

Race and International Relations

Fall 2024, Tuesdays & Thursdays 2-3:15pm

Location: DeBartolo Hall 214

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Course Description

While there is a wealth of academic work on race, racism, and anti-racism in the domestic realm, there is less attention to them in the international context. This is unfortunate, because these issues cannot be domestically confined. United Nations resolutions against racism, debates about whether the International Criminal Court is racially biased, and the global wave of anti-racist protests in 2020 are a few examples. This course examines race in the international context, exploring how it affects, is affected by, and is intertwined with central topics in international relations, including human rights, war and peace, foreign policy, and international organizations. We will also look at intriguing but less studied issues such as the politics of transracial and transnational adoptions, racialized emotions, artificial intelligence and digital racism.

Expectations and Aims

Students are expected to read, listen to, and watch **all** required material. The course is conducted as a seminar. It can only be successful if students come prepared and make frequent and thoughtful contributions to class discussions. Skimming the readings is not sufficient. You must study the required material carefully and take good notes. In contrast, the recommended material is entirely optional.

The primary aims of the course include sharpening students' analytical skills by covering a variety of theoretical-conceptual approaches; enriching their empirical knowledge and normative positions about race and racism; and improving their ability to identify prominent problems related to racism and articulate promising responses to these.

Evaluation and Grading

Students' knowledge will be evaluated through a midterm exam, participation in class discussions, a final paper, leading the discussion on a reading, and a current events assignment. There is no final exam. The in-class midterm includes multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. There will be no study guide, but we will have a review session. Students are also expected to post, analyze, and comment on news articles about current events. We will start many classes with discussions of current events, as indicated in the syllabus. This is a great way to think about how the course material applies to current problems in the world. It also allows you to bring in a variety of race-related concerns you are interested in, not all of which can be

covered in the required material. Below I offer detailed information about the current events assignment.

Students will also lead the discussion on one reading of their choice. The articles, along with further instructions for this assignment, are included below. Please let me know as soon as you can which article you would like to choose. The sooner you do so, the more likely that you can discuss the article of your choice because no one else took it. Please make sure the dates of your current event presentation and leading discussion differ.

There will be a final paper in this course. Students have to describe and analyze the diversity policy of an international organization, and present their findings to the class. You can find more information on the final paper below.

Midterm exam: 30%

Final paper and its oral presentation: 30%

Leading the discussion of a reading: 20%

Participation in class discussions and current event presentation: 20%

Final Course Grades: 93-100 (A); 90-92 (A-); 87-89 (B+); 83-86 (B); 80-82 (B-); 77-79 (C+); 73-76 (C); 70-72 (C-); 67-69 (D+); 60-66 (D); F < 60.

Important Dates

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| September 5 | Pick a date for your current event presentation and email it to me |
| September 5 | Pick a reading with an asterisk for which you will lead the class discussion, and email it to me (its date should differ from that of your current event presentation) |
| October 15 | Midterm exam |
| November 13 | First draft of final paper due |
| November 25 | Second draft of final paper due |
| December 4 | Final draft of paper due |
| Varying dates (make sure you know yours) | Current event articles |
| Varying dates (make sure you know yours) | Leading discussions on journal articles |

Readings and Article Discussions

All required readings will be available on Canvas. You can find other sources by clicking on the links included next to them in this syllabus.

Reading carefully is critical for your learning in this course. These broad questions can assist you in discerning key aspects of the reading and coming to class prepared to discuss them. You can also use these and similar questions when conducting a discussion on an article of your choice:

- What are the main questions or puzzles of the assigned reading?
- What are the arguments made by the author(s)?
- Who are the main actors? What do they want? How do they pursue what they want? Do they achieve what they want? Do their actions help or hurt racial equality?
- How do these arguments differ from and contribute to the existing literature?
- What is the evidence provided to support these arguments? How was it gathered? How was it analyzed?
- What are the policy implications of the assigned reading?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the assigned reading? Importantly, what did you learn from it?
- Was there anything unclear in the assigned readings that we should clarify?

The articles you can choose to lead discussion on have an asterisk (*) next to them in the syllabus schedule below.

Current Event Presentations

- a) *The Analyst*: You have to post a current event article only for the day(s) you are assigned. Let's call you "the analyst." I will add the list of analyst assignments below soon. If at that time you don't see your name or the date does not work for you, please email me right away. Posting a news article is required; posting its written analysis is optional. You can just make the presentation orally if you prefer. Assuming we encounter no technical difficulties, I expect you to post your current events article on Canvas. Go to the Current events module and click on it. Then hit reply on the relevant date and attach or copy-paste your article.
- b) *The Commentator*: If for a certain date you are not assigned to post the article and analyze it, then for that date you are what I call "a commentator." I expect you to comment during class (NOT online) on the articles and analyses provided by analysts throughout the term. To ensure your class participation grade is high, aim to comment on at least half of the posted articles and their analyses. At the same time, keep in mind that quality is more important than quantity.
- c) *Sources*: The analyst should post a news article that comes from a reputable source (such as The New York Times, BBC News, Foreign Affairs, Washington Post, The Economist, or The Wall Street Journal) and is informative. Avoid posting articles that are very short (or very long) and superficial or are opinionated editorials. Please post articles that are very recent, rather than older, outdated ones. The news article of the analysts should focus on an important political issue, related to the class topic of that day (NOT previous class days). Avoid marginal issues and those unrelated to class.
- d) *Deadlines*: Analysts must post the news articles on the course website, by 5pm EST the day before class. Please post the news article well ahead of the deadline (perhaps aim for noon instead of 5pm). If you upload your current event late (even a few minutes late), you will not get credit for it. It is key that you upload not just the link to your article but

the full article. Those of us who are not subscribers to the particular newspaper you use will not be able to access the article you posted.

