

Summer 2017
Carleton University
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

EURR 4008/5008 - NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Instructor: Milana Nikolko, PhD

Class schedule: Tuesday, Thursday 11:35AM -2:25PM

Class location: 415, St. Patrick's Building

Office hours: Tuesdays 10:00-11:15AM (or by appointment)

Office location: 3315, Richcraft Hall

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Web: ARES

Course Description From the clash of empires to two world wars, from the dominance of Soviet ideology to the rise of ethnic nationalism, 20th century Central and Eastern Europe has witnessed unrelenting drama, change and conflict. This course considers the degree and extent to which nation-building processes and ethnic conflicts have developed and unfolded within Eastern and Central Europe as well as the broader post-Soviet space. Specific attention will be given to transition processes emerging from authoritarian societies to democracy and their influence on the relationship between ethnicity, nationalism and the conflict from the collapse of Soviet bloc to today.

The course is divided into four sections. The first section, drawing on the relevant theoretical and historical literature, reviews central issues in conflict analysis as well as explanations of ethnic identity and state nationalism within the region. The second section "Central Europe: rebuilding nations after 1991" is focused on cases with specific attention given to nation building and ethnic conflicts in Balkans. The third section applies the approaches and concepts of the first section to ongoing and potential conflict in Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries and to regional conflict trends. The last part "New regional projects and globalism: sources of conflict" addresses emerging issues and actors such as migration, regional powers and international organizations.

Students from all subfields and methodological backgrounds are encouraged to take the course regardless of their previous level of acquaintance with ethnic politics or nationalism. The class will be run as a seminar with students expected to participate in the discussion on a regular basis. Readings consist of both required and optional readings that students may wish to consult.

Course Objectives

The objectives of this course are threefold.

- 1) To give students an overview of the field of nationalism and ethnic conflicts with a particular focus on theoretical and methodological innovations in this field;

- 2) To assist students in producing original research on questions in this field and;
- 3) To develop the capacity of students to comment critically and constructively on ongoing research.

Students Responsibilities Students are expected to attend all class meetings on time, participate in class discussion and present on readings on a regular basis.

By the end of course students should be able to do the following:

- Analyse and discuss the major problem of nationalism and ethnic conflicts in a target region.
- Critically compare ways that multi-ethnic states have achieved democratization.
- Be able to present brief summary in a form of blog on ongoing issues in the region.
- Prepare a research paper on the topic of Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Eastern and Central Europe to be decided on in consultation with the instructor.
- All students will participate in a group presentation: 2-3 students will develop a discussion agenda for a specified class session, focusing on a case study to be agreed upon with the instructor.

Grades will be assigned according to the following:

Class Participation: 20% Class participation format includes regular attendance as well as participation in discussion of assigned readings and documentaries. Students are expected to come to each class having prepared the assigned readings in advance.

Course Blog contributions: 15% Each student will contribute to the course blog, two (2) pieces on a related topic based on an analysis of Eastern and Central Europe news sources, by submitting to the instructor two texts of approximately 500-600 words each. We will discuss effective blogging techniques during the second and third classes.

The deadlines for blog posting are: May 18, 2017 and May 30, 2017

Group Presentation: 25%

Presentation format: Students will be provided with topics for group presentations. Working in groups of 2-3 students will prepare a written and oral presentation to class on that topic. Topics will focus on one or more of the seminar themes. The presentation will consist of a written summary of 2 pages to be submitted the day of the presentation and an in-class oral summary using PowerPoint of approximately 20 minutes in length with discussion to follow. Students will select a working group topic and a date for their presentation by class May 04, 2017. Presentations will start the week of May 16.

Research Paper: 40%

Research Paper format: Students are required to conduct original research (essay of 15 pages for undergrads and of 20 pages for graduate students, typed, double spaced) using both traditional and web based sources, on the topic of Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Eastern and Central Europe. The research paper is due on 12th class (June 13, 2017. 11.59 PM or 23.59).

The paper should have a title page, an argument, a research question, evidence to assess the research question(s) and conclusions that include implications for theory (and policy where warranted). The paper can be a comparative analysis, a detailed case study or an evaluation of a policy. The research paper must use footnotes or endnotes as appropriate whenever referring to an author's idea, citing empirical facts or drawing

on research from publishing sources, a complete bibliography (minimum 10 sources for undergrads and 15 for grads) should be included at the end of the paper. The paper should be organized systematically and quotations from the source should be clear indicated.

