

## Appendix A

# Selected Bibliography

- Abe, Shinzo. "Confluence of the Two Seas." Ministry of Foreign Affairs–Japan, August 22, 2007.
- Allen, Gregory. *Understanding China's AI Strategy: Clues to Chinese Strategic Thinking on Artificial Intelligence and National Security*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, February 6, 2019.
- Allison, Graham. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2017.
- . "The New Spheres of Influence: Sharing the Globe with Other Great Powers." *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 2 (March/April 2020).
- Arbatova, Nadezda. "Three Faces of Russia's Neo-Eurasianism." *Survival* 61, no. 6 (December 2019–January 2020).
- Archick, Kristin. *Transatlantic Relations: U.S. Interests and Key Issues*, R45745. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, May 31, 2019.
- Asada, Sadao. "From Washington to London: The Imperial Japanese Navy and the Politics of Naval Limitation, 1921–30." In *The Washington Naval Conference, 1921–22*. Erik Goldstein and John Maurer, eds. London: Frank Cass & Company, 1994.
- Aso, Taro. "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic Horizons." Speech by Mr. Taro Aso, Minister for Foreign Affairs on the Occasion of the Japan Institute of International Affairs Seminar, November 30, 2006.
- Assessment on U.S. Defense Implications of China's Expanding Global Access*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, December 2018.
- Bader, Jeffrey A. *Obama and China's Rise: An Insider's Account of America's Asia Strategy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012.
- Baldwin, David. *Paradoxes of Power*. New York: Bail Blackwell, 1989.
- Barry, Jon M. *The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Bayles, Martha. "How the World Perceives the New American Dream." *The Atlantic*, October 10, 2015.

- Beckley, Michael. "Economic Development and Military Effectiveness." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 1 (February 2010).
- . "The Power of Nations: Measuring What Matters." *International Security* 43, no. 2 (Fall 2018).
- Blankenship, Brian D., and Benjamin Denison. "Is America Prepared for Great Power Competition?" *Survival* 61, no. 5 (October–November 2019).
- Bley, Bonnie. "The New Geography of Global Diplomacy: China Advances as the United States Retreats." *Foreign Affairs*, November 27, 2019.
- Bodine-Baron, Elizabeth, Todd C. Helmus, Andrew Radin, and Elina Treyger. "Countering Russian Social Media Influence." Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2018.
- Bolsover, Gillian. *Computational Propaganda in China: An Alternative Model of a Widespread Practice*. Computational Propaganda Research Project Working Paper No. 2017.4. Oxford: Project on Computational Propaganda, 2017.
- Boustany, Jr., Charles W., and Aaron L. Friedberg. *Partial Disengagement: A New U.S. Strategy for Economic Competition with China*. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, November 2019.
- Brands, Hal. "The Lost Art of Long-Term Competition." *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (Fall 2019).
- . *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016.
- Brands, Hal, and Zack Cooper. "After the Responsible Stakeholder, What? Debating America's China Strategy." *Texas National Security Review* 2, no. 2 (February 2019).
- Brands, Hal, and Peter D. Feaver. "Reevaluating Diplomatic and Military Power: What Are America's Alliances Good For?" *Parameters* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2017).
- Brooks, Stephen G., and William C. Wohlforth. *America Abroad: The United States' Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Brown, Michael, Eric Chewning, and Pavneet Singh. *Preparing the United States for the Superpower Marathon with China*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, April 2020.
- Brunnermeier, Markus, Rush Doshi, and Harold James. "Beijing's Bismarckian Ghosts: How Great Powers Compete Economically." *The Washington Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (Fall 2018).
- Buckley, Chris, and Paul Mozur. "How China Uses High-Tech Surveillance to Subdue Minorities." *New York Times*, May 22, 2019.
- Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance. *Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments*. Department of State, August 2019.

