

GOVT 4000 – 102 Major Seminar Fall 2015
Anti-Americanism in Comparative Perspective
Syllabus version 2.0
Tuesday 12:20-2:15 PM

Professor Jessica Weiss
White Hall 209
Office hours by appointment

Course Description

This seminar examines anti-Americanism from a comparative perspective, exploring the causes and consequences of anti-Americanism alongside anti-Chinese sentiment and other varieties of anti-foreignism and xenophobia. Drawing upon examples from the Middle East, Latin America and East Asia, students will explore the international and domestic sources of anti-foreign sentiment, including linkages to nationalism, globalization, regime type, and democratization. Students will acquire the analytic tools to understand and explain anti-foreign phenomena and assess their implications for U.S. foreign policy.

Readings

All of the course readings will be made available via hyperlinks in this syllabus or as course reserves via Blackboard (Course ID 17835_2015FA).

Requirements and Grading

- A. Class participation (20%): This is a seminar course in which students will be expected to participate actively. Students missing more than one session may make up an absence by writing an additional blog post.
- B. Written assignments:
 - 1. Two blog posts, 750-1000 words (15% each)
 - 2. Comments on two peer blog posts (5% each)
 - 3. One final research memo or research proposal, 10 pages (40%)

Blog posts are a very useful format for bridging academic research and current issues and events. For inspiration on the variety of forms that such blog posts can take, see the *Washington Post* [Monkey Cage blog](#) and [Political Violence at a Glance](#). For the purposes of this class, blog posts should draw upon the assigned readings in the context of a focused discussion of a particular topic, including hyperlinks to sources as often as possible. Books can also be referenced with a hyperlink to the publisher's page or Amazon.

A draft of each blog post must be posted 24 hours in advance of the class session. Peer comments on draft blog posts are due the following class session. Students have up to another week to incorporate peer comments and publish their blog post, which will be graded.

The research paper can take one of two forms: a) a policy memo for a government agency such as the State Department that analyzes the dimensions and repercussions of anti-Americanism (or pro-Americanism) in a particular country, or b) a research proposal that poses a question about anti-

Americanism, reviews the existing literature, and proposes a research design to evaluate new or existing hypotheses. Students will present their research in the final session of the seminar. Papers are due the last day of final exams, December 17, 2015.

Unexcused late assignments will be docked a half-letter grade per day the assignment is late. The readings for each week indicate the material that will be discussed during that session. Therefore, it is essential that students come to class having already read the material for that session.

❖ *denotes supplementary recommended, not required reading*

Overview

Session 1: Introduction (August 25)

- Pew Research Center. "[Which Countries Don't Like America and Which Do](#)," July 15, 2014.
- Pew Research Center. "[Global Publics Back U.S. on Fighting ISIS, but Are Critical of Post-9/11 Torture](#)," June 23, 2015.

NO CLASS (September 1) – makeup session date TBD

Session 2: Opinion, Attitude, and Bias (September 8)

- Ivan Krastev. "[The Anti-American Century?](#)" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 2, April 2004, p. 5-16.
- Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. 2006. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Introduction and chapter 1, p. 1-38. E-book available at <https://muse.jhu.edu/books/9780801461651/> and <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/cornell/detail.action?docID=10481023>
- Giacomo Chiozza. "Disaggregating Anti-Americanism: An Analysis of Individual Attitudes Toward the United States." Chapter 4 in Katzenstein and Keohane, p. 93-128.

News reports

- Leonid Gozman, "[Why We Liked Americans Better During the Cold War](#)," Politico.com, April 7, 2015.
- Michael Birnbaum, "[Russia's Anti-American Fever Goes Beyond the Soviet Era's](#)," *Washington Post*, March 8, 2015.
- ❖ Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. "[What Insights can Multi-Country Surveys Provide about People and Societies?](#)" *Comparative Politics Newsletter*, American Political Science Association, Summer 2004, p. 1-12.
- ❖ Bishop, George F. 2005. *The Illusion of Public Opinion: Fact and Artifact in American Public Opinion Polls*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield. Chapters 1-2.

