



HARVARD | BUSINESS | SCHOOL

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**Jeremy Scott Friedman**

Harvard Business School  
Morgan Hall 291, Soldiers  
Field Boston, MA 02163  
617-495-6921  
jfriedman@hbs.edu

**ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT**

**Harvard Business School**

- 2020-Present Associate Professor in the Business, Government and the International Economy (BGIE) Unit, Harvard Business School
- 2015-2019 Assistant Professor in the Business, Government and the International Economy (BGIE) Unit, Harvard Business School

**Yale University**

- 2011-2015 Associate Director, Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, and Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University

**EDUCATION**

- May 2011 Ph.D. in History, Princeton University  
Honors: Ph.D. exams passed with distinction (2006)  
Dissertation: “Reviving Revolution: the Sino-Soviet Split, the ‘Third World,’ and the Fate of the Left”  
Committee: Professor Stephen Kotkin (Princeton University) (*Chair*)  
Professor Daniel Rodgers (Princeton University)  
Professor Chen Jian (Cornell University)  
Professor Gilbert Rozman (Princeton University)
- 2006 M.A. in History, Princeton University

2004 B.A. with Distinction in History and Philosophy, Stanford University

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2012-2015 Associate Director, Brady-Johnson Program in Grand Strategy, and Lecturer, Department of History, Yale University
- Russia and the East
  - Cold War in the Third World
  - The Soviet Experiment
- 2011-2012 Chauncey Post-Doctoral Fellow, Yale University
- 2010 & 2006 Teaching Assistant, Princeton University
- East Asia since 1800, Course Head: Janet Chen
  - Dictators and Dictatorship, *Course Head: Stephen Kotkin*

## HARVARD UNIVERSITY

### Appointments

- 2020-Present Associate Professor in the Business, Government and the International Economy (BGIE) Unit, Harvard Business School
- 2015-2019 Assistant Professor in the Business, Government and the International Economy (BGIE) Unit, Harvard Business School

### Assignments

- 2022-Present Business and Geopolitics, Elective MBA Curriculum, Harvard Business School
- 2015-2022 Business, Government and the International Economy, Required MBA Curriculum, Harvard Business School
- Ten sections taught over six years
  - Advisor on five independent projects
- 2017-2020 Recruiting Committee, BGIE, history search

## AWARDS

- 2008-2009 International Dissertation Research Fellowship, Social Science Research Council
- 2004-2009 Davis Center Merit Fellowship, Princeton University
- 2010-2011 George Washington University Mellon Pre-Doctoral Fellowship in Contemporary History
- 2010-2011 Social Science Research Center Eurasia Dissertation Completion Fellowship
- 2009 Best Essay Prize, London School of Economics/George Washington

## ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

### Books

*Ripe for Revolution: Building Socialism in the Third World.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2022.

*Shadow Cold War: The Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

### Peer-Reviewed Articles, and Articles in Edited Volumes

"The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New: The Soviet Union, the CPUSA, and the International Communist Crisis of 1956," *International History Review* (forthcoming)

"Reddest Place North of Havana: The Tricontinental and the Struggle to Lead the 'Third World,'" in R. Joseph Parrott and Mark Atwood Lawrence (eds.), *The Tricontinental Revolution: Third World Radicalism and the Cold War* (Cambridge Studies in US Foreign Relations), Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

"The Ambiguity of Stalin," *Modern Age*, vol. 61, no. 1 (2019): 61-66

"The Enemy of My Enemy: Moscow, East Berlin, and the Tudeh Party's Support for Khomeini," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 3-37.

"The Revolutionary Roots of Russian Foreign Policy," *Current History*, vol. 116, no. 792 (2017): 258-263.

Jeremy Friedman and Peter Rutland, "Anti-imperialism: The Leninist Legacy and the Fate of World Revolution," Special Issue on 1917-2017, *The Russian Revolution a Hundred Years Later*, *Slavic Review* 76, no. 3 (November 2017): 591-599.

"Free at Last, Now What: The Soviet and Chinese Attempts to Offer a Road-Map for the Post-Colonial World," *Modern China Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2015): 259-292.

"The Second Battle of Algiers: Aid and Ideology on the Road to the Second Bandung," Paper Delivered at Conference in Hangzhou, China, November 5-7 2010 ("China, the Third World, and the Cold War"), Forthcoming in conference volume.

"Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s," *Cold War History*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2010): 247-272.

