

Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University
History of International Relations since 1945 (IR350)
Tuesday & Thursdays, 5:00 - 6:15 PM, CAS 211

Professor Jayita Sarkar
she/her

Office: 154 Bay State Road, # 201A
Office Hours: Tue/Thu, 2:30-4:00 PM

Email: jsarkar@bu.edu
Appointments: <https://jsarkar.youcanbook.me>

Teaching Fellows

TBD — Sections B1 & C1

TBD — Sections D1 & E1

Contact your TF for their office hours, their office location, and the discussion section syllabus.

THIS SYLLABUS IS SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

PLEASE REFER TO THE SYLLABUS ON BLACKBOARD DURING FALL 2019.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In this course, we will discuss international cooperation and conflicts in the second half of the 20th century, to understand and interpret the sources of present-day inter-state and transnational political violence. We will discuss the past through primary source documents, historical cases and expert podcasts. Some of the questions that IR350/ HI334 will deal with are as follows: What are the causes and consequences of the global Cold War, and what are its lessons? How was the twentieth-century global order transformed by East-West conflict, North-South disparity and South-South cooperation and competition? What role did nuclear weapons play in U.S. foreign policy? How did the process of decolonization shape and reshape global politics? How did the global War on Terror lead to today's "forever wars"? This is an undergraduate required principal course that satisfies *Historical Consciousness*, *Global Citizenship and Intercultural Literacy*, and *Research and Information Literacy* of BU General Education (Hub) requirements.

TEXTBOOKS & COURSEWARE

1. William R. Keylor. *The Twentieth Century World and Beyond: An International History since 1900*. 6th revised ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
2. Paul T. Chamberlin, *The Cold War's Killing Fields: Rethinking the Long Peace*. First edition. ed. New York: Harper Collins, 2018.
3. A primary source reader will be used in the weekly discussion sections led by the TFs.
4. Movies are part of recommended, not required, study materials.
 - a) *The Day After Trinity* (1981): The Manhattan Project
 - b) *The Hollywood Ten* (1950): McCarthyism
 - c) *The Battle of Algiers* (1967) & *Lumumba* (2001): Decolonization
 - d) *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) & *Fail-Safe* (1964): Cuban Missile Crisis
 - e) *Hearts & Minds* (1974): Vietnam War & Pentagon Papers
 - f) *Paradise Now* (2005) & *The Bader Meinhof Complex: Terrorism on the Left*
 - g) *The Invisible Empire* (1965) & *American History X* (1998): Terrorism on the Right
 - h) *The Beast* (1988): Soviet occupation of Afghanistan
 - i) *United 93* (2006): 9/11

Students are encouraged to browse the primary source collections below in their own time, select the documents for the final analytical essay assignment, in consultation with their TF.

- Foreign Relations of the United States volumes (FRUS):
<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments>
- CIA Records Search Tool (CREST):
<https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document-type/crest>
- Digital National Security Archive (Documents access through ProQuest BU)
<http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/publications/dnsa.html>
- Wilson Center Digital Archive:
<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org>
- Digitized Collections of U.S. Presidential Libraries (see individual websites)

INSTRUCTIONAL FORMAT

Lecture by Professor Sarkar & Office hours

Each week students will attend two lectures and one discussion section. The professor will deliver lectures twice weekly. Students will use [this syllabus for lectures](#). The professor holds weekly office hours in her office also twice a week. Students are encouraged to meet to seek clarifications, provide feedback, and share anything relevant to the course during the professor's office hours. Research has shown that there is a positive correlation between office-hour visits by students and obtaining higher grades. So, why not give it a shot? See study:

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15512169.2013.835554?src=recsys&journalCode=upse20>

Just sign up here to reserve your spot: <https://jsarkar.youcanbook.me>

Discussion Section led by Teaching Fellow

The discussion section will focus on textual and contextual analysis of the documents contained in the *IR350 primary source reader*. Each day, at least two complete documents from the reader must be discussed in the sections. If the documents are too long, TFs can choose excerpts of no more than 20 pages from the primary source reader for each discussion section session. TFs are required to notify the students no later than a week in advance, which excerpts and/or full documents to analyze. For this purpose, TFs are strongly encouraged to develop and circulate a *discussion section syllabus* to the students. TFs are required to maintain uniformity across the discussion sections and must coordinate their lesson plans with each other. TFs will also hold their individual weekly office hours of at least 3 hours per week.

