

Syllabus  
June 13, 2023

## POLISCI 312 | INTLPOL 211 | REES 219

# A New Cold War? Great Power Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

**Term:** Spring 2023

**Units:** 5 units

**Instructor:** Michael McFaul

**Room:** Building 160, Room 127, Wallenberg Hall, Main Quad.

**Time:** Wednesdays 1:30 pm – 4:20 pm.

**Teaching Assistant:** Laura van Megen

### Course Description

When the Cold War ended in 1991 after the Soviet Union disintegrated, it was a glorious moment to be a multilateralist and liberal democrat. It seemed like the whole world wanted to become a democracy and join the democratic community of states. Today, great power competition is back with many describing our present era as a “New Cold War” between the United States and China and Russia. How did the international system go from euphoria about democracy, globalization, the West, and the United States three decades ago, to uncertainty about democracy, doubt about the liberal international order, and fear about the rise of illiberal great powers? Moreover, is the Cold War label an illuminating or distorting analogy, and how stable or enduring is this current moment of global confrontation?

This course seeks to analyze contemporary great power relations. We will begin by reviewing the major theories explaining relations between great powers. The second part of the course traces the historical origins of the U.S.-Russia and U.S.-China relations, examining the interplay between three central drivers of international relations – power, regime types, and leaders – over time. In the third part of the course, we will assess the similarities and differences between the Cold War and U.S.-Russia relations and U.S.-China relations today along three dimensions over the international system: (1) power, (2) ideology, and (3) competing conceptions of global order. The fourth and final part of the course will discuss a set of concrete policy recommendations for how U.S. leaders can meet the challenge of great power competition in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The main text for this course will be a new book in draft by Professor McFaul tentatively called *Democrats versus Autocrats: Lessons from the Cold War for Competing with China and Russia Today*, as well as accompanying academic books and articles.

### Office Hours:

Thursday afternoons and by appointment only.

Please schedule with Mahlorei Bruce Apalis.

### Assignments

We will meet for ten sessions from April 5 to June 7. Students are expected to attend every class and complete all required readings before each session, which we will use to stimulate discussion.

Because this course is not a lecture class, sessions will be highly participatory. You should come prepared to either make a comment or at least ask a question in every single session.

Students with an excused absence must notify the course assistant, Laura, in writing before the start of class.

From weeks 5 to 9, students will start off the discussion by presenting their short papers (3-5 pages). Short papers must be completed and uploaded on Canvas on Monday before the seminar, during which you are scheduled to present. (We will assign paper topics at the end of Week Two.)

For the final paper (15 pages or so), students have three options (1) a theoretical essay explaining great power competition, (2) a book review of *Autocrats vs Democrats*; or (3) a policy memo explaining how the U.S. should deal with China and Russia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Evaluation**

30%: class participation.

20%: presentation.

50%: final paper.

Bonus points (half a letter grade on final paper) for a 2- or 3-page memo on a policy prescription to be circulated for discussion in Week 9 (May 31).

### **Students with Documented Disabilities**

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty. Unless the student has a temporary disability, Accommodation Letters are issued for the entire academic year. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations.

The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 650-723-1066, <https://oae.stanford.edu/>).

### **Course Materials**

Readings and chapters will be posted on Canvas.

# COURSE SCHEDULE

## Week 1: Introduction

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Date: April 5, 2023

### Required:

Chapter 1 – Introduction: New Cold Wars?

Fontaine, Richard. “Great-Power Competition Is Washington’s Top Priority—but Not the Public’s: China and Russia Don’t Keep Most Americans Awake at Night.” *Foreign Affairs*. September 9, 2019. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-09-09/great-power-competition-washingtons-top-priority-not-publics>.

Ferguson, Niall. “The New Cold War? It’s With China, and It Has Already Begun.” *The New York Times*. December 2, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/02/opinion/china-cold-war.html>

Christensen, Thomas J. “There Will Not Be a New Cold War: The Limits of U.S.-Chinese Competition.” *Foreign Affairs*. March 24, 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-03-24/there-will-not-be-new-cold-war>.

