

PPHA 32740 Order & Violence

The Roots of Wars and the Paths to Peace

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Fall 2024 Draft Syllabus

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Course description

This is a class about violent conflict—why do some groups fight? Most enemies loathe in peace, and so what makes warring groups different? We'll study conflict at every level—nations, political factions, ethnic groups, religions, villages, and gangs—investigating the common logics and roots.

This is also a class about what to do about violence. From the streets of Chicago or El Salvador to the UN Security Council, what can be done to get warring rivals to stop the violence? And what can be done to get societies that are fragile and on the edge of fighting to be more resilient? We'll look at what some prominent people and organizations have to say about violence reduction, and assess whether it makes sense in light of social science.

We'll cover a range of literatures. We will start with game theory—the science of strategy—and introduce economics, history, comparative politics, international relations, psychology, and sociology. We will also study the practical experiences of policymakers, and the organizations and plans they have produced.

Pre-requisites This class is designed for Master's students at Harris, but is open to Master's students across the social sciences at UChicago. The Harris core classes are highly recommended, especially the analytical politics sequence. Non-Harris students are expected to be familiar with introductory economics and game theory. If you have no exposure to game theory, you will struggle with some of the assignments, but you can get by if you put in the time and effort.

Objectives By the end of the quarter, my goal is that students have learned to:

- Be able to diagnose fragile situations, and the causes of political instability
- Be able to identify and evaluate peacebuilding measures
- Understand the ties between political development and security
- Understand of the special challenges of policy in fragile settings
- Learn to interpret popular arguments for the origins of conflict through the lens of social science
- Learn to write better–more clearly, concisely, analytically, and demonstrating critical thinking

Structure Generally, each week we will:

- Read a collection of articles and book chapters
- Have a mixture of lecture and discussion in class
- Complete one of the following:
 - a game theoretic problem set,
 - a roughly 2-page written assignment, or
 - a presentation and discussion.

Most of the readings are articles or books where a PDF version are hyperlinked on the syllabus. Instructions for VPN access are here. The will also be reading portions of my unpublished book, and I will likely provide students with a printed copy.

Remote learning This is commonly a discussion-based class on sometimes sensitive topics, and so I do not plan to offer a remote option or record classes.

Grading

Your grade will have 4 components:

- 1. <u>25%</u> for attendance and the quality of participation in class (asking and answering questions, high quality of commentary, ability to engage civilly with other students, ability to listen to other views, not dominating the conversation, ...)
- 2. <u>25%</u> for your presentation and contribution to discussions
- 3. 50% for weekly assignments
 - 2 problem sets
 - 3 discussion memos (2–4 pages double-spaced)
 - 1 final discussion memo (3–5 pages double-spaced)

Pass/fail and auditor policies Auditors are welcome. Please email the TA to ensure you are added to Canvas. I am also happy for students to take the class pass/fail. Note that per Harris policy, the class may not qualify for certificates if you take the class pass/fail.

Attendance No one will be penalized for missing up to two lectures, since everyone falls sick, has family circumstances, or religious observances. Please let me know if you have more frequent absences and we can discuss.

Weekly assignments The Week 2 and 3 assignments are a game theoretic problem sets. We designed them to be straightforward for Harris students who have done the analytical politics core classes. Non-Harris students who do not have this background: do not freak out or drop the class. The goal is not to give non-mathematical class-takers a zero. It's to walk you through the ideas step by step, so you get a sense of what it is all about. Your classmates and your TAs will be resources for you.

Discussion memos should be 2–4 pages long, double-spaced, and represent your critical reflections on the readings. You are required to type your answers (e.g. using Word, Latex) instead of sending handwritten notes.

How to get a good grade First of all, for most of you, no one will ever look at your grades again for as long as you live, so don't worry about the grade. I am happy to have you switch to Pass/Fail if you need to.

There is a simple way to get a high grade in this course:

• **Read the readings.** All of the grading is designed to incentivize you to read and understand the material. The reason I do this is that I think reading and writing

are the main way we all change how we understand the world and influence others. Virtually every reading in this course is one that deeply influenced my own perspective.

