

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POL 30335

Fall 2024

Race and Racism in International Politics

Kevin Bustamante

Course Information

Lectures: MW 2:00 – 3:15

Location: Jenkins Nanovic Hall B079

Contact Information

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Office Hours: Tues. 12:00 – 2:00 or by appointment.

Course Description

What is racism? How has racism affected international politics? Does racism still affect international politics? In this course, we will first explore the conceptual foundations of race and racism. We will engage sociological and philosophical approaches to race and racism and situate them alongside current approaches to international relations. We will then grapple with issues regarding how racism has affected American foreign policy and the foreign policy of other countries like Britain and Russia. We will analyze how race and racism has affected alliance politics, nuclear politics, and the practice of war. We will conclude by analyzing how race and racism continue to affect the practice and study of international politics today.

Course Requirements

Students are expected to do all the reading, attend all sessions, and participate in class. The grade will be based on class participation (20%), two 8-page papers critically engaging with a weekly topic discussed in class (20% each), and a research project proposing what future race research IR scholars should pursue (40%).

A. Required Reading

All the required readings are available through Canvas.

B. Grading

Grades are based on two 8-page papers, (20% each), a research project (40%) and course participation (20%). The final presentation will be separated into several components first establishing what topic you are interested in (5%), a 3-page literature review (10%), a 5-page paper on the logic behind your topic selection and what you think needs further investigation (15%), and the final presentation (10%). The goal with these assignments is for you to show that you have thought about the subject deeply and that you could build on what has been done.

Please familiarize yourself with and abide by the ND Academic Code of Honor, which can be accessed [here](#).

Course Calendar

August 28 (Wed)	Class 1	Introduction
September 2 (Mon)	Class 2	Origins
September 4 (Wed)	Class 3	Origins
September 9 (M)	Class 4	Concept of Race
September 11 (W)	Class 5	Concept of Racism
September 16 (M)	Class 6	Race and IR Theory
September 18 (W)	Class 7	Race and IR Theory
September 23 (M)	Class 8	Back to the Howard School
September 25 (W)	Class 9	Back to the Howard School
September 30 (M)	Class 10	IR in the Street
October 2 (W)	Class 11	IR Theory in a New Light/1 st Paper Due
October 7 (M)	Class 12	Amity and Alliances
October 9 (W)	Class 13	Enmity and Alliances
October 14 (M)	Class 14	Democratic Peace
October 16 (W)	Class 15	Democratic Peace
FALL BREAK		
October 28 (M)	Class 16	Warfighting
October 30 (W)	Class 17	Warfighting
November 4 (M)	Class 18	Perceptions
November 6 (W)	Class 19	Perceptions
November 11 (M)	Class 20	Racism Abroad
November 13 (W)	Class 21	Racism Abroad
November 18 (M)	Class 22	Institutions/2 nd Paper
November 20 (W)	Class 23	Institutions
November 25 (M)	Class 24	Abolition
HOLIDAY BREAK		
December 3 (M)	Class 26	Abolition
December 5 (W)	Class 27	Reflections
December 9 (M)	Class 28	Presentations
December 11 (W)	Class 29	Presentations

Course Schedule

- **August 28 (W) Class 1: Introduction**
- **September 2 (M) Class 2: Origins**

Robert Vitalis, "Introduction," In *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 1-25.

Errol Henderson, "Racism and Global War in World Politics: As Obvious as It Is Ignored," *International Politics* 61, no. 2 (2023): 1-30.
- **September 4 (W) Class 3: Origins**

Aldon Morris, "The Rise of Scientific Sociology in America," In *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 6-15.

Leah N. Gordon, "Attitudes, Structures, and "Levels of Change": The Social Science of Prejudice and Race Relations," In *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 26-53.
- **September 9 (M) Class 4: Concept of Race**

Quayshawn Spencer, "Racial Realism I: Are Biological Races Real?" *Philosophy Compass* 13, no. 1 (2018): 181-204.

