**America and the World**

Political Science 372

Northwestern University

Prof. Elizabeth Shakman Hurd

This discussion-based course covers key debates and developments in the history and politics of American foreign relations. Topics include the history and politics of manifest destiny; race, immigration and foreign policy; the role of the United States in the international legal order; the politics of globalization; religious freedom and foreign policy; the privatization of authority and its consequences; the ethics and politics of interventionism; and the politics of American relations to international institutions such as the International Criminal Court.

Overarching and broader themes running through the course include: 1) relations between domestic politics and American foreign engagements; 2) changing practices of sovereign authority; 3) varieties of U.S. interventionism abroad; 4) implications of legal globalization for American law, politics and foreign policy; and 5) current and future relations between the United States and the Middle East and North Africa.

## **Required Texts**

The following books are available at Beck’s (716 Clark St., 847.492.1900) and on 2-hour reserve at the main library. Other readings on the syllabus are accessible through Blackboard under “Course Tools—Course Reserves Administration.”

**Books**

Jonathan P. Herzog. 2011. *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex: America’s Religious Battle Against Communism in the Early Cold War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Arturo Escobar. 2012 (2nd ed.) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Matthew Frye Jacobson. 2000. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Kal Raustiala. 2011. *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag? The Evolution of Territoriality in American Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

David Ryan & Patrick Kiely, eds. 2009. *America and Iraq: Policy-making, Intervention and Regional Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

This course entails a substantial amount of reading and preparation. Attendance and participation, including arriving on time, are crucial components of the final grade (30%). Students are encouraged to stay current with course-related developments by reading a major blog and/or newspaper (The Cable: <http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/>, *The New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *Al-Jazeera, The Guardian, The Washington Post*). No late work is accepted without a written medical excuse.

An in-class midterm will be held on Monday, February 13th. See below for details.

The final is a take-home exam. You will be given 4 questions and asked to respond to 3 of them, with 800 words allocated for each response.

Final grades will be based on:

1. Attendance and participation: (30%)
2. Midterm (30%)
3. Final exam: (40%)

Final exams will be kept and made available for retrieval two weeks into spring quarter 2012 during Professor Hurd’s regular office hours, after which they will be discarded. If you are unable to pick up your exam at the scheduled time and place and before the two-week period has passed, you should inform the professor to arrange an alternate means of delivery.

##### Policy on use of personal technology

***Personal computers are not allowed in class*.**  This is a discussion-based course and students are required to listen to others and participate actively in discussion.

##### Academic Integrity

Any student who violates the University’s principles of academic integrity will automatically fail this course and be referred to the Associate Dean for Undergraduate Studies’ office for further action by the University. There are no exceptions. The Dean’s policy for WCAS is available at:

<http://www.wcas.northwestern.edu/advising/academic.html>.

##### Course Topics

**I. America & the world: histories of the present**

##### Jan. 3: Introduction

 No reading.

Jan. 4: The early Republic and the politics of manifest destiny

Anders Stephanson. 2000 (5th ed.) *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. New York: Hill and Wang, xi-27; 112-129.

Jan. 9: Immigration and imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues,* Introduction (pp. 3-9), Chs. 5, 6, & Conclusion (173-265).

J. Terry Todd, “The Temple of Religion and the Politics of Religious Pluralism: Judeo-Christian America at the 1939-1940 New York World’s Fair,” in Courtney Bender & Pamela E. Klassen (eds) *After Pluralism: Reimagining Religious Engagement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 201-222.

Jan. 11: New takes on the old Cold War

 Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex*, pp. 3-134.

Jan. 18: The spiritual-industrial complex II

 Herzog, *The Spiritual-Industrial Complex*, 135-216.

**II. Critical debates in contemporary U.S. foreign affairs**

Jan. 23: American exceptionalism and the politics of rights

Michael Ignatieff, “Introduction: American Exceptionalism and Human Rights,” in *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, Ignatieff, ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, pp. 1-26.

John Gerard Ruggie, “American Exceptionalism, Exemptionalism, and Global Governance,” in *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*, pp. 304-338.

Lila Abu-Lughod, “Anthropology in the Territory of Rights, Islamic, Human, and Otherwise . . .” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 167 (2010), pp. 225–262.

Jan. 25: Politics of religious freedom

R. Laurence Moore, “Common Principles, Different Histories: Understanding Religious Liberty in the United States and France,” *Modern Intellectual History* 7, no. 2 (2010): 459-478.

Malcolm D. Evans, “Advancing Freedom of Religion or Belief: Agendas for Change.” Lambeth Inter Faith Lecture (Lambeth Palace, June 8, 2011). <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/2062/archbishop-hosts-annual-lambeth-inter-faith-lecture>

Jan. 30: Politics of development

 Escobar, *Encountering Development*, Chs. 1 (pp. 3-20), 2 (pp. 21-54) & 6 (pp. 212-226).

 Timothy Mitchell, “America’s Egypt: Discourse of the Development Industry,” *Middle East Report*, No. 169 (March-April 1991): 18-34, 36.

Feb. 1: Small group presentations of case studies of development agencies.

Feb. 6: The politics of the use of force: outsourcing war, outsourcing sacrifice

David Shearer, “Outsourcing War,” *Foreign Policy* 112 (Autumn 1998): 68-81.

