that you find challenging. If you feel uncomfortable with it, please let me know.

Use of e-mail for official correspondence to students:

All students should become familiar with the University's official e-mail student notification policy. Students are responsible for informing the University about changes in their email addresses. Students are expected to check email frequently and regularly to stay current with university-related communications, recognizing that certain communications may be time-critical. Email should be checked daily, but at least twice weekly.

The complete text of this policy and instructions for updating your e-mail address are available at <http://www.utexas.edu/its/policies/emailnotify.html> . The class will use its Canvas site, accessible to each of you at <https://canvas.utexas.edu/> or through your UT Direct account. E-mail reminders and updates will be sent through Canvas. The instructor answers university email during business hours (M-F 8 am-5 pm). Do not expect a response after hours, immediately before class time, or on weekends. I do check my email after hours, but much more infrequently.

Documented disability statement:

Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) at (512) 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (video phone). Faculty are only required to provide accommodations with an official accommodation letter from SSD. Details of a student's disability are confidential. Faculty do not ask questions related to a student's condition or diagnosis when receiving an official accommodation letter.

- *Please notify me as quickly as possible if the material presented in class is inaccessible (e.g., instructional videos need captioning, course packets are not readable for proper alternative text conversion, etc.).*

- *Please notify me as early in the semester as possible if disability-related accommodations for field trips are required. Advanced notice will permit the arrangement of accommodations on the given day (e.g., transportation, site accessibility, etc.).*

- *Contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (video phone) or reference SSD's website for more disability-related information:*

http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/for_cstudents.php

Behavior concerns advice line (BCAL):

If you are worried about someone who is acting differently, you may use the Behavior Concerns Advice Line to discuss your concerns about another individual's behavior by phone. This service is

provided through a partnership among the Office of the Dean of Students, the Counseling and Mental Health Center (CMHC), the Employee Assistance Program (EAP), and The University of Texas Police Department (UTPD). Call 512-232-5050 or visit <http://www.utexas.edu/safety/bcal>.

Harassment Reporting Requirements:

Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), which goes into effect as of January 1, 2020, is a Texas State Law that requires all employees (both faculty and staff) at a public or private postsecondary institution to promptly report any knowledge of any incidents of sexual assault, sexual harassment, dating violence, or stalking "committed by or against a person who was a student enrolled at or an employee of the institution at the time of the incident." Please note that both the instructor and the TA for this class are mandatory reporters and **MUST** share with the Title IX office any information about sexual harassment/assault shared with us by a student, whether in-person or as part of a journal or other class assignment. Note that a report to the Title IX office does not obligate a victim to take any action. Still, this type of information **CANNOT** be kept strictly confidential except when shared with designated confidential employees. A confidential employee is someone a student can go to and talk about a Title IX matter without triggering that employee to have to report the situation to have it automatically investigated. A list of confidential employees is available on the Title IX website.

Emergency evacuation policy:

Occupants of buildings on the UT Austin campus are required to evacuate and assemble outside when a fire alarm is activated or an announcement is made. Please be aware of the following policies regarding evacuation:

- Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of the classroom and the building. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when you entered the building.
- If you require assistance to evacuate, inform me in writing during the first week of class.
- In the event of an evacuation, follow my instructions or those of class instructors.

Do not re-enter a building unless instructed to do so by the Austin Fire Department, the UT Austin Police Department, or the Fire Prevention Services office.

University of Texas Honor Code

The core values of The University of Texas at Austin are learning, discovery, freedom, leadership, individual opportunity, and responsibility. Each member of the university is expected to uphold these values through integrity, honesty, trust, fairness, and respect toward peers and community.

- 1. Each student in this course is expected to abide by the University of Texas Honor Code. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work unless the instructor explicitly allows collaboration.*
- 2. You are encouraged to study together and to discuss information and concepts covered in lecture and the sections with other students. You can give "consulting" help to or receive "consulting" help from such students.*
- 3. Should copying occur, both the student who copied work from another student and the student who gave material to be copied will both automatically receive a zero for the assignment. Penalty for violation of this. Code can also be extended to include failure of the course and University disciplinary action.*
- 4. During examinations, you must do your own work. Talking or discussion is not permitted during the examinations, nor may you compare papers, copy from others, or collaborate in any way. Any collaborative behavior during the examinations will result in failure of the exam and may lead to failure of the course and University disciplinary action.*

