

**Fall 2022**

**SISU-318-001**

**Tuesday and Friday, 2:30 to 3:45 pm**

**Office Hours: Tuesdays 9:00 am to 1:00 pm (online and in-person SIS 213)**

**Professor Joseph Torigian**

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**Course Overview**

Former Secretary of Defense James Mattis described China and Russia as "revisionist powers," signaling that, after years of focus on the Middle East and terrorism, great power politics once again sit at the center of U.S. foreign policy. But how have the political elite in these two countries thought about their security in the broadest sense? This course explores how leaders in Beijing and Moscow have historically sought to defend themselves against other competitors from within the regime, their own people, and other great powers. Drawing on international relations and comparative politics, the course applies political science theories to better understand how powerful actors in China and Russia behaved similarly or differently during crucial historical moments.

During this course, students will learn the promises and pitfalls of comparing two countries with strong similarities but also significant differences. Why did the two major revolutions of the twentieth century occur in China and Russia? How did Mao Zedong and Josef Stalin translate violence, cult of personality, and strategic maneuvering into political power? Why was it that they also presided over major famines? Why did China and Russia see such different outcomes to reforms in the 1980s? What kind of authoritarianism do they impose on their population today? How have Beijing and Russia dealt with their ethnic and religious minorities? Why do they diverge with regards to nuclear weapons postures? How do these countries turn ideology and religion into political instruments? What is the role of individual leaders? How did Washington come to label China and Russia “revisionists,” and should Washington worry about developing close bilateral relations between Beijing and Moscow?

**Requirements**

*Attendance*: 15%

*Response papers (2, each 15%):* 30% (September 30 and November 18) (each 750 words)

*Midterm:* 25% (October 18) (in-class blue book)

*Take-home Final:* 30% (December 12)

*Attendance:*

Each class will include discussion of the lecture and reading materials. Students are expected to be able to discuss the readings. Many classes will include structured debate, so come prepared. Occasionally, I will use an app on my phone to randomly select students to answer questions about the reading. Questions asked in this way will not be “gotcha” questions: if you did the reading, you will be able to answer the question.

Every unexcused absence after the first will lead to a lower grade for participation (from A to B or B to C). Please let me know beforehand if you must miss class for personal reasons like illness, family or personal emergency, religious observance, or mandatory event. I do not need medical documentation.

For information on how class participation is graded, please see:

<http://assessment.arizona.edu/sites/default/files/OralCommunication.pdf>

*Response papers:*

The response papers are two 750 word written assignments on the readings and lectures. I encourage you to contact the Writing Center (see below) - remember this is free help that can only make your paper better and improve your skills.

You can pick the topic of your response papers. They will be graded on how thoughtfully you react to any topic from class. Please do not simply summarize ideas from the lectures or readings – I want to see your own argument. No outside research is required or allowed. I will provide more details on how I will grade during these assignments during the semester.

*Midterm:*

The midterm is an open-book “in-class” exam (during scheduled class-time) consisting of short written answers based on the lectures and readings. I will provide extensive comments on how to prepare for this exam.

*Final*:

The final is a take-home exam consisting of long-written essays. No outside research is required.

**Note 1:**

The assigned readings are heavy. Please review the syllabus and make sure your schedule can handle this reading load. Please note, however, that you will not be required to do any research outside of class for any of the assignments. Therefore, I believe the workload will even out.

**Note 2:**

I would like to include outside speakers in class. That means I may move the dates around. However, I will not change the nature of assignments or the workload.

**Topics and Reading Assignments**

**1 Introduction: Two Revolutions (August 30, Tuesday)**

Perry Anderson, “Two Revolutions,” *New Left Review*, no. 61 (February 2010).

*Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America*, 2018, 1–3, <https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf>.

**2 Can Russia and China be compared? (September 2, Friday)**

Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1952), 17–48.

Andrew Walder, *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), Chapter 5, “The Socialist Economy.”