- e) *Presentation Length:* If you are an analyst, discuss your news article in **no more than 3 minutes**. Assume that we read it and summarize it in a sentence or two. Spend the rest of your time telling us how the article relates to ONE concept, theory, or phenomenon from the reading assigned for that day rather than a past reading.
- f) *Presentation Content:* At the most general level, as an analyst you could highlight how a concept or theory sheds light on the news article you chose, or how the concept/theory fails to do so. When possible, connect the news article of your choice to a reading, rather than a podcast or a video. Avoid making overly general connections and strive to make specific arguments. Commentators could react in a number of ways. Most frequently, they agree or disagree with the analyst, or suggest a different concept/theory/phenomenon from the assigned reading that could be related to the news article.
- g) *Think Hard:* Analysts' contributions should be the result of thinking very hard, rather than external research. Strive to make specific arguments based on specific parts of the reading and the news article. Ideally, you will tell us something important and novel that shows you read and understood the relevant material and are able to use it creatively. I am interested in your thoughts, not someone else's. Your thoughts should be supported by evidence, arguments, and facts that come from the newspaper article and the assigned readings.
- h) *My Reactions and Evaluation:* If you are the analyst, I will publicly react to your post in the classroom. I will be as tactful as possible, but I also ask that you do not take it personally if I critique your analysis. The idea is for students to learn about what to avoid and what to emulate, and make sure that we understand things accurately. I expect that you care more about learning and won't expect that everyone will agree with you on everything. The current event grade for both commentators and analysts counts toward class participation, so I won't give you a separate grade for either, but will fold them into your participation grade. They will count for about a third of your participation grade.

The Final Paper

The final paper will focus on describing and analyzing the diversity policies of a particular international organization. It will be no more than 15 pages long (not counting the bibliography), double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman font, and one inch margins. Please include footnotes. You can use your preferred citation format. The bibliography should contain at least 10 reputable sources.

During the course of this term, I will provide more guidance about the final paper. Here are some preliminary thoughts: International organizations, like other organizations, tend to have statements and policies related to diversity. These can vary in terms of ambition, effectiveness, and desirability. Our project aims to offer an overview and critical appraisal of these diversity policies.

The first step is choosing our organizations. In addition to choosing the most prominent organizations, we want to be as comprehensive as we can. We should cover global and regional, general and issue-specific organizations. Global organizations include the United Nations system, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization.

The UN is more associated with the Global South, whereas the others are more often associated with the Global North. Regional organizations of interest include the African Union, the African Development Bank, ASEAN, the Arab League, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Organization of American States, and the European Union and the Council of Europe. These tend to all be more general organizations. Other issue-specific organizations that may be of interest include the Green Climate Fund and the Global Environment Facility, and ECOWAS. Before you choose your organization, make sure it has enough information on diversity-related issues to allow you to write a strong final paper.

Once we pick our organizations, the second step is to read the available documents to get a sense of the nature of diversity policies:

- a) Sources: what sources do you rely on to establish the organization's diversity stance? Potential sources include but are not limited to: diversity and inclusion statements or policies; committees or task forces on DEI; DEI training and mentoring programs.
- b) Justification: How is diversity justified, if at all (a moral good, a legal imperative, a way to improve organizational legitimacy/public image, improve decision making, a combination of these factors, etc)? Is it mostly a means to an end (better decisions, more legitimacy, higher profits etc) or a desirable end in itself?
- c) Meaning: How is diversity understood and defined, if at all? Is diversity confined to racial and ethnic diversity? Does it include gender diversity or nationality (or religion, age, disabilities etc)?
- d) Weight: Assuming more than one dimension of diversity is included, what is the weight given to them? Is racial diversity ignored or is it dominant compared to gender and nationality? Are all dimensions of diversity treated as equal, or are some emphasized over others?
- e) Application: Where is diversity supposed to apply? Are hiring, promotion, workforce/committee/leadership composition all included? Any other areas?

Third, after describing an organization's diversity policies, we need to evaluate them. To evaluate them, we need to establish the relevant criteria of evaluation:

- A. Criteria: Are there any goals, qualitative or quantitative, specified by the organization, that would show whether diversity policies work? If so, what are they? If not, can we come up with some? Based on these indicators, are diversity policies effective? Is there evidence, qualitative or quantitative, showing that the organization's diversity policies work? What are their strengths and weaknesses?

Fourth, based on this analysis, you should offer some policy recommendations. How can diversity policies be improved? Are there any downsides, intended or unintended, to such policies?

Finally, you will offer a professional presentation, including a Q&A, at the end of class. We will talk more about what this entails.