- . *Annual Report on Implementation of the New START Treaty*. Department of State, February 2019.
- Burrows, Mathew J., and Peter Engelke. *What World Post COVID-19? Three Scenarios*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, April 2020.
- Campbell, Charles S. *From Revolution to Rapprochement: The United States and Great Britain, 1783–1900*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.
- Campbell, Kurt M. *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft*. New York: Hatchett Book Group, 2016.
- Campbell, Kurt M., and Rush Doshi. “The Coronavirus Could Reshape Global Order.” *Foreign Affairs*, March 18, 2020.
- Campbell, Kurt M., and Ely Ratner. “The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations.” *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 2 (March/April 2018).
- Campbell, Kurt M., and Jake Sullivan. “Competition Without Catastrophe.” *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 5 (September/October 2019).
- Cheng, Cheng. “The Logic Behind China’s Foreign Aid Agency.” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 21, 2019.
- Cheng, Dean. *Cyber Dragon: Inside China’s Information Warfare and Cyber Operations*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2016.
- Cheung, Tai Ming, and Thomas G. Mahnken. *The Gathering Pacific Storm*. Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2018.
- China and the World in the New Era*. Beijing: The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, September 2019.
- China’s National Defense in the New Era* [Defense White Paper]. Beijing: The State Council Information Office of the People’s Republic of China, July 2019.
- Clinton, Hillary. “America’s Pacific Century.” *Foreign Policy*, no. 189 (November–December 2011).
- Coker, Christopher. *Future War*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2015.
- Conway, Maura, Ryan Scrivens, and Logan Macnair. *Right-Wing Extremists’ Persistent Online Presence: History and Contemporary Trends*. The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, November 2019.
- Cook, Sarah. “Beijing’s Global Megaphone: The Expansion of Chinese Communist Party Media Influence Since 2017.” *Freedom House*, 2020.
- Crammond, Edgar. “The Economic Relations of the British and German Empires.” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 77, no. 8 (July 1914).

Cyrill, Melissa. "What Is Made in China 2025 and Why Has It Made the World So Nervous?" *China Briefing*, December 28, 2018.

Dalton, Melissa, et al. *By Other Means—Part II: U.S. Priorities in the Gray Zone*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2019.

Defense Intelligence Agency. *China Military Power: Modernizing a Force to Fight and Win*. Washington, DC: Defense Intelligence Agency, 2019.

———. *Iran Military Power: Ensuring Regime Survival and Securing Regional Dominance*. Washington, DC: Defense Intelligence Agency, 2019.

———. *Russia Military Power: Building a Military to Support Great Power Aspirations*. Washington, DC: Defense Intelligence Agency, 2017.

Denmark, Abraham. "Ideological Competition in the Indo-Pacific." *Asia Dispatches*, March 27, 2018.

*Department of Defense Arctic Strategy*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, June 2019.

*Department of Defense Strategy for Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, June 2014.

Dinan, Desmond, Neil Nugent, and William E. Patterson. *The European Union in Crisis*. London: Red Globe Press, 2017.

DiResta, Renee. "For China, the 'USA Virus' Is a Geopolitical Ploy." *The Atlantic*, April 11, 2020.

Dobbins, James, Howard J. Shatz, and Alie Wyne. *Russia Is a Rogue, Not a Peer; China Is a Peer, Not a Rogue*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2018.

Dodwell, Brian, and Don Rassler. "A View from the CT Foxhole: LTG Michael K. Nagata, Director, Directorate of Strategic Operational Planning, NCTC." *Combating Terrorism Center* 10, no. 6 (June/July 2017).

*Economic and Trade Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China*. Washington, DC: Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 2020.

Edel, Charles, and Hal Brands. "The Real Origins of the U.S.-China Cold War." *Foreign Policy*, June 2, 2019.

Epstein, Gerald L. "Biodefense and the Return to Great Power Competition." *Nonproliferation Review* (Spring/Summer 2020).

"The European Union and the Russian Federation." European Union Web site, February 25, 2020.

"EU Global Strategy." European Union Web site, June 14, 2019.

