

*College of William & Mary
Government 327, Fall 2025*

(Race & Empire in the) Theory & History of International Relations
(or: Why everything you think you know about IR might be wrong!)

Prof. Maurits van der Veen

Class

TuTh, 9:30-10:50 am

Location: Ewell 151

Office hours: Tuesdays 2-4pm, or by appointment

Office

335 Chancellor Hall

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Course description

What is international relations, and how do we theorize about it? Most introductions to international relations concentrate on relations between states, and motivate our theoretical frameworks by appealing to universal characteristics of people, states and the way they interact.

However, both the notion that international relations is primarily about states and the idea that states have characteristics that are universal (both over time and across space) are simply, undeniably **wrong**. This course delves into some (but hardly all) of the ways and reasons they are wrong, with the aim of developing a more nuanced and critical understanding of what international relations, past and present, were/are actually like, and of the origins and blind spots of our theories. Towards the end of the course, we apply this improved understanding to an analysis of what international relations is likely to look like in the near future.

How and why are common beliefs about international relations wrong? First, because they derive from a very limited set of historical examples: the post-Westphalian (and especially post-Napoleonic) history of Western Europe looms very large in motivating and grounding our thinking about international relations. In the first part of the course, we will examine the nature and meaning of “international relations” in other parts of the world and at other times in history; it will quickly become clear how central empires and imperialism have been in that history.

Next, we tend to think of our standard theories about international relations as being abstract, derived from some basic (and, again, universal) principles: anarchy, self-interest, human nature, etc. But no theory is birthed in a vacuum. Much of our theoretical toolkit dates back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when the world did **not** resemble one constructed from those basic principles. Instead, it was a world in which race and hierarchy were central. Unsurprisingly (and problematically), this has had important repercussions for our theories.

Race, racism, and hierarchy remain central in international relations today, only their presence and impact is often not just ignored, but simply not seen. This is due in no small part to the shortcomings of our theoretical toolkit. Over the past century, many scholars have worked to expand this toolkit, often only to be ignored themselves. There is no shortage of exciting recent

scholarship along these lines, and we will read some, to help guide our discussions about how IR theorizing should change, given both its empirical and theoretical shortcomings.

Finally, then, we will turn to the near future: How is international relations likely to change in an increasingly online world, and in a world where climate change is wreaking havoc? And how can the insights we have developed in the course be used to improve our answers to this question, and maybe even to improve outcomes in international politics?

Writing some years ago about the study of international relations, Francis Gavin argued that “We desperately need not only answers but new ways of thinking about, framing, and analyzing the most important global questions” (<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/20/its-never-been-a-better-time-to-study-international-relations-trump-foreign-policy/>). This so because the world around us appears to change ever more rapidly; it is also because our existing theories of international relations often seem stale and needlessly abstract.

If we really want to understand international relations better, we need a better sense of whence our current theories originate, as well as a critical approach to thinking about how a changing world might demand revisions. Or, perhaps, as some have argued, we simply need a recognition that what seems new to us today is largely the continuation of long-standing patterns that simply have been unrecognized or ignored for too long.

The overall goal of the course is to help you become well-informed, critical consumers of international relations theories and arguments, conscious of where those theories come from and how they might help or hinder us in thinking about international relations today. In addition, you will be able to engage in well-informed and sophisticated debate regarding the implications of the internet for what international relations look like.

Course requirements

This course is about thinking critically about the world around us and how we understand it. You will not learn to think critically by simply listening to me lecture. Therefore, the most important requirements are: 1) come to class prepared by doing (and thinking about!) the assigned readings, and 2) participate in class discussions. Class discussions are crucial opportunities to get clarifications about any questions raised in the readings, to critically analyze the material covered in the readings and lectures, and to share your own ideas and insights. Your participation will not just improve your own learning; it also helps that of all your fellow students.

Participation in class (judged in terms of quality, not quantity) is worth 25% of your final grade. As one measure of participation, and an added incentive to do the readings before class, there will be 5 unannounced quizzes, based on the readings for that day. Each quiz is worth 2% of your grade, for a total of 10%.

