

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-84334-8 — Before and After the Fall  
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## Before and After the Fall

As the Cold War came to a close in 1991, US President George H. W. Bush famously saw its shocking demise as the dawn of a ‘new world order’ that would prize peace and expand liberal democratic capitalism. Thirty years later, with China on the rise, Russia resurgent, and populism roiling the Western world, it is clear that Bush’s declaration remains elusive. In this book, leading scholars of international affairs offer fresh insight into why the hopes of the early post-Cold War period have been dashed and the challenges ahead. As the world marks the thirtieth anniversary of the collapse of the Soviet Union, this book brings together historians and political scientists to examine the changes and continuities in world politics that emerged at the end of the Cold War and shaped the world we inhabit today.

Nuno P. Monteiro was Associate Professor of Political Science and Global Affairs at Yale University.

Fritz Bartel is Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Service.

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# Before and After the Fall

## *World Politics and the End of the Cold War*

Edited by  
**NUNO P. MONTEIRO**  
*Yale University*

**FRITZ BARTEL**  
*Texas A & M University*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108843348](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108843348)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108910194

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First published 2021

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-1-108-84334-8 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-82425-5 Paperback

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*In memory of Nuno P. Monteiro  
A brilliant scholar, a generous mentor,  
and a valued friend*

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[More Information](#)

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*Our dreams of bringing the whole of human history under the control of the human will are ironically refuted by the fact that no group of idealists can easily move the pattern of history toward the desired goal of peace and justice. The recalcitrant forces in the historical drama have a power and persistence beyond our reckoning.*

*Reinhold Niebuhr, The Irony of American History*

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xv
Introduction	I
<i>Fritz Bartel and Nuno P. Monteiro</i>	
PART I SOURCES OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE	
1 Overcoming Stagnation: Global Finance and the Search for “New Thinking” on the End of the Cold War	27
<i>Fritz Bartel</i>	
2 Mikhail Gorbachev: The Anatomy of New Thinking	45
<i>Sergey Radchenko</i>	
3 Peace Through Strength and Quiet Diplomacy: Grand Strategy Lessons from the Reagan Administration	62
<i>Simon Miles</i>	
4 “Keeping Them Well Behind”: The United States, Soviet Decline, and the Shape of European Security at Cold War’s End	78
<i>Joshua Shiffrin</i>	
5 Only One Way Forward: The Chinese Communist Party and the Rupture of 1989	95
<i>Julian B. Gewirtz</i>	
PART II CONTINUITY AND CHANGE ACROSS THE 1989/1991 DIVIDE	
6 The Nuclear Age: During and After the Cold War	115
<i>Robert Jervis</i>	
	vii

viii	<i>Contents</i>
7	Legitimizing Primacy After the Cold War: How Liberal Talk Matters to US Foreign Policy 132 <i>Stacie E. Goddard and Ronald R. Krebs</i>
8	Russia’s Rejection of Liberal Politics: Marxist Critiques of Trotsky and Fukuyama 151 <i>Chris Miller</i>
9	Continuity and Change in Russian Grand Strategy 169 <i>Michael Kofman</i>
10	The Stickiness of Strategy: Soviet and Russian Nuclear Doctrine 188 <i>Kristin Ven Bruusgaard</i>
11	Avoiding the Limelight: Deng Xiaoping and China’s Policy Toward the United States, 1989–1991 206 <i>Yafeng Xia</i>
PART III TOWARD A NEW WORLD ORDER?	
12	Great Powers and the Spread of Autocracy Since the Cold War 225 <i>Seva Gunitsky</i>
13	Seeds of Failure: The End of the Cold War and the Failure of the Russian Democratic Transition and Western Integration 244 <i>Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry</i>
14	The United States and NATO After the End of the Cold War: Explaining and Evaluating Enlargement and Its Alternatives 265 <i>James Goldgeier and Joshua Shiffrin</i>
15	The Historical Legacy of 1989: The Arc to Another Cold War? 286 <i>Mary Elise Sarotte</i>
16	Requiem for a Cold War: America, Russia, and the Muslim World 1985–1993 302 <i>Douglas Little</i>
17	After Primacy: Exploring the Contours of Twenty-First-Century Great Power Rivalry 319 <i>Rebecca Lissner, Mira Rapp-Hooper, Don Casler, and Laura Resnick Samotin</i>
18	World Order across the End of the Cold War 338 <i>Nuno P. Monteiro</i>
	<i>Index</i> 361

