

Spring 2021

Dr. Kiril Avramov

**REE 387 Security and Policy in Eastern Europe and Russia**

**(also listed as GOV 390L and PA 388K)**

**Meets:** Tuesdays, 9:00 am - 12:00 pm, Zoom, synchronous lectures/interactions/discussions. Recordings will be posted to Canvas for asynchronous use after the respective sessions.

**Instructor:** Dr. Kiril Avramov, [kiril.avramov@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:kiril.avramov@austin.utexas.edu)

**Office:** DSES, CREEES, Burdine Hall, Office #578

**Office Hours:** Mondays 9.30 am-11.30 am, and by appointment.

**Description:**

This graduate seminar will cover key foreign policy challenges and current security issues facing post-communist Eastern European countries from 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> EU enlargement waves from the perspective of their respective NATO and EU memberships. The seminar will offer a deeper analysis of the contemporary policy debates and solutions regarding the challenges that Central and Eastern European states face vis-à-vis resurgent Russia's grand strategy and interventions, Chinese foreign policy outreach, as well as challenges posed by non-state actors. It will also cover extended topics related to their economic, energy and environmental security. The seminar will also address the challenges and existing and proposed policy solutions concerning terrorism, extremism, as well, as ethnic, religious and political radicalization at home and abroad. In addition, the survey will include the issues of demographic shifts and migration, as well the external pressures and uncertainties originating in EU's Eastern and Southern neighborhoods, as challenges towards EU's and NATO's coherence. The seminar is designed to examine key tenets of Russian foreign and security policy from the 80's onwards, as well, as the transformation of CEE countries' national security strategies, threat perception and specific national priorities transitioning from former Warsaw pact to full-fledged NATO and EU membership. The seminar has a thematic structure and will analyze Russian and subsequently CEE countries' policy formation within the framework of changing global security environment through the theoretic lenses of traditional IR and extended EU security policy frameworks. Special focus will be put on the process of threat perception formation in the so-called

“borderlands” / “periphery” of NATO and EU and small states’ issue securitization within the framework of these organizations’ strategies in response to contemporary external challenges. The seminar aims to equip the participants with conceptual tools in examining the role and place of CEE states in formation, adoption and implementation of EU’s security policy, critical analysis of their contemporary key foreign and security policy dilemmas and an opportunity for interpretation of their respective national and security interests.

**Learning outcomes:**

The graduate seminar will provide the students with understanding of 1) key concepts, actors and institutions in the frameworks of post-Soviet Russian and Central and Southeastern European foreign and security policies, 2) theoretical framework for thinking about Russian “grand strategy” and its dimensions and application, as well, as existing security challenges and vulnerabilities 3) context of threat perception and policy responses of Central and Eastern European countries in regards with challenges posed by external actors and processes, 4) individual and country group specifics of national security interests within EU and NATO frameworks and 5) specific national perspectives (i.e. “small states”, “periphery”), in regards with security challenges perception and policy response.

**Target audience:**

Graduate students interested or specializing in history, government and political science, international relations, intelligence studies, security studies and especially in Russian and Eastern Europe area studies.

**Format:**

The format of the seminar is a combined lecture and discussion with equally distributed time per each seminar meeting. Recordings of the sessions will be posted same or next day on Canvas.

**Attendance:**

Regular attendance in this class is very strongly recommended. In case you cannot be present during the virtual session on Zoom, you should watch and listen the posted lecture online asynchronously, ideally in the framework of the same or next day. Reading and return of assignments remains on Canvas.

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**Discussion rules:**

As this class has a discussion component and small group work covering sensitive political topics, please observe the following rules during the discussions and small groups' works: (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 respectful and non-confrontational manner, in order to achieve constructive dialogue with the instructor and your colleagues.

**Students with Disabilities:**

Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 471-6259 (voice) or 1-866-329-3986 (Video Phone) as soon as possible to request an official letter outlining authorized accommodations. <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd>. It is essential that you inform me about your accommodations in the beginning of term so we can make appropriate arrangements.

**Office hours:**

Students in this course are strongly encouraged to take advantage of instructor's weekly office hours for material clarification and guidance for abstract and presentations' topic selection, as well as crafting the weekly written responses and papers. Office hours will be held twice weekly on Zoom. Please, notify me one day prior to your desired visit, in order to reserve your 15 to 30-minute slot and reserve the slot and avoid time slot overlaps.