- “EU-China Relations Factsheet.” European Union Web site, June 20, 2020.
- Eurosystem: The International Role of the Euro*. European Central Bank, June 2019.
- Farah, Douglas, and Kathryn Babineau. “Extra-Regional Actors in Latin America: The United States Is Not the Only Game in Town.” *PRISM* 8, no. 1 (2019).
- Fingar, Thomas. “China’s Vision of World Order.” In *Strategic Asia 2012–13: China’s Military Challenge*. Ashley J. Tellis and Travis Tanner, eds. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2012.
- Fingar, Thomas, and Jean C. Oi. “China’s Challenges: Now It Gets Much Harder.” *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2020).
- Flournoy, Michèle. “DOD’s Role on Competing with China.” House Armed Services Committee, January 15, 2020.
- Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation*. Moscow: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, November 30, 2016.
- Franklin, Daniel. *MegaTech: Technology in 2050*. New York: Profile Books, 2017.
- A Free and Open Indo-Pacific: Advancing a Shared Vision*. Washington, DC: Department of State, November 4, 2019.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. “Competing with China.” *Survival* 60, no. 3 (2018).
- . *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*. New York: Norton, 2011.
- . “Getting the China Challenge Right.” *The American Interest*, January 10, 2019.
- . *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895–1905*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Friedberg, Aaron L., and Charles W. Boustany, Jr. “Partial Disengagement: A New U.S. Strategy for Economic Competition with China.” *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2020).
- Fukayama, Francis. “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989).
- Fuxian, Li. “Why Ageing China Won’t Overtake the U.S. Economy as the World’s Biggest— Now or in the Future.” *South China Morning Post*, March 29, 2019.
- Gao, George. “Why Is China So Uncool?” *Foreign Policy*, March 8, 2017.
- Gentile, Gian. *Four Problems in the Korean Peninsula: North Korea’s Expanding Nuclear Capabilities Drive a Complex Set of Problems*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2019.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Gilpin, Robert. *U.S. Power and the Multinational Corporation: The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment*. New York: Basic Books, 1975.
- . *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Glaser, Charles. *Rational Theory of International Politics: The Logic of Competition and Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Goldstein, Lyle. *Meeting China Halfway: How to Defuse the Emerging U.S.-China Rivalry*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015.
- Grab, Alexander. *Napoleon and the Transformation of Europe*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, Ltd., 2003.
- Green, Michael, and Evan S. Medeiros. “The Pandemic Won’t Make China the World’s Leader.” *Foreign Affairs*, April 15, 2020.
- Greenberg, Andy. *Sandworm: A New Era of Cyberwar and the Hunt for the Kremlin’s Most Dangerous Hackers*. New York: Doubleday, 2019.
- Haass, Richard. “The Pandemic Will Accelerate History Rather Than Reshape It.” *Foreign Affairs*, April 7, 2020.
- Hammes, T.X. *Deglobalization and International Security*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2019.
- Hanauer, Larry, and Lyle J. Morris. *Chinese Engagement in Africa: Drivers, Reactions, and Implications for U.S. Policy*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2014.
- Harrell, Peter, Elizabeth Rosenberg, and Edoardo Saravalle. *China’s Use of Coercive Economic Measures*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, June 2018.
- Heath, Timothy, and William Thompson. “Avoiding U.S.-China Competition Is Futile: Why the Best Option Is to Manage Strategic Rivalry.” *Asia Policy* 13, no. 2 (April 2018).
- Heginbotham, Eric, et al. *The U.S.-China Military Scorecard: Forces, Geography, and the Evolving Balance of Power, 1996–2017*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2015.
- Hersman, Rebecca, and Suzanne Claeys. *Rigid Structures, Evolving Threat: Preventing the Proliferation and Use of Chemical Weapons*. Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2019.
- “Hijrah to the Islamic State: What to Packup, Who to Contact, Where to Go, Stories & More!” Islamic State Foreign Fighters, 2015.
- Hill, Fiona, and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2015.
- Homeland Security Advisory Council: Interim Report of the Countering Foreign Influence Subcommittee*. Washington, DC: Department of Homeland Security, June 2019.

- Horowitz, Michael C. "Artificial Intelligence, International Competition, and the Balance of Power." *Texas National Security Review* 1, no. 3 (May 2018).
- Huang, Echo. "Why China Isn't as Skillful at Disinformation as Russia." *Quartz*, September 19, 2019.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- . *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, June 1, 2019.
- "An Interactive Look at the U.S.-China Military Scorecard." RAND–Project Air Force Web site.
- Interim Report of the National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence*. Washington, DC: National Security Commission on Artificial Intelligence, November 2019.
- Irwin, Douglas A. "Historical Aspects of U.S. Trade Policy." National Bureau of Economic Research, Summer 2006.
- Jinping, Xi. "New Asian Security Concept for Progress in Security Cooperation." Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia. Shanghai Expo Center, May 21, 2014.
- . "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era." Report to the 19<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, October 18, 2017.
- Johnston, Iain Alistair. "The Failures of the 'Failure of Engagement' with China." *The Washington Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (Summer 2019).
- . "China in a World of Orders." *International Security* 44, no. 2 (Fall 2019).
- Kagan, Robert. *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*. New York: Vintage Books, 2009.
- Kelle, Alexander. "Power in the Chemical Weapons Prohibition Regime and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons." *International Politics* 55, no. 1 (October 2017).
- Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Humanity Books, 1983.
- . *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. New York: Random House, 1989.