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Edited by Nuno P. Monteiro , Fritz Bartel  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

Figures

1.1	Eastern Bloc sovereign debt, 1970–1989	<i>page</i> 31
1.2	Soviet hard currency energy export earnings	41
12.1	Autocratic diffusion as rollback from democratic waves	228
12.2	German and US shares of global power (measured by the CINC index), 1930–1940	233



Tables

1.1 Polish public opinion in the late 1980s	<i>page 36</i>
---	----------------

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-84334-8 — Before and After the Fall  
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Frontmatter  
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---

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Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-108-84334-8 — Before and After the Fall  
 Edited by Nuno P. Monteiro, Fritz Bartel  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

*List of Contributors*

xiii

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Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

xiv

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## Preface

Nuno P. Monteiro was a man of great insight, passion, humor, and generosity. He was also the inspiration behind this collective endeavor. When he first approached me in early 2019 about organizing a conference and edited volume on world politics and the end of the Cold War that would bring leading historians and political scientists together around a topic of mutual interest, I leapt at the chance to work with someone I had come to know as a brilliant scholar and a wise mentor. Over the next two years, Nuno remained the steady hand and guiding force that brought this volume near completion.

Like the rest of those who knew Nuno, I and the contributors to this volume were deeply shocked and saddened to learn of his passing on May 5, 2021. We had all learned so much from Nuno's powerful scholarship on unipolarity, the causes of war, nuclear proliferation, the epistemology of social science, and more recently, political violence. But at the front of our minds was the outsized personal impact he had on so many of us as a colleague, mentor, and friend. Nuno was a scholar who defied academic gravity: Even as he generated one pathbreaking insight after another, he always remained devoted to helping those around him. Nuno's life was cut far too short, but his impact will live on through the ideas he inspired and the lives he touched.

Nuno would have been the first to point out that an edited volume is, above all, a collective endeavor. This book, and the conference on "The End of the Cold War at Thirty" out of which it emerged, benefited from the generous support of many institutions and individuals. First and foremost, Nuno and I were grateful to the Edward J. and Dorothy Clarke Kempf Memorial Fund at the MacMillan Center at Yale University and the Albritton Center for Grand Strategy at the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University for their sponsorship of the conference. Without their generous grants our vision would have remained just that – a vision. Hira Jafri at the MacMillan Center and Kelley Robbins at the Albritton Center handled with great patience and care the innumerable details that arise from bringing together

upwards of twenty people from around the world. Paul Kennedy graced the conference with his characteristic insight and wit throughout the two days of proceedings, and Arne Westad delivered a panoramic keynote address that both crystalized many of the conference's themes and connected those themes to the contemporary world. I thank them both for their encouragement and insight.

Michael Goldfien proved in many ways to be the motor that made this collective enterprise run. A standout budding scholar in his own right, Mike took time away from his own research to help with every phase of this project, including the logistics of the conference and the editing and revision process as the book took shape. I thank him for his hard work, and I look forward to learning from his own scholarship in the years ahead.

As this project transitioned from a conference to an edited volume, the team at Cambridge University Press proved to be a model of efficiency and professionalism. I thank Robert Dreesen, Robert Judkins, Erika Walsh, Gayathri Tamilselvan, and Frances Tye for stewarding the volume through to completion. Publication of the volume benefited from yet more financial support from the Albritton Center for Grand Strategy at Texas A&M, and I thank the Center's co-directors, Jasen Castillo and John Schuessler, for backing this endeavor from start to finish. Two anonymous readers offered insightful comments on the book proposal and led Nuno and me to broaden the geographic scope of its coverage, so I thank them for their efforts. I also thank Elisabeth Siegel for the excellent research assistance she provided during the preparation of the initial book proposal, and Cheryl Lenser for her expert preparation of the index.

Nuno valued serious intellectual exchange, sustained inquiry into the biggest questions in international politics, and the collaborative pursuit of knowledge and truth – precisely the goals that motivate this book. I and the other contributors therefore dedicate the volume to his memory, and hope it spurs the type of reflection, debate, and inquiry that he valued so highly.

Fritz Bartel  
College Station, Texas  
July 1, 2021