Additional requirements are a class presentation, two short papers, written in-class, and a 10-12 page final paper in lieu of a final exam. Detailed information about each of these assignments will be provided later; here I give a brief overview.

For the class presentation, you will select one of the recommended articles on the syllabus, and give a brief presentation about your article at the start of class, so we can incorporate it in our discussion. This accounts for 10% of your grade. The two short papers will take the form of responses to a short article you'll read in class which relates to the material covered in the previous weeks. You will write them September 30th and October 28th. Each is worth 15% of your grade.

The final paper will be worth 25% of your overall grade, and will be due on the first Monday after classes end, December 8th. It will take the form of a policy brief arguing how insights from history, combined with a theoretical approach that takes race and hierarchy seriously, can help in thinking about a current aspect of United States foreign policy making.

You have the opportunity to boost your participation grade by one full letter grade, by any combination of 8 of the following contributions:

- Online discussion: At least once a week I will post one or more discussion questions, related to the required or recommended readings, on our class discussion board. Make a thoughtful contribution to the ensuing discussion
- Over the course of the semester, I will identify several outside speakers or events relevant to our course. Attend such an event and write a brief comment/response on the discussion board for that particular event
- Participate in the Government department omnibus survey. More details will follow.

Any combination of these three options summing to **8** gets you credit. In fact, all of them are great ways to think about and apply our course material beyond the classroom, so I highly encourage you participate in them even if you do not feel you need extra credit.

Additional policies & comments

You are always welcome to stop by my office hours with questions about anything related to the course. Please do get in touch if you have any questions on the reading material, the class discussions, the presentation or writing assignments, or the course in general. To make an appointment to meet outside of my office hours, just email me or see me before or after class.

If you need an extension on your final paper, let me know in advance, and I will grant it (within reason). Unapproved late submissions of the paper will be penalized one half of a full grade per day. In addition, failure to complete any single component of the course (never showing up to class, missing all quizzes, not doing a presentation, or not submitting a paper) will result in failing the course: you cannot make up for a missing component by excelling in all the others.

If you feel you may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis, please contact the Student Accessibility Services staff at sas@wm.edu to determine what accommodations make sense and to obtain an official letter of accommodation. In addition, it would be most helpful to me if you could also reach out to me directly, so that together we can work out something that will work for you.

Finally, I take violations of academic honesty very seriously. All academic work must meet the standards set out in the Honor Code. In particular, if you cheat on a test or commit plagiarism on your paper and I discover it, I will report the violation to the Dean's office, with all the potential repercussions that implies. The work you submit must be your own — not that of a fellow student, nor that of someone whose work you found in the library or online.

ChatGPT, generative AI, large language models, etc.

Generative AI chatbots such as ChatGPT, as well as large language models more generally, have become pervasive. Generative AI (GenAI) can produce strikingly “good” textual responses to prompts, with “good” meaning that it does a great job of spitting out text that makes sense in light of the prompt. However, there are at least three really big problems with using GenAI to do, or to help you do, college work:

1. GenAI does not actually reason or think. It is simply a synthetic text extrusion machine, as Bender and Hanna call it in their book *The AI Con* (highly recommended). Whatever text it extrudes is literally divorced from reality: not in the sense that it is wrong (it often is not), but in the sense that the training material GenAI relies on is just large quantities of texts, not an underlying model of the world. What this really means is that you cannot rely on any of the factual information it gives you to be correct.
2. The goal of this class is for you to learn how to think through difficult questions in IR that have no obvious answers, and to develop your own takes. Asking GenAI to produce (or help you produce) a textual answer to any question means you are skipping that learning process. In the short run, that might work, in the narrow sense that GenAI can do some of your coursework for you. But the further you get in college, and as you move on to careers beyond college, the more a reduced ability to think and puzzle through questions by yourself will hurt you.
3. GenAI chatbots are built on systemic, large-scale violations of copyright law. In addition, for them to work as well as they do, they rely on a large number of very lowly-paid workers, mostly in the Global South, to filter out “bad” responses. Many of these workers end up with post-traumatic stress as a result. When you use GenAI, you are implicitly signaling that you're OK with both of those things.