President Biden, speech in Warsaw, February 21, 2023. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/02/21/remarks-by-president-biden-ahead-of-the-one-year-anniversary-of-russias-brutal-and-unprovoked-invasion-of-ukraine/>

Lt. General H.R. McMaster (U.S. Army, Retired), Testimony Before the U.S. House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party Tuesday, February 28, 2023. <https://www.congress.gov/118/meeting/house/115402/witnesses/HHRG-118-ZS00-Wstate-McMasterH-20230228.pdf>

FU Ying [傅莹]. Cooperative competition is possible between China and the U.S. *The New York Times*. November 24, 2020. (One page). <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/24/opinion/china-us-biden.html>

ZHANG Weiwei [张维为]. “Creating Chaos and Turmoil, the Myth of American Democracy is Shattered—The United States Incites 'Color Revolutions' and Endangers World Peace and Stability” [制造混乱动荡，美式民主神话破灭—美国煽动“颜色革命”危害世界和平稳定]. *People’s Daily* [人民日报]. September 20, 2022. In [English](#). In [Mandarin](#).

“Are we in a new Cold War?” (Interview with Sergey Radchenko), *Vox*. January 24, 2023. <https://www.vox.com/23568071/are-we-in-a-new-cold-war-russia-ukraine>

## Recommended:

Lucas, Edward. *New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West*. Palgrave Macmillan Trade, 2008.

Diamond, Larry. *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency*. Penguin Press, 2019.

Kagan, Robert. *The Jungle Grows Back: America and Our Imperiled World*. Knopf, 2018.

Kagan, Robert. "The strongmen strike back." *The Washington Post*. March 14, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/opinions/wp/2019/03/14/feature/the-strongmen-strike-back/>.

Polyakova, Alina. "Are U.S. and Russia in a new Cold War?" *Brookings Institute*, January 20, 2019. <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/are-u-s-and-russia-in-a-new-cold-war/>.

Zhong, Raymond, and Paul Mozer. "For the U.S. and China, a Technology Cold War That's Freezing Over." *The New York Times*. March 23, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/23/technology/trump-china-tariffs-tech-cold-war.html>.

Tharoor, Ishaan. "Under Trump, U.S. enters a new 'Cold War' with China." *The Washington Post*. October 10, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/10/11/under-trump-us-enters-new-cold-war-with-china/>.

Kaplan, Robert D. "A New Cold War Has Begun." *Foreign Policy*. January 7, 2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/07/a-new-cold-war-has-begun/>.

Coats, Dan. "There's no Cold War with China – and if there were, we couldn't win." *The Washington Post*. July 28, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/07/28/new-cold-war-between-us-china-is-dangerous-myth/>.

Freeman, Chas. "The Struggle with China is not a Replay of the Cold War." *Chas W. Freeman Jr.* September 25, 2020. <https://chasfreeman.net/the-struggle-with-china-is-not-a-replay-of-the-cold-war/>

Karabell, Zachary. "There's No Cold War with China." *Foreign Policy*. August 14, 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/08/14/cold-war-china-misuse-of-history-united-states-soviet-union/>.

## Week 2: Realism (and a few other structural theories)

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Date: April 12, 2023

### Required:

Mearsheimer, John. "Introduction" and "Anarchy and the Struggle for Power." In *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton & Company, 2014, pp. 1-54.

Holsti, Ole R. "Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy, G. John Ikenberry and Peter L. Trubowitz, editors, *American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays*, (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 13-34.

Waltz, Kenneth. "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," in *American Foreign Policy*, pp. 55-72.

Snyder, Jack. "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy*, 2009;  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/26/one-world-rival-theories/>

Huntington, Samuel P. "Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations>.