Grading and Feedback

An outstanding final paper will be clearly written (no jargon), clearly organized (following the guidance above closely), and well researched and footnoted. It should be specific, nuanced and comprehensive, within the confines of the page limit. I will use these criteria when giving you feedback and grading your paper. Please use these criteria when offering each other feedback at the two workshops. And if you receive helpful feedback, please make sure that you revise your paper accordingly.

Academic Misconduct

I take academic misconduct extremely seriously. If I discover any misconduct, I will initiate the appropriate proceedings and will recommend that the student receive a failing grade for the course. To learn more about various forms of academic misconduct, such as cheating, fabrication, and plagiarism, please visit <https://honorcode.nd.edu/#appendix> and <https://research.nd.edu/our-services/compliance/research-misconduct/> It is your responsibility to learn about plagiarism and make sure you avoid it. Ignorance is not a good excuse in this case. If you have any doubt at all about whether something qualifies as plagiarism, please discuss the matter with me.

Accommodations

If you need special accommodations, please contact <https://supportandcare.nd.edu/for-students/current-students/accessibility-support/requesting-accommodations/> and keep me informed. Please consider taking advantage of the University Counseling Center too (<https://ucc.nd.edu/counseling-services/>).

Policies

Needless to say, I expect you to attend class, take assignments very seriously, and alert me well in advance if you know you will miss any deadlines. If you miss an assignment, you must provide proper documentation. You must have strong reasons to reschedule an exam or an assignment, and you must let me know well in advance. If you are late completing an assignment, the penalty is four points per day, including weekends. If the assignment is not received in a week after it is due, the student will receive no credit for it. Makeup exams and assignments will only be given if students provide *prior notice* and/or *proper documentation* justifying their absence. Keep in mind that some assignments, such as final presentations, may be extremely difficult to reschedule.

Students who wish their grades reconsidered need to submit a one-page document explaining why the original grade should be changed. This document must be submitted to me no sooner than 48 hours after the student learned about the grade and no later than one week after it. I encourage you to set aside your electronic devices in class.

You can contact me anytime via email and I will do my best to respond within 24 hours Monday to Friday. I might not check my email on the weekend. If you have questions that require longer answers, please consider setting up an appointment with me or coming to office hours. I would love to see you, talk with you, and get to know you!

All of us should monitor our health carefully. If you are sick, please wear a mask or do not come to class. Just reach out to me and I will work with you to ensure that you keep up with the course material. In keeping with the university's guidance, all classes should meet in person. However, if I get sick, we will temporarily pivot to Zoom. I will provide more information and Zoom links as needed.

Race Lab

In February 2022 I started a research lab at the Klau Institute for Civil and Human Rights (<https://klau.nd.edu/initiatives/international-race-and-rights-lab/>). I will be advertising paid research positions for students regularly. The selection process is arduous as we aim to put together an outstanding team. Selected students will work closely with me on projects at the intersection of human rights, international politics, and race. If you excel in this course and are interested in working at the lab, please do let me know.

COURSE SCHEDULE

August 27: Introduction

- Required:
 - Syllabus

August 29: Race and Racism in International Relations

- Required
 - Freeman, Bianca, D. G. Kim, and David A. Lake. "Race in International Relations: Beyond the "Norm Against Noticing"." *Annual Review of Political Science* 25.1 (2022): 175-196.
 - Current event [Connor]
- Recommended
 - Abraham, Kavi Joseph. "What is Race? Epistemic Ambiguity and Liberal International Order." *International Affairs* 100.4 (2024): 1615-1633.
 - Ba, Oumar. "Race and IR." Edited by Cameron Thies. *Handbook of International Relations*, forthcoming.
 - Baker, Andy. "Race, Paternalism, and Foreign Aid: Evidence from U.S. Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 109.1 (2015): 93-109.
 - Búzás, Zoltán I. "Racial Ideologies in World Politics." Edited by Mark Haas and Jonathan Leader Maynard. *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations*. Routledge, 2022. 233-248.
 - Doty, Roxanne Lynn. "The Bounds of 'Race' in International Relations." *Millennium* 22.3 (1993): 443-461.
 - Freeman, Bianca. "Race in IR: Toward Empirical Study." *International Politics* 61.2 (2024): 443-450.
 - Klotz, Audie. "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions Against South Africa." *International organization* 49.3 (1995): 451-478.
 - Manchanda, Nivi. "Race and Racism." Edited by Mlada Bukovansky, et al. *The Oxford Handbook of History and International Relations* (2023): 233.
 - McNamee, Lachlan. "Colonial Legacies and Comparative Racial Identification in the Americas." *American Journal of Sociology* 126.2 (2020): 318-353.

- Mills, Charles W. ““But What Are You Really?”: The Metaphysics of Race.” (1998).
- Shilliam, Robbie. “Race in World Politics.” Edited by Baylis, et al. *The Globalization of World Politics*, 2019.
- Thakur, Vineet, and Ladhu Ram Choudhary. "How a Nazi Occupied India’s First Chair in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* (2024): 1-18.
- Zvobgo, Kelebogile, and Meredith Loken. “Why Race Matters in International Relations.” *Foreign Policy*, 2020.