- Think critically about what you read. Every paper is wrong in some way. Usually it has major flaws or oversights. Your job is to figure out what the problems are and the limits of the argument. For the rest of your career, approach every paper or book with the idea that your job is partly to figure out why it is wrong.
- Make notes and think about your essay answers along the way. You will have some of the essay questions quite early. When reading the readings and taking class notes, write down your ideas and thoughts in real time.
- Use AI sparingly. AI can be a useful learning tool. But it does not have a very deep understanding of the conflict theory taught in this class, and its answers tend to be superficial and obvious. I've checked. When we grade short essays, we will reward more specific and deeper discussion of the ideas taught in class, evidence of reading the readings closely, and more thoughtful applications to the cases at hand. To be honest, if you were clever about it and probed AI well enough, you could probably get B-level answers. If that's how you want to spend your tuition money and time, there's only so much we can do to control that, and you may or may not get caught. It doesn't really seem worth it.
- Hand in all assignments. Failing to hand in anything substantial can really impact your grade. Please speak to me if you need an extension. Late policies will apply but this is better than nothing.

Late policy The late penalty is typically one grade level per day (e.g. from an A- to a B+). I can waive the penalty if you have a timely, legitimate, and documented excuse.

- If you are missing classes or have a late assignment because of sickness or religious observance, we can accommodate you. If predictable, please alert the TA by email *in advance*. Please make specific arrangements for extensions of any assignments.
- Do not wait until weeks after a missed assignment to talk to us. I especially advise against waiting to contact us until the last week of classes or after final grades have been submitted. It is easier to accommodate timely requests.

Re-grading policies Feel free to discuss your grades with your TAs to get clarification. If, following such a conversation, you feel that an error was made, *please submit a re-grade request in writing to your TA, by email, within two weeks of the assignment being handed back.* Please include an explanation or justification for the re-grade request.

A poor way to ask for a re-grade is to simply lobby non-specifically for a better grade, or to explain there is some reason you need to maintain a certain grade level. A good

way to ask for a regrading is to substantively discuss why you thought you answered the question well, ask for clarification, and if a mistake was made we can correct it. Or, if you have a legitimate medical or related excuse, please follow the instructions above.

What to do if you're having problems

I'm committed to helping everyone pass the class, in a way that you still learn the materials and gets the work done. If you find yourself unable to join a class or complete an assignment for physical health, mental health, or other personal reasons, just let me know. Here is what I suggest if a problem comes up:

- As soon as possible, email me and *copy your student services advisor*, with a note about the missed work and an explanation. *I hold everything in the strictest confidence*. But if you would like to explain the situation to your advisor only and have them contact me directly without the personal details, that is fine too.
- I don't really care when you put in the effort, so long as you find the time to read and reflect on the material in the course. In general, I will identify a way for you to make up an assignment. This will often be an extension of the deadline. If we discuss answers in depth the following class, it may be that I ask you to submit an essay on a different question.
- In extreme cases, students have sometimes taken time over the break or subsequent quarter to finalize the assignments and the class.
- Try not to tell me last minute. Advance notice is always a good policy.

Developing reading & writing skills

This is a highly reading and writing intensive course. I know this can be especially challenging for students who speak English as a second language. At the same time, it's an essential skill. One goal of mine is for you to learn to read more efficiently and write more effectively. We will talk about strategies in class, and you should feel free to ask me for feedback.

For those who want some additional help, Harris has some resources for students who feel they need help developing their academic reading and writing skills.

- For a reading assessment (and academic skills assessment in general), the best option at the University would be the Academic Skills Assessment Program (ASAP).
- We also have the Harris Writing Program, which does not particularly focus on reading, but might indirectly help students get a better grasp of the written word and academic text comprehension.
- The English Language Institute also offers workshops and courses to help ESL students. Some are free, some are not.

Learning to write well

You may also want to invest in books and materials on writing effectively. Here are some starting suggestions for tools and books on writing:

- Use the Hemingway Editor to learn how to write more clearly. Aim for a grade 8–10 reading level in what you write. Avoid jargon. Write shorter, simpler sentences on average. Use the active voice most of the time. Some long sentences and complex phrases or words are going to be necessary, but learn to use them sparingly.
- The classic book is The Elements of Style by Strunk and White
- Another classic, Zinnser's On Writing Well is superb
- I have also found Clark's Writing Tools a very helpful guide.