Galtung, John. "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1971), pp. 81-117. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/422946.pdf>

### Highly recommended:

Goldgeier, James, and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 467-491.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027788>

Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, (1978) pp. 167-214.  
[https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/wpot30&div=13&g\\_sent=1&casa\\_token=&collection=journals](https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/wpot30&div=13&g_sent=1&casa_token=&collection=journals)

Walt, Stephen. "One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1998.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1149275.pdf>

### Recommended:

Harrison, Wagner. *War and the State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).  
<https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.224944>

Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2005).

Nau, Henry R. "How to Think About International Relations: Perspectives, Levels of Analysis, and Causal Errors." In: *Perspectives on International Relations*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2019), pp. 20-71. ([https://ocd.lcwu.edu.pk/cfiles/Political%20Science/EC/Pol.Sc-501/Henry\\_R.\\_Nau\\_Perspectives\\_on\\_International\\_Relatz-lib2.org1.pdf](https://ocd.lcwu.edu.pk/cfiles/Political%20Science/EC/Pol.Sc-501/Henry_R._Nau_Perspectives_on_International_Relatz-lib2.org1.pdf))

William C. Inboden, "[The Prophetic Conflict: Reinhold Niebuhr, Christian Realism, and World War II](#)," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2014).

Rice, Condoleezza. "Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World," *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2008). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/rethinking-national-interest>

## **Week 3: Liberalism (and a little Marxism)**

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Date: April 19, 2023

### **Required:**

Ikenberry, John. *A World Safe for Democracy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), chapters 1, 2, 8, and 9.

Hyde, Susan, and Elizabeth Saunders. "Recapturing Regime Type in International Relations: Leaders, Institutions, and Agency Space." *International Organization*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (2020), pp. 363-395. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/E1CD35C02F0A247A67D9E7BE361A5FC7/S0020818319000365a.pdf/div-class-title-recapturing-regime-type-in-international-relations-leaders-institutions-and-agency-space-div.pdf>

Owen, John M. "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 1994), pp. 87-125. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539197?origin=crossref>

Haas, Marc. "Ideological Polarity and Balancing Great Power Politics," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (October 2014), pp. 715-53. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09636412.2014.964991>

Walt, Stephen. "Democracy, Freedom, and Apple Pie Aren't a Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, July 1, 2014. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/01/democracy-freedom-and-apple-pie-arent-a-foreign-policy/>

Pal, Maia. "Introducing Marxism in International Relations Theory." *E-International Relations* (February 2018). <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/72866>

### **Recommended:**

Moravcsik, Andrew. "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1997). [https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/04527E00D02130C6DCCB57A98EFB6AD3/S0020818397440171a.pdf/taking\\_preferences\\_seriously\\_a\\_liberal\\_theory\\_of\\_international\\_politics.pdf](https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/04527E00D02130C6DCCB57A98EFB6AD3/S0020818397440171a.pdf/taking_preferences_seriously_a_liberal_theory_of_international_politics.pdf)

Ruggie, John. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1982).  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2706527.pdf>

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1974), pp. 387-415. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/178015.pdf>

Lenin, Vladimir, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916).  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/>

Keohane, Robert, and Joseph S. Nye Jr. *Power and Interdependence* (New York: Pearson, 2011).

Duedney, Daniel, and John Ikenberry. "Liberal World: The Resilient Order." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2018-06-14/liberal-world>.

Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, no. 80: 153–71, 1990.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1148580>

Ikenberry, John G. "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics* 7, no. 1 (March 2009): 71-87.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592709090112>.

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 80 (1986). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1960861.pdf>

Mearsheimer, John. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19 no. 3 (1994/1995). [https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539078?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2539078?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

## **Week 4: Leaders, Bureaucratic Politics, and Interdependence**

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Date: April 26, 2023

### **Required:**

Allison, Graham T. "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63, no. 3 (September 1969): 689-718.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1954423?origin=crossref>

Farrell, Henry and Abraham L. Newman. 2019. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion" *International Security* 44 (1): 42-79.  
<https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/44/1/42/12237/Weaponized-Interdependence-How-Global-Economic>

Gartzke, Erik, and Jiakung Jack Zhang. "Trade and War." In *Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade*, ed. Lisa L. Martin. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015)  
<https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/34472/chapter/292501066>

