

READINGS WILL CHANGE

Carleton University
Fall 2019
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

PSCI 4503A/EURR 4207A
Politics of Central Eurasia
Wednesday 11:35-2:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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Professor Jeff Sahadeo
Office: 3305 River Building
Office Hours: Fri 3-5pm and by appointment
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext.2996
E-mail: jeff.sahadeo@carleton.ca

Objectives: Content

Central Eurasia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan (the five former Soviet “stans”), as well as Afghanistan and East Turkestan, the latter ruled by China as Xinjiang province—is a geopolitical hotspot. National leaders bargain with global powers while their peoples struggle to overcome poverty, corruption and repression. This course will analyze Central Eurasian states and societies from the late nineteenth century to the present. We will investigate the legacies of Russian, British and Chinese colonialism as well as examine the region in contemporary transnational and international contexts. The course will emphasize the relationships between politics, identities, and societies in fields that include: political power; the role of networks and “clans;” the benefits and curses of natural resource wealth; the philosophy and practice of Islam; the rise of radicalism; poverty and underdevelopment; gender and the roles of women; and, certainly not least, everyday life.

Objectives: Skills

This course will develop skills to assist students in further academic pursuits or at the early stages of their careers. Included among these are critical thinking; public speaking (oral participation/ reports); ability to write concise, focused papers (short writing assignments); ability to conduct and integrate research or perform other experiential learning tasks in a critical, thoughtful manner (major assignment). We will also do small group work (project management). We will discuss, including with guest speakers, over the semester how to leverage classroom skills on the job/ academic markets.

Required Texts:

Texts will be made available through the CULearn website.

Requirements and Grading

Undergraduate Students

Oral Participation:	25%
Simulation Presentation:	10%
2 Short Papers (1-2 pp) (see due dates below):	10%
1 Medium Paper (3-4 pp) (see due dates below):	10%
Simulation briefing and participation in roundtable:	10%
Proposal and presentation of assignment (2 pp) (due Oct 11, on CULearn):	10%
Major Assignment (due Nov. 18) and presentation:	25%

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Students will be graded on in-class participation and written assignments. Consistent class participation is VITAL to succeeding in this class. **Attendance is mandatory**: penalties for not attending (without medical attestation) are: 1 absence= 10% deduction of *entire* participation grade; 2 absences= 30% deduction; 3 absences= 50% deduction; 4 absences= 100% deduction from participation grade. Each **late arrival** (after 11:40) will cost 25% of that day's attendance/ participation grade for every 15 minutes late. Ringing cellphones, note passing, under (or over) the table texting and other disruptions will also result in a loss of the participation mark on the same scale as absences.

Participation grades will be determined based on: (a) attendance and attention level and (b) active participation that: (i) displays awareness of the subject (ii) contributes to the flow of conversation (iii) shows knowledge of the readings and (iv) offers critical analysis of the topic.

Each student will give one **SHORT** (5 minute) simulation/presentation over the semester. The presentation can take various forms. For example, it might simulate an analytical briefing of an important current event, based on news sources, such as an area-studies expert would give to a politician, minister, NGO director etc. Another would be to present an "artefact"—e.g. a song, image of a monument, map, short video clip—and briefly discuss its importance, as might a museum director or other professional. The student could also lobby as a human rights representative or an entrepreneur. Students will sign up for individual weeks.

The short and medium papers will analyze the readings for individual weeks—more than one but not necessarily all. *Only one paper may be handed in for each week.* The essays will involve identification of a selected theme that runs across the readings and development of an argument that will involve critical analysis of the authors' views and use of their findings. Papers will be due on the day of discussion, or one week later; in the latter case, the student will not receive credit for ideas discussed in class. Papers may be handed in on any week, BUT **the first short/medium paper must be handed in ON OR BEFORE Sep 25, the second, Oct 16, third, Dec 4.**

The major project may take various forms. Students can write a "traditional" research paper. This will be based on primary sources (most likely in translation) or secondary sources (in this case, you are expected to engage debates of the issue). There are other variants. This might include extended briefing notes; guides to museum displays; proposals for development projects, etc.

The paper proposal will be 1-2 pages. It will include (a) a paragraph on your topic, its central "puzzle"/ inspiration/justification and your approach (b) a paragraph on research strategy (how you went about finding sources); (c) a paragraph (or annotated bibliography) on how 5-7 sources you have collected will be used for your paper. Students will then submit the final version on November 15.

Students will then present major findings through a presentation, poster display or other channels at our class on November 20. Further details on major assignments will be given mid-late September.