**3 How can we compare Russia and China? (September 6, Tuesday)**

Cheng Chen and Rudra Sil, “Stretching Postcommunism: Diversity, Context, and Comparative Historical Analysis,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23, no. 4 (2007): 275–301.

Dan Slater and Daniel Ziblatt, “The Enduring Indispensability of the Controlled Comparison,” *Comparative Political Studies*, January 16, 2013.

OPTIONAL: James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, “Comparative Historical Analysis: Achievements and Agendas,” in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

**4 What were the Russian and Chinese revolutions? (September 9, Friday)**

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 15–67.

Walder, *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed*, Chapter 2, “From Movement to Regime.”

**5 How can the Chinese and Russian revolutions be compared? (September 13, Tuesday)**

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Chapter 1.

S.A. Smith, *Revolution and the People in Russia and China: A Comparative History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1–12, 192–205.

**6 The nature of power: Stalinism and Maoism (September 16, Friday)**

Oleg Khlevniuk, *Stalin: New Biography of a Dictator* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 33–41, 142–57.

Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Waiting for Hitler, 1929-1941* (New York: Penguin Press, 2017), 1–8.

Frederick Teiwes, “Mao Zedong in Power (1949-1976),” in *Politics in China: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

OPTIONAL: Robert Jervis. “Do Leaders Matter and How Would We Know?” *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (April 2013): 153–79.

OPTIONAL: James Mahoney and Richard Snyder. “Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Regime Change.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 34, no. 2 (1999): 3–32.

**7 Communist famines (September 20, Tuesday)**

Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 21–58.

Frederick C. Teiwes and Warren Sun, *China’s Road to Disaster: Mao, Central Politicians, and Provincial Leaders in the Unfolding of the Great Leap Forward* (New York: Routledge, 2015), Conclusion.

OPTIONAL: Yang Jisheng, *Tombstone: The Untold Story of Mao’s Great Famine* (London: Allen Lan, 2012).

**8 Cold War crises (week one) (September 23, Friday)**

He Di, “The Evolution of the People’s Republic of China’s Policy Toward the Offshore Islands (Quemoy, Matsu),” in *The Great Powers in East Asia: 1953-1960*, ed. Warren I. Cohen and Akira Iriye (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 222–45.

Timothy J. Naftali and A. A. Fursenko, *Khrushchev’s Cold War: The Inside Story of an American Adversary*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 2006), 438–92.

**9 Cold War crises (week two) (September 27, Tuesday)**

Michael Gerson, *The Sino-Soviet Border Conflict: Deterrence, Escalation, and the Threat of Nuclear War in 1969* (CNA, 2010).

**10 The era of “reform” in the Soviet Union and China (week one) (September 30, Friday) (FIRST RESPONSE PAPER DUE)**

Chris Miller, *The Struggle to Save the Soviet Economy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), Introduction, Chapter 3, Conclusion.

OPTIONAL: Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

**11 The era of “reform” in the Soviet Union and China (week two) (October 4, Tuesday)**

Andrew G. Walder, “Bending the Arc of Chinese History: The Cultural Revolution’s Paradoxical Legacy,” *The China Quarterly* 227 (September 2016): 613–31.

Frederick C. Teiwes, “The Paradoxical Post-Mao Transition: From Obeying the Leader to ‘Normal Politics’,” *The China Journal*, no. 34 (1995): 55–--94.

**12 The moment of truth: Moscow 1991 and Beijing 1989 (week one) (October 7, Friday)**

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (June 2008): 7–44.

Serhii Plokhii, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 79–130.

**13 The moment of truth: Moscow 1991 and Beijing 1989 (week two) (October 11, Tuesday)**

Joseph Torigian, excerpts from book manuscript on Tiananmen Square.