ASSIGNMENTS

Attendance in lectures and discussion sections are mandatory. The total points you can score in this course are 100 points. These points are divided into four major forms of assessments:

1. **Active Participation in Lecture (15 points):** Participation points are obtained through regular attendance (5 points) and actively and regularly participating (10 points) in the lecture session led by your professor. Active attendance involves asking good questions as well as offering good answers. In order to do well, come prepared with the readings for the day. A sign-up sheet will be circulated during lecture sessions to take attendance.
2. **Active Attendance in Discussion Section (15 points):** Participation points are obtained through regular attendance (5 points) and actively and regularly participating (10 points) in the mandatory discussion sections led by your TF. Active student participation

in the discussion sections involves asking good questions as well as offering good answers. In order to do well, come prepared with the primary source documents for the week.

3. **Midterm Examination (25 points):** A midterm examination will be held on Week 7. The syllabus will be content from Week 1 to 6.
4. **Visual Policy Memo Presentations (25 points):** From Week 2 onward, students will be divided by the TF into teams of 5-6 each in their discussion sections. This is in preparation for the “poster sessions” that will take place on Week 11. Each team will be responsible for crafting a policy memo and represent that through the means of a poster (printed or hand-made). On Week 11, there will be poster sessions during lecture time, during which each team will present their “visual policy memo” to the professor and TF for 5-7 minutes, which will be followed by a 5-minute Q&A. Further instructions will be circulated on Week 3. In order to get a better idea, check out this story about IR350/HI334 from fall 2018 here:
<https://www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/2018/12/05/pardee-school-students-present-visual-policy-memos-in-poster-sessions/>
5. **Final Analytical Essay (20 points):** Students will analyze 1-2 primary source document(s). The length of the commentary will be between 1500-1700 words. The primary source document(s) will be selected from beyond the “IR350/HI334 Primary Source Reader”. Further guidelines will be circulated on the assignment in the course on Week 3. The students must choose the document(s) in consultation with their respective TF. The entire assignment is broken down into the following *mandatory* stages:
 - a. Choice of 1-2 primary source documents (5): On Week 4, students will send in their choice of document(s) with adequate justification. This is a good time to think about your ‘thesis statement’ to demonstrate your justification.
 - b. Draft of Analytical Commentary (10): On Week 9, students will share the draft version of the analytical commentary (at least 60% completed= 900-1000 words) with their respective TF for feedback.
 - c. Final Analytical Commentary (15): On Week 14, students will submit the final draft of their analytical commentary on Blackboard. Late submissions without evidence of a medical justification will lead to a zero for the entire assignment (i.e. 0 out of 25 points).

GRADING CRITERIA & SCALE

Explanation of grades and GPA at Boston University can be found by following this link:

<https://www.bu.edu/reg/academics/grades-gpa/>

A	93 – 100
A-	90-92
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76

HOW TO SUCCEED IN THIS COURSE?

- Professor's Office Hours

Office hours are for you to seek clarifications about course materials and assignments, brainstorm about career options, and develop mentorship connections, to name a few. I hold office hours for five hours every week from 2:30 to 4:00 PM on Tuesdays and Thursdays in my office. Make use of those office hours to ask about the 'muddiest point' in the lecture, connect history with current policies, and any other burning question that you might have. What if you have class or you work during those times? Send me an email, and we will find a time and day outside of the office hours schedule. For meetings during my office hours, sign up here:

<https://jsarkar.youcanbook.me>

- Writing Assistance

In order to do well in written assignments at BU, you might wish to seek support of a writing tutor or coach on campus. This is especially if you are a non-native speaker of English. If you are a native speaker of English, your writing could exponentially improve through appropriate writing assistance. So, please make use of the existing resources on campus. The Education Resource Center (ERC) is located on 100 Bay State Road, and has a number of free resources:

<https://www.bu.edu/erc/writingassistance/>

- Citations

For all written assignments, we will use Chicago Manual of Style — Notes & Bibliography, **not** Author-Date. http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html

- Similarity Reports on 'Turnitin'

For all written assignments, we will generate similarity reports to check for plagiarism. If plagiarism is found for any assignment, the grade for the entire course will be zero.

- Classroom Rules

- Use laptops sparingly. They can be distracting for your classmates as well as you.
- Avoid making audio and/or video recordings of class lectures. You need my written permission for both.
- Avoid taking photographs of slides and images shown during class lectures. The slides will be uploaded on Blackboard. You also need my written permission for photography.

STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC HONESTY

Students are responsible for understanding and following the provisions of the CAS Academic Conduct Code and Policies. Copies of the code are available here:

<http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/> Cases of misconduct must be reported to the Dean's office. All class members are expected to maintain the highest standards of academic honesty and integrity. You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe, and can include permanent expulsion from the university.