September 3: Racial Diversity and Exclusion in International Relations

- Required
 - *Zvobgo, Kelebogile, et al. "Race and Racial Exclusion in Security Studies: A Survey of Scholars." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 593-621.
 - Current event [Theresa]
- Recommended
 - Blatt, Jessica. *Race and the Making of American Political Science*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021.
 - Bustamante, Kevin E. "Waltz With Me: Structural Realism and Structural Racism in International Politics." *Security Studies* forthcoming.
 - Gani, Jasmine K., and Rabea M. Khan. "Positionality Statements as a Function of Coloniality: Interrogating Reflexive Methodologies." *International Studies Quarterly* 68.2 (2024).
 - Henderson, Errol A. "The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School’s Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory." *Millennium* 45.3 (2017): 492-510.
 - Koppell, Carla, Jamille Bigio, and Miguel Centeno, “Why Diversity Matters in International Affairs Education,” *Foreign Affairs*, 1 November 2021.
 - Lake, David A. "White Man’s IR: An Intellectual Confession." *Perspectives on Politics* 14.4 (2016): 1112-1122.
 - Mampilly, Zachariah. “The Divided Diplomat: Ralph Bunche and the Contradictions of Liberal Order.” *Foreign Aff.* 102 (2023): 156.
 - Mampilly, Zachariah. "The Du Bois Doctrine: Race and the American Century." *Foreign Aff.* 101 (2022): 156.
 - Popescu-Sarry, Diana. "Discrimination Without Traits: From Social Construction to the Politics of Discrimination." *American Political Science Review* 118.2 (2024): 890-902.
 - Raustiala, Kal. *The Absolutely Indispensable Man: Ralph Bunche, the United Nations, and the Fight to End Empire*. Oxford University Press, 2022.

- Rublee, Maria Rost, et al. "Promoting Diversity and Inclusion in Professional Associations: Experiences from Security Studies." *International Studies Perspectives* 25.1 (2024): 111-143.
- Tiekú, Thomas Kwasi. "The Legon School of International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 47.5 (2021): 656-671.
- Vitalis, Robert. *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Zvobgo, Kelebogile. "Did America's Racial Awakening Reach IR Professors?" *Foreign Policy*, 25 June 2021.

September 5: Racism, Antiracism, and the International Order

- Required
 - Búzás, Zoltán I. "Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75.2 (2021): 440-463.
- Recommended
 - Acharya, Amitav. "Race and Racism in the Founding of the Modern World Order." *International Affairs* 98.1 (2022): 23-43.
 - Brown, Owen R. "The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order." *International Organization* 78.1 (2024): 38-66.
 - Búzás, Zoltán I. "Racial Ideologies in World Politics." Edited by Mark Haas and Jonathan Leader Maynard. *The Routledge Handbook of Ideology and International Relations*. Routledge, 2022. 233-248.
 - Grovogui, Siba N'Zatioula. *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*. Vol. 3. U of Minnesota Press, 1996.
 - Han, Enze, and Daniel Marwecki. "Racialised International Order? Traces of 'Yellow Peril' Trope in Germany's Public Discourse Toward China." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 36.3 (2023): 391-409.
 - Herman, Rebecca. "The Global Politics of Anti-Racism: A View from the Canal Zone." *The American Historical Review* 125.2 (2020): 460-486.
 - Marx, Anthony W. "Race-making and the nation-state." *World Politics* 48.2 (1996): 180-208.
 - Mills, Charles W. *The Racial Contract*. Cornell University Press, 2014.
 - Nisancioglu, Kerem. "Racial sovereignty." *European Journal of International Relations* 26.1 (2020): 39-63.
 - Sabaratnam, Meera. "Bring Up the Bodies: International Order, Empire, and Re-thinking the Great War (1914–1918) From Below." *European Journal of International Relations* 29.3 (2023): 553-575.
 - Shilliam, Robbie. "Race and racism in international relations: Retrieving a scholarly inheritance." *International Politics Reviews* 8.2 (2020): 152-195.

September 10: Civil Rights International

- Required
 - Blain, Keisha N. "Civil Rights International." *Foreign Affairs*, 2020.
 - *Solomon, Ty. "Up in the Air: Ritualized Atmospheres and the Global Black Lives Matter Movement." *European Journal of International Relations* 29.3 (2023): 576-601.
 - Current event [Aaliah]
- Recommended
 - Anderson, Carol Elaine. *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
 - Beaman, Jean, and Jennifer Fredette. "The US/France Contrast Frame and Black Lives Matter in France." *Perspectives on Politics* 20.4 (2022): 1346-1361.
 - Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Harvard University Press, 2003.
 - Darian-Smith, Eve. "Re-reading W. E. B. Du Bois: The Global Dimensions of the U.S. Civil Rights Struggle." *Journal of Global History* 7.3 (2012): 483-505.
 - Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
 - Layton, Azza Salama. *International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941-1960*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
 - Nwakanma, Aduo Pamela. "From Black Lives Matter to EndSARS: Women's Socio-Political Power and the Transnational Movement for Black Lives." *Perspectives on Politics* 20.4 (2022): 1246-1259.
 - Spence, Lester. "The Black Fantastic in International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 49.4 (2023): 584-596.