**Fall Break (October 14, Friday)**

**14 Midterm (October 18, Tuesday)**

**15 Russian and Chinese Authoritarianisms after the Cold War (week one) (October 21, Friday)**

Michael McFaul, “Choosing Autocracy: Actors, Institutions, and Revolution in the Erosion of Russian Democracy,” *Comparative Politics* 50, no. 3 (April 2018): 305–25.

Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce, “Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 3 (September 2013): 753–68.

OPTIONAL: Brian D. Taylor, *State Building in Putin’s Russia: Policing and Coercion after Communism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

**16 Russian and Chinese Authoritarianisms after the Cold War (week two) (October 25, Tuesday)**

Andrew J. Nathan, “Authoritarian Resilience,” *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 1 (2003): 6–17.

Bruce Dickson, *The Dictator’s Dilemma: The Chinese Communist Party’s Strategy for Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6–17.

OPTIONAL: David L. Shambaugh, *China’s Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008).

**17 Russia, China, and Minority Regions (week one) (October 28, Friday)**

Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), Chapter 1.

Henry Hale, *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Chapters 5 and 6.

OPTIONAL: Mark Beissinger, “Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism,” *Contemporary European History* 18, no. 3 (2009): 331–47.

**18 Russia, China, and Minority Regions (week two) (November 1, Tuesday)**

Minglang Zhou, “The Fate of the Soviet Model of Multinational State-Building in the People’s Republic of China,” in *China Learns from the Soviet Union*, ed. Thomas P. Bernstein and Hua-yu Li (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011), 477–503.

Melvyn C. Goldstein, *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet and the Dalai Lama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 37–99.

Chris Buckley, “The Leaders Who Unleashed China’s Mass Detention of Muslims,” *New York Times*, October 13, 2018.

OPTIONAL: Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

OPTIONAL: Justin Jacobs, *Xinjiang and the Modern Chinese State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

**19 Interlude: the study of Russia and China in the US (November 4, Friday)**

David Engerman, *Know Your Enemy: The Rise and Fall of America’s Soviet Experts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 2–10.

Richard Baum, *China Watcher: Confessions of a Peking Tom* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 26–60, 232–53.

**20 Russia, China, and Nuclear Weapons (November 8, Tuesday)**

Campbell Craig and Sergey Radchenko, “MAD, Not Marx: Khrushchev and the Nuclear Revolution,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, June 2017, 1–26.

M. Taylor Fravel and Evan S. Medeiros, “China’s Search for Assured Retaliation: The Evolution of Chinese Nuclear Strategy and Force Structure,” *International Security* 35, no. 2 (September 17, 2010): 48–87.

**21 Russia, China, and Religion (November 11, Friday)**

Karrie J. Koesel, *Religion and Authoritarianism: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Consequences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–31.

Ian Johnson, “Pastor Charged with ‘Inciting Subversion’ as China Cracks Down on Churches,” *New York Times*, December 13, 2018.

**22 Ideas and Ideology (November 15, Tuesday)**

Cheng Chen, *The Return of Ideology: The Search for Regime Identities in Postcommunist Russia and China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), Chapters 1 and 2.

Gilbert Rozman, *The Sino-Russian Challenge to the World Order: National Identities, Bilateral Relations, and East Versus West in the 2010s* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2014), 1–32.

OPTIONAL: Joseph Torigian, “Xi Jinping and Ideology,” Wilson Center Publication, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/uploads/documents/Torigian\_Xi%20Jinping%20and%20Ideology.pdf

**23 Corruption (November 18, Friday) (SECOND RESPONSE PAPER DUE)**

Cheng Chen, “Comparing Post-Communist Authoritarianism in Russia and China: The Case of Anti-Corruption Campaigns,” in *Comparative Area Studies: Methodological Rationales and Cross-Regional Applications*, ed. Ariel I. Ahram, Patrick Kollner, and Rudra Sil (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 133–51.

Minxin Pei, “How Now to Fight Corruption: Lessons from China,” *Daedalus* 147, no. 3 (Summer 2018): 216–30.