McFaul, Michael. "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy". *International Security* 45, no. 2 (Fall 2020): 95-123. <https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/45/2/95/95260/Putin-Putinism-and-the-Domestic-Determinants-of>

Saunders, Elizabeth N. "Transformative Choices Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34, no. 2, Fall 2009: 119-161. <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.119>

Voeten, Erik. *Ideology and International Institutions*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), pp. 17-28. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780691207339/html>

Walt, Stephen, M. "Some rules of global politics matter more than others". *Foreign Policy*. (March 27, 2023). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/03/27/some-rules-of-global-politics-matter-more-than-others/>

### **Recommended:**

Halliday, Fred. "'The sixth great power': on the study of revolution and international relations." *Review of International Studies*, 16(3). (July 1990). 207-221. <https://www-jstor-org.stanford.idm.oclc.org/stable/20097223>

Post, Paul, and Johannes Urpelainen, "How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting Consolidation?" *World Politics*. (January 2015): 72-113 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24578339>

Schultz, Kenneth. "Domestic Politics and International Relations." In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons, 478-502. London: Sage Publications, 2013. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/stanford-ebooks/detail.action?docID=1046504>

Howell, William, and Jon C. Pevehouse. "When Congress Stops Wars: Partisan Politics and Presidential Power." *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2007. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iraq/2007-09-01/when-congress-stops-wars>.

Tomz, Michael, and Jessica L.P. Weeks. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (November 2013): 849–865. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000488>.

Drezner, Daniel. "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics and the Crafting of Foreign Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 4 (October 2000): 733-749. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2669278>

Jervis, Robert. "Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?" *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (April 2013): 153–179. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09636412.2013.786909>



Hermann, Margaret, and Hermann, Charles. "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry." *International Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (December 1989): 361-387. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2600518>

Allison, Graham. "The Myth of the Liberal Order" *Foreign Affairs*, June 14, 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/myth-liberal-order>

Gartzke, Erik. "The Capitalist Peace." *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1): 166-91, 2007. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4122913>

Barbieri, Katherine, and Jack S. Levy. 1999. "Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade." *Journal of Peace Research* 36(4): 463-479. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/425299>

Davis, Christina L., and Tyler Pratt. "The Forces of Attraction: How Security Interests Shape Membership in Economic Institutions." *Review of International Organizations*, 2020. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-020-09395-w>

Gowa, Joanne, and Raymond Hicks. "Commerce and Conflict: New Data about the Great War." *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(3): 653-74, 2015. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/british-journal-of-political-science/article/commerce-and-conflict-new-data-about-the-great-war/8F6B8410BDB042EFA5E43DA17E72FC70>

Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885–1992." *World Politics* 52(1): 1-37. [669], 1999. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25054099>

Snyder, Jack. "Trade Expectations and Great Power Conflict--A Review Essay." *International Security*, 40(3): 179-96, 2015/16. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43828565>

Lascurettes, Kyle. *Orders of Exclusion*. Oxford University Press, 2020. <https://academic.oup.com/book/36872?login=true>

Croco, Sarah, E. "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (2011). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41480852>

Weeks, Jessica L. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (May 2012): 326–347. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000111>

Ye, Min. "Fragmentation and Mobilization: Domestic Politics of the Belt and Road in China." *Journal of Contemporary China* (February 2019): 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2019.1580428>

Economy, Elizabeth C. “Introduction” and “The Lion Awakens.” In *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State*, 1-19 and 186-230. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Lampton, David M. “China’s Foreign and National Security Policy-Making Process: Is It Changing, and Does It Matter?” In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, 1-36. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Jakobson, Linda, and Ryan Manuel. “How are Foreign Policy Decisions Made in China?” *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies* 3, no.1 (January 2016): 101-110. <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.121>.