Dorothy Roberts, "Separating Racial Science from Racism," In *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: The New Press, 2011), 26-54.
- **September 11 (W) Class 5: Concept of Racism**

Katherine Cramer, "Understanding the Role of Racism in Contemporary US Public Opinion," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23 (2020): 153-169.

Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, "White Power: The Colonial Situation," In *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage House, 1967), 1-15.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation," *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 3 (1997): 465-480.
- **September 16 (M) Class 6: Race and IR Theory**

Alision Howell and Melanie Richter-Montpetit, "Is Securitization Theory Racist? Civilizationism, Methodological Whiteness, and Antiblack Thought in the Copenhagen School," *Security Dialogue* 51, no. 1 (2020): 3-22.

Meera Sabaratnam, "Is IR Theory White? Racialised Subject-Positioning in Three Canonical Texts," *Millenium* 49 (1): 3-31.

Kelebogile Zvobgo and Meredith Loken, "Why Race Matters in International Relations," *Foreign Policy*, June 19, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/19/why-race-matters-international-relations-ir/>
- **September 18 (W) Class 7: Race and IR Theory**

Kevin E. Bustamante, "Waltz with Me: Structural Realism and Structural Racism in International Politics," *Security Studies*.

Jack Snyder, "How Central is Race to International Relations?" *Security Studies* 32, no. 4-5 (2023): 892-906.

- **September 23 (M) Class 8: Back to the Howard School**
 W.E.B Du Bois, “The African Roots of War,” In *W.E.B. Du Bois: International Thought*, edited by Adom Getachew and Jennifer Pitts (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 22-35.
 W.E.B Du Bois, “Of the Culture of White Folk,” In *W.E.B. Du Bois: International Thought*, edited by Adom Getachew and Jennifer Pitts (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 36-49.
 Zachariah Mampilly, “The Du Bois Doctrine: Race and the American Century,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2022)
- **September 25 (W) Class 9: Back to the Howard School**
 Merze Tate, “The Present Day International Situation,” *National Educational Outlook Among Negroes* 2, no. 6 (1939): 14-17.
 Merze Tate, “The War Aims of World War I and World War II and their Relation to the Darker Peoples of the World,” *Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (1943): 521-532.
 Kevin E. Bustamante, “Racial Hierarchy and the Balance of Power,” Working Paper.
- **September 30 (M) Class 10: IR in the Street**
 Claudia Jones, “What We Must Now Do about India,” In *Women’s International Thought: A New Canon*, edited by Patricia Owens, Katharina Rietzler, Kimberly Hutchings, and Sarah C. Dunstan (New York: Cambridge University Press), 105-109.
 Keisha N. Blain, “Women Pioneers in the Garvey Movement,” *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 11-47.
 James Blackwell, Charlotte Carney, Keshab Giri, Davina Nair, Kate Scott, and Laura J. Shepherd, “Interrogating Whiteness in International Relations: Critical Examinations of Race and Racialised Power,” *International Politics* (2024).
- **October 2 (W) Class 11: IR Theory in New Light**
 Shampa Biswas, “Whose Nuclear Desire? A Postcolonial Critique of an Enlightenment Project,” In *Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 75-108.
 Bianca Freeman, D.G. Kim, and David A. Lake, “Race in International Relations: Beyond the ‘Norm Against Noticing,’” *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (2022): 175-196.
- **October 7 (M) Class 12: Amity and Alliances**
 Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, “Why Is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism,” *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (2002): 575-607.
 Amoz JY Hor, “NATO was Founded to Protect ‘Civilized’ People. That Means White” *Washington Post*, April 12, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/04/11/nato-ukraine-refugees-whiteness/>.
- **October 9 (W) Class 13: Enmity and Alliances**
 Zoltán I. Búzás, “The Color of Threat: Race, Threat Perception, and the Demise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902-1923),” *Security Studies* 22, no. 4 (2013): 573-606.