In light of these (and other!) problems with GenAI, I expect the work you do for this course to be your own work. I realize ChatGPT and its cousins are ubiquitous, but I expect you to do the course readings yourself, and I expect you to think through the class discussion questions yourself before each class. In addition, any written material you submit (answers to online discussion questions, the final paper, and anything else that comes up) must be your own work. I am trusting you not to shortchange yourself by relying on GenAI in your coursework, just as you can trust that I will not use GenAI to generate questions, assignments, or feedback on your work.

Readings

There are no required books to purchase for the course. All readings are, or will be, available online: on Blackboard, at a given URL, or through the Electronic Journals feature of the W&M library website. If you are unable to access a particular reading, please ask someone (a fellow student, a librarian, or me)!

Calendar

Readings (marked with bullet points) are listed below the date of each class. Be sure to read them prior to our class meeting. The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

I. Introduction

Thu. Aug. 28 ***Introduction to the course***

- van der Valk, Leendert (2021). “The first African Americans were traded under the Dutch flag.” (on Blackboard)

Read this article and reflect on what international relations looked like four hundred years ago. How different is this (if at all) from what international relations look like today? And how well do our standard international relations theories serve us in trying to think about and understand early 17th century international relations?

Recommended: a quick recap of standard IR theory debates

- Snyder, Jack. 2004. One World, Rival Theories. *Foreign Policy*, 145: 53-62.
- Lake, David. 2013. “Theory is dead, long live theory: The end of the Great Debates and the rise of eclecticism in International Relations.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 19(3): 567-587.

II. Empire in the history of international relations

Tue. Sep. 2 ***IR and the Pelopponesian War***

- Gady, Franz-Stefan. 2017. “Hey policy wonks: This is how you should read Thucydides.” *The Diplomat* (<https://thediplomat.com/2017/08/hey-policy-wonks-this-is-how-you-should-read-thucydides/>)
- Kirshner, Jonathan. 2018. “Handle him with care: The importance of getting Thucydides right.” *Security Studies* 28(1): 1-24.

Recommended

- Knutsen, Torbjørn L. 2021. “Ancient Greece: War, peace and diplomacy in antiquity.” Pp. 389-397 in Benjamin de Carvalho, Julia Costa Lopez, and Halvard Leira, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*.

Thu. Sep. 4 ***The Steppe Tradition***

- Neumann, Iver B., and Einar Wigen. 2020. *The Steppe Tradition in International Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (available through Swem online)
 - Introduction (pp. 1-25) & Conclusion (pp. 252-267)
- White, Jenny. 2020. "The enduring appeal of autocrats." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33(6): 925-930.

Recommended

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2020. "The longue durée and the impact of the Eurasian Steppe." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33(6): 950-956.
- Neumann, Iver B., and Einar Wigen. 2020. "Response to reviewers: The Steppe Tradition in International Relations." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 33(6): 957-961.

Tue. Sep. 9 ***International relations in ancient East Asia***

- Huang, Chin-Hao, and David C. Kang. 2022. "State formation in Korea and Japan, 400-800 CE: Emulation and learning, not bellicist competition." *International Organization* 76: 1-31.

Recommended

- Hui, Victoria Tin-Bor. 2021. "Pre-modern Asia and international relations theory." Pp. 181-191 in Benjamin de Carvalho, Julia Costa Lopez, and Halvard Leira, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*.
- Hui, Victoria Tin-Bor. 2004. "Toward a dynamic theory of international politics: Insights from comparing ancient China and early modern Europe." *International Organization* 58: 175-205.