The trick with these books and guides is not to try to do it all at once. Get a couple of tips, and try to pay attention to them as you write. Then after a little while, get another couple tips, and work on those. It's a gradual process.

Harris Policies

Academic Integrity

All University of Chicago students are expected to uphold the highest standards of academic Integrity and honesty. Among other things, this means that students shall not represent another's work as their own, use un-allowed materials during exams, or otherwise gain unfair academic advantage.

The University's policies regarding academic integrity and dishonesty are described here. It is worth explicitly stating the University's approach here: "It is contrary to justice, academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit another's statements or ideas as one's own work. To do so is plagiarism or cheating, offenses punishable under the University's disciplinary system. Because these offenses undercut the distinctive moral and intellectual character of the University, we take them very seriously."

The Harris School's policies are available in the Harris Student Handbook Canvas site.

- The Academic Honesty and Plagiarism section expresses the main principles.
- Detailed guidelines for more specialized student work (e.g., problem sets including computer code) are offered in the section titled Harris Integrity Policy for Problem Sets Involving Code.

- Harris's specific procedures for handling suspected violations of these policies are available in the section Harris Procedures for Allegations of Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Dishonesty and are also re-produced as an Appendix to this document.
- All students suspected of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Harris Dean of Students for investigation and adjudication. The disciplinary process can result in sanctions up to and including suspension or expulsion from the University.
- In addition to disciplinary sanctions, I will impose a grade penalty for students who have committed academic dishonesty.
- Other penalties for violations could be imposed instead, alone or in combination, including a zero grade on the assignment or a failing grade in the course.

AI policy

AI tools are not prohibited in this class, but I do discourage their use, and have some strict guidelines.

If you choose to use AI tools for any assignment (from brainstorming to text editing), you should disclose this in a footnote, and you must use proper citation (please use APA citation format). Failure to properly cite AI tools is considered a violation of the University of Chicago's Academic Honesty and Plagiarism policy above.

One exception I am open to: for weekly assignments, I am open to students providing properly-cited AI-based answers and explaining why they are wrong or the limitations. I may revise this over the course of the quarter if it proves too lengthy to grade or if the quality of the submissions tend to be poor or shallow.

If you are unclear if something is an AI Tool, please check with your instructor or TA. The instructor and the TA reserve the right to use AI detection software. Potential academic integrity violations will vary on the circumstance, but can generally range from receiving a zero on an assignment, to losing grade levels in the final grade, or to failure of the course.

Disability Accommodations

The University's policies regarding students with disabilities are available here. Students who have disability accommodations awarded by the University Student Disability Services Office should inform the Harris Dean of Students office by the end of the first week of class. The Harris Dean of Students Office will work with the student and instructor to coordinate the students' accommodations implementation.

Harris students are not required to submit their accommodations letter to the instructor. Students from other divisions in the University must submit their accommodations letter to either the instructor or the Harris Dean of Students Office.

Students who do not yet have formal accommodations in place but who feel they need accommodations on a temporary or ongoing basis should contact the Harris Dean of Students Office or Student Disability Services.

It is also worth noting that teaching in a remote environment may generate other questions and issues related to providing accommodations to students with disabilities. Some suggestions are available here.

Diversity and Inclusion

The Harris School welcomes, values, and respects students, faculty, and staff from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences, and we believe that rigorous inquiry and effective public policy problem-solving requires the expression and understanding of diverse viewpoints, experiences, and traditions. The University and the Harris School have developed distinct but overlapping principles and guidelines to insure that we remain a place where difficult issues are discussed with kindness and respect for all.

The University's policies are available here. Specifically, the University identifies the freedom of expression as being "vital to our shared goal of the pursuit of knowledge, as is the right of all members of the community to explore new ideas and learn from one another. To preserve an environment of spirited and open debate, we should all have the opportunity to contribute to intellectual exchanges and participate fully in the life of the University."