# Bernadette Muthien and Ian Taylor, “The Return of the Dogs of War? The Privatization of Security in Africa,” in Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas J. Biersteker (eds), *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 183-199.

Nordland, Rod. “Risks of Afghan War Shift from Soldiers to Contractors. *The New York Times* (February 11, 2012). http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/12/world/asia/afghan-war-risks-are-shifting-to-contractors.html?\_r=1&hp

Mateo Taussig-Rubbo, “Outsourcing Sacrifice: the Labor of Private Military Contractors,” *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 21 (2009): pp. 103-168.

Steven L. Schooner & Collin D. Swan, “Dead Contractors” http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=1826242

Recommended documentaries available online: *Why We Fight* (2006) and *No End in Sight* (2007).

Feb. 8: The US and/in Iraq

Toby Dodge, “Grand Ambitions and Far-Reaching Failures: the United States in Iraq, “in *America and Iraq*, pp. 92-102.

John Morrissey, “The geoeconomic pivot of the global war on terror: US Central Command and the war in Iraq,” in *America and Iraq*, pp. 103-122.

Melani McAlister, “What would Jesus do? Evangelicals, the Iraq War, and the struggle for position,” in *America and Iraq*, pp. 123-153.

Scott Lucas & Maria Ryan, “Against everyone and no-one: the failure of the unipolar in Iraq and beyond,” in *America and Iraq*, pp. 154-180.

Feb. 13: **Midterm exam (in class). You will be given six possible essay topics to prepare in advance. On the day of the exam you will be asked to select 2 out of 3 of these topics and write short essay responses.**

**III. American law and power in a globalizing world**

Feb. 15: International criminal responsibility I

Julian Borger, “The hunt for the former Yugoslavia’s war criminals: mission accomplished,” *The Guardian* (3 August 2011). http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/03/former-yugoslavia-war-crimes-hunt

Christopher J. Piranio, “Introduction: Reflections on the Rome Statute,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 24: 3 (2011): 307-8.

Kirsten Ainley, “The International Criminal Court on Trial,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 24:3 (2011): 309-333.

Roger O’Keefe, “The United States and the ICC: the Force and Farce of the Legal Arguments,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 24:3 (2011): 335-355.

Feb. 20: International criminal responsibility II

David Bosco, “The state of international justice: an interview with David Scheffer,” *The Multilateralist*, Foreign Policy.com (December 7, 2011). <http://bosco.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/12/07/the_state_of_international_justice_an_interview_with_david_scheffer#.Tt_af4nDrfM.twitter>

Bruce Rosenstock, “Against sovereign impunity: the political theology of the International Criminal Court,” in Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Robert A. Yelle, and Mateo Taussig-Rubbo (eds) *After Secular Law* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 160-177.

Feb. 22: Across the border, beyond the law? Extraterritoriality and the globalization of jurisdiction

Nicholas Schmidle, “Disarming Viktor Bout: The rise and fall of the world’s most notorious weapons trafficker.” *The New Yorker* (March 5, 2012).

Raustiala, *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag?*, Preface, Chs. 1, 4-8 (pp. v-vii; 3-30; 93-155).

Feb. 27: Politics of humanitarianism

Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, “Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present,” in *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*, Barnett and Weiss, eds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 1-48.

Miriam Ticktin, “Where ethics and politics meet: the violence of humanitarianism in France.” *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 1 (2006): 33-49.

Rosemary R. Hicks, “Saving Darfur: Enacting Pluralism in Terms of Gender, Genocide, and Militarized Human Rights,” in *After Pluralism: Reimagining Religious Engagement*, Courtney Bender & Pamela E. Klassen, eds., New York: Columbia University Press, 2010, pp. 252-276.

Feb. 29:Politics of intervention and the internationalization of conflict

Robert O’Harrow Jr., James V. Grimaldi and [Brady Dennis](http://www.washingtonpost.com/brady-dennis/2011/02/25/ABMgsCJ_page.html), “Sanctions in 72 hours: How the U.S. pulled off a major freeze of Libyan assets” *The Washington Post* (March 23, 2011).

[Ayça Çubukçu](http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/contributors/11554), “Killing in the Name of: Libya, Sovereignty, Humanity,” *Jadaliyya*, March 11, 2011. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/870/killing-in-the-name-of\_libya-sovereignty-humanity

The Editors, “Of Principle and Peril,” *Middle East Report*, March 22, 2011.

Hisham Matar, “Two Revolutions,” *The New Yorker*, Sept. 5, 2011.

March 5: The US and the Middle East and North African revolts

Robert Springborg, “US Response to Arab Upheavals: Challenges and Priorities,” Paper presented at the *2011 Transatlantic Security Symposium* “Rethinking Western Policies in Light of the Arab Uprising.” Rome, 12 September 2011.

Paul Amar, “Why Mubarak is Out,” *Jadaliyya* (Feb. 1, 2011).

Asef Bayat, “The Post-Islamist Revolutions,” *Foreign Affairs* (April 26, 2011).

Charles Hirschkind, 2010. “New Media and Political Dissent in Egypt,” *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, vol. LXV, no. 1 (January-June): 137-154.

March 7: WCAS reading week. No class.

**Final Take-Home Exam:** The final exam will be distributed on March 5th, the last day of class. A hard copy of the completed **exam is due in my office on Tuesday, March 13th by 12 noon.** No late exams will be accepted without a written medical excuse.