Thu. Sep. 11 ***International orders "before the West"***

*** No class meeting; answer at least 2 discussion questions on Slack ***

- Zarakol, Ayse. 2023. *Before the West: The Rise and Fall of Eastern World Orders*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (available through Swem)
 - Chapter 1. "What is the East?" (pp. 1-43)

Recommended

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2020. *The World Imagined*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
 - Chapter 4: "Gathering all under heaven: East Asian collective beliefs and international society." Pp. 83-132. (on Blackboard)
- Chia, Colin. 2022. "Social positioning and international order contestation in Early modern Southeast Asia." *International Organization*, 76: 305-336.
- Pardesi, Manjeet S. 2022. "Decentering Hegemony and "Open" Orders: Fifteenth-Century Melaka in a World of Orders." *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2(1): 1-13.

Tue. Sep. 16 ***International relations in the early modern Islamic World***

- Spruyt, Hendrik. 2020. *The World Imagined*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
 - Chapter 6: “Lords of the auspicious conjunction: The Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires and the Islamic ecumene.” Pp. 167-213. (on Blackboard)

Recommended

- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. 2006. “A tale of three empires: Mughals, Ottomans, and Habsburgs in a comparative context.” *Common Knowledge* 12(1): 66-92.
- Freitag, Jason. 2021. “Empire and diversity: Inclusion and control in Roman, Mughal and Ottoman Polity.” *World History Connected*, 18(3).

Thu. Sep. 18 ***International relations in Europe at the time of Westphalia***

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2023. “Tilly goes to church: The religious and medieval roots of European state fragmentation.” *American Political Science Review*, 118(1): 88-107.

Recommended

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Paola Galano Toro, Luc Girardin, and Guy Schvitz. 2023. “War did make states: Revisiting the bellicist paradigm in early modern Europe.” *International Organization* 77: 324-362.
- Osiander, Andreas. 2003. “Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian myth.” *International Organization*, 55(2): 251-287.

Tue. Sep. 23 ***Company states and international relations***

- Phillips, Andrew, and J.C. Sharman. 2020. “Company-states and the creation of the global international system.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 26(4): 1249-1272.
- Srivastava, Swati. 2022. “Corporate sovereign awakening and the making of modern state sovereignty: New archival evidence from the English East India Company.” *International Organization* 76: 690-712.

Recommended

- Blackford, Kevin. 2020. “Revisiting the expansion thesis: International society and the role of the Dutch East India company as a merchant empire.” *European Journal of International Relations* 26(4): 1230-1248.
- Weststeijn, Arthur. 2015. “‘Love alone is not enough’: Treaties in seventeenth-century Dutch colonial expansion.” Pp. 19-44 in in Saliha Belmessous, ed. *Empire by treaty: Negotiating European expansion, 1600-1900*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. (on Blackboard)

Thu. Sep. 25 ***International relations in the early modern Americas***

- Nisancioglu, Kerem. 2019. “Racial sovereignty.” *European Journal of International Relations*, 26(S1): 39-63.

- Goettlich, Kerry. 2022. "The colonial origins of modern territoriality: Property surveying in the thirteen colonies." *American Political Science Review*, 116(3): 911-926.

Recommended

- Crawford, Neta. 1994. "A security regime among democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois nations." *International Organization*, 48(3): 345-385.
- Schulz, Carsten-Andreas. 2019. "Territorial sovereignty and the end of inter-cultural diplomacy along the "Southern frontier". *European Journal of International Relations*, 25(3): 878-903.

Tue. Sep. 30 ***Empire: Implications for our understanding of IR today***

Short-paper 1: in-class response essay to a reading about imperialism in IR today

Recommended

- Schmidt, Brian C. 2008. "Political Science and the American Empire" *International Politics* 45: 675-687.
- Costa Lopez, Julia. 2023. "Sources of empire: Negotiating history and fiction in the writing of historical IR." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 37(4).
- Fisher-Onar, Nora, and Emilian Kavalski. 2023. "From Trans-Atlantic order to Afro-Eur-Asian Worlds? Reimagining International relations as Interlocking Regional Worlds." *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2: 1-11.