**Grading:**

Grading will consist of:

- 1) in-class participation (5 %)
- 2) response papers (20 % i.e., 5% each paper x 4)
- 3) mid-term exam (20%)
- 4) final presentation (20 %)
- 5) final research paper (35%)

**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

**Reading load:**

Please note that this seminar has a heavy reading load. Participants in the seminar are expected to read from around 70 to 150 pages per week. Students are expected to budget their time accordingly, as complete all required reading selections prior to a particular class for which they have been assigned.

**General directions for the bi-weekly response papers:**

Original up to 750 words (i.e., approximately, but not more than 2 standard pages) response paper written by the students who attend the course that is dedicated to provide a students' response to a specifically posed question that is directly related to the weekly reading assignments. The response papers should reflect student's ideas, reflections and reactions to the prescribed texts when answering the concrete questions and should follow proper academic referencing. The referencing should follow APA style and the sources should be referenced as footnotes in the general text. The response papers aim to provide an opportunity for the students to share their reflections, ideas and critique of the respective weekly reading assignments.

**In-class participation:**

The seminar is a combined lecture and discussion format, where I ask for student participation and feedback multiple times during each session. Participation is key in establishing in-class dynamics and gauging feedbacks regarding the perception of material presented. Thus, active participation and active analysis, rather than just voicing the correct answer is very important for our progress. Simple passive attendance will not count as in-class participation. Participation will be graded on one time basis at the end of the semester with overall weight of 5%.

**Mid-term exam:**

The mid-term exam will consist of drafting a 3-page (1500 word) research abstract proposal, geared towards the completion of the final research paper. The topics will be selected individually by the students from a pre-selected list created by the instructor or individually proposed topic by the student approved by the instructor. The topic selection list will be available on March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2021. Selection of the topics should be undertaken after consulting with the instructor. The assignment instructions will be distributed via Canvas. Midterm submissions due date is March 30<sup>th</sup> 2021.

**Final presentation:**

The presentation will be based on the topic you have selected at mid-term. It should consist of 5-7 slides that outline the importance, relevance, methods, techniques and expected results of your research that will be presented as a full-text in the final research paper. The assignment instructions will be distributed via Canvas. The due date for the draft of the final presentation is April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2021. The final presentation will be done via Zoom and will take place on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, 2021. In case you are unable to deliver it via Zoom, please notify me in due course.

**Final research paper:**

The final research paper will be a result and a final developed product of your selected mid-term topic and abstract, as well as your refined in-class online presentation. It will be a detailed research paper up to 15 pages long that includes literature overview, theory, methods used and the results of your research endeavor and efforts. Final research paper submission due date is May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

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**Use of e-mail for official correspondence to students:**

All students should become familiar with the University's official e-mail student notification policy. It is the student's responsibility to keep the University informed as to changes in his or her e-mail address. Students are expected to check e-mail on a frequent and regular basis in order to stay current with University-related communications, recognizing that certain communications may be time-critical. It is recommended that e-mail be checked daily, but at a minimum, twice per week. 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 be using 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 e-mail during business hours (M-F 8am-5pm). Do not expect an immediate response after hours, immediately before class time or on weekends. I do check my email after hours, but much more infrequently.

**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 well 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.

**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 post-secondary 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, but 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.

**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 by phone your concerns about another individual’s behavior. 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> .

**Questions and concerns:**

As I highly value your suggestions, comments, questions and concerns, thus please let me know if you have a feedback on positives and negatives of the seminar, in order for me to address them in a timely fashion.

**Online etiquette:**

As our seminar will be conducted online via zoom and contains lecture and active discussion component, please consider the following guidelines:

- Find a quiet space where you would not be disturbed during the Zoom session.
- Conduct yourself as you would in a face-to-face meeting.
- Dress comfortably, but remember that you are in a public setting.
- We recognize that there are many reasons to have your video off. Please weigh those carefully against the reasons to have it on.

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- Mute your microphone when you're not speaking. This will help limit background noise. You can temporarily unmute
- When you wish to speak, raise your hand or post a hand icon in Zoom by holding down the spacebar while you speak.

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.

**Required Texts:**

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

- Baun, M. J., & Marek, D. (Eds.). (2013). *The new member states and the European Union: foreign policy and Europeanization*. Routledge.
- Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press
- Gvosdev, N. K., & Marsh, C. (2013). *Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors*. CQ Press.
- Laruelle, M., & Radvanyi, J. (2018). Understanding Russia: The Challenges of Transformation. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tsygankov, A. P. (2019). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Additional and optional reading, when necessary will be uploaded to Canvas to corresponding lecture units.