September 12: Race, the Pandemic, and Human Rights

- Required
 - Búzás, Zoltán I. "Is the Good News about Law Compliance Good News about Norm Compliance? The Case of Racial Equality." *International Organization* 72.2 (2018): 351-385.
 - *Dionne, Kim Yi, and Fulya Felicity Turkmen. "The Politics of Pandemic Othering: Putting COVID-19 in Global and Historical Context." *International Organization* 74.S1 (2020): E213-E230. [Connor]
- Recommended
 - Banton, Michael. "The International Defence of Racial Equality." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13.4 (1990): 568-583.

- Fernández, Marta, and Pedro Paulo dos Santos Silva. "Crossed Pandemics: Racism, Police Violence, and Covid-19 in Brazil and the United States." *Review of International Studies* 49.4 (2023): 567-583.
- Hooijer, Gerda, and Desmond King. "The Racialized Pandemic: Wave One of COVID-19 and the Reproduction of Global North Inequalities." *Perspectives on Politics* 20.2 (2022): 507-527.
- Klocker, Cornelia, and Deborah Casalin. "Discriminatory Practices in Armed Conflict Contexts: Exploring (Parallel) Proceedings under the European Convention on Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 27.5 (2023): 896-924.
- Lauren, Paul Gordon. "First Principles of Racial Equality: History and the Politics and Diplomacy of Human Rights Provisions in the United Nations Charter." *Hum. Rts. Q.* 5 (1983): 1.
- Li, Yao-Tai. "Taiwan and the WHO: Negotiating the Deconstruction of Racialized Discourse during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *International Affairs* 99.1 (2023): 321-336.
- Mutua, Makau. *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

September 17: Race, Peace and Conflict

- Required
 - *Green-Riley, Naima, and Andrew Leber. "Whose War is it Anyway? Explaining the Black-White Gap in Support for the Use of Force Abroad." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 811-845. [Edie]
 - Maass, Richard W. "Racialization and International Security." *International Security* 48.2 (2023): 91-126.
- Recommended
 - Achilleos-Sarll, Columba. "The (Dis-) Appearance of Race in the United Kingdom's Institutionalization and Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda." *International Studies Quarterly* 67.1 (2023).
 - Arellano, Adrian. "Intergenerational Immobility: A Legacy of Racial Violence." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 846-870.
 - Barder, Alexander D. *Global Race War: International Politics and Racial Hierarchy*. Oxford University Press, 2021.
 - Barder, Alexander D. "Global War and the Racial Imaginary." *International Politics* 61.2 (2024): 465-472.
 - Belew, Kathleen. "The Violent Defense of Whiteness." *New York Times*, May 2022.

- Bell, Duncan. "Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War." *European Journal of International Relations* 20.3 (2014): 647-670.
- Búzás, Zoltán I., and Anna A. Meier. "Racism by Designation: Making Sense of Western States' Nondesignation of White Supremacists as Terrorists." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 680-713.
- Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)." *Security Studies* 22.4 (2013): 573-606.
- Byman, Daniel. "White Supremacy, Terrorism, and the Failure of Reconstruction in the United States." *International Security* 46.1 (2021): 53-103.
- Cadava, Geraldo. "The Rise of Latino White Supremacy." *The New Yorker*, Advance Magazine Publishers, Inc., 30 May 2023.
- Chu, Jonathan A., and Carrie A. Lee. "Race, Religion, and American Support for Humanitarian Intervention." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 68.10 (2024): 2076-2100.
- Connelly, John. "Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice." *Central European History* 32.1 (1999): 1-33.
- Coward, Martin, and Andreja Zevnik. "Introduction: Racialised Violence in Global Politics." *Review of International Studies* 49.4 (2023): 537-538.
- Ebner, David B. "National Insecurity: Race, Racism, and Public Support for Militarized Foreign Policy in the United States (1986–2020)." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* (2025): 1-24.
- Freeman, Bianca. "Racial Hierarchy and Jurisdiction in U.S. Status of Forces Agreements." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 748-774.
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Gary M. Segura. "Race, Casualties, and Opinion in the Vietnam War." *Journal of Politics* 62.1 (2000): 115-146.
- Goddard, Stacie E., and Paul K. MacDonald. "From 'Butcher and Bolt' to 'Blugsplat': Race, Counterinsurgency, and International Politics." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 714-747.
- Huff, Connor, and Robert Schub. "Segregation, Integration, and Death: Evidence from the Korean War." *International Organization* 75.3 (2021): 858-879.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain. "Racism and Security Dilemmas." *International Politics* 61.2 (2024): 451-464.
- Kramer, Paul A. "Race-Making and Colonial Violence in the U.S. Empire: The Philippine-American War as Race War." *Diplomatic History* 30.2 (2006): 169-210.
- Krebs, Ronald R. "Introducing the Special Issue on 'Race and Security.'" *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 589-592.