Miller, Alice. “Valedictory: Analyzing the Chinese Leadership In An Era Of Sex, Money, and Power.” *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 57 (Fall 2018), 1-17. <https://www.hoover.org/research/valedictory-analyzing-chinese-leadership-era-sex-money-and-power>

Taylor, Brian D. “Introduction” and “Putinism Decoded.” In *The Code of Putinism*, Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 1-41. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/stanford-ebooks/detail.action?docID=5400953>

Gurganus, Julia, and Eugene Rumer. “Russia’s Global Ambitions in Perspective.” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, February 20, 2019. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/02/20/russia-s-global-ambitions-in-perspective-pub-78067>.

Lavrov, Sergey. “Russia’s Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective.” *Russia in Global Affairs*, March 2016. <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-18067>.

## **Week 5: Causes of Past Great Power Conflict and Cooperation**

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Date: May 3, 2023

### **Required:**

Chapter 2. The Origins of U.S.-Russia Confrontation

Chapter 3: The Origins of U.S.-China Confrontation

Student Paper #1: Power Was the Central Driver of Past US-Russia Relations

Student Paper #2: Power Was *Not* the Central Driver of Past US-Russia Relations

Student Paper #3: Power Was the Central Driver of Past US-China Relations

Student Paper #4: Power Was *Not* the Central Driver of Past US-China Relations

### **Recommended:**

McFaul, Michael. “Cold War Lessons and Fallacies for US-China Relations Today.” *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (2020): 7-39.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2020.1850406>

X (Kennan, George F.). “The Sources of Soviet Conduct.” *Foreign Affairs*. July 1947.  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sources-soviet-conduct>

Kagan, Robert. *Dangerous Nation: American’s Foreign Policy from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*. Knopf, 2006.

Pomfret, John. *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom: America and China, 1776 to the Present*. Henry Holt and Co., 2016.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *Russia, the Soviet Union and the United States: An Interpretive History (America & the World)*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978.

Haas, Mark. *The Ideological Origins of Great Power Politics, 1789-1989*. Cornell University Press, 2005.

Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and the Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. Random House, 1987.

X. “The Longer Telegram: Toward a New American China Strategy.” *Atlantic Council*. January 2021. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/The-Longer-Telegram-Toward-A-New-American-China-Strategy.pdf>

Shell, Orville. “The Death of Engagement.” *The Wire China*. June 7, 2020.  
<https://www.thewirechina.com/2020/06/07/the-birth-life-and-death-of-engagement/>

Schweller, Randall L., and William C. Wohlforth. “Power Test: Evaluating Realism in Response to the End of the Cold War” *Security Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3 (2000), pp. 60–107.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09636410008429406>

Mearsheimer, John. 1990. “Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War.” *International Security* 15 (1): 5–56. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2538981.pdf>

## **Week 6: Hard Power**

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Date: May 10, 2023

### **Required:**

Chapter 4: The Rise and Decline of American Hegemony

Chapter 5: The Balance of Power between the U.S. and Russia Today

Chapter 6: The Balance of Power between the U.S. and China Today

Student Paper #5: Russia is a Great Power

Student Paper #6: Russia is a *Not* Great Power

Student Paper #7: China is a Great Power

Student Paper #8: China is an Overrated Power

### **Highly Recommended:**

Bacevich, Andrew. "The Reckoning that Wasn't: Why America Remains Trapped by False Dreams of Hegemony," *Foreign Affairs*, (March-April 2023), pp. 6-21.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/andrew-bacevich-the-reckoning-that-wasnt-america-hegemony>

Allison, Graham. "China vs. America: Managing the Next Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2017. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-08-15/china-vs-america>.

Chen Weiss, Jessica. "Don't Panic About Taiwan: Alarm Over a Chinese Invasion Could Become a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," *Foreign Affairs*, March 21, 2023.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/taiwan-chinese-invasion-dont-panic>.

Ivanov, Iskren. (February 2023). Russian military renaissance: an unnecessary war. *Qeios*.