III. Race in the history and theory of international relations

Thu. Oct. 2 ***Privateering and the slave trade***

- Colás, Alejandro. 2016. "Barbary Coast in the expansion of international society: Piracy, privateering, and corsairing as primary institutions." *Review of International Studies*, 42(5): 840-857.
- Sharman, J.C. 2023. "Something new out of Africa: States made slaves, slaves made states." *International Organization* 77: 497-526.

Recommended

- de Carvalho, Benjamin, and Halvard Leira. 2023. "Barbary Coast in the expansion of international society: Piracy, privateering, and corsairing as primary institutions." Chapter 5 in *The historicity of international politics: Imperialism and the presence of the past*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Costa Buranelli, Filippo. 2020. "Standard of civilization, nomadism and territoriality in nineteenth-century international society." Pp. 77-100 in Levin, Jamie, ed. *Nomad-State relationships in international relations: Before and after borders*. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tue. Oct. 7 ***Race in early IR thinking***

- Barder, Alexander D. 2019. "Scientific racism, race war, and the global racial imaginary." *Third World Quarterly*, 40(2): 207-223.
- Ashworth, Lucian. 2022. "Warriors, pacifists and empires: race and racism in international thought before 1914." *International Affairs* 98(1): 281-301.

Recommended

- Vitalis, Robert. 2005. "Birth of a discipline." Pp. 159-182 in David Long and Brian C. Schmidt, eds., *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Thu. Oct. 9 ***Fall Break (no class)***

Tue. Oct. 14 ***Race and the development of modern IR***

- Krishna, Sankaran. 2001. "Race, amnesia, and the education of international relations" *Alternatives* 26: 401-424.
- Acharya, Amitav. 2022. "Race and racism in the founding of the modern world order." *International Affairs* 98(1): 23-43.

Recommended

- Yao, Joanne, and Andrew Delatolla. 2021. "Race and historical international relations." Pp. 192-200 in Benjamin de Carvalho, Julia Costa Lopez, and Halvard Leira, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations*.
- Vitalis, Robert. 2000. "The graceful and generous liberal gesture: Making racism invisible in American international relations." *Millennium*, 29(2): 331-356.

Thu. Oct. 16 ***Imperialism and the development of modern IR***

- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1915. "The African roots of war." *Atlantic*, May 1915.
- Getachew, Adom. 2019. "The counterrevolutionary moment: Preserving racial hierarchy in the League of Nations." Chapter 2 in *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Recommended

- Henderson, Errol A. 2017. "The revolution will not be theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's challenge to white supremacist IR theory." *Millennium*, 45(3): 492-510.
- MacDonald, Paul K. 2023. "Civilized Barbarism: What we miss when we ignore colonial violence." *International Organization* 77: 721-753.

Tue. Oct. 21 ***Race in the IR discipline***

- Henderson, Errol A. 2013. "Hidden in plain sight: Racism in international relations theory." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 71-92.

- Hobson, John M. 2022. “Unmasking the racism of orthodox international relations/international political economy theory.” *Security Dialogue* 53(1): 3-20.

Recommended

- Freeman, Bianca, D.G. Kim, and David A. Lake. 2022. “Race in International Relations: Beyond the “Norm Against Noticing.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 25: 175-196.
- Zvobgo, Kelebogile, and Meredith Loken. 2020. “Why race matters in international relations.” *Foreign Policy*. (<https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/19/why-race-matters-international-relations-ir/>)

Thu. Oct. 23 ***Race and sovereignty***

- Selassie, Haile. 2011 [1936]. Speech to the League of Nations. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* 2(3)
- Gani, Jasmine K. 2021. “Racial militarism and civilizational anxiety at the imperial encounter: From metropole to the postcolonial state.” *Security Dialogue* 52(6): 546-566.