- **October 14 (M) Class 14: Democratic Peace**
 Duncan Bell, “Before the Democratic Peace: Racial Utopianism, Empire and the Abolition of War,” *European Journal of International Relations* 20, no. 3 (2014): 647-670.
- **October 16 (W) Class 15: Democratic Peace**
 Brian C. Rathbun, Christopher S. Parker, Caleb Pomeroy, “Separate but Unequal: Ethnocentrism and Racialization Explain the “Democratic” Peace in Public Opinion,” *American Political Science Review* (2024).
- **October 28 (M) Class 16: Warfighting**
 Selected excerpts from Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 18-20, 172-79, 196, 235, 251.
 Connor Huff and Robert Schub, “Segregation, Integration, and Death: Evidence from the Korean War,” *International Organization* 75, no. 3 (2021): 858-79.
- **October 30 (W) Class 17: Warfighting**
 Paul K. MacDonald, “Civilized Barbarism: What We Miss When We Ignore Colonial Violence,” *International Organization* 77, no. 4 (2023): 721-753.
 Tanisha M. Fazal and Brooke C. Greene, “A Particular Difference: European Identity and Civilian Targeting,” *British Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 4 (2015): 829-851.
- **November 4 (M) Class 18: Perceptions**
 Jonathan Mercer, “Racism, Stereotypes, and War,” *International Security* 48, no. 2 (2023): 7-48.
 D.G. Kim, “Anti-Asian Racism and the Rise of Hawkish Mass Opinion in China,” *Political Science Quarterly* 139, no. 2 (2024): 177-199.
- **November 6 (W) Class 19: Perceptions**
 Austin Carson, Eric Min, and Maya Van Nuys, “Racial Tropes in the Foreign Policy Bureaucracy: A Computational Text Analysis,” *International Organization* (2024): 1-35.
 Kevin E. Bustamante, “Introducing the MOP Dataset,” Working Paper.
- **November 11 (M) Class 20: Malleability of Racism**
 Brian Rathbun and Nina Srinivasan Rathbun, “Volk Theory: Prejudice, Racism, and German Foreign Policy before and under Hitler,” *Security Studies* 32, no. 4-5 (2023): 775-810.
- **November 13 (W) Class 21: Malleability of Racism**
 Mara Loveman and Jeronimo O. Muniz, “How Puerto Rico Became White: Boundary Dynamics and Intercensus Racial Reclassification,” *American Sociological Review* 72 (2007): 915-939.
 Mara Loveman, “From Race to Culture,” In *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 207-249.
- **November 18 (M) Class 22: Institutions**
 Zoltán I. Búzás, “Racism and Antiracism in the Liberal International Order,” *International Organization* 75, no. 2 (2021): 440-463.
 Bianca Freeman, “Racial Hierarchy and Jurisdiction in US Status of Forces Agreements,” *Security Studies* 32 (4-5): 748-774.

- **November 20 (W) Class 23: Institutions**
Owen B. Brown, “The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order,” *International Organization* 78, no. 1 (2024): 38-66.
- **November 25 (M) Class 24: Abolition**
Combahee River Collective Statement (1977), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20170224021117/http://circuitous.org/scraps/combahee.html>
Nivi Manchanda, “The Banalization of Race in International Security Studies: From Absolution to Abolition,” *Security Dialogue* 52 (1_suppl): 49-59.
- **December 3 (M) Class 23: Abolition**
Robin D.G. Kelley, “What Abolition Looks Like, From the Panthers to the People,” October 26, 2020, <https://level.medium.com/what-abolition-looks-like-from-the-panthers-to-the-people-6c2e537eac71>
Sean Malloy, “Epilogue: ‘Our Demand is Simple: Stop Killing Us’ From Oakland to Ferguson.” In *Out of Oakland: Black Panther Party Internationalism during the Cold War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 241-256.
- **December 5 (W) Class 24: Reflections**
- **December 9 (M) Class 25: Presentations**
- **December 11 (W) Class 26: Presentations**