The Harris School's commitments to lively, principled, and respectful engagement are available here: "Consistent with the University of Chicago's commitment to open discourse and free expression, Harris encourages members of the leadership, faculty, student body, and administrative staff to respect and engage with others of differing backgrounds or perspectives, even when the ideas or insights shared may be viewed as unpopular or controversial." We foster thought-provoking discourse by encouraging community members not only to speak freely about all issues but also to listen carefully and respectfully to the views of others.

Weekly schedule and readings

This is a reading-intensive course.

- Each class I assign 1–2 required book chapters or papers. I will assume you will have read these before class.
- Most readings are papers or reports, and we will upload them to Canvas. Alternatively, most readings are downloadable online by logging in through UChicago's VPN.
- I also often list highly recommended readings. I may discuss them in class, or they may assist you in your essay. Mostly, however, I recommend them because they are deep and important contributions on the subject.
- In addition, you will need to buy two books. They are available at the Co-op bookstore on campus as well as online. My understanding is that Amazon currently offers the lowest price for new versions.
 - Blattman, Christopher, "Why We Fight: The Roots of War and the Paths to Peace"
 - Abt, Thomas, "Bleeding Out: The Devastating Consequences of Urban Violence and a Bold New Plan for Peace in the Streets"
- One of the books is by me and based on my course notes. I'm sorry, but I'm not allowed to distribute PDFs of the book. Authors earn about \$3 per book sold, so I was thinking I could make that up to the class by bringing food and drink to our presentation days, but we can discuss that.

1 Introduction

1.1 Preconceptions (Oct 1)

This will be a discussion-based class. Before coming to class, please pick *one* of the case studies below, sit down for 15 minutes, and write down some of the explanations you have heard for (1) what the two sides are competing over, (2) why they fought (if there was violence), and (3) why they avoided violence or settled (especially if the rivals did not go to war).

- 1. USA/Taliban
- 2. Israelis/Palestinians
- 3. India/Pakistan

- 4. Gun/gang violence in major US cities
- 5. State/cartel conflicts in Mexico
- 6. China/Taiwan

1.2 The incentives for peace and the role of agency problems (Oct 3)

- Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Introduction and Chapters 1–2.
- Jackson, Matthew O., and Massimo Morelli. 2007. "Political bias and war," American Economic Review 97(4)): 1353-1373.

Week 1 Assignment: Sign up for group presentations. Your TA will assign you to a group.

2 Rationalist war

2.1 Uncertainty (Oct 8)

- Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War," International Organization 49(3): 379-414.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapter 4.

2.2 Commitment problems (Oct 10)

- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a commitment problem." International organization 60(1): 169-203.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapter 5.

Week 2 assignment: Problem set 1

3 Rationalist and Psychological explanations

3.1 Rationalist approaches, continued (Oct 15)

- Frieden, Jeffry A. The root causes of enduring conflict: Can Israel and Palestine co-exist?. From Israel and Palestine: Alternative Perspectives on Statehood (2015): 63-75.
- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a commitment problem." International organization 60.1 (2006): 169-203.

3.2 Intangible incentives (Oct 17)

- Hassner, Ron E. 2003. "To halve and to hold: Conflicts over sacred space and the problem of indivisibility." Security Studies 12(4): 1-33.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapter 3.

Week 3 assignment: Problem set 2

4 Psychological explanations (continued) and a special session

4.1 Misperceptions (Oct 22)

- Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapter 6.
- Pearlman, Wendy. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." Perspectives on Politics 11.2 (2013): 387-409.

4.2 Special class (Oct 24): Interview and & Q&A with Wendy Pearlman on Israel-Palestine, 5:00-6:15pm

Professor Pearlman is a political scientist and ethnographer who has studied social movements and conflint in the Middle East for decades. During class, she will answer our questions about the ISraeli–Palestinian conflict. Afterwards, at 6:30pm, she will be going a Q/A with me about her new book on Syria at the Seminary Co-op. I encourage you to read some of her work before class:

- Pearlman, Wendy. 2011. Chapter 1 of Violence, nonviolence, and the Palestinian national movement. Cambridge University Press.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 2009. Spoiling inside and out: Internal political contestation and the Middle East peace process. International Security 33(3): 79-109.