Do **NOT** cite Wikipedia or similar crowd-sourced pages in your written work, and be careful and critical of websites not included on the list at the end of the syllabus (even those on the list will have their own issues/lean).

Late papers will be penalized **one letter grade (i.e. A- to B+) per day late**. No work will be accepted after the end of classes.

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Assignments sent electronically will not be accepted without prior consent of the instructor. It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses. To obtain credit in a course, students must meet ALL the course requirements for **attendance**, term work, and examinations.

Medical attestation: I will request medical notes for absences of more than one class. For a one-class absence, I will have students sign a form that I will provide, attesting to a legitimate medical condition.

Note: no laptops/ tablets/ phones will be allowed for use in class, except as needed during presentations.

Class Schedule

(I reserve the right to make minor changes to the schedule/ readings over the course of the semester)

Sep 4: Introduction

Sep 11: (Pre-) Imperial History and Central Asia in the World

Imperial Histories

- *Jeff Eden, "Beyond the Bazaars: Geographies of the Slave Trade in Central Asia" *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 4 (2017): 919-955 (**READ AT LEAST 921-924, 927-932**)
- *Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, 1-12
- *Jeff Sahadeo, "Tashkent before the Russians and the Dynamics of Conquest" *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent*, 1865-1923 (2007), 22-31
- *Adeeb Khalid "Representations of Russia in Central Asian Jadid Discourse" Daniel R. Brower and Edward Lazzerini, *Russia's Orient: Imperial Peoples and Borderlands, 1700-1917*, 188-202

International Context

- *Arjen Sharshenova and Gordon Crawford, "Undermining Western Democracy Promotion in Central Asia: China's Countervailing Influences, Power and Impact" *Central Asian Survey* 36, no. 4 (2017): 453-472
- *Marcin Kaczmarek, "Two Ways of Influence Building: The Eurasian Economic Union and the One Belt, One Road Initiative" *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 7 (2017): 1027-1046
- *Charles J. Sullivan, "The Superpower and the 'Stans': Why Central Asia is not 'Central' to the United States" SAIS Review of International Affairs 27 March 2019
<https://www.saisreview.org/2019/03/27/the-superpower-and-the-stans-why-central-asia-is-not-central-to-the-united-states/>

Sep 18: Central Asia in the Soviet Union

- *Douglas Northrop, "The Limits of Liberation: Gender, Revolution, and the Veil in Everyday Life in Soviet Uzbekistan" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 89-102
- *Sarah Cameron, "The Forgotten Soviet Famine" *Wall Street Journal* 1 November 2018
- *Zaure Bataeva, "The Kazakh Famine: Interview with Sarah Cameron"
<https://www.zaurebatayeva.blog/post/kazakh-famine-interview-with-sarah-cameron>
- *Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place" *American Historical Review* 106 no. 1 (2001): 17-48 (**READ 17-22, 30-37**)
- *Jeffrey L. Taylor, "Letter from the Aral Sea: All Dried Up" *American Scholar* Winter 2016, 6-11
- *Dene Hern-Chen, "The Country that Brought a Sea Back to Life" 23 July 2018
<http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20180719-how-kazakhstan-brought-the-aral-sea-back-to-life>

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Sep 25: Politics and Networks in Central Asia

Kathleen Collins, "The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia" *Comparative Politics* 35, no. 2 (2003): 171-190

Edward Schatz, "Transitional Image Making and Soft Authoritarian Kazakhstan" *Slavic Review* 67, no. 1 (2008): 50-62

John Heathershaw, "Of National Fathers and Russian Elder Brothers: Conspiracy Theories and Political Ideas in Post-Soviet Central Asia" *Russian Review* 71, no. 4 (2012): 610-29

Greta Uehling, "Dinner with Akhmet" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 127-140

Edward Lemon and Helene Thibault, "Counter Extremism, Power and Authoritarian Governance in Tajikistan" *Central Asian Survey* 37, no. 1 (2018): 137-159

Alisher Khamidov, Nick Megoran and John Heathershaw, "Bottom Up Peacekeeping in Southern Kyrgyzstan: How Local Actors Managed to Prevent the Spread of Violence from Osh/Jalal-Abad to Aravan, June 2010" *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 6 (2017): 1118-1134

Oct 2: Bride Kidnapping and Polygyny in Central Asia

Cynthia Werner, "Bride Abduction in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Marking a Shift towards Patriarchy through Local Discourses of Shame and Tradition" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (2009): 314-331

Werner et al. "Bride Kidnapping: A Roundtable Discussion" *Central Asian Survey*, 37, no. 4 (2018): 582-601

