

PSCI 3204A
The Politics of Latin America
14:35 p.m. – 17:25 p.m. Wednesday
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Laura Macdonald
Office: C669 Loeb
Office Hours: Wednesday 10:00 – 12:00p.m.; Thursday 10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.
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Overview:

This course will provide an introduction to the politics of Latin America, and will provide students with the basic tools for analyzing Latin American politics. Latin America is an exciting region of the world with a wide variety of patterns of political and economic development. The first part of the course will provide an overview of historical developments in state and economy in the region since the pre-Conquest period. We will look at the roots of economic underdevelopment and political authoritarianism, at changing state-society relations, and at the main actors in Latin American politics.

The rest of the course will focus on recent trends in Latin American political economy, with particular attention to the “return of the Latin American left”. In recent decades, Latin America has been undergoing a rapid process of political and economic transition. Authoritarian regimes have been transformed into democracies, although significant authoritarian tendencies continue to prevail, and some countries face possible reversal of democratic reforms. As well, the market-oriented economic policies that were imposed after the debt crisis of the early 1980s have been challenged by “new left” regimes in many countries of the region. In the second part of the course we will examine these recent economic and political reforms, and also look at the rise of new political actors, like women and indigenous peoples. Finally, in the third part of the course, we will apply some of the above themes to the analysis of a number of country case studies, chosen to represent different political patterns of development and different geographic sub-regions.

Evaluation:

Class participation and attendance:	10%
Map quiz (in class September 29 th):	5% (to be returned on October 6 th)
Mid-term exam (in class October 20 th):	20%
Final essay (due in class November 17 th):	35%
Final exam (in exam period):	30%

Text:

Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost (2009), *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press. Available at Carleton University Bookstore.

Occasionally other short readings may be posted to the course website. Any readings which are not in the textbook and not available electronically (all journal articles should be available electronically through the library website) will be placed on Reserve in the library.

Assignments:

Map Quiz – There will be a 15 minute geography quiz on September 29th. You must be able to identify the name of the country and its capital on a blank map (we will not include Caribbean countries not considered part of Latin America). See the map in Vanden and Prevost on the page before Chapter 1. The following is the list of countries and capitals that will be included in the quiz:

Mexico – Mexico City	Guatemala – Guatemala City
Belize – Belmopan	El Salvador – San Salvador
Honduras – Tegucigalpa	Nicaragua – Managua
Costa Rica – San José	Panama – Panama City
Colombia – Bogotá	Venezuela – Caracas
Ecuador – Quito	Brazil – Brasilia
Peru – Lima	Chile – Santiago
Bolivia – La Paz or Sucre	Uruguay – Montevideo
Paraguay – Asunción	Cuba – Havana
Argentina – Buenos Aires	Dominican Republic – Santo Domingo
Haiti – Port Au Prince	

Attendance/Participation

Attendance at all classes is compulsory. If you have to miss more than one class in a row due to illness or family emergency, please e-mail me.

Research essay:

Students will write one research essay on a topic from a list of questions to be distributed in class. These papers should be 13-15 pages in length (double-spaced, 12 point font, 1” margins) and should use a range of scholarly sources and research materials.

Late Penalties

Assignments are due on the dates specified in the course outline. **Late papers will be subject to a penalty of 2% a day including weekends.** Papers will not be accepted two weeks after the due date. **Papers must be submitted in class on the due date.**

Exceptions will be made only in those cases where the student has written documentation, e.g. medical reasons.

Useful Websites:

Latin America Network Information Center at the University of Texas, Austin:

<http://www.lanic.utexas.edu>.

Political Database of the Americas at Georgetown University

<http://www.georgetown.edu/LatAmerPolitical/home.html>.

FOCAL (Canadian Foundation for the Americas)

www.focal.ca

United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America

www.eclac.org.cl

Organization of American States

www.oas.org

Washington Office on Latin America

www.wola.org

READING LIST

Part I: Introduction and Historical Background

Week 1 (September 15th) – Introduction to the course and to Studying Latin America

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 1, pp. 1-17, Introduction xviii-xxiii.