“60年代苏联对发展中世界的政策与中国的挑战” (“Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s”), in Shen Zhihua and Douglas A. Stiffler (eds.), *In Fragile Alliance: The Cold War and Sino-Soviet Relations*, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2010.

“Revolutionary Confrontation: Soviet Analyses of the Cultural Revolution in China,” University of Hong Kong, January 2009, (“China and the World in Mao’s Last Decade, 1966- 1976”), Forthcoming in conference volume.

### **Non-Academic Papers and Articles**

“Businesses must take a new approach,” *The New Rules of Trade with China: Navigating Tariffs, Turmoil, and Opportunities*, *HBS Working Knowledge*, July 23, 2024, <https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/the-new-rules-of-trade-with-china-navigating-tariffs-turmoil-and-opportunities>

“The Case for Inclusive Alliances: America Must Rediscover the Ideological Flexibility That Helped It Win the Cold War,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 17, 2024, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/case-inclusive-alliances-cold-war>

“The Maoist Roots of Xi’s Economic Dilemma”, *Foreign Policy Magazine*, November 2, 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/11/02/china-economy-xi-socialism-growth-consumption/>

“Putin Wants You to Think He’s an Anti-Woke Crusader”, *Foreign Policy Magazine*, May 29, 2023, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/05/29/russia-ukraine-united-states-vietnam-war-putin-trump-desantis-anti-woke/>

“Opinion: Chine-Etats-Unis : Macron dans le rôle du "good cop" ?” *Les Echos*, April 27, 2023, <https://www.lesechos.fr/idees-debats/cercle/opinion-chine-etats-unis-macron-dans-le-role-du-good-cop-1938724>

“How Putin Uses Hanoi’s 1960s Playbook to Divide the American Public on Foreign Policy.” *Jurist Legal News & Commentary*, March 16, 2023, <https://www.jurist.org/commentary/2023/03/how-putin-uses-hanois-1960s-playbook-to-divide-the-american-public-on-foreign-policy/>

“Why ideology still matters in Chinese foreign policy: China's quest to create an alternative global political ecosystem.” *Jurist Legal News & Commentary*, February 17, 2023, <https://www.jurist.org/commentary/2023/02/jeremy-friedman-us-china-policy/>

“Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine Is the Result of Its Own Failure to ‘Denazify’” *Jurist Legal News & Commentary*, April 5, 2022, <https://www.jurist.org/features/2022/04/05/russias-invasion-of-ukraine-is-the-result-of-its-own-failure-to-denazify/>

“How the United States Can Use Trade Policy to Prevent a New Sino-Russian Alliance”  
*Jurist Legal News & Commentary*, March 18, 2022,  
<https://www.jurist.org/features/2022/03/18/how-the-united-states-can-use-trade-policy-to-prevent-a-new-sino-russian-alliance/>

“Putin’s Invasion of Ukraine: A Desperate Gamble to Reverse a String of Failures” *Jurist Legal News & Commentary*, March 2, 2022,  
<https://www.jurist.org/features/2022/03/02/putins-invasion-of-ukraine-a-desperate-gamble-to-reverse-a-string-of-failures/>

“Why a Rising China Creates a New Cold War Calculus” *The National Interest*, April 10, 2021. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-rising-china-creates-new-cold-war-calculus-182315>

Jeremy Friedman, A Maoist Foreign Policy for the United States, JURIST – Academic Commentary, May 07, 2020, <https://www.jurist.org/commentary/2021/05/jeremy-friedman-maoist-foreign-policy-usa/>.

“The Future Trump Fears - and is Bringing Anyway” *Huffington Post*, April 29, 2017.  
<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/590074d8e4b00acb75f18337>

“Who is a better ally for the United States: China or Russia?” *The Washington Post*, April 7, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/04/07/who-is-a-better-ally-for-the-united-states-china-or-russia/?utm\\_term=.0ce44f7af6b7](https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/04/07/who-is-a-better-ally-for-the-united-states-china-or-russia/?utm_term=.0ce44f7af6b7)

“阅兵旁观者 | 与美争夺地区话语权，中国勿忘反帝反霸这块招牌” (“Parade Observer: In Competing with United States to be the Regional Spokesman, China has not Forgotten Anti-imperialist and Anti-Hegemonic Slogans”). Co-authored with Sergey Radchenko. *The Paper*, September 2, 2015.  
[http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail\\_forward\\_1370999](http://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1370999)

“The Nuclear Deal Could Transform Iran’s Revolution,” *The National Interest*, May 6, 2015.  
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-nuclear-deal-could-transform-irans-revolution-12817>

“The West Should Not Boycott Russia’s Victory Day,” *The Diplomat*, May 5, 2015.  
<http://thediplomat.com/2015/05/the-west-should-not-boycott-russias-victory-day/>

“Is the West’s Problem with Putin, or Russia?” *The Moscow Times*, November 14, 2014.  
<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/is-the-wests-problem-with-putin-or-russia/511113.html>

## Course Materials

"Geopolitics of Deep-sea Mining" Harvard Business School Case 724-005 (2023) 23p.