**Seminar schedule:**

	Topic of Lecture / Discussion	Required Reading	Additional reading	Date	Assignment
1.	Introduction to the course. Syllabus, aims and tasks; Defining main actors, policy-making framework and mechanisms	Tsygankov, A. P. (2019). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 1-57.  Gvosdev, N. K., & Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i> . CQ Press. pp. 1-59.	Tsygankov, A. P., & Tsygankov, P. A. (2010). National ideology and IR theory: Three incarnations of the 'Russian idea'. <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> , 16(4), 663-686.  Ziegler, C. E. (2012). Conceptualizing sovereignty in Russian foreign policy: Realist and constructivist perspectives. <i>International Politics</i> , 49(4), 400-417.	01/19/2021	
2.	Defining Russian national interests in post-Soviet context  Discussion: Perspectives on Russian "grand strategy"	Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (2016).  Tsygankov, A. P. (2019). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in	Light, M. (2003). In search of an identity: Russian foreign policy and the end of ideology. <i>Journal of Communist studies and transition politics</i> , 19(3), 42-59.	01/26/2021	

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		<p>national identity. Rowman &amp; Littlefield. pp. 57-129.</p> <p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp. 67-110.</p>			
3.	After the “honeymoon”: Policies of Pragmatism and Assertiveness  Discussion: Focus on Eurasia	<p>Tsygankov, A. P. (2019). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman &amp; Littlefield. pp. 129-225.</p> <p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp. 157-194.</p>		02/02/2021	Response paper #1  Due date: 02/09/21.
4.	Russia's "Turn to the East"  Discussion: Bear and the Dragon - uneasy partnership?	<p>Tsygankov, A. P. (2019). Russia's foreign policy: change and continuity in national identity. Rowman &amp; Littlefield. pp.225 -263.</p> <p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp.123-152.</p>	<p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp.293-324.</p> <p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp.335-357.</p>	02/09/2021	
5.	Russia's approach to post-Soviet Eastern Europe  Discussion: "Comrades No More"?	<p>Gvosdev, N. K., &amp; Marsh, C. (2013). <i>Russian foreign policy: Interests, vectors, and sectors</i>. CQ Press. pp.201-232.</p> <p>Bowker, M. (1995) <i>Russian Policy Toward Central and Eastern Europe</i>, pp. 71-88.</p>	<p>Freire, M. R., &amp; Simão, L. (2019). Security Challenges in Russia-European Union Relations. <i>Routledge Handbook of Russian Security</i>, 1-23.</p> <p>Boyadjieva, N. (2019). Russian security strategy in the Balkans. In <i>Routledge Handbook of Russian Security</i> (pp. 366-376). Routledge.</p>	02/16/2021	Response paper #2  Due date: 02/23/21.
6.	Russian internal threats and security vulnerabilities  Discussion: Social, political and economic challenges facing contemporary Russia	<p>Laruelle, M., &amp; Radvanyi, J. (2018). <i>Understanding Russia: The Challenges of Transformation</i>. Rowman &amp; Littlefield. pp.1 -91.</p>	<p>Oxenstierna, S. (2019). Russia's economy and military expenditures. In <i>Routledge Handbook of Russian Security</i> (pp. 97-108) Routledge.</p>	02/23/2021	
7.	On crossroads: role and mission for the future  Discussion: Is Russia a declining power?	<p>Laruelle, M., &amp; Radvanyi, J. (2018). <i>Understanding Russia: The Challenges of Transformation</i>. Rowman &amp; Littlefield. pp. 93-136.</p>	<p>Goldman, M. I. (2008). <i>Petrostate: Putin, power, and the new Russia</i>. Oxford University Press.</p> <p>Saradzhyan, S. (2016). Is Russia Declining? <i>Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization</i>, 24(3), 399-418.</p>	03/02/2021	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Midterm Abstract and Plan for the final Research paper - due on 30 March, 2021.</li> <li>• Individual Presentations of selected Abstract for the final research topic - due on 30 April, 2021.</li> <li>• Final Research Paper -due on 6 May, 2021.</li> </ul>		
8.	Post-socialist pathways - outcomes in countries' trajectories  Discussion: Central and Eastern post-socialist states' "Return to Europe"	Kumar, K. (1992). The 1989 revolutions and the idea of Europe. <i>Political Studies</i> , 40(3), 439-461.  Tulmets, E. (2017). The West, the East and the rest. The foreign policy orientations of Central Eastern European countries.	Greskovits, B., & Bohle, D. (2001). Development paths on Europe's periphery: Hungary's and Poland's return to Europe compared. <i>Polish Sociological Review</i> , 3-27.	03/09/2021	Response paper #3  Due date: 03/23/21.
9.	From Warsaw Pact to NATO membership  Discussion: Pledge or No Pledge?	SMITH, M., & TIMMINS, G. (2000). The EU, NATO, and the Extension of Institutional Order in Europe. <i>World Affairs</i> , 163(2), 80-89.  Saydak, P. A. (1998). Nato Enlargement and Stabilizing Central and Eastern Europe: The First Wave and Beyond. <i>The Polish Review</i> , 43(3), 337-354.  Kramer, M. (2009). The myth of a no-NATO-enlargement pledge to Russia. <i>The Washington Quarterly</i> , 32(2), 39-61.  Rühle, M. (2014). NATO enlargement and Russia: discerning fact from fiction. <i>American Foreign Policy Interests</i> , 36(4), 234-239.	Ušiak, J. (2018). The Security Environment of the V4 Countries. <i>Politics in Central Europe</i> , 14(2), 21-37.	03/23/2021	
10.	Impact of "Europeanization"- Foreign policy formation in the new member states (Central Europe)  Discussion: V4, as a model of "Europeanization"	Baun, M. J., & Marek, D. (Eds.). (2013). <i>The new member states and the European Union: foreign policy and Europeanization</i> . Routledge. pp. 1-83.  Dangerfield, M. (2008). The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: From Preaccession to Postaccession Cooperation. <i>East European Politics and Societies</i> , 22(3), 630-667.	Schmidt, A. (2016). Friends forever? The role of the Visegrád Group and European integration. <i>Politics in Central Europe</i> , 12(3), 113-140.  Ušiak, J. (2018). The Security Environment of the V4 Countries. <i>Politics in Central Europe</i> , 14(2), 21-37.	03/30/2021	Midterm abstract due on 03/30/21.
11.	Impact of "Europeanization"- Foreign policy formation in the new member states (Baltics)  Discussion: security and foreign policy formation in small states	Baun, M. J., & Marek, D. (Eds.). (2013). <i>The new member states and the European Union: foreign policy and Europeanization</i> . Routledge. pp. 99-141.	Berg, E., & Ehin, P. (Eds.). (2016). <i>Identity and foreign policy: Baltic-Russian relations and European integration</i> . Routledge., available via UT Library's free online access at: <a href="https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/books/identity-foreign-policy-eiki-berg-piret-ehin/e/10.4324/9781315587745">https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/books/identity-foreign-policy-eiki-berg-piret-ehin/e/10.4324/9781315587745</a>	04/06/2021	Response paper #4  Due date: 04/13/21.