- Kripp, Jacob. "The Creative Advance Must Be Defended: Miscegenation, Metaphysics, and Race War in Jan Smuts's Vision of the League of Nations." *American Political Science Review* 116.3 (2022): 940-953.
- Maass, Richard W. "Whitewashing American Exceptionalism: Racialized Subject-Positioning and US Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly* 68.3 (2024).
- Mercer, Jonathan. "Racism, Stereotypes, and War." *International Security* 48.2 (2023): 7-48.
- Mumford, Densua, and James Shires. "Toward a Decolonial Cybersecurity: Interrogating the Racial-Epistemic Hierarchies that Constitute Cybersecurity Expertise." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 622-652.
- Nincic, Miroslav, and Donna J. Nincic. "Race, Gender, and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 39.5 (2002): 547-568.
- Philips, Menaka. "Violence in the American Imaginary: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Superheroes." *American Political Science Review* 116.2 (2022): 470-483.
- Rathbun, Brian C., Christopher Sebastian Parker, and Caleb Pomeroy. "Separate but Unequal: Ethnocentrism and Racialization Explain the 'Democratic' Peace in Public Opinion." *American Political Science Review* (2024): 1-16.
- Salter, Mark B., et al. "Race and Racism in Critical Security Studies." *Security Dialogue*, vol. 52, no. 1_suppl, Nov. 2021, pp. 3-7, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09670106211038787>.
- Shilliam, Robbie. "International Security and Black Politics: A Biographical Note Toward an Institutional Critique." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 879-891.
- Snyder, Jack. "How Central is Race to International Relations?." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 892-906.
- Vucetic, Srdjan. "A Racialized Peace? How Britain and the U.S. Made Their Relationship Special." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7.4 (2011): 403-421.
- Weingartner, James. "War Against Subhumans: Comparisons Between the German War Against the Soviet Union and the American War Against Japan, 1941-1945." *The Second World War*. Routledge, 2017. 489-505.

September 19: Race and International Economics

- Required
 - * Helleiner, Eric. *The contested World Economy: The Deep and Global Roots of International Political Economy*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.
 - * Lockwood, Erin. "The Antisemitic Backlash to Financial Power: Conspiracy Theory as a Response to Financial Complexity and Crisis." *New Political Economy* 26.2 (2021): 261-270.
- Recommended

- Alami, Ilias, and Vincent Guermond. "The Color of Money at the Financial Frontier." *Review of International Political Economy* 30.3 (2023): 1073-1097.
- Danewid, Ida. "The Fire this Time: Grenfell, Racial Capitalism and the Urbanisation of Empire." *European Journal of International Relations* 26.1 (2020): 289-313.
- Evers, Miles M., and Steven D. Schaaf. "The Color of International Trade: How Different Racial Attitudes Affect Public Trade Preferences." *International Interactions* (2024): 1-31.
- Haile, Fikir. "Africa in IPE Theorization: Exclusion, Oversight, and Eurocentrism in the Field's Past and Future." *Review of International Political Economy* 30.5 (2023): 1660-1675.
- Hammoudi, Ali. "International Order and Racial Capitalism: The Standardization of 'Free Labour' Exploitation in International Law." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 35.4 (2022): 779-799.
- Ince, Onur Ulas. "Deprovincializing Racial Capitalism: John Crawford and Settler Colonialism in India." *American Political Science Review* 116.1 (2022): 144-160.
- Ince, Onur Ulas. "From 'Chinese Colonist' to 'Yellow Peril': Capitalist Racialization in the British Empire." *American Political Science Review* 118.4 (2024): 1748-1762.
- Johnson, David Kenneth. "Walter Rodney and the Method of Political Economy: Retrieving a Critical-Historical IPE." *Review of International Political Economy* 30.2 (2023): 421-436.
- Khalili, Laleh. "Humanitarianism and Racial Capitalism in the Age of Global Shipping." *European Journal of International Relations* 29.2 (2023): 374-397.
- Levenson, Zachary, and Marcel Paret. "The Three Dialectics of Racial Capitalism: From South Africa to the U.S. and Back Again." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 20.2 (2023): 333-351.
- Lobo, Daniel and Ryan Brutger. "Fairness According to Whom? Divergent Perceptions of Fairness among White and Black Americans and Its Effect on Trade Attitudes." *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming, p. 1-14
- Matlon, Jordanna. "Racial Capitalism and the Crisis of Black Masculinity." *American Sociological Review* 81.5 (2016): 1014-1038.
- Mutz, Diana, Edward Mansfield, and Eunji Kim. "The Racialization of International Trade." *Political Psychology* 42.4 (2021): 555-573.
- Papamichail, Andreas. "Reinscribing Global Hierarchies: COVID-19, Racial Capitalism and the Liberal International Order." *International Affairs* 99.4 (2023): 1673-1691.
- Persaud, Randolph B. "Racial Assumptions in Global Labor Recruitment and Supply." *Alternatives* 26.4 (2001): 377-399.

- Singh, Jatinder Pal. "Race, Culture, and Economics: An Example from North-South Trade Relations." *Review of International Political Economy* 28.2 (2021): 323-335.
- Singh, J.P. "Racism and Paternalism." Edited by Jon C. W. Pevehouse and Leonard Seabrooke. *The Oxford Handbook of International Political Economy*, 12 May 2021.
- Wai, Christopher Choong Weng. "Anti-Colonial Raced Capitalism in Malaysia: Contested Logics, Gendered Repertoires." *Review of International Studies* (2024): 1-20.