- The final essay must be submitted electronically through CULearn.
- Assignments are due on the dates specified in the course outline or communicated when the assignment is handed out to you. Late assignments will be subject to a penalty of 5% of the 100% assignment grade per 24 hours (not including weekends), starting the day and time the assignments were due. Assignments will not be accepted five business days after the due date.
- It is the student's responsibility to ensure that the instructor receives all assignments. Students should keep the original copy of their assignments and are advised to keep all notes and drafts of work until after the final grade has been assigned and awarded.
- Exceptions to all these rules and policies will only be made for academic accommodations, as outlined below, or for medical or personal emergencies substantiated by official documentation. If you anticipate a problem with one of the above deadlines or rules please approach the instructor as soon as you can and well in advance of the assignment. This rule applies to all students, including students with PMC accommodations.

For clarity, the following table sets out the weighting of these requirements for undergraduate and graduate students:

Item	Weight	Undergrads	Grads
Participation in class discussions	20%	Same	Same
Group presentation	25%	20 minutes At least one supplementary source.	20 minutes At least two supplementary sources.
Course Blog contribution	15%	2 pieces (500-600 words each) At least 4 sources	2 pieces (500-600 words each) At least 6 sources
Final Research Paper	40%	15 pages (around 3700-4000 words) At least 10 sources	20 pages (around 5000 words) At least 15 sources

Course format:

The course is composed of lectures, seminars and group activity and is divided into four sections. The first few classes will serve as an introduction to the course and to overarching theoretical issues. This will be followed by an assessment of case studies from across the region in the middle two sections. The last section will be used to generate discussion about the post-Soviet region and its future, and to draw conclusions from theoretical perspectives and case studies.

The course is intended to generate discussion among students with the instructor acting as facilitator. We will review recent video documentaries and do group presentations. The discussion is intended to focus on

specific subjects as outlined in the syllabus. It is essential students do the assigned readings. Further readings based on the students' own initiative are encouraged and welcome. Further readings are optional. Suggestions for additional literature on the topics are likewise welcome. Students are encouraged to follow developments on relevant subject matter by reviewing various scholarly journals. The language of instruction is English. Required and suggested literature is in English, but students are encouraged to read literature in other languages too.

Required Class Reading materials for the class is a combination of book chapters, journal articles and analytical studies. Course readings will be provided to students through ARES. Please consult the attached course schedule. Some minor changes in reading materials might appeared, in this case all the students will receive information about change well prior the scheduled class.

CLASS SCHEDULE AND TOPICS

FIRST SECTION: CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF CONFLICT, NATIONALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Class 1. May 02. Contemporary approaches to conflict study: conflict varieties and the role of nationalism in Europe

Reading in class:

Kundera, Milan. 1986. The tragedy of Central Europe. Accessed March 30, 2017
http://www.bisla.sk/english/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Kundera_tragedy_of_Central_Europe.pdf

Further reading materials:

- Mansfield, E. D., Snyder J. 1998. "Democratization and the Danger of War," in eds. Michael E. Brown, et al. *Theories of War and Peace*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 257-291. ARES
- Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T., and Miall, H. 2011. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press P. 7-32. ARES
- Cooper, T., Merz, S., and Shah, M. 2011. *A More Violent World? Global Trends in Organised Violence*. available online: http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/cooper_etal_handbook.pdf
- Fearon, J. 2006. "Separatist Wars, Partition and World Order". in Licklider, R., Bloom, M., eds. *Living Together After Ethnic Killing* (Routledge). ARES
- Heraclides, A. 1997. "The Ending of Unending Conflicts: Separatist Wars". *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, December, 26: 679-707. ARES
- Horowitz, Do. 2010. "Irredentas and Secessions: Adjacent Phenomena, Neglected Connections". in Cordell, K. and Wolff, S. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict* (Routledge). ARES

Class 2. May 04. Mapping modern history of nation building within the region: root causes, development and consequences

Required reading materials:

- Evera, S. V. 1998. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War" in eds. Michael E. Brown, et al. *Theories of War and Peace*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 257-291. ARES

- Hagendoorn, Louk, György Csepeli, Henk Dekker, and Russel Farnen. 2000. *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and Historical Perspectives*. Aldershot (UK) and Brookfield (USA): Ashgate. ARES
- Garton-Ash, Timothy. "Trials, purges and history lessons: treating a difficult past in post-communist Europe" in *Memory and power in post-war Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past* / ed. by J.-W. Muller. – Cambridge University Press, 2004. – P. 265-281 ARES
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. ARES

Further reading materials:

- Methodology recommendation: Developing an effective blog. Accessed March 30, 2017, <https://www.coursera.org/learn/nurture-market-strategies/lecture/89rMi/developing-an-effective-blog>

Additional Note: Students to select a working group topic and a date for their presentation during this class.