Film: “The Revolution Will Not be Televised”

<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=5832390545689805144#>

Week 2 (September 22nd) – Short survey of Latin American History

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 2, pp. 19-40 (see also map p. 18); Chapter 3, pp. 41-79.

Film: Conquest of the Incas (251761).

Recommended:

W. George Lovell, “Surviving conquest: the Maya of Guatemala in historical perspective,” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 23, no. 2, 1988, pp. 25-57.

Coatsworth, John (1978), “Obstacles to Economic growth in Nineteenth-century Mexico,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, no. 1, pps. 80-100.

Cristina Rojas de Ferro (1995), “The ‘will to civilization’ and its encounter with laissez-faire,” *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter), pp. 150-173.

Week 3 (September 29th) – Latin American Political Economy - From Liberalism to ISI to Neo-liberalism

Map quiz today!

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 7, pp. 149-179.

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (1978), “Modernization and dependency: Alternative perspectives in the study of Latin American underdevelopment,” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 10, no. 4 (July), pp. 543-557.

Recommended:

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 5th ed., New York, Oxford, 2001, Chapter 2, pps. 42-67.

Cristóbal Kay (1989), *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*, London: Routledge.

Part II: Contemporary Challenges in Latin American Politics

Week 4 (October 6th) The Turn to the Left: From Neo-Liberalism to Post-Neoliberalism

Guest speaker: Arne Ruckert, University of Ottawa

Jorge Castañeda, 2006, "Latin America's Left Turn," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85 no. 3, pp. 28-43.

Maxwell A. Cameron (2009), "Latin America's Left Turns: beyond good and bad" *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 30, Issue 2, pps. 331 – 348.

Marcus Taylor, "The contradictions and transformations of neoliberalism in Latin America: From structural adjustment to "empowering the poor," in Laura Macdonald and Arne Ruckert, eds., *Post-Neoliberalism in the Americas*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 21-36.

Recommended:

Arturo Escobar (2010), "Latin America at a Crossroads," *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 1-65.

Pablo Heidrich and Diana Tussie, "Post-Neoliberalism and the New Left in the Americas: The Pathways of Economic and Trade Policies," in Laura Macdonald and Arne Ruckert, eds., *Post-Neoliberalism in the Americas*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 37-53.

Special issue of *Constellations* (2007), vol. 14, no. 3.

Philip Oxhorn (1999), "Is the century of corporatism over? Neoliberalism and the rise of neopluralism," in Oxhorn and Ducatenzeiler, eds, *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, Chapter 9.

Merilee S. Grindle (2000), "The social agenda and the politics of reform in Latin America," in Joseph S. Tulchin and Allison M. Garland, eds., *Social Development in Latin America: The Politics of Reform*, Woodrow Wilson Center, Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 17-52.

Timothy A. Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen (2003), "Lessons learned: civil society strategies in the face of economic integration," in Wise, Salazar and Carlsen, eds, *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*, Kumarian Press: Bloomfield CT, pp. 213-234

Various (2006), "A Left Turn in Latin America?" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 19-34.

Susan C. Stokes, (2001), *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Leslie Elliot Armijo and Philippe Faucher (2002), “‘We have a consensus’: Explaining political support for market reforms in Latin America,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 1-40.

Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise (1999), “The Politics of Second-Generation Reforms,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 34-48.

Luigi Manzetti and Charles Blake (1996), “Market reforms and corruption in Latin America,” *Review of International Political Economy*, vol. 3 ??, pps. 671-682.

Hemispheric Social Alliance, *Alternatives for the Americas: General Principles*, available at <http://www.web.net/comfront/alts4americas/eng/eng.html>.

Week 5 (October 13th) – From Authoritarianism to Democracy

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 9, pp.190-238.

Guillermo O’Donnell (1978), “Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic Authoritarian State,” *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 3-38.

Guillermo O’Donnell (1996) “Illusions about Consolidation,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, no. 2, pps. 34-51.

Recommended:

David Collier, “Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model” in David Collier, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Terry Lynn Karl (1990), “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics*, pp. 1-21.

Felipe Aguero (2000), “Transition Pathways: Institutional legacies, the military and democracy in South America,” in James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson (eds), *Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, New York: Routledge, pps. 73-92.