STATEMENT ON ACCESSIBILITY

BU is committed to providing equal access to our coursework and programs to all students. In order to be sure that accommodations can be made in time for all exams and assignments, please plan to turn in your accommodations letter as soon as possible and no later than 14 days from the

first exam/assignment. After you turn in your letter, please meet with your professor to discuss the plan for accommodations so we can be sure that they are adequate and you are supported in your learning. If you have further questions or need additional support, please contact the Office of Disability Services (access@bu.edu).

STATEMENT ON DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

Integrating a diverse set of experiences is important for a more comprehensive understanding of the past, which IR350 directly deals with. I acknowledge that it is possible that there may be both overt and covert biases in the reading material due to the lens with which it was written, even though the material is of scholarly nature. Let us investigate those biases during our critical examination and analysis of the texts.

I am keen to create a learning environment for my students that supports a diversity of thoughts, perspectives and experiences, and honors their identities, including race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, nationality, and ability. In order to help accomplish this:

- If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official university records, please let me know. The TAs and I will use your preferred name and pronouns over the course of the semester.
- If you feel like your performance in the class is being impacted by your experiences outside of class, please don't hesitate to come and talk to me during my office hours. If I cannot directly help you, I can put you in contact with institutional resources on campus that can serve your needs.
- As a participant in this course, please strive to honor the diversity of your classmates. With rights, there comes responsibilities.

CAMPUS RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS IN DISTRESS

Please make use of BU resources to support yourself, friends and classmates, when in distress:
http://www.bu.edu/helpinfo/pdf/10102_SHS.pdf

DETAILS OF WEEKLY MEETINGS

WEEK 1: Introduction & Conceptualization

W1's Guiding Questions: What are the causes and consequences of the global Cold War? How was the twentieth-century international system transformed by East-West conflict, North-South disparity and South-South cooperation and competition? What lessons can be drawn from this recent past?

Sep. 3: Introduction to the Course

- Alterman, Eric. "The Decline of Historical Thinking," *The New Yorker*, 4 February 2019. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-decline-of-historical-thinking>
- Westad, Odd Arne. "Has a New Cold War Really Begun?," *Foreign Affairs*, 27 March 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-03-27/has-new-cold-war-really-begun>

Sep. 5: Conceptualizing the Cold War

- Westad, Odd Arne (2010). "The Cold War and the international history of the twentieth century," in Leffler, Melvyn P. and Odd Arne Westad (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Cold War Vol 1*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Tony (Fall 2000). "New Bottles for New Wine: A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War." *Diplomatic History* 24(4): 567- 591.

WEEK 2: Early Beginnings

W2's Guiding Questions: How did the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR) emerge in the international system as two major centers of power outside of Western Europe? How did the Second World War impact and influence their political, economic, military and strategic positions? Why and how did the United States build nuclear weapons?

Sep. 10: From Wartime Allies to the Iron Curtain

- Westad, Odd Arne (2017). *The Cold War: A World History*. New York, Basic Books.
 - Chapter 1: Starting Points
 - Chapter 2: Tests of War

Sep. 12: Manhattan Project to Atomic Bombings

- Podcast: Direct Current, US Department of Energy
 - S2E2, The Manhattan Project, Part I (entire episode)
<https://www.energy.gov/podcasts/direct-current-energygov-podcast/s2-e2-manhattan-project-part-1>
 - S2E3, The Manhattan Project, Part II (until 19:33)
<https://www.energy.gov/podcasts/direct-current-energygov-podcast/s2-e3-manhattan-project-part-2>
- Movie: The Day After Trinity (1981)

Teams are formed for visual policy memo poster assignment in discussion sections

WEEK 3: U.S. Foreign Policy in the World

W3's Guiding Questions: How did the U.S. national security state emerge and consolidate itself after the Second World War? Why and how did stakeholders within the United States decide to participate in the United Nations?

Sep. 17: US National Security Policy under Truman

- Keylor, Chapter 8: The Formation of the Bipolar World in the Truman-Stalin Era (1945-1953)
- Podcast: 18.1. Superpower, Marshall Plan, Bretton Woods, from American Capitalism: A History, Cornell University: <https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/american-capitalism-a-history/id826726603?mt=2&i=1000263357776>

Sep. 19: United States, International Organizations & Empire

- Stephen Wertheim, "Instrumental Internationalism: The American Origins of the United Nations, 1940–3," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 54 No. 2 (2019): 265–283.

- Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019).
 - Introduction: Looking Beyond the Logo Map
 - Podcast: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/daniel-immerwahr> (25 minutes)

WEEK 4: Loss of China & Bloodbath in Korea

W4's Guiding Questions: How did the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) emerge as adversaries after the Second World War drew to an end? Why did the Korean War break out, and what were its consequences? What were the domestic political consequences in the United States of the abovementioned events?