Causes

Session 3: Policies and Actions (September 15)

- Amaney Jamal, Robert Keohane, David Romney, and Dustin Tingley, "[Anti-Americanism and Anti-Interventionism in Arabic Twitter Discourses](#)," *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1), March 2015.
- Shibley Telhami, *The World Through Arab Eyes: Arab Public Opinion and the Reshaping of the Middle East*, chapter 7 ("Trends in Arab Attitudes toward the United States") E-book available at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/cornell/reader.action?docID=10693616&ppg=66>
- Juan Cole, "[Anti-Americanism: It's the Policies](#)," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 4, October 2006. Read pages 1125–1129 only.
- Sophie Meunier. "The Distinctiveness of French Anti-Americanism." Chapter 5 in Katzenstein and Keohane, p. 129-156.

Session 4: Values and Ideology (September 22)

- Fouad Ajami, "[The Falseness of Anti-Americanism](#)," *Foreign Policy*, October 30, 2009.
- Reuel Marc Gerecht, "[The Gospel According to Osama Bin Laden](#)," *The Atlantic*, January 2002.
- Graeme Wood, "[What ISIS Really Wants](#)," *The Atlantic*, March 2015.
- Andrei Markovits. 2007. *Uncouth Nation: Why Europe Dislikes America*. Princeton University Press, Introduction (p. 1-10) and chapter 1, "Anti-Americanism as Lingua Franca" (p. 11-37). Ebook available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9781400827299>.

Session 5: Hypocrisy: When Actions Betray Values (September 29)

- Grandin, Greg. 2006. "[Your Americanism and Mine: Americanism and Anti-Americanism in the Americas](#)," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4.
- Marc Lynch. "Anti-Americanisms in the Arab World." Chapter 7 in Katzenstein and Keohane.
- Warren I. Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. 2006. "[America in Asian Eyes](#)," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 4.
- Alastair Iain Johnston and Daniela Stockmann, "Chinese attitudes toward the United States and Americans." Chapter 6 in Katzenstein and Keohane, p. 157-195.

**** No class October 6 ****

FALL BREAK (no class October 13)

Consequences and Responses

Session 6 & 7: Anti-Americanism as Tactic: Popular Mobilization, Elite Opposition, and Democratization (October 20)

- Barry Rubin. "[The Real Roots of Arab Anti-Americanism](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2002
- Lisa Blaydes and Drew Linzer, "[Elite Competition, Religiosity, and Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World](#)," *American Political Science Review*, 106(2), May 2012.
- Jessica Chen Weiss, "[Authoritarian Signaling, Nationalist Protest, and Mass Audiences in China](#)," *International Organization* 67(1), p. 1-35, 2013.
- Andrew Yeo, *Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, chapter 2 ("Under a Weak Security Consensus: Philippine Anti-Base Movements, 1990-1991")

- Amaney Jamal, *Of Empires and Citizens: Pro-American Democracy or No Democracy at All?* Princeton: Princeton University Press (2012), chapter 1

News reports

- Mohammad Ayatollahi Tabaar, "[Strategic anti-Americanism in Iran from the hostage crisis to nuclear talks](#)," *Washington Post*, November 4, 2014.
- Nicholas Miller and Chad Hazlett, "[Primed to protest](#)," *Foreign Policy*, September 26, 2012.
- ❖ "[Islamabad Protesters Defy Ban](#)," *Washington Post*, February 20, 2006.
- ❖ "[Furor Over Cartoons Pits Muslim Against Muslim](#)," *New York Times*, February 22, 2006.
- ❖ "[Arab Nations Allow Antiwar Protests on Carefully Controlled Terms](#)," *New York Times*, March 12, 2003.
- ❖ "[Global protests condemn Gaza war](#)," *Al Jazeera*, January 10, 2009.
- ❖ "[Protests Over Cartoons of Muhammad Turn Deadly](#)," *New York Times*, February 6, 2006.
- ❖ "[West Beginning to See Islamic Protests as Sign of Deep Gulf](#)," *New York Times*, February 8, 2006.

Session 8: Does Anti-Americanism Matter? (October 27)

- Katzenstein and Keohane, Chapter 10, p. 273-316.
- Goldsmith, Benjamin E., and Yusaku Horiuchi. 2012. "[In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for US Foreign Policy?](#)" *World Politics* 64 (3): 555-585.
- Finnemore, Martha. 2009. "[Legitimacy, Hypocrisy, and the Social Structure of Unipolarity: Why Being a Unipole Isn't All It's Cracked Up to Be.](#)" *World Politics* 61 (1): 58-85.
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr. 2004. "[The Decline of America's Soft Power: Why Washington Should Worry.](#)" *Foreign Affairs* 83 (3): 16-20.