Recommended

- Thompson, Debra. 2013. “Through, against and beyond the racial state: The transnational stratum of race.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 133-151.
- Sabaratnam, Meera. 2020. “Is IR Theory white? Racialised subject-positioning in three canonical texts.” *Millennium* 49(1): 3-31.

Tue. Oct. 28 ***Race: Implications for our understanding of IR today***

Short paper 2: in-class response essay to a reading about race & racism in IR today

Recommended

- Henderson, Errol A. 2024. “Racism and global war in world politics: As obvious as it is ignored.” *International Politics*, 61: 413-442.

IV. International relations today: (How) is it different?

Thu. Oct. 30 ***How are IR theories racist, and what should we do about it?***

- Rutazibwa, Oliva U. 2020. “Hidden in plain sight: Coloniality, capitalism and race/ism as far as the eye can see.” *Millennium*, 48(2):.
- Coleman, Lara Montesinos. 2021. “Racism! What do you mean? From Howell and Richter-Montpetit’s underestimation of the problem, towards situating security through struggle.” *Security Dialogue*, 52(1S): 69-77.
- Behera, Navnita Chadha, Kristina Hinds, and Arlene B. Tickner. 2021. “Making amends: Towards and antiracist critical security studies and international relations.” *Security Dialogue*, 52(1S): 8-16.

Recommended

- Howell, Alison, and Melanie Richter-Montpetit. 2020. "Is securitization theory racist? Civilizationism, methodological whiteness, and antiblack thought in the Copenhagen School." *Security Dialogue*, 51(1): 3-22.
- Murray, Christopher. 2012. "Imperial dialectics and epistemic mapping: From decolonization to anti-Eurocentric IR." *European Journal of International Relations*. 26(2): 419-442.

Tue. Nov. 4 *Election day (no class)*

Thu. Nov. 6 ***Explicit and implicit hierarchies in world politics***

- Gruffydd Jones, Branwen. 2013. "'Good governance' and 'state failure': genealogies of imperial discourse." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 49-70.
- Carson, Austin, Eric Min, and Maya Van Nuys. 2024. "Racial tropes in the foreign policy bureaucracy: A computational text analysis." *International Organization*.

Recommended

- McConaughy, Meghan, Paul Musgrave, and Daniel H. Nexon. 2018. "Beyond anarchy: Logics of political organization, hierarchy, and international structure." *International Theory* 10(2): 181-218.
- Brysk, Alison, Craig Parsons, and Wayne Sandholtz. 2002. "After empire: National identity and post-colonial families of nations." *European Journal of International Relations* 8(2).

Tue. Nov. 11 ***Race, inequality, and cybersecurity***

- Whyte, Jeffrey. 2022. "Cybersecurity, race, and the politics of truth." *Security Dialogue*, 53(4): 342-362.
- Mumford, Densua, and James Shires. 2023. "Toward a decolonial cybersecurity: Interrogating the racial-epistemic hierarchies that constitute cybersecurity expertise." *Security Studies* 32(4-5): 622-652.

Recommended

- Wagner, Ben. 2019. "Constructed 'cyber' realities and international relations theory." Pp. 60-70 in J.P. Singh, Madeline Carr, and Renée Marlin-Bennett, eds. *Science, Technology, and Art in International Relations*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Calderaro, Andrea, and Anthony J.S. Craig. 2020. "Transnational governance of cybersecurity: Policy challenges and global inequalities in cyber capacity building." *Third World Quarterly*, 41(6): 917-938.
- Lambach, Daniel. 2020. "The territorialization of cyberspace." *International Studies Review*, 22(3): 482-506.

Thu. Nov. 13 ***Culture wars and identity politics***

- Satia, Priya. 2022. "Britain's Culture War: Disguising Imperial Politics as Historical Debate about Empire." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 24(2):308-320.
- Castle, Jeremiah J., and Kyla K. Stepp. 2021. "The 'Culture Wars' go global: Three cases of religious conflict in foreign policy." *Orbis* 65(4):599-617.