Week 4 Assignment: Discussion memo

5 Contemporary conflicts I

5.1 Israel–Palestine: The Past (Oct 29)

Groups 1 and 2 present, followed by a discussion. I suggest each group chooses one historical period or episode, the events surrounding that episode, and use the materials

and theories from the course to analyze why there was peace or violence. You may also choose to take an analysis of the conflict or an episode and analyze the authors' arguments through the lens of the conflict theory in the class. Some good options include:

- First intifada
- Failure of the Oslo Accords and the Second Intifada
- Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Israeli-Gaza relations 2006–10

We have already seen several readings on this conflict. For some additional historical background, here are a few different sources and summaries from major news sources and magazines of various political persuasions. So that the class is familiar with events before attending the discussion and group presentations, everyone should examine at least two sources and contrast their description of events:

- Vox.com explainer
- Council on Foreign Relations timeline
- Aljazeera maps and charts
- American Jewish Community timeline
- TBD

5.2 Israel-Palestine: The Present (Oct 31)

Groups 3 and 4 present, followed by a discussion. Each group should identify an influential contemporary analysis of the causes of the conflict and/or an analysis of a proposed solution. You do not have to share the views of the authors you discuss. Rather, the presentation should break down the argument and analyze it from a social scientific perspective. For example, what theories have we learned that can help explain why the violence has persisted? If you are citing an existing analysis, what do you infer is the authors' underlying theory of peace or conflict? What aspects and ideas from the course have they captured? Which are missing?

Some options include, but are by no means limited to:

- Axworthy, Lloyd, Michael W. Manulak, and Allan Rock. 2024. "A UN Trusteeship for Palestine." Foreign Affairs.
- Yglesias, Matthew. 2024. "The two-state solution is still best." Slow Boring.
- TBD

6 Contemporary conflicts II

6.1 US-Afghanistan (Nov 5)

Groups 5 and 6 present, followed by a discussion. Everyone should read at least one of the following:

- Malkasian, Carter. 2021. The American War in Afghanistan: A History. Oxford University Press. [Amazon link]
- Rashid, Ahmed. 2010. Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia. Yale University Press. [Amazon link]
- Tierney, Dominic. 2013. Fighting While Negotiating in Afghanistan. Orbis 57(1): 171–186.
- Dobbins, James, and Carter Malkasian. 2015. Time to Negotiate in Afghanistan. Foreign Affairs 94.
- Semple, Michael, Theo G. Farrell, Anatol Lieven, and Rudra Chaudhuri. 2012. Taliban perspectives on reconciliation.
- Grossman, Marc. 2014. Talking to the Taliban 2011–2012. Prism 4(4): 21-37.
- Sheikh, Mona Kanwal, and Maja Touzari Janesdatter Greenwood. 2013. Taliban talks: Past present and prospects for the US, Afghanistan and Pakistan. No. 2013: 06. DIIS Report.
- Coll, S. (2019). Directorate S: the CIA and America's secret wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Penguin.

6.2 Russia-Ukraine (Nov 7)

Groups 7 and 8 present, followed by a discussion. Everyone should read at least one of the following:

TBD

7 Contemporary conflicts III

7.1 Chicago gangs (Nov 12)

Groups 9 and 10 present, followed by a discussion. Everyone should read at least one of the following:

• Aspholm, Roberto. Views from the streets: The transformation of gangs and violence on Chicago's south side. Columbia University Press, 2020.