- Kennedy, Scott. "Made in China 2025." Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 1, 2015.
- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1977.
- Keynoush, Banafsheh. "Saudi Arabia and Iran Are Adapting to Perpetual Conflict." Atlantic Council, May 23, 2019.
- Kindleberger, Charles S. *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- . *World Economic Primacy: 1500–1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Kissinger, Henry. "The Coronavirus Pandemic Will Forever Alter the World Order." *Wall Street Journal*, April 3, 2020.
- . *On China*. New York: Penguin Books, 2011.
- . *World Order*. New York: Penguin Books, 2014.
- Koblentz, Gregory D. "Regime Security: A New Theory for Understanding the Proliferation of Chemical and Biological Weapons." *Contemporary Security Policy* 34, no. 3 (November 2013).
- Kramer, David J. "Russia Is No Great Power Competitor." *The American Interest*, April 24, 2019.
- Kramer, Steven Philip. *The Other Population Crisis: What Governments Can Do About Falling Birth Rates*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013.
- Krastev, Ivan. *After Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
- Krauthammer, Charles. "The Unipolar Moment." *Foreign Affairs* 70, no. 1 (1991).
- Kyriakopoulos, Irene. "Economic and Monetary Union Governance: A Post-Crisis Assessment." *World Economics Journal* 12, no. 4 (October–December 2011).
- Lacey, James. *Great Strategic Rivalries: From the Classical World to the Cold War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lardy, Nicholas. *Sustaining China's Economic Growth After the Global Financial Crisis*. Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, December 2011.
- Lee, Kai-Fu. *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018.



- Liu, Xin. "What Sharp Power? It's Nothing But 'Unsmart' Power." University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy, November 15, 2018.
- Lynch, Colum, and Elias Groll. "As U.S. Retreats from World Organizations, China Steps in to Fill the Void." *Foreign Policy*, October 6, 2017.
- Lynch III, Thomas F., and James J. Przystup, *India-Japan Strategic Cooperation and Implications for U.S. Strategy in the Indo-Asia-Pacific Region*. INSS Strategic Perspectives 24. Washington, DC: NDU Press, March 2017.
- Mahnken, Thomas G. *Forging the Tools of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Great Power Competition*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment, 2020.
- . "A 'World-Class' Military: Assessing China's Global Military Ambitions." U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, June 20, 2019.
- Mastro, Oriana Skylar. "The Stealth Superpower: How China Hid Its Global Ambitions." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 1 (January/February 2019).
- Mazarr, Michael J. "This Is Not Great Power Competition." *Foreign Affairs*, May 2019.
- . et al. *Hostile Social Manipulation: Present Realities and Emerging Trends*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2019.
- . et al. *Understanding the Emerging Era of International Competition: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2018.
- McDonald, Scott, and Michael Burgoyne, eds. *China's Global Influence: Perspectives and Recommendations*. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2019.
- McMaster, H.R. "How China Sees the World: And How We Should See China." *The Atlantic*, May 2020.
- McNeal, Robert H. "The Legacy of the Comintern." *International Journal* 201, no. 2 (Spring 1966).
- Mearsheimer, John J. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: Norton, 2014.
- Military and Security Developments Involving the Republic of China*. Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, May 2, 2019.
- Missile Defense Review*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2019.
- Morgenthau, Hans. *Politics Among Nations*. New York: Knopf, 1948.
- Mueller III, Robert S. *Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election*. Washington, DC: Department of Justice, March 2019.
- Murray, Williamson, and Allan R. Millett, eds. *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- Naji, Abu Bakr. *Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. William McCants, trans. Cambridge, MA: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University, May 23, 2006.
- National Biodefense Strategy*. Washington, DC: The White House, 2018.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: The White House, December 2017.
- National Strategy for Counterterrorism of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: The White House, October 2018.
- National Strategy to Secure 5G of the United States of America*. Washington, DC: The White House, March 2020.
- Nemr, Christina, and William Gangware. *Weapons of Mass Distraction: Foreign State-Sponsored Disinformation in the Digital Age*. Washington, DC: Park Advisors, 2019.
- Nuclear Posture Review*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, February 2018.
- Nye, Jr., Joseph S. "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 4 (July/August 2009).
- . *The Paradox of American Power*. London: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . "Power and Interdependence with China." *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2020).
- Obama, Barack. "Remarks by President Obama to the Australian Parliament." Washington, DC: The White House, November 17, 2011.
- Odom, Jonathan C. "Understanding China's Legal Gamesmanship in the Rules-Based Global Order." In *China's Global Influence: Perspectives and Recommendations*, Scott D. McDonald and Michael C. Burgoyne, eds. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2019.
- Osnos, Evan. "The Future of America's Context with China." *The New Yorker*, January 6, 2020.
- Outlaw Regime: A Chronicle of Iran's Destructive Activities*. Washington, DC: Department of State, 2018.
- Overholt, William H. *China and America: The Age of Realist Geoeconomics*. Atlanta: Carter Center, January 2018.
- . *China's Crisis of Success*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Paal, Douglas H. *America's Future in a Dynamic Asia*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019.