Recommended

- Hozic, Aida, and Matt Davies. 2024. "Popular culture and world politics." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.
- Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. 2025. "Radical right dystopias in the global culture wars." *Global Studies Quarterly*, 5(1).

Tue. Nov. 18 ***Climate change***

- Reibold, Kerstin. 2022. "Settler colonialism, decolonization, and climate change." *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 40(4).
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D. 2024. "Beyond international relations and toward international relationality?" *International Relations* 38(3): 427-434.

Recommended

- Kaltofen, Carolin, and Michele Acuto. 2018. "Rebalancing the encounter between science diplomacy and international relations theory." *Global Policy* 9(S3): 15-22.
- Ramanujam, Archana. 2022. "Climate scholarship needs Du Bois: Climate crisis through the lens of racial and colonial capitalism." *Sociological Inquiry*, 93(2): 273-295.

Thu. Nov. 20 ***Climate change & migration***

- Gonzalez, Carmen G. 2020. "Climate change, race, and migration." *Journal of Law and Political Economy* 1: 109-146.
- Perry, Keston K. (Un)just transitions and Black dispossession: The disposability of Caribbean 'refugees' and the political economy of climate justice." *Politics* 43(2): 169-185.

Recommended

- Hiraide, Lydia Ayame. 2022. "Climate refugees: A useful concept? Towards an alternative vocabulary of ecological displacement." *Politics*, 43(2): 267-282.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and Elise Pizzi. 2020. "Natural disasters, forced migration, and conflict: The importance of government policy responses." *International Studies Review* 23(3): 580-604.

Tue. Nov. 25 ***Refugees & migration***

- Siegelberg, Mira. 2023. "International relations theory and modern international order: The case of refugees." pp. 90-115 in Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner, eds. *History in the Humanities and Social Sciences*.

- Collyer, Michael, and Uttara Shahani. 2023. "Offshoring refugees: Colonial echoes of the UK-Rwanda Migration and Economic Development Partnership." *Social Sciences* 12(8): 451-

Recommended

- Cheesman, Margie. 2022. "Self-sovereignty for refugees? The contested horizons of digital identity." *Geopolitics*, 27(1): 134-159.
- Silverstein, Paul A. 2005. "Immigrant racialization and the new savage slot: Race, migration, and immigration in the new Europe." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34: 363-384.

Thu. Nov. 27 *Thanksgiving Break: no class*

Tue. Dec. 2 ***Pandemics***

- Dionne, Kim Yi, and Fulya Felicity Turkmen. 2020. "The politics of pandemic othering: Putting COVID-19 in global and historical context." *International Organization*, 74(S1): E213-E230.
- McDermott, Rose. 2023. "The politics of disease." *Politics and the Life Sciences* 43(1): 11-23.

Recommended

- Hoffman, Steven J., Weldon, Isaac, & Habibi, Roojin. (2022). "A virus unites the world while national border closures divide it: Epidemiologic, legal, and political analysis on border closures during COVID-19." *International Journal*, 77(2), 188–215.
- Birdsall, Andrea, and Rebecca Sanders. 2023. "Opportunistic oppression: U.S. migration restrictions and public health policy during the COVID-19 pandemic." *International Journal of Human Rights*, 27(5): 809-829.

Thu. Dec. 4 ***Is international relations fundamentally changing?***

- Rosenberg, Andrew S. 2024. "Race and systemic crises in international politics: An agenda for pluralistic scholarship." *Review of International Studies* 50(3): 457-475.
- van Milders, Lucas. 2024. "Stupid international relations." *European Review of International Studies* 11: 1-35.

Recommended

- Karkour, Haro, and Felix Rösch. 2024. "Toward IR's 'Fifth Debate': Racial Justice and the National Interest in Classical Realism." *International Studies Review*.
- Shilliam, Robbie. 2023. "Republicanism and imperialism at the frontier: A post-Black Lives Matter archeology of international relations." *Millennium*, 52(1): 36-59.

Mon. Dec. 8 **Paper due**