Mastro, Oriana. "The Stealthy Superpower," *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2019: 31-39;

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/china-plan-rule-asia>

Mearsheimer, John. "Playing With Fire in Ukraine" *Foreign Affairs*, August 17, 2022;

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/playing-fire-ukraine>

McFaul, Michael, Stephen Sestanovich, and John Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 6 (November/ December 2014): pp. 167-178.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483933>

Wright, Thomas. 2018. "The Return to Great-Power Rivalry Was Inevitable," *The Atlantic*.

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Allison, Graham. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides Trap?* Mariner Press, 2017.

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## **Week 7: Ideational Power**

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Date: May 17, 2023

### **Required:**

Chapter 7: The Rise and Decline of Democracy as a Universal Value

Chapter 8: Exporting Putinism

Chapter 9: Exporting Xi Jinping Thought

Student Paper #9: Russia is an Ideological Power

Student Paper #10: Russia is *Not* an Ideological Power

Student Paper #11: China is an Ideological Power

Student Paper #12: China is *Not* an Ideological Power  
Student Paper #13: The U.S. is an Ideological Power  
Student Paper #14: The U.S. is *Not* an Ideological Power

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Xi Jinping. [Speech at the Ceremony Marking the Centenary of the Communist Party of China](http://en.qstheory.cn/2021-09/06/c_658164.htm). 求  
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Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party. Washington, D.C. February 28,  
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rudd](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/world-according-xi-jinping-china-ideologue-kevin-rudd)

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2022); <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/what-putin-fears-most/>

President of Russia, Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of  
China on the International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable  
Development, February 4, 2022. <http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/5770>

### Recommended:

Communiqué on the current state of the ideological sphere. (“Document No. 9”). *Central  
Committee of the Communist Party of China’s General Office*. April 22, 2013. In [English](#). In  
[Mandarin](#) (scroll down).

McGregor, Richard. (2022). “The CPC as a Global Force: a long-term view,” in Pieke, F. &  
Hofman, B. (Eds.) *CPC Futures: the new area of socialism with Chinese characteristics*. National  
University of Singapore Press: Singapore, pp. 175-180. <https://epress.nus.edu.sg/cpcfutures/>

Meduza, “Russia’s ‘guardian of traditional values’ How the Kremlin plans to sell Putin to voters  
in his fifth presidential campaign,” March 17, 2023.  
<https://meduza.io/en/feature/2023/03/17/russia-s-guardian-of-traditional-values>

For Russian-language speakers: Говорун, Кирилл. “Интерпретируя ‘Русский Мир.’” *Русский  
Журнал*, 2015. <http://www.russ.ru/Mirovaya-povestka/Interpretiruya-russkij-mir>

Ostrovsky, Arkady, *The Invention of Russia: The Rise of Putin and the Age of Fake News*. New York: Penguin Books, 2017. Pp. 1-54.

Soldatov, Andrei, and Irina Borogan. "Russia's Halfway to Hell Strategy: Why Putin Has Not Yet Launched a Total War in Ukraine." *Foreign Affairs*. March 6, 2023. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/russias-halfway-hell-strategy>

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## Week 8: Institutional Power

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Date: May 24, 2023

### Required:

Chapter 10: The Rise and Decline of the Liberal International Order

Chapter 11: Russian Approaches to Global Order

Chapter 12: Chinese Approaches to Global Order

Student Paper #15: Russia Seeks to Undermine the Liberal International Order

Student Paper #16: Russia Does Not Seek to Undermine the Liberal International Order

Student Paper #17: China Seeks to Undermine the Liberal International Order

Student Paper #18: China Does Not Seek to Undermine the Liberal International Order

Student Paper #19: The U.S. Seeks to Preserve the Liberal International Order

Student Paper #20: The U.S. Seeks to Withdraw from the Liberal International Order

### Highly Recommended:

Rolland, Nadege. *China's Vision for a New World Order*. NBR Special Report No. 83, National Bureau of Asian Research. January 2020. <https://www.nbr.org/publication/chinas-vision-for-a-new-world-order/>.