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12.	Impact of “Europeanization”- Foreign policy formation in the new member states (Southeastern Europe)  Discussion: Russia's return to Southeastern Europe	Baun, M. J., & Marek, D. (Eds.). (2013). <i>The new member states and the European Union: foreign policy and Europeanization</i> . Routledge. pp.175-225.  Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp. 1-112.	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp.113-178.	04/13/2021	
13.	Challenges I - energy and economy  Discussion: Weaponization of energy and investments.	Nosko, A., & Mišik, M. (2017). No united front: The political economy of energy in Central and Eastern Europe. In Energy Union (pp. 201-222). Palgrave Macmillan, London.  Stegen, K. S. (2011). Deconstructing the “energy weapon”: Russia's threat to Europe as case study. Energy policy, 39(10), 6505-6513.	Liedtke, S. (2017). Chinese energy investments in Europe: An analysis of policy drivers and approaches. Energy Policy, 101, 659-669.  Le Corre, P., & Sepulchre, A. (2016). <i>China's offensive in Europe</i> . Brookings Institution Press.	04/20/2021	
14.	Challenges II - Evaluating Russian influence - case of Southeastern Europe	Bechev, D. (2017). Rival Power: Russia's Influence in Southeast Europe. Yale University Press. pp. 179-250	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.	04/27/2021	Presentation due date on 04/30/21.
15.	<u>In-class presentations</u>	<u>In-class presentations</u>	<u>In-class presentations</u>	05/04/2021	Final Research Paper due date on 05/06/21.