OPTIONAL: Andrew Wedeman, “The Intensification of Corruption in China,” *China Quarterly* 180 (December 2004): 895–921.

OPTIONAL: Melanie Manion, *Corruption by Design* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

OPTIONAL: Karen Dawisha, *Putin’s Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014).

**24 Russia, China, and the Role of Individual Leaders (November 22, Tuesday)**

Brian Taylor, *The Code of Putinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1–41.

Joseph Torigian, “Historical Legacies and Leaders’ Worldviews: Communist Party History and Xi’s Learned (And Unlearned) Lessons,” *China Perspectives*, no. 1–2 (2018): 7–15.

OPTIONAL: Andrew Bingham Kennedy, *The International Ambitions of Mao and Nehru: National Efficacy Beliefs and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

**25 How did US-Russia relations get where they are today? (November 29, Tuesday)**

John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2014.

Michael McFaul, Stephen Sestanovich, and John Mearsheimer, “Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 2014.

**26 How did US-China relations get where they are today? (December 2, Friday)**

Kurt Campbell and Ely Ratner, The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations, Foreign Affairs, March/April 2018

Wang Jisi et al., “Did America Get China Wrong?,” *Foreign Affairs*, August 2018.

**27 Intelligence and Influence Operations (December 6, Tuesday)**

Peter Mattis, “Contrasting China’s and Russia’s Influence Operations,” *War on the Rocks*, January 16, 2018, <https://warontherocks.com/2018/01/contrasting-chinas-russias-influence-operations/>.

**28 Sino-Russian Relations (December 6, Tuesday)**

Lorenz M. Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 1–17, 340–52.

James B. Steinberg, “China-Russia Cooperation: How Should the United States Respond?,” ed. Richard J. Ellings and Robert Sutter (Seattle and Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2018), 145–70.

**Academic Integrity**

**The following notice informs students about the American University Academic Integrity Code and their rights and responsibilities under it:**

*All students are governed by American University’s Academic Integrity Code. The Academic Integrity Code details specific violations of ethical conduct that relate to academic integrity. By*

*registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and*

*you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the code. All of your work (whether oral or written) in this class is governed by the provisions of the Academic Integrity Code. Academic violations include but are not limited to: plagiarism, inappropriate collaboration, dishonesty in examinations whether in class or take-home, dishonesty in papers, work done for one course and submitted to another, deliberate falsification of data, interference with other students’ work, and copyright violations. The adjudication process and possible penalties are listed in American University’s Academic Integrity Code booklet, which is also available on the American University website. Being a member of this academic community entitles each of us to a wide degree of freedom and the pursuit of scholarly interests; with that freedom, however, comes a responsibility to uphold the high ethical standards of scholarly conduct. See the AU website for additional details:*

[*www.american.edu/academics/integrity*](http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity)

::: **Academic Support**

**The following notice informs students about academic support resources available through the Academic Support and Access Center:**

***For Fall 2022, Academic Support and Access Center (ASAC) services will be offered virtually. See their website for additional details:***

[*www.american.edu/provost/academic-access*](https://www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/)

***All students may take advantage of the Academic Support and Access Center (ASAC)(MGC 243) for individual academic skills counseling, workshops, Tutoring, peer tutor referrals, and Supplemental Instruction. Additional academic support resources available at AU include the Bender Library, the Department of Literature's Writing Center (located in the Library), the Math Lab in the Department of Mathematics & Statistics, and the Center for Language Exploration, Acquisition, & Research (CLEAR) in Asbury Hall. A more complete list of campus-wide resources is available in the ASAC.***

**Academic WARNING NOTIFICATIONS**

**The following notice informs students about the potential for an instructor to warn the student and his/her academic advisor about concerns over the student’s performance or attendance in the class:**

*Students may receive Academic Warning Notices at any point during their classes.  These notices are designed for you to contact your faculty, receive assistance, and develop strategies to improve your performance in the class.  Please note that you should seek help throughout the semester when you have questions, fail to submit an assignment, fail to attend class, or receive an unsatisfactory grade.*