Sep. 24: The People's Republic of China & McCarthyism

- Keylor, Chapter 11: The Rise of China and the Cold War in Asia.

Sep. 26: The Korean War

- Chamberlin, Chapter 4: Intervening in Korea, 1945-1950
- Chamberlin, Chapter 5: Rehearsing for World War III, 1950-1954
- Movie: The Hollywood Ten (1950)

Choice of 1-2 primary source docs for Analytical Essay due on Sep. 26 by 5pm by email to TFs.

WEEK 5: State-making after Empire

W5's Guiding Questions: How did new countries emerge in the world as empires collapsed? How did the Cold War logic become entangled with the process of decolonization?

Oct. 1: Partitions

- Dubnov, Arie M. & Laura Robson (2019). *Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism* (Palo Alto, CA, Stanford University Press, 2019).
 - Introduction: Drawing the Line, Writing beyond It: Toward a Transnational History of Partitions, p. 1-25.
- Podcast: Yasmin Khan's interview, 15 Aug. 2017, History Hit (Author of *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*)
<https://www.acast.com/dansnowshistoryhit/indianindependenceandpartition-yasminkhan>

Oct. 3: Decolonization

- Chamberlin, Chapter 6: French Indochina and the Death of Colonialism, 1945-1954
- Sarkar, Jayita. "How WWII shaped the crisis in Myanmar," *The Washington Post*, 10 March 2019,
https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/03/10/how-wwii-shaped-crisis-myanmar/?utm_term=.50d6330ec362
- Movies:
 - Lumumba (2001)
 - The Battle of Algiers (1967)

WEEK 6: Space Race & Nuclear Crisis

W6's Guiding Questions: What were the key characteristics of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's foreign policy? What was the U2 affair and what immediate impact did it have on U.S.-Soviet relations? What factors in superpower nuclear capabilities, military rivalry and alliance relationships caused the Cuban Missile Crisis? What was the significance of the Crisis?

Oct. 8: The Era of Eisenhower

- **Sputnik: TBD**
- Podcast: The Real Story of the U-2 Incident: An Interview with Francis Gary Powers, Jr.:
<https://www.spymuseum.org/multimedia/spycast/episode/the-real-story-of-the-u-2-incident-an-interview-with-francis-gary-powers-jr/>
- Podcast: 18.3. Eisenhower and the Military-industrial Complex, American Capitalism: A History, Cornell University: <https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/american-capitalism-a-history/id826726603?mt=2&i=1000263357775>

Oct. 10: Eyeball-to-Eyeball: The Cuban Missile Crisis in Perspective

- May, Ernest R. "John F. Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis," BBC, Last updated Nov. 2013.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/coldwar/kennedy_cuban_missile_01.shtml
- Cohen, Eliot A. (Winter 1985/6). "Why We Should Stop Studying the Cuban Missile Crisis." *The National Interest* (2): 3-13.
- Movie: *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) & *Fail-Safe* (1964)

WEEK 7:

Oct. 15: No class. Monday's schedule at Boston University

Oct. 17: *Midterm Examination during lecture*

WEEK 8

W8's Guiding Questions: What were the factors under which the U.S. war in Vietnam escalated under President Lyndon Johnson? What did the term 'Vietnamization' mean, coined by President Richard Nixon, and how did he and Henry Kissinger go about implementing it? What were the systemic changes that were brought about by Nixon's diplomacy?

Oct. 22: Chamberlin, Chapter 7: Making a Quagmire in Vietnam, 1961-1965

Oct. 24: The Vietnam War Escalation

Expert Speaker: Dr. Nathaniel Moir, Harvard Kennedy School

- Keylor, Chapter 11, pp. 369-382.
- Logevall, Fredrik. "Rethinking 'McNamara's War'," *The New York Times*, 28 November 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/28/opinion/rethinking-mcnamaras-war.html>
- Podcast: LBJ's War of Public Radio International (PRI), "The Tonkin Incident(s)".

<https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/2-the-tonkin-incident-s/id1276340470?i=1000391882126&mt=2>

- Movie: Hearts & Minds

Optional resource:

- “The Gulf of Tonkin Incident, 40 Years Later,” *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 132*.

<https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB132/index.htm>

WEEK 9

W9's Guiding Questions: How did the economic downturn and oil price shock in early 1970s impact U.S. position in the West, and lead to calls for restructuring of North-South relations?