Johnston, Alastair Iain. "China in a World of Orders: Rethinking Compliance and Challenge in Beijing's International Relations." *International Security* 44, no. 2 (2019): 9-60. [https://direct-mit-edu.stanford.idm.oclc.org/isec/article/44/2/5/12240/Summaries](https://direct.mit.edu.stanford.idm.oclc.org/isec/article/44/2/5/12240/Summaries)

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Xi, Jinping. "[Full Text: Special Address by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the World Economic Forum Virtual Event of the Davos Agenda](#)." *Xinhua*. January 25, 2021. (7 pages)

ZHANG Weiwei [张维为]. "It is Entirely Possible to Tell the Story of Chinese Politics in a More Accurate and Exciting Way" [完全有可能把中国政治故事讲得更透彻、更精彩]. *Beijing Daily* [北京日报]. June 23, 2021. In [English](#). In [Mandarin](#).

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China's latest attempt to rally the world against Western values. (April 27, 2023). *The Economist*. <https://www-economist-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/china/2023/04/27/chinas-latest-attempt-to-rally-the-world-against-western-values>

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Tan, Yeling. "How the WTO Changed China." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-02-16/how-wto-changed-china>.

Rapp-Hooper, Mira, and Rebecca Friedman Lissner. 2019. "The Open World" *Foreign Affairs*, June 2019. <https://www-foreignaffairs-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/open-world>

WANG Huning [王沪宁]. *America against America*.1991. <https://ia601806.us.archive.org/12/items/america-against-america/America%20Against%20America.pdf>

## **Week 9: The Future – Components of “Pragmatic Idealism”**

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Date: May 31, 2023

### **Required:**

Chapter 13: The Unilateral Agenda: American Renewal at Home  
Chapter 14: The Bilateral Agenda: Containing and Engaging Russia  
Chapter 15: The Bilateral Agenda: Containing and Engaging China  
Chapter 16: The Multilateral Agenda: Revitalizing Liberal Internationalism

Student memos.

### **Recommended:**

How to avoid a Great-Power War. A conversation with General Mark Milley. [PODCAST]. (May 2, 2023). *Foreign Affairs*. [https://www.foreignaffairs.com/podcasts/how-to-avoid-great-power-war-mark-milley?utm\\_campaign=tw\\_daily\\_soc&utm\\_source=twitter\\_posts&utm\\_medium=social](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/podcasts/how-to-avoid-great-power-war-mark-milley?utm_campaign=tw_daily_soc&utm_source=twitter_posts&utm_medium=social)

Ashford, Emma M., Hal Brands, Jason J. Castilo, Kate Kizer, Rebecca Friedman. Lissner, and Joshua Shiffrin. "New Voices in Grand Strategy" Michael J. Zak Grand Strategy Lectures.

Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, 2019.  
<https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/new-voices-in-grand-strategy>

Biden, Joseph. “Remarks by President Biden on America’s Place in the World.” *The White House*. February 4, 2021. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2021/02/04/remarks-by-president-biden-on-americas-place-in-the-world/>.

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<https://www.americanpurpose.com/articles/dressing-for-dinner/>.

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McFaul, Michael. “Sell It Again, Uncle Sam.” *American Purpose*. January 13, 2021.  
<https://www.americanpurpose.com/articles/sell-it-again-uncle-sam/>.

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<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09636412.2019.1604983>

Swaine, Michael, D. & Bachevich, Andrew. “A restraint approach to U.S.-China relations: reversing the slide towards crisis and conflict.” Quincy Paper No.11. *Quincy Institute for responsible statecraft*. April 18, 2023. <https://quincyinst.org/report/u-s-relations-with-china-a-strategy-based-on-restraint/>

The U.S. should be a force for peace in the world. *Eisenhower Media Network*. May 17, 2023.  
<https://eisenhowermedianetwork.org/russia-ukraine-war-peace/Links to an external site.>  
(interestingly so, this was only printed as a paid advertisement, not as an opinion piece, see pdf attached, in the New York Times.)

## **Week 10: Wrapping up (Dinner session at McFaul home, 6-8 pm)**

Date: June 7, 2023