September 24: Race, Racism and Emotions

- Required
 - *Teeger, Chana. "(Not) Feeling the Past: Boredom as a Racialized Emotion." *American Journal of Sociology* 129.1 (2023): 1-40. [Aaliah]
 - Current event [Katharine; Eliza]
- Recommended
 - Banks, Antoine J. *Anger and Racial Politics: The Emotional Foundation of Racial Attitudes in America*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
 - Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. "Feeling Race: Theorizing the Racial Economy of Emotions." *American Sociological Review* 84.1 (2019): 1-25.
 - Bousfield, Dan, Heather L. Johnson, and Jean Michel Montsion. "Racialized Hearts and Minds: Emotional Labor and Affective Leadership in the Teaching/Learning of IR." *International studies perspectives* 20.2 (2019): 170-187.
 - Phoenix, Davin L. *The Anger Gap: How Race Shapes Emotion in Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

September 26: Race, Racism, and Babies

- Required
 - *Kim, JaeRan. "Race and Power in Transracial and Transnational Adoption." *The Complexities of Race*. New York University Press, 2021. 104-125. [Eliza]
 - Current event
- Recommended
 - Hackenesch, Silke. *Adoption Across Race and Nation: U.S. Histories and Legacies*. The Ohio State University Press, 2022.
 - Raleigh, Elizabeth. *Selling Transracial Adoption: Families, Markets, and the Color Line*. Temple University Press, 2018.
 - Tessler, Richard, Mia Tuan, and Jiannbin Lee Shiao. "The Many Faces of International Adoption." *Contexts* 10.4 (2011): 34-39.

October 1: Race and International Organizations

- Required
 - Búzás, Zoltán I. "Race and International Institutions." Edited by Michael Barnett and Duncan Snidal. *The Oxford Handbook of International Institutions*. Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
 - *Kantola, Johanna, et al. "'It's Like Shouting to a Brick Wall': Normative Whiteness and Racism in the European Parliament." *American Political Science Review* 117.1 (2023): 184-199. [Theresa]
- Recommended
 - Chow, Wilfred M., and Enze Han. "Descriptive Legitimacy and International Organizations: Evidence from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees." *The Journal of Politics* 85.2 (2023): 357-371.
 - Hemmer, Christopher, and Peter J. Katzenstein. "Why is there no NATO in Asia? Collective identity, regionalism, and the origins of multilateralism." *International organization* 56.3 (2002): 575-607.
 - Lipsy, Phillip Y., and Jiajia Zhou. "Institutional racism in international relations." *Available at SSRN 4202426* (2022).
 - Oksamytna, Kseniya, and Sarah von Billerbeck. "Race and International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 68.2 (June 2024).
 - Shepard, Todd. "Algeria, France, Mexico, UNESCO: A Transnational History of Anti-Racism and Decolonization, 1932–1962." *Journal of Global History* 6.2 (2011): 273-297.
 - Steinberg, David A., and Daniel McDowell. "Race, Representation, and the Legitimacy of International Organizations." *International Organization* 78.3 (2024): 575–599.
 - Xavier Pinto Coelho, Luana. "Building the Inter-American Convention Against Racism: Between Antiracist Pride and Racism Denial." *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 15.1 (2023): 244-261.

October 3: Hierarchy, Foreign Policy and Racial Identities

- Required
 - Carson, Austin, Eric Min, and Maya Van Nuys. "Racial Tropes in the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy: A Computational Text Analysis." *International Organization* 78.2 (2024): 189–223.
 - *Pérez, José O. "Brazil's Foreign Policy and Security under Lula and Bolsonaro: Hierarchy, Racialization, and Diplomacy." *Security Studies* 32 (2023): 653 - 679.
 - Current event [Angela]
- Recommended

- Búzás, Zoltán I. "The Racial Dimensions of U.S. Policies and the Indo-Pacific." *The Routledge Handbook of US Foreign Policy in the Indo-Pacific*. Routledge, 2022. 65-78.
- De Micheli, David. "Racial reclassification and political identity formation." *World Politics* 73.1 (2021): 1-51.
- Hurst, Reuben. "Strategically ambiguous identities: Evidence from evangelical clergy in Brazilian elections." *The Journal of Politics* 85.4 (2023): 1336-1351.
- Rathbun, Brian, and Nina Srinivasan Rathbun. "Volk Theory: Prejudice, Racism, and German Foreign Policy Before and Under Hitler." *Security Studies* 32.4-5 (2023): 775-810.

October 8: Global Indigenous Politics

- Required
 - *Lightfoot, Sheryl R. "Decolonizing Self-Determination: Haudenosaunee Passports and Negotiated Sovereignty." *European Journal of International Relations* 27.4 (2021): 971-994. [Katie]
 - Current event [Eddie]
- Recommended
 - Carter, Christopher L. "Extraction, Assimilation, and Accommodation: The Historical Foundations of Indigenous–State Relations in Latin America." *American Political Science Review* 118.1 (2024): 38-53.
 - Crawford, Neta C. "A Security Regime Among Democracies: Cooperation Among Iroquois Nations." *International Organization* 48.3 (1994): 345-385.
 - Crawford, Neta C. "Native Americans and the making of international society." Edited by Tim Dunne and Christian Reus-Smit. *The Globalization of International Society* (2017): 102-121.
 - Flemmer, Riccarda. "Contesting State Monologues: Indigenous Grassroots' Struggles with Prior Consultation Norms in the Peruvian Amazon." *International Studies Quarterly* 67.3 (2023).
 - Kinsella, Helen M. "Settler Empire and the United States: Francis Lieber on the Laws of War." *American Political Science Review* 117.2 (2023): 629-642.
 - Witt, John Fabian. "Lieber at Sand Creek: A New Critical Reinterpretation of the Laws of War." *Just Security*, 3 Mar. 2023.