Oct. 29: Sino-US rapprochement and Superpower détente

- Keylor, Chapter 11, p. 382-386.
- Chamberlin, Chapter 10: Selective Genocide in Bangladesh, 1971
- Chamberlin, Chapter 11, p. 320-329 only

Oct. 31: Transformational Politics of the 1970s

- Gilman, Nils. "The New International Economic Order: A Reintroduction." *Humanity Journal* 6, no. 1 (2015): <http://humanityjournal.org/issue6-1/the-new-international-economic-order-a-reintroduction/>
- Samuel Moyn. “Human Rights in History,” *The Nation*, August 2010
- Samuel Moyn, “Human Rights are Not Enough,” *The Nation*, March 2018

Analytical Commentary rough draft due on Nov. 1 by 5pm by email to TFs.

WEEK 10

W10's Guiding Questions: What are some of the linkages between terrorism, political violence and the struggle for decolonization? What were the linkages between military conflicts of the Cold War and the expansion of White supremacy movements in the United States?

Nov. 5: Terrorism in the Cold War

- David C. Rapoport, “The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism,” in John Horgan and Kurt Braddock, eds., *Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, 2011.
- Roy, Olivier. “Who are the new jihadis?,” *The Guardian*, 13 April 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/apr/13/who-are-the-new-jihadis>
- Von Hein, Matthias. “1972 Munich Olympics massacre - an avoidable catastrophe?,” Deutsche Welle, 7 September 2017. <https://www.dw.com/en/1972-munich-olympics-massacre-an-avoidable-catastrophe/a-40405813>
- Movies: Paradise Now (2005) & The Bader Meinhof Complex (2008)

Nov. 7: White Supremacy

- Belew, Kathleen, *Bringing the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018)
 - Introduction
 - Chapter 3: A Unified Moment
- Belew, Kathleen, “The Christchurch Massacre and the White Power Movement,” 17 March 2019, *Dissent Magazine*. <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/the-christchurch-massacre-and-the-white-power-movement>
- CBS documentary, “The Invisible Empire” (1965)

WEEK 11

Nov. 12: *Visual Policy Memo Poster Presentations I*

Nov. 14: *Visual Policy Memo Poster Presentations II*

WEEK 12

W12's Guiding Questions: What was the significance of the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran and the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan? How did the 'Velvet revolutions' in Eastern Europe in 1989 transpire? How did Yugoslavia break up in 1991?

Nov. 19: Iran & Afghanistan

- Chamberlin, Chapter 15: The Iranian Revolution, 1978-1979
- Chamberlin, Chapter 16: The Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan, 1978-1979
- Movie: The Beast (1988)

Nov. 21: Annus Mirabilis (1989) & Annus Horribilis (1991)

Expert Speaker: Dr. Vladimir Petrovic, BU

- Kaylor, Chapter 17, p. 482-488.
- “Evolution in Europe; Yugoslavia seen breaking up soon,” *The New York Times*, 28 November 1990. <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/28/world/evolution-in-europe-yugoslavia-seen-breaking-up-soon.html>
- Yugoslav Wars: Three Minutes History
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjpxPEGTVpA>

WEEK 13

W13's Guiding Questions: TBD

Nov. 26: War on Terror

- Lepore, Jill. *These Truths: A History of the United States*
 - Chapter 16: America, Disrupted

- Pages 719-724 (till footnote 16)
 - Pages 738-749
 - Notes (p. 870-879)
- Prados, John (Sep. 2002). "Notes on the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan." *Journal of American History* 89(2): 466-471.
 - Movie, United 93 (2006)
- Nov. 28:** *No class. Thanksgiving recess.*

WEEK 14:

W14's Guiding Questions: TBD

Dec. 3: "Forever War" in Iraq and Afghanistan

Expert Speakers: Prof. Shamiran Mako & Mr. Sean Case, BU

- Barfield, Thomas (2011). "Afghanistan's Ethnic Puzzle: Decentralizing Power Before the U.S. Withdrawal." *Foreign Affairs* 90(5): 54-65.
- Crawford, Neta (2018). "Human Cost of the Post-9/11 Wars: Lethality and the Need for Transparency," *Costs of War Project*, Watson Institute, Brown University.
<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/ow/imce/papers/2018/Human%20Costs%2C%20Nov%208%202018%20CoW.pdf>

Dec. 5: Wrapping Up

- Cappella, Zielinski, Rosella. "U.S. Wars Abroad Increase Inequality at Home," *Foreign Affairs*, 5 October 2018.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-10-05/us-wars-abroad-increase-inequality-home>
- Dudziak, Mary L. "The toxic legacy of the Korean War," *The Washington Post*, 1 March 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/03/01/toxic-legacy-korean-war/?utm_term=.de4359aff13e

Final analytical commentary due on Dec. 5 by 5pm by email to TFs.