Class Schedule

Week	Topic of Lecture / Discussion	Required Reading	Optional additional reading per topic	Date	Assignment
1.	Introduction to the course and syllabus distribution.	Syllabus		August 26	
1.	Framework for thinking about Russian “grand strategy”	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 1-30	THE CONCEPT of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation	August 28	
1.	Cold War & New Soviet Thinking	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 31-54		August 30	
2.	Discussion	Russian perspectives on national interest		September 4	
2.	The post-Soviet Decline and the “flirt” with the West	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 55-105.		September 6	
2.	Pragmatism and Cooperation	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 105 -124.		September 9	
3.	Discussion	Failed integration with the West		September 11	
3.	Recovery & Russian Assertiveness 1	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy:	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M.	September 13	

		change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp.125-157.	(Eds.). (2021). <i>Central and East European politics: changes and challenges</i> . Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.269-304.		
3.	Recovery & Russian Assertiveness 2	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp.157-196.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 457-481.	September 16	Canvas Discussion #1
4.	New Realities – the Road to Isolation?	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp.197-220.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 408-430.	September 18	
4.	Discussion - In Search for a New Way Forward & Lessons Learned	Tsygankov, A. P. (2022). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp.221-238.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 431-456.	September 20	
4.	Online quiz	Quiz # 1		September 23	Quiz # 1
5.	Russian stability & fragility	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-55	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 128-148.	September 25	
5.	Institutional architecture	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-127.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 148-172.	September 27	

5.	Discussion – relations between internal issues and foreign policy	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 173-195.		September 30	
6.	Political Economy 1	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 199-246.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 318-339.	October 2	Canvas Discussion # 2
6.	Political Economy 2	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 270-293.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 340-361.	October 4	
6.	Social and political issues	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp.365-389.	Wengle, S.A. (Ed.). (2022) Russian Politics Today. Cambridge University Press, pp. 482-504.	October 7	
7.	Online quiz	Quiz # 2		October 9	Quiz # 2
7.	Central and Eastern Europe – An Overview	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 3-38.		October 11	
7.	Legacies & Path-dependency	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 39-66.	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 67-98.	October 14	
8.	“Revolutions from Above” – 1989	Kumar, K. (1992). The 1989 revolutions and the idea of Europe. Political	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central	October 16	

		Studies, 40(3), 439-461.	and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.99-126.		
8.	Discussion – Dramatic and Unique Transformation	Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary’s “Return to Europe”	Tulmets, E. (2017). The West, the East and the rest. The foreign policy orientations of Central Eastern European countries.	October 18	
8.	The Expansion of NATO: Pledge or No Pledge?	Kramer, M. (2009). The myth of a no-NATO-enlargement pledge to Russia. The Washington Quarterly, 32(2), 39-61.	Rühle, M. (2014). NATO enlargement and Russia: discerning fact from fiction. American Foreign Policy Interests, 36(4), 234-239 Saydak, P. A. (1998). Nato Enlargement and Stabilizing Central and Eastern Europe: The First Wave and Beyond. The Polish Review, 43(3), 337-354.	October 21	
9.	The EU and Its Newer Members	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.235-268.	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.127-158.	October 23	Canvas Discussion # 3
9.	Cases In Focus: Poland	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges.	SMITH, M., & TIMMINS, G. (2000). The EU, NATO, and the Extension of Institutional Order in Europe. World Affairs, 163(2), 80-89.	October 25	

		Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.235-268.			
9.	Discussion: Challenges of Demography	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.159-184.		October 28	
10.	Cases In Focus: Czech and Slovak Republics	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.333-364.	Dangerfield, M. (2014). V4: A new brand for Europe? Ten years of post- accession regional cooperation in Central Europe. The Poznan University of Economics Review, 14(4), 71.	October 30	
10.	Cases In Focus: Hungary	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.365-396.	Krastev, I., & Holmes, S. (2018). Imitation and Its Discontents. Journal of Democracy, 29(3), 117-128.	November 1	
10.	Cases In Focus: The Baltics	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.397-426.		November 4	
11.	Online quiz	Online quiz # 3		November 6	Online quiz # 3
11.	Russia's return to Southeastern Europe	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.).	November 8	

		Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp.23-85	(2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 269-304.		
11.	Spoiler or a Rival Power? The cases of Bulgaria and Romania	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp.86-112	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.427-498.	November 11	
12.	Russian Influence instruments	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp. 179-197	Conley, H. A., Mina, J., Stefanov, R., & Vladimirov, M. (2016). The Kremlin Playbook: Understanding Russian Influence in Central and Eastern Europe. Rowman & Littlefield. pp.1-53	November 13	
12.	Discussion	What drives Russian interests in Southeastern Europe?		November 15	
12.	Energy, as a policy tool	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp. 198-224		November 18	
13.	Remote online discussion – The War on Ukraine	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). Central and East European politics: changes and challenges. Rowman &		November 20	Canvas Discussion # 4

		Littlefield. Pp.565-589			
13.	Online quiz	Online quiz # 4		November 22	Online quiz # 4
13.	Fall Break / Thanksgiving			November 25-30	
14.	Evaluating Russian influence in Southeast Europe	Bechev, D. (2017). <i>Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe</i> . Yale University Press. pp. 125-149		December 2	
14.	Discussion: Changes and Challenges – 3 Key Questions	Csergo, Z., Eglitis, D. S., & Pickering, P. M. (Eds.). (2021). <i>Central and East European politics: changes and challenges</i> . Rowman & Littlefield. Pp.595-608		December 4	
14.	Conclusion and main takeaways.			December 6	
15.	Final Test			December 9	Final Test