Brian Loveman (1999), *For La Patria: Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America*, Wilmington, Del: Scholarly Resources Books, pp. 165-226.

Arturo Valenzuela (2000), “External actors in the transitions to democracy in Latin America,” in James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson, eds., *Pathways to Democracy: The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, 116-129.

Week 6 (October 20th) – Gender, Ethnicity and Politics in Latin America IN-CLASS MID-TERM EXAM TODAY (1 ½ hours)

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 4, pp. 80-102; Chapter 5, pp. 103-129.

Elizabeth Jay Friedman (2009), "Gender, Sexuality and the Latin American Left: Testing the Transformation," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 415-443.

Donna Lee Van Cott (2009), "Indigenous Movements Losing Momentum," *Current History*, 108, 83-89 (February).

Recommended:

Georgina Whalen (1993), "Women's movements and democratization in Latin America," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 573-587.

Cecilia Menuar (2008), "Violence and Women's Lives in Eastern Guatemala: A Conceptual Framework," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 43, no. 3.

Deborah Yashar (1998) "Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1 (October), pp. 23-42.

Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties: The Rise of Ethnic Parties in Latin America*.

Teresa Sacchet (2008), "The Impact of Gender Quotas in Latin America," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 369-386.

Evelyn P. Stevens, "Marianismo: The other face of machismo in Latin America," in Ann Pescatello, ed., *Female and Male in Latin America*, pp. 89-101.

Sonia Alvarez (1999), "Advocating feminism: The Latin American feminist NGO boom," *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, pp. 181-209. Vol???

Deborah Yashar (1999), "Democracy, indigenous movements, and the postliberal challenge in Latin America," *World Politics*, vol. 52, no. 1 (October 1999), pps. 76-104.

Lynn Stephen (2001), "Gender, citizenship, and the politics of identity," in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 28, no. 6 (November), pps. 54-69.

Week 7 (October 27th) – Religion, Social Movements and Civil and Incivil Society

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 6, pp. 130-148; Chapter 10, pp. 239-267.

Sarah A. Radcliffe, (1999) "Civil society, social difference and politics: Issues of identity and representation," in Robert N. Gwynne and Cristobal Kay, eds., *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity*, London: Arnold, pps. 203-223.

Javier Auyero (2000), "The Hyper-Shantytown: Neo-Liberal Violence(s) in the Argentine Slum," *Ethnography*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 93-116.

Recommended:

Philip Oxhorn (1995), "From controlled inclusion to coerced marginalization: The struggle for civil society in Latin America," John A. Hall (ed.), *Civil Society, Theory, History, Comparison*, Polity Press, pps. 250-277.

Daniel H. Levine and Scott Mainwaring (1989), "Religion and popular protest in Latin America: Contrasting experiences," in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Part III: Country Case Studies

Week 9 (November 3rd) – Mexico

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 12, Nora Hamilton, "Mexico," pp. 301-337.

PS: Political Science and Politics, (2009), "Symposium – the 2006 Mexican Election and Its Aftermath" – read articles by Klesner (intro), Moreno, Klesner, and Lawson, pp. 11-19; 27-32; 45-48.

Soledad Loaeza (2007), "Mexico's Disappointment," *Constellations*, Vol.14, Issue 3, pp. 409-425.

Sam Quiñones, "State of War," *Foreign Policy*, Mar/Apr2009, Issue 171, p76-80.

Recommended:

Alma Guillermoprieto, "Days of the Dead," *The New Yorker*, Nov. 10, 2008.

Shannon O'Neill "Why Is the United States Backing Mexican Drug Gangs?" *ForeignPolicy.com*, (Jan. 12, 2009).

Chris Gilbreth and Gerardo Otero (2001), "Democratization in Mexico: The Zapatista uprising and civil society," *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 119, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 7-29.

Octavio Rodríguez Araujo (2010), "The Emergence and Entrenchment of a New Political Regime in Mexico," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 37, no. 1, 35-61.

Paul Berman (2000), "Mexico's Third Way," *New York Times Magazine*, July 2.