October 10: Midterm review session

October 15: Midterm exam

October 17: Guest Lecture (Fikir Haile)

October 19-27: Fall Break

October 29: Class canceled, instructor out of town

October 31: Race and the Media

- Readings TBD

November 5: Diversity I

- Required
 - Pringle, Judith K., and Glenda Strachan. "Duelling Dualisms." *The Oxford Handbook of Diversity in Organizations* 39 (2015).
 - Review paper guidelines
- Recommended
 - Poushter, Jacob, and Janell Fetterolf. "How People Around the World View Diversity in Their Countries." *Pew Research Center*, The Pew Charitable Trusts, 22 Apr. 2019.
 - "The Best Countries for Racial Equity." *U.S. News*, 2024.

November 7: Racial Misalignment, Symbolic Repair, and Imperial Legitimation

- Required
 - *Skarpelis, Anna Katharina Mosha. "Horror Vacui: Racial Misalignment, Symbolic Repair, and Imperial Legitimation in German National Socialist Portrait Photography." *American Journal of Sociology* 129.2 (2023): 313-383. [Angela]
 - Current event [Katharine]
- **Pick your International Organization [email me 3 options]**

November 12: Diversity II

- Required
 - "Fall 2023 Progress Report." *Office of Institutional Transformation*, University of Notre Dame, 18 Oct. 2023.
 - "Notre Dame Board of Trustees' Task Force Report on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion." *Office of the President*, University of Notre Dame, June 2021.
- Recommended
 - "The Gist: Affirmative Response." *Notre Dame Magazine*, University of Notre Dame, 6 July 2023.

November 14: Paper Workshop I

- Required

- First drafts of paper (due on November 13 at 5pm)

November 19: Race and Sports

- Required
 - *Alfano, Vincenzo, and Massimo Guarino. "From Colonial Empires to Umpires: An Investigation into the Role of Colonial Legacy in Attitudes Towards Subordinates." *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy* (2024): 1-21.
 - Current event [Katie]

November 21: Sino-American Relations and Racism

- D.G. Kim, "Anti-Asian Racism and the Rise of Hawkish Mass Opinion in China." *Political Science Quarterly* 139(2): 177-199. 2024.
- Other readings TBD

November 26: Paper workshop II

- Required
 - Second drafts of paper due on November 25 at 5pm

November 27-December 1: Thanksgiving Break

December 3: Race and Nuclear Weapons (Guest lecture Ruoyu Li)

- Required
 - Li, Ruoyu. "Testing as the Blindspot of Nuclear Nonuse." *Security Studies* (2024): 1-24.
- Recommended
 - Biswas, Shampa. "'Nuclear Apartheid' as Political Position: Race as a Postcolonial Resource?." *Alternatives* 26.4 (2001): 485-522.
 - Jacobs, Robert. "Nuclear Conquistadors: Military Colonialism in Nuclear Test Site Selection during the Cold War." *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* 1.2 (2013): 157-177.
 - Jones, Matthew. *After Hiroshima: The United States, Race and Nuclear Weapons in Asia, 1945–1965*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
 - Quandelacy, Talia. "Nuclear Racism: Uranium Mining on the Laguna and Navajo Reservations." *TuftsScope: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Health, Ethics, and Policy* (2010).
 - Taha, Hebatalla. "Hiroshima in Egypt: Interpretations and Imaginations of the Atomic Age." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 6, 2022, pp. 1460–1477.
 - Teaiwa, Teresia K. "Bikinis and Other S/Pacific N/Oceans." *Unequal Sisters*. Routledge, 1994. 77-88.

December 5: Paper Presentations I

- Required
 - Final papers due on December 4 at 5pm

December 10: Paper Presentations II

- Required
 - Final papers due on December 4 at 5pm

December 12: Taking stock; future directions on race and IR

- Required
 - Rosenberg, Andrew S. "Race and Systemic Crises in International Politics: An Agenda for Pluralistic Scholarship." *Review of International Studies* 50.3 (2024): 457-475. [Riley]
 - Also watch: Rosenberg, Andrew S. "Race and Systemic Crises in International Politics: An Agenda for Pluralistic Scholarship." *YouTube*, 12 Jan. 2024, www.youtube.com/watch?v=gRxL6IeSTcc.
 - Current event [Riley]
- Recommended
 - Achiume, Tendayi. "Racial Discrimination and Emerging Digital Technologies: a Human Rights Analysis: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance." (2020).
 - Daniels, Jessie. "Race and Racism in Internet Studies: A Review and Critique." *New Media & Society* 15.5 (2013): 695-719.
 - "Google to Fix AI Picture Bot After 'Woke' Criticism." *BBC News*, BBC, 22 Feb. 2024, www.bbc.com/news/business-68364690.
 - Hamilton, Amber M. "A Genealogy of Critical Race and Digital Studies: Past, Present, and Future." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 6.3 (2020): 292-301.
 - McMillan Cottom, Tressie. "Where Platform Capitalism and Racial Capitalism Meet: The Sociology of Race and Racism in the Digital Society." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 6.4 (2020): 441-449.