Class 3. May 09. Ideology, nationalism and the development of conflict(s)

Required reading materials:

- Smith, Anthony. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-24. ARES
- Welsh, Helga A. *Dealing with the Communist past: Central and East European Experiences after 1990* // Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 48, No. 3 (May, 1996), pp. 413-428. ARES
- Malešević, Siniša. 2006. *Identity as ideology: understanding ethnicity and nationalism*. National University of Ireland, Galway: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.13-37. ARES
- Saideman, Stephen M., Ayres, William. 2008. *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War.*, pp. 78-105. ARES

Further reading materials:

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, pp. 1-46. ARES

SECOND SECTION: CENTRAL EUROPE: REBUILDING NATIONS AFTER 1991

Class 4. May 11. Transitional governance in conflict zones: Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo

Group work

Required reading materials:

- Koinova, Maria. *Ethnonationalist Conflict in Postcommunist States. Varieties of Governance in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo*. University of Pennsylvania press. Philadelphia. 314. Introduction, Chapter1, 2. ARES
- McGarry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. 1993. *The politics of ethnic conflict regulation: Case studies of protracted ethnic conflicts*. New York; London;: Routledge. Accessed March 30, 2017:

http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/ppec/PPEC%20People/Brendan%20O'Leary/publications/Journal%20Articles/Oleary_parliamentary_affairs_Jan_94.pdf

Class 5. May 16. Regional organizations and their influence: role of EU and NATO (Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary)

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- Kolodko, W. 2009. "Poland's Great Transformation and the Lessons to be Learnt" in: Paul Blokker i Bruno Dallago (eds.), *Regional Diversity and Local Development in the New Member States*, Palgrave-MacMillan, pp. 99-121.
- Dittmer, Jason. 2005. "NATO, the EU and central Europe: Differing symbolic shapes in newspaper accounts of enlargement," *Geopolitics* 10 (1): 76-98.
- Tang, Donny. 2017. "The determinants of European Union (EU) foreign direct investments in the EU countries from Central and Eastern Europe during 1994-2012," *Comparative Economic Research* 20 (1): 75-99.
- "The politics of European enlargement: NATO, the EU, and the new U.S.-European relationship," 2002. *World Affairs* 164 (4): 178-97.

Further reading materials:

- NATO & the EU: End the militarisation of Europe. Accessed March 30, 2017: <http://www.guengl.eu/uploads/publications-documents/NATO.pdf>

Class 6. May 18. Discussion "Balkans: old traumas and new complications"

Group presentation and discussion

Required reading materials:

- Crawford, Beverly, and Ronnie D. Lipschutz. 1998. "The myth of "ethnic conflict": Politics, economics, and "cultural" violence," Vol. no. 98; Berkeley: *International and Area Studies*, University of California at Berkeley. ARES
- Flere, Sergej. 1991. "Explaining Ethnic Antagonisms in Yugoslavia," *European Sociological Review*. 7:3: pp. 183-193.
- V.P. Gagnon, Jr. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168. ARES
- Mildner, Kirk. 2005. "The economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina ten years after the Dayton agreement," *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*(4-05): 94-100. ARES
- Guzina, Dejan, and Branka Marijan. 2017. "Dayton +20: Beyond 'lessons learned'," *Peacebuilding* 5 (1): 1-6.

Further reading materials:

- MacDonald, David Bruce. 2002. *Balkan holocausts?: Serbian and Croatian victim-centred propaganda and the war in Yugoslavia*. New York; Manchester, UK;: Manchester University Press, Chapter 1,3.

Additional Note: Deadline for “blog 1” submission

THIRD SECTION: NATIONAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON POST-SOVIET SPACE

Class 7. May 23. Soviet legacy and the nature of ethnic problems in Former Soviet States (FSU)

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” *Slavic Review* 53(2), pp. 414-452.
- Tishkov, Valeriĭ Aleksandrovich, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, and International Peace Research Institute. 1997. *Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The mind aflame*. Thousand Oaks, Calif; London;: Sage.
- Horowitz, Shale Asher. 2005. *From ethnic conflict to stillborn reform: The former soviet union and Yugoslavia*. 1st ed. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press. pp.3-27.