Alma Guillermoprieto (1995), "Mexico City, 1990," *The Heart that Bleeds: Latin America Now*, New York: Vintage Books, pps. 47-67.

Jonathan Fox (1993), "The difficult transition from clientelism to citizenship: lessons from Mexico," *World Politics*, Vol. 46, no. 2, pps. 151-84.

Week 8 (November 10th) – Bolivia

Guest speaker: Dr. Cristina Rojas, Carleton University

Chapter 20, Vanden and Prevost, Waltraud Q. Morales, "Bolivia", pp. 556-588.

Bret Gustafson (2002), "The Paradoxes of Liberal Indigenism: Indigenous Movements, State processes, and Intercultural Reform in Bolivia," in D. Maybury-Lewis, ed., *The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 267-306.

Sian Lazar (2004), "Education for Credit: Development as Citizenship Project in Bolivia," *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 301-319.
 Online version available at: <http://coa.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/24/3/301>

Recommended:

Special issue, *Latin American Perspectives*, May 2010, vol. 37, no. 3.

**Week 9 (November 17th) Nicaragua
 FINAL ESSAY DUE TODAY IN CLASS**

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 19, pp. 525-555.

Karen Kampwirth (2008), "Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega: In Nicaragua, Leftist Politics?" *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 35, no. 6, pp. 122-136.

Recommended:

John A. Booth and Mitchell Seligson (1993), "Political culture and regime type: evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 55, no. 3, pps. 777-792.

Jaime Wheelock Roman (1997), "Revolution and democratic transitions in Nicaragua," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Marc Lindenberg, eds., *Democratic Transitions in Central America*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, pps. 165-179.

Kampwirth, Karen (2002), *Women & Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University, pp. 1-20).

**Week 11 (November 24th): Argentina
 Guest speaker: Dr. Débora Lopreite, Carleton University**

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 15, Aldo C. Vacs, "Argentina," pp. 395-420.

Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo (2005), "Building Castles in the Sand? The Politics of Institutional Weakness," in Steven Levitsky and María Victoria Murillo, eds. *Argentine Democracy: The politics of Institutional Weakness* (21-44) University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 21-44. [Book available on Google books].

Steven Levitsky and Victoria Murillo (2008), "From Kirchner to Kirchner," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 16-30.

Recommended:

Steven Levitsky, "Argentina: From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back)" in Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 244-268.

Epstein, Edward (2003), "The Piquetero Movement of Greater Buenos Aires: Working Class Protest During the Current Argentina Crisis." *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. 28:55&56):11-36.

Alison Brysk, "From Above and below: social movements, the international system, and human rights in Argentina," *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 3 (1993), pp. 259-285.

Roger Burbach (2002), "'Throw them all out': Argentina's grassroots rebellion," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, vol 36, no. 1 (July/August), pp. 38-40, 42.

Jacobo Timerman (1988), *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, New York: Vintage Books: 3-59.

Week 12 (December 1st): Cuba

Vanden and Prevost, Chapter 13, Gary Prevost, "Cuba," pp. 325-355.

Eric Selbin (2009), "Conjugating the Cuban Revolution: It Mattered, It Matters, It Will Matter," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 21-29.

Helen Safa (2009), "Hierarchies and Household Change in Postrevolutionary Cuba," *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 42-52.

Rosa Muñoz (2009), "The Cuban Revolution: A Promised Land," *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 72-83.

Recommended:

See the rest of the special issue on Cuba in *Latin American Perspectives* vol. 36, no. 1.

See special issue on Cuba (2008), *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4.

Jorge Dominguez (2000), "Your Friend, Fidel," *Harvard Magazine*, July-August, pp. 35-39.

Hans-Jurgen Burchardt, "Contours of the Future: The New Social Dynamics in Cuba," *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 124, Vol. 29, No. 3, May 2002, pp. 57-74.

David J. Rothkopf, "A call for a post-Cold War Cuba policy...ten years after the end of the Cold War," in Susan Kaufman Purcell and David J. Rothkopf, eds., *Cuba: The Contours of Change*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 105-125,

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every

term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 15 2010 for December examinations and March 11 2011 for April examinations**.

For 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).

For 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.

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

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.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life 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 numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

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