**Center for Diversity and Inclusion**

**The following notice informs students about resources available through the Center for Diversity and Inclusion:**

***For Fall 2022****, Center for Diversity and Inclusion services will be offered both virtually and in person.* ***See their website for additional details:***

[*www.american.edu/ocl/cdi*](https://www.american.edu/ocl/cdi/)

*The Center for Diversity and Inclusion (x3651, MGC 201) is dedicated to enhancing LGBTQ, Multicultural, First Generation, and Women's experiences on campus and to “advance AU's commitment to respecting & valuing diversity by serving as a resource and liaison to students, staff, and faculty on issues of equity through education, outreach, and advocacy.”*

**Counseling Center**

**The following notice informs students about resources available through the Counseling Center:**

***For Fall 2022****, Counseling Center services will be offered virtually.* ***See their website for additional details:***

[*www.american.edu/ocl/counseling*](https://www.american.edu/ocl/counseling/)

*Please also see the Center’s COVID-19 Resources for Mental Health for assistance during these uniquely challenging times:*

[*www.american.edu/ocl/counseling/covid-resources.cfm*](https://www.american.edu/ocl/counseling/covid-resources.cfm)

*The Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers intake and urgent care services, counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.*

**Emergency Preparedness for Disruption of Classes**

**The following notice informs students about what happens as a result of an unexpected closure of the University due to weather or safety concerns, for example:**

*In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies.*

*In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site, and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean’s office for course and school/college-specific information.*

*See the Emergency Preparedness website for additional details:*

[*www.american.edu/emergency*](https://www.american.edu/emergency/)

**OASIS: Confidential Victim Advocacy**

**The following notice informs students about resources available through the Office of Advocacy Services for Interpersonal and Sexual Violence (OASIS):**

***For Fall 2022****, Health Promotion and Advocacy Center services will be offered both virtually and in person.* ***See their website for additional details and to book appointments:***

[*www.american.edu/ocl/promote-health/index.cfm*](https://www.american.edu/ocl/promote-health/index.cfm)

*A program of the Health Promotion and Advocacy Center (x3276, Hughes Hall 105), OASIS (the Office of Advocacy Services for Interpersonal and Sexual Violence) provides free and confidential victim advocacy services for American University students who are impacted by all forms of sexual violence (e.g. sexual assault, rape, dating or domestic violence, sexual harassment, or stalking)--either directly or indirectly. To schedule an advocacy meeting with one of AU's confidential victim advocates, visit their You Can Book Me page:*

[*auhpac.youcanbook.me*](https://auhpac.youcanbook.me/)

**Students with Disabilities**

**The following notice informs students with disabilities about appropriately requesting accommodations through the Academic Support and Access Center:**

***For Fall 2022, Disability Accommodation services will be offered virtually. See their website for additional details:***

[*www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/documentation-and-eligibility.cfm*](https://www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/documentation-and-eligibility.cfm)

***If you wish to receive accommodations for a disability, please notify your instructor with a letter from the Academic Support and Access Center. As accommodations are not retroactive, timely notification at the beginning of the semester, if possible, is strongly recommended.***To register with a disability or for questions about disability accommodations, contact the Academic Support and Access Center at 202-885-3360 or [*asac@american.edu*](mailto:asac@american.edu), or drop by the ASAC in MGC 243.

**Writing Center**

**The following notice informs students about resources available through the Writing Center:**

***For Fall 2022, Writing Center services will be offered both virtually and in person. See their website for additional details:***

[*www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/writing-center/*](https://www.american.edu/provost/academic-access/writing-center/)

*The Writing Center (x2291, Bender Library, 1st floor) provides writing consultants to assist students with writing projects. Students must set up a free appointment via WC Online:*

[*www.american.mywconline.net*](http://www.american.mywconline.net/)