Class 8. May 25. North and South Caucasus: the conflicts of Georgia and Armenia-Azerbaijan. International activity for war prevention and moderation in the Region

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- Horowitz, D. 2010. Irredentas and Secessions: Adjacent Phenomena, Neglected Connections. in Cordell, K. and Wolff, S. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict* (Routledge). ARES
- German, Tracey C., and Taylor & Francis Group. 2003. *Russia's Chechen war*. New York; London;: Routledge Curzon. ARES Chapter 1,4,5,6.
- Geukjian, Ohannes. 2012. *Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in the south Caucasus: Nagorno-Karabakh and the legacy of soviet nationalities policy*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. Chapter 4,5,7. ARES

Further reading materials:

- Grigoryan, Arman. *Why were there wars in Abkhazia and South Ossetia but not in Javakheti and Kvemo-Kartli?* Paper for ASN, 23-25 April, 2009 ARES
- Saparov, Arsene. *The origin of South Ossetian Autonomy 1918-1922*. Paper for ASN, 23-25 April, 2009 ARES
- Tishkov, Valery A. 2004. "Conflicts Start with Words: Fighting Categories in the Chechen Conflict". In *Facing ethnic conflicts: toward a new realism*, pp. 78-96 ARES

May 30. NO CLASS. Individual work on selected topics

Additional Note: Deadline for "blog 2" submission

Class 9. June 01. Living in the conflict zone: Eastern Ukraine

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- *Donbas on fire*. Available online: https://prometheus.ngo/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Donbas_v_Ogni_ENG_web_1-2.pdf Accessed March 30, 2017:

Class 10. June 06. "Frozen" conflicts: the Transdnier and Crimea

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- Kaufman, Stuart. 1996. "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War," *International Security* 21(2): 108-138. ARES
- Petrov, Nikolai. 2016. Crimea: Transforming the Ukrainian peninsula into a Russian island. *Russian Politics & Law* 54 (1): 74-95. ARES
- *Engaging Crimea and Beyond: Perspectives on Conflict, Cooperation and Civil Society Development*. Edited by David Carment and Milana Nikolko. *Global Dialogues* 11, Duisburg 2016. Accessed March 30, 2017: <http://www.gcr21.org/publications/global-dialogues/>

FOURTH SECTION: NEW REGIONAL PROJECTS AND GLOBALISM: SOURCES FOR CONFLICT

Class 11. June 08. Migration, Diasporas and ethnic conflicts: post-soviet migration and regional stability.

Group presentation

Required reading materials:

- Carment, David and Milana Nikolko. 2017. "Post-Soviet migration: regional context and modern development," in *Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas. From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices*. Editors: Nikolko, Milana, Carment, David (Eds.). Palgrave Macmillan. P 1-11. ARES
- Heleniak, Timothy. 2017. "Diasporas, development, and homelands in Eurasia after 1991," in *Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas. From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices*. Editors: Nikolko, Milana, Carment, David (Eds.). Palgrave Macmillan. P 11-29. ARES
- Molodikova, Irina. 2017. "Russian policy towards compatriots: global, regional and local approaches," in *Post-Soviet Migration and Diasporas. From Global Perspectives to Everyday Practices*. Editors: Nikolko, Milana, Carment, David (Eds.). Palgrave Macmillan. P 143-162. ARES

Class 12. June 13. Informally institutionalized conflict dynamics: neighbours and new geopolitical conglomerates

Course conclusions and group discussion "Nationalism, globalism and regional trends in contemporary Europe".

Required reading materials:

- Bechev, Dimitar. 2011. *Constructing South East Europe: The politics of Balkan regional cooperation*. New York; Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; Palgrave Macmillan. ARES
- Koinova, Maria. *Ethnonationalist Conflict in Postcommunist States. Varieties of Governance in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Kosovo*. University of Pennsylvania press. Philadelphia. 314 p.: Chapter 5, 6. ARES
- Umland, Andreas. 2016. *Solving Ukrainian security dilemma*. Accessed March 30, 2017 <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/solving-ukraine%E2%80%99s-security-dilemma>

Further reading materials:

- Bayer, Lili. 2016. *The next chapter for the Intermarium*. Accessed March 30, 2017: <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/the-next-chapter-for-the-intermarium/>

Additional Note: Deadline for Research Paper submission

SPECIALIZED JOURNALS

Ethnopolitics
Nations and Nationalism
Slavic Review
Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology
Nationalities papers
East European Politics and Societies
Foreign Affairs
World politics
European Journal of International Relations
East European Politics & Societies *available:*
<http://eep.sagepub.com/content/vol24/issue3/?eto>
[c](#)
Ab Imperio
Caucasian Review for International Affairs
Communist and Post-Communist Studies
Cultural Anthropology
Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs

ANALYTICAL REPORTS

Human Rights Watch International Crisis Group
International Organization for Migration
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
The World Bank - Europe
United Nations Development Program - Europe and the CIS
Human Rights Watch
BBC country profiles
UN Data
UN country report
World database
Freedom House
Geopolitical Futures

Academic Accommodations:

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send the instructor your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). **Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis.** After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with the instructor to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website (www.carleton.ca/pmc) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism:

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own”. This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according to the Carleton's Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.