"The Rise of Non-Consensual Bride-Kidnapping in Kazakhstan: Developing a Culturally Informed and Gender Sensitive Response" Kennan Institute 7 July 2011

<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-rise-non-consensual-bride-kidnapping-kazakhstan-developing-culturally-informed-and>

Juliette Cleuziou, "A Second Wife is Not Really a Wife: Polygyny, Gender Relations and Economic Realities in Tajikistan" *Central Asian Survey* 35, no. 1 (2016): 76-90

Oct 9: Social Issues in Central Asia

Morgan Liu, "A Central Asian Tale of Two Cities: Locating Lives and Aspirations in a Shifting Post-Soviet Cityscape" *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 66-84

David Montgomery, "Relations Made over Tea: Reflections on a Meaningful Life in a Central Asian Mountain Village" *Central Asian Survey* 32, no. 4 (2013): 475-486

Madeleine Reeves "Clean Fake: Authenticating Documents and Persons in Migrant Moscow" *American Ethnologist* 40 no. 3 (2013): 508-524

Haruka Kikuta, "Mobile Phones and Self-Determination among Muslim Youth in Uzbekistan" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 181-196

Hasan H. Karrar, "Between Border and Bazaar: Central Asia's Informal Economy" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 49, no. 2 (2019): 272-293

Oct 16: Islam and Extremism in Central Asia

David Montgomery, *Namaz, Wishing Trees, and Vodka: The Diversity of Everyday Religious Life in Central Asia*, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 353-368

David Abramson and Elyor Karimov, Sacred Sites, Profane Ideologies: Religious Pilgrimage and the Uzbek State, *Everyday Life in Central Asia*, 317-336

David Montgomery, "Islam beyond Democracy and the State in Kyrgyzstan" *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 1 (2015): 35-55

John Heathershaw and David Montgomery, "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics" Russia and Eurasia Research Program, 2014, 16pp

Anna Matveeva and Antonio Giustozzi, "The Central Asian Militants: Cannon Fodder of Global

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Jihadism or Revolutionary Vanguard" *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 29, no. 2 (2018): 189-206

OCTOBER 23: NO CLASS- FALL BREAK

Oct 30: Afghanistan: Legacies from Empire to the Taliban

Nazif M. Shahrani, "War, Factionalism, and the State in Afghanistan" *American Anthropologist* 2002 104(3): 715-722

Thomas Barfield, "Afghanistan is not the Balkans: Ethnicity and Its Political Consequences in Comparative Perspective" *Central Eurasian Studies Review* 4, no. 1 (2005): 2-8 (**READ 5-8**)

Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Fundamentalism, and Oil in Central Asia* (2000) 1-7, 17-30, 82-8, 128-40,

Valentine M. Moghadam, "Patriarchy, the Taleban, and the Politics of Public Space in Afghanistan" *Women's Studies International Forum* 25, no. 1 (2002): 19-31

Jonathan Goodhand, "Corrupting or Consolidating the Peace: The Drugs Economy and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Afghanistan" *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 3 (2008): 405-423

Nov 6: Debate: The Future of Afghanistan

*Details to be announced

*Current news sources, including:

-Afghan Analysts Network <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/>

-Eurasianet: <http://www.eurasianet.org/resource/afghanistan>
[Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit](#)

*Supplementary Readings will be posted on CULearn

Nov 13: The Political Economy and the Environment of Central Asia

Hailk Burak Sakal, "Natural Resource Policies and Standard of Living in Kazakhstan" *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 2 (2015): 237-54

Asel Doolot and John Heathershaw "State as Resource, Mediator and Performer: Understanding the Local and Global Politics of Gold Mining in Kyrgyzstan" *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 1 (2015): 93-109

Suzy Blondin, "Environmental Migrations in Central Asia: A Multifaceted Approach to the Issue" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 2 (2019): 275-292

Svetlana Ancker and Bernd Rechel, "'Donors are Not Interested in Reality:' The Interplay between International Donors and Local NGOs in Kyrgyzstan HIV/AIDS Sector" *Central Asian Survey* 34, no. 4 (2015): 516-30

Nov 20: Presentations of Major Projects

Nov 27: East Turkestan/ Xinjiang: China's Muslims (1)

Angel Ryono and Matthew Galway, "Xinjiang under China: Reflection on the Multiple Dimensions of the 2009 Urumqi Uprising" *Asian Ethnicity* 16, no. 2 (2015): 235-255

Reza Hasmath, "What Explains the Majority-Minority Tensions and Conflict in Xinjiang?" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 1 (2019): 46-60