- Sharkey, Patrick. Uneasy peace: The great crime decline, the renewal of city life, and the next war on violence. WW Norton Company, 2018.
- Vargas, Robert. Wounded city: Violent turf wars in a Chicago barrio. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Leovy, Jill. Ghettoside: A true story of murder in America. One World, 2015.
- The great debate on gun violence. by Jens Ludwig, CNN.com 2021.
- Kapustin, Max, Terrence Neumann, and Jens Ludwig. Policing and management. No. w29851. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2022.
- Braga, Anthony A., and Philip J. Cook. Policing gun violence: Strategic reforms for controlling our most pressing crime problem. Oxford University Press, 2023.
- Daniel W. Webster. Public Health Approaches to Reducing Community Gun Violence. Daedalus 2022; 151 (1): 38–48

7.2 Mexican state-cartels (Nov 14)

Groups 11 and 12 present, followed by a discussion. Everyone should read at least one of the following:

- Lessing, B. (2017). Making peace in drug wars: Crackdowns and cartels in Latin America. Cambridge University Press.
- Lessing, Benjamin. The Logic of Cartel Violence in Mexico and Central America. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 61, no. 7, 2017, pp. 1486-1512.
- Sullivan, John P., and Adam Elkus. State of Siege: Mexico's Criminal Insurgency. *Small Wars Journal*, 31 October 2010.
- Grillo, Ioan. El Narco: Inside Mexico's Criminal Insurgency. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.
- Durán-Martínez, A. (2017). The politics of drug violence: Criminals, cops and politicians in Colombia and Mexico. Oxford University Press.
- Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. Why did drug cartels go to war in Mexico? Subnational party alternation, the breakdown of criminal protection, and the onset of large-scale violence. Comparative Political Studies 51, no. 7 (2018): 900-937.
- O'Neil, Shannon. The real war in Mexico: How democracy can defeat the drug cartels. Foreign Aff. 88 (2009): 63.
- Bonner, Robert C. The cartel crackdown: winning the drug war and rebuilding Mexico in the process. Foreign Aff. 91 (2012): 12.
- Dudley, Steven. The End of the Big Cartels. Foreign Affairs (2019).

8 The Paths To Peace

This week will be mainly lecture-based.

8.1 Interdependence / Checks and Balances (Nov 19)

• Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapters 6 and 7.

8.2 Rules and enforcement / Interventions (Nov 21)

• Blattman, Christopher. 2022. "Why We Fight" Chapters 8 and 9.

9 Peacemaking in violent cities

Week 9 Assignment: Discussion memo (due at beginning of week on one of the two books/reports this week) These will be discussion-based classes, not lectures.

Critically discuss the week's reading. This should be 2–4 pages, double-spaced. Wide margins and double-spacing is important so that we have room to provide you comments. Due the evening before your assigned class.

9.1 Tackling community gun violence (Dec 1)

• Abt, Thomas. 2019. Bleeding Out: The Devastating Consequences of Urban Violence–And a Bold New Plan for Peace in the Streets. Basic Books.

9.2 Tackling civil conflicts (Dec 3)

This will be a discussion-based class, not a lecture.

- United Nations and World Bank Group. 2018. Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict.
- Feel free to read the Main Messages document rather than the full report.
- To facilitate smaller group discussion, even numbered groups will meet on Monday, and odd-numbered groups will meet on Wednesday.

10 Final project due exam week

This will be a 3–5 page discussion memo on a topic of your choosing (within limits). This is not a full paper. This is about 1.5 to 2 times the length of your earlier discussion memos, so I expect it to only be 1.5 to 2 times the amount of effort and inputs. I suggest one of the following approaches:

- 1. Book commentary/review. You identify a book or policy report on conflict or violence that interests you. Your memo summarizes and analyzes the book's arguments, including how its approach relates to the concepts we have been discussing in class (or not). You should also highlight strengths and weaknesses of the book's arguments and conclusions. Some recent books that might interest you:
 - How Civil Wars Start by Barbara Walter
 - High Conflict by Amanda Ripley
 - Uneasy Peace by Patrick Sharkey
- 2. Conflict analysis. You identify a conflict that is not one of the 6 conflicts we have been talking about throughout the class. Similar to the presentation approach, you would write a discussion memo on the causes of violence, or the reason for the lack of a durable settlement, between the rivals.
- 3. Policy analysis. Identify a policy, a political platform, or something related, analyze its nature and rationale for/likelihood of success.

Note that Harris grades are due Dec 19. This is a hard deadline that comes from the registrar, and is beyond my control. This is why I have made the final assignment fairly light (a short discussion memo)—so that everyone should be able to complete it within a week of the final class. Your TA will need a few days to grade, I need time to review all materials and assign final grades.