- Parker, John W. *Putin's Syrian Gambit: Sharper Elbows, Bigger Footprint, Stickier Wicket*. INSS Strategic Perspectives 25. Washington, DC: NDU Press, July 2017.
- Pearce, Katie. "Pandemic Simulation Exercise Spotlights Massive Preparedness Gap." *Johns Hopkins Magazine*, November 6, 2019.
- Pei, Minxin. "China's Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping." *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 3 (May/June 2020).
- Perl, Raphael F. *Drug Trafficking and North Korea: Issues for U.S. Policy*, RL32167. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2007.
- Polyakova, Alina. "Weapons of the Weak: Russia and AI-Driven Asymmetric Warfare." *Brookings*, November 15, 2018.
- Putin, Vladimir. "Russian President Vladimir Putin State of the Union Address. C-SPAN video, 1:58:05. Moscow: Manezh Central Exhibition Hall, March 1, 2018.
- Rapp-Hooper, Mira. "Saving America's Alliances: The United States Still Needs the System That Put It on Top." *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 2 (March/April 2020).
- Rasser, Martijn, et al. *The American AI Century: A Blueprint for Action*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, December 2019.
- Ratner, Ely. "Blunting China's Illiberal Order." Senate Armed Services Committee, January 29, 2019.
- Ratner, Ely, et al. *Rising to the China Challenge: Renewing American Competitiveness in the Indo-Pacific*. Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, January 28, 2020.
- Remak, Joachim. *The Origins of World War I, 1871-1914*. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1967.
- Robinson, Linda, et al. *Modern Political Warfare: Current Practices and Possible Responses*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2018.
- Rolland, Nadège. *A Concise Guide to the Belt and Road Initiative*. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, April 11, 2019.
- Ross, Alec. *The Industries of the Future*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016.
- Roy, Denny. "China Won't Achieve Regional Hegemony." *The Washington Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2020).
- Rumer, Eugene, and Richard Sokolsky. *Thirty Years of U.S. Policy Toward Russia: Can the Vicious Circle Be Broken?* Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019.
- Saunders, Phillip C. "China's Global Military-Security Interactions." In *China and the World*, David Shambaugh, ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

- . “Implications: China in the International System.” In *The Chinese People’s Liberation Army in 2025*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Army War College Press, 2017.
- . *Managing Competition with China*. INSS Strategic Forum 242. Washington, DC: NDU Press, July 2009.
- . et al., eds. *Chairman Xi Remakes the PLA: Assessing Chinese Military Reforms*. Washington, DC: NDU Press, 2019.
- Schmitt, Eric, and Thom Shanker, *Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America’s Secret Campaign Against al Qaeda*. New York: Times Books, 2011.
- Schmitt, Gary, and Michael Mazza. *Blinding the Enemy: CCP Interference in Taiwan’s Democracy*. Washington, DC: Global Taiwan Institute, October 2019.
- Schneider, Tobias, and Theresa Lütkefend. *Nowhere to Hide: The Logic of Chemical Weapons Use in Syria*. Berlin: Global Public Policy Institute, February 2019.
- Schultz, George P., Jim Hoagland, and James Timbie. *Beyond Disruption: Technology’s Challenge to Governance*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2018.
- Schwab, Klaus. *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*. New York: Crown Business, 2017.
- “Section 3: Threats to the Russian Federation’s National Security.” In *National Security Concept of the Russian Federation*. Moscow: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 2000.
- Shah, Sonia. *Pandemic: Tracking Contagions, from Cholera to Ebola and Beyond*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books, 2016.
- Shambaugh, David. *China Goes Global*. New York: Oxford University, 2013.
- . “U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence.” *International Security* 42, no. 4 (Spring 2018).
- Silver, Laura. “U.S. Is Seen as Top Ally in Many Countries—But Others View It as a Threat.” Pew Research Center, December 5, 2019.
- Silver, Laura, Kat Devlin, and Christine Huang. “People Around the Globe Are Divided in Their Opinions of China.” Pew Research Center, December 5, 2019.
- Smeltz, Dina, et al. *America Engaged: American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2018.
- Smith-Goodson, Paul. “Quantum USA Vs. Quantum China: The World’s Most Important Technology Race.” *Forbes*, October 11, 2019.
- Sokov, Nikolai. *Russia’s New Conventional Capability: Implications for Eurasia and Beyond*. PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 472. Washington, DC: Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, April 2017.