Session 9: Policy Responses (November 3)

- Stanley Hoffman. "[Why don't they like us?](#)" *The American Prospect*, November 19, 2001.
- Edelstein, David M. and Krebs, Ronald R. 2005. "[Washington's troubling obsession with public diplomacy.](#)" *Survival*, 47: 1, p. 89-104.
- Edward Schatz and Renan Levine, "[Framing, Public Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism in Central Asia](#)," *International Studies Quarterly* 54(3), September 2010.
- Max Paul Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations*, chapter 4 ("Bad Neighborhood: Anti-Americanism and Latin America") and epilogue ("The Anti-American Century?"). E-book available at <http://proxy.library.cornell.edu/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139029421>.

Beyond Anti-Americanism

Session 10: Anti-Americanism in Comparative Perspective (November 10)

- Max Paul Friedman, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations*, Introduction ("The Myth of Anti-Americanism") and Chapter 2 ("Americanism and Anti-Americanism"). E-book available at <http://proxy.library.cornell.edu/login?url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139029421>.
- "[Venus Envy](#)," *Foreign Policy*, June 15, 2010.
- Sophie Meunier, "[The Dog That Did Not Bark: Anti-Americanism and the 2008 Financial Crisis in Europe](#)," *Review of International Political Economy* 20(1), 2013.

- Richard Herrmann and Joshua Kertzer, "[Does Anti-Americanism exist? Experimental evidence from France](#)" (working paper).

Session 11: The Rise of China and Sinophobia (November 17)

- Pew Research Center, Chapter 1 ("The American Brand"), Chapter 2 ("China's Image), Chapter 3 ("Balance of Power: U.S. vs. China), and Chapter 4 ("How Asians View Each Other), p. 4-39 in "[Global Opposition to U.S. Surveillance and Drones, But Limited Harm to America's Image: Many in Asia Worry about Conflict with China](#)," July 14, 2014.
- Howard French. 2014. *China's Second Continent*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, chapter 2.
- Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse, *The Chinese Question in Central Asia: Domestic Order, Social Change, and the Chinese Factor*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2012, chapter 6.
- Deborah Brautigam, "[Africa's Eastern Promise](#)," *Foreign Affairs*, January 5, 2010.
- Mingjiang Li, "[China Debates Soft Power](#)," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2(2008), p. 287-308.

Session 12: American Images of China (November 24)

- Richard Madsen, *China and the American Dream*, chapter 1 ("The Moral Challenge of Tiananmen") p. 1-27, e-book available [online](#).
 - James Mann, "[America's China Fantasy](#)," *The American Prospect*, February 19, 2007.
 - David Lampton, "[The China Fantasy, Fantasy](#)," *China Quarterly* 191 (September 2007), p. 745-9.
 - Johnston, Alastair I. "[How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness?](#)" *International Security* 37.4 (2013)
 - Aaron L. Friedberg, "[The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Explaining Beijing's Assertiveness](#)," *The Washington Quarterly* 37:4 (2015).
- ❖ Christopher Frayling, *The Yellow Peril: Dr. Fu Manchu and the Rise of Chinaphobia*. London: Thames & Hudson. 2014.

Session 13: Conclusions (December 1)

- Doug McAdam. "Legacies of Anti-Americanism: A Sociological Perspective." Chapter 9 in Katzenstein and Keohane.
 - Katzenstein and Keohane, Conclusion, p. 306-316.
 - Fareed Zakaria. "[The Rise of the Rest](#)." *Newsweek*, May 2008.
 - James Fallows, "[How America Can Rise Again](#)," *The Atlantic*, January/February 2010.
 - Howard Fineman, "[Post-Anti-Americanism](#)," *Newsweek*, August 2010.
- ❖ Charles A. Kupchan. [After Pax Americana: Benign Power, Regional Integration, and the Sources of a Stable Multipolarity](#). *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Autumn, 1998), pp. 40-79.

Session 14: Presentations and Reflections (December 8, 12:20-2:15)