Nathan Light, "Uyghurs and Chinese Social Networking Sites: The Creation and Destruction of Ethnic Youth Culture" *Central Asian Affairs* 2, no. 2 (2015): 264-286

James Leibold and Timothy Grose, "Islamic Veiling in Xinjiang: The Political and Societal Struggle to Define Uyghur Female Adornment" *The China Journal* 76, no. 3 (2016): 78-102

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Dec. 4: East Turkestan/ Xinjiang: China's Muslims (2)

Sean R. Roberts, The Biopolitics of China's 'War on Terror' and the Exclusion of the Uyghurs" *Critical Asian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2018): 232-258

Joanne Smith Finlay, "Securitization, Insecurity and Conflict in Contemporary Xinjiang: Has PRC Counter-Terrorism Devolved into State Terror?" *Central Asian Survey* 38, no. 1 (2019): 1-26

Rachel Harris and Aziz Isa, "Islam by Smartphone: Reading the Uyghur Islamic Revival on Wechat" *Central Asian Survey*, 38, no. 1 (2019): 61-80

*Current News Sources on Detention Camps in Xinjiang TBA

Websites to Consult

Current news sources

[Eurasianet](#):

Sponsored by George Soros' Open Society Institute, Eurasianet publishes a broad range of news from the entire former Soviet Union, has special reporting and ongoing research projects on Central Asia, and covers some more unusual topics such as arts and culture in some depth.

[Ferghana.ru Information Agency](#)

A Moscow-based site publishing reporting by Central Asian correspondents. Articles are available in both English and Russian, but the Russian coverage is usually better (the English articles are sometimes awkwardly translated from the Russian).

[Institute for War and Peace Reporting - Central Asia](#)

IWPR is a non-profit international organization that publishes fairly in-depth reports by local journalists.

[Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty \(RFE/RL\)](#)

Excellent reporting and in-depth coverage of Central Asia. US-funded organization uses local stringers in reporting.

[Transitions Online - Central Asia and Mongolia](#)

An online news magazine covering the formerly communist world.

[Afghanistan news.net](#)

Aggregates various news sources on Afghanistan

[IRIN news Asia](#)

United International Integrated Regional Information Network: some news on Afghanistan

[AKI Press](#)

Independent News Agency covering Central Asia

Research and Analysis

www.centralasiaprogram.org

New website; policy briefs, forum- an excellent starting point

[Central Asia Caucasus Analyst](#)

Analytical reporting on Central Asia and the Caucasus, mostly from a security perspective.

[Human Rights Watch - Europe and Central Asia](#)

[International Crisis Group - Central Asia](#)

In-depth journalistic reporting on key regional issues, aimed at policy makers and the broader public

[Shanghai Cooperation Organization](#)

Official Website

[World Bank: Europe and Central Asia Research](#)

[Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation \(Asian Development Bank\)](#)

[Research and Policy Briefs: OSCE Academy, Bishkek](#)

[Economist Intelligence Unit](#) See Individual Country Reports

[Institute for Public Policy](#) (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)

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[Silk Road Studies Program: Central Asia-Caucasus Institute](#)
[Caucasian Review for International Affairs:](#)
[Afghan analysts network](#)
[Afghan Research and Evaluation Unit](#)

Blogs

[New Eurasia](#)
[Registan.net](#)
[Exeter Central Asian Studies Network](#)

Twitter Feeds

Ed Schatz, University of Toronto <https://twitter.com/schatzed?lang=en>
Bruce Pannier, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty <https://twitter.com/BrucePannier>
Laura Adams, Independent Scholar, <https://twitter.com/lauristan?lang=en>
Erica Marat, National Defense University <https://twitter.com/lauristan?lang=en>
Sean R. Roberts, George Washington University <https://twitter.com/robertsreport?lang=en>
Jen Murtashvili, University of Pittsburgh (on Afghanistan) <https://twitter.com/jmurtazashvili>

Journals

Ab Imperio
Anthropology of East Europe Review
Caucasian Review for International Affairs (online only)
Central Asian Survey
Central Asia and the Caucasus (online only)
Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst (online only)
Communist and Post-Communist Studies
Demokratizatsiia
Eurasian Geography and Economics
Europe-Asia Studies
Nationalities Papers
Journal of Contemporary China
Journal of Eurasian Studies
Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
Slavic Review
China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly
Post-Soviet Affairs
Problems of Post-Communism

Article Databases

Historical Abstracts
J-Stor
Web of Science

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

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Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

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;

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- 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.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. 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 and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays 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.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. 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

Approval of final grades

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.

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Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science 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.

Carleton Political Science Society

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.