- Steinberg, James B. "What Went Wrong? U.S.-China Relations from Tiananmen to Trump." *Texas National Security Review* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2019/2020).
- Stent, Angela. *The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Stronski, Paul. *Late to the Party: Russia's Return to Africa*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2019.
- Stronski, Paul, and Richard Sololsky. *The Return of Global Russia: An Analytic Framework*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, December 2017.
- Suciu, Peter. "5G Is Old News: China Wants 6G for Its Military." *The National Interest*, April 28, 2020.
- Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Sharpening the American Military's Competitive Edge*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense, January 20, 2018.
- Traub, James. "After the Coronavirus, the Era of Small Government Will Be Over." *Foreign Policy*, April 15, 2020.
- Trump, Donald J. "Remarks by President Trump at APEC CEO Summit." U.S. Embassy and Consulate in Vietnam, November 10, 2017.
- Update to the Intellectual Property Commission Report*. Commission on the Theft of American Intellectual Property. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017.
- Uren, Tom, Elise Thomas, and Jacob Wallis. *Tweeting Through the Great Firewall: Preliminary Analysis of PRC-Linked Information Operations Against the Hong Kong Protests*. Report No. 25/2019. Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2019.
- Volgy, Thomas J., Renato Corbetta, Keith A. Grant, and Ryan G. Baird. "Major Power Status in International Politics." In *Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics: Global and Regional Perspectives*, Volgy, Corbetta, Grant, and Baird, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Walt, Stephen M. "International Relations: One World, Many Theories." *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (1998).
- . "Yesterday's Cold War Shows How to Beat China Today." *Foreign Policy*, July 29, 2019.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "Structural Realism After the Cold War." *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000).
- . *Theory of International Politics*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2010.

- Ward, Adolphus William, and George Peabody Gooch, eds. *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783–1919*, vol. 3, 1866–1919. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923.
- Wasser, Becca. *The Limits of Russian Strategy in the Middle East*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND 2019.
- Weiss, Michael, and Hassan Hassan. *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*. New York: Regan Arts, 2015.
- Westad, Odd Arne. “Legacies of the Past.” In *China and the World*, David Shambaugh, ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- . “The Sources of Chinese Conduct: Are Washington and Beijing Fighting a New Cold War?” *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 5 (September/October 2019).
- Wood, Tony. *Russia Without Putin: Money, Power and the Myths of the New Cold War*. New York: Verso Books, 2018.
- Wright, Thomas J. *All Measures Short of War: The Contest for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and the Future of American Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.
- . “The Rise and Fall of the Unipolar Concert.” *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2015).
- Wuthnow, Joel. *Chinese Perspectives on the Belt and Road Initiative: Strategic Rationales, Risks, and Implications*. INSS China Strategic Perspectives 12. Washington, DC: NDU Press, October 2017.
- . *Just Another Paper Tiger? Chinese Perspectives on the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy*. INSS Strategic Forum 305. Washington, DC: NDU Press, June 2020.
- Wyne, Ali. “America’s Blind Ambition Could Make It a Victim of Global Competition.” *The National Interest*, February 11, 2019.
- Zakaria, Fareed. *The Post-American World*. New York: Norton, 2008.
- . “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (November/December 1997).
- Zhang, Denghua. “The Concept of ‘Community of Common Destiny’ in China’s Diplomacy: Meaning, Motives, and Implications.” *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 5, no. 2 (March 2018).
- Zwack, Peter B., and Marie-Charlotte Pierre. *Russian Challenges from Now into the Next Generation: A Geostrategic Primer*. INSS Strategic Perspectives 29. Washington, DC: NDU Press, March 2019.