"The Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam: Conflict on the Nile" Harvard Business School Case 724-004 (2023) 31p.

"The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act: Forced Labor and Genocide in U.S.-China Relations" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-065 (2023) 11p.

"TikTok and National Security: Investment in an Age of Data Sovereignty?" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-064 (2023) 11p.

"The First Opium War and Global Free Trade" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-052 (2023) 10p.

"Copper Nationalization in Chile" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-055 (2023) 11p.

"Mossadeq's Gambit: The US, UK, and Iranian Oil Nationalization" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-054 (2023) 11p.

"Stalin's Capitalists: American Business and Soviet Industrialization" Harvard Business School Teaching Note 723-053 (2023) 10p.

"The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act: Forced Labor and Genocide in U.S.-China Relations" Harvard Business School case 723-001 (2022) 30p.

"Birla Carbon Egypt: Building Soft Power in a Foreign Country" Harvard Business School case 723-003 (2022) 31p.

"Mossadeq's Gambit: The US, UK, and Iranian Oil Nationalization" Harvard Business School case 722-065 (2022) 26p.

"Cameroon and the Curious Case of the CFA franc" Harvard Business School case 722-040 (2022) 41p.

"TikTok and National Security: Investment in an Age of Data Sovereignty?" Harvard Business School case 722-020 (2022) 29p.

"Stalin's Capitalists: American Business and Soviet Industrialization" Harvard Business School case 722-058 (2022) 27p.

"The First Opium War and Global Free Trade" Harvard Business School case 722-052 (2022) 24p.

"Copper Nationalization in Chile" Harvard Business School case 722-016 (2022) 34p.

“Stagflation: the 1970s and the Crisis of the Postwar System” Harvard Business School case 721-027 (2021) 29p.

"Socialism." Harvard Business School Background Note 721-030, (2020) 6p.

“Angola Starts Now” Harvard Business School case 719-007 (2019) 28p. “Angola Starts Now” Harvard Business School teaching note 719-058 (2019) 13p.

“Empire vs. Nation-State” Harvard Business School technical note 719-013 (2018) 3p.

“Hegemony” Harvard Business School technical note 719-014 (2018) 3p.

"The Last Hegemon? US-China Relations and the Future of World Order." Harvard Business School case 718-059, (2018) 33p.

"The Last Hegemon? US-China Relations and the Future of World Order." Harvard Business School teaching note 719-015, (2019) 11p.

“Iran on the Brink: The Nuclear Deal and the Future of the Islamic Republic” Harvard Business School case 717-038 (2017; rev. 2017) 32p.

“Iran on the Brink: The Nuclear Deal and the Future of the Islamic Republic” Harvard Business School teaching note 719-016 (2019) 12p.

## **Book Reviews**

Alessandro Iandolo, *Arrested Development: The Soviet Union in Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, 1955-1968*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022). H-Diplo, 2024

Review of Stephen Roach, *Accidental Conflict: America, China, and the Clash of False Narratives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022); Christopher Marquis and Kunyuan Qiao, *Mao and Markets: The Communist Roots of Chinese Enterprise* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022). *Business History Review*, 97(1), 131-135.

James Mark and Paul Betts. *Socialism goes global: the Soviet Union and eastern Europe in the age of decolonization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022

Danhui Li and Yafeng Xia. *Mao and the Sino-Soviet Split, 1959-1973: A New History*. Lanham:Lexington Books, 2018

Artemy M. Kalinovsky, *Laboratory of Socialist Development: Cold War Politics and Decolonization in Soviet Tajikistan*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), H-Diplo, 2019

- Philip E. Muhlenbeck and Natalia Telepneva, *Warsaw Pact Intervention in the Third World: Aid and Influence in the Cold War*, (London: I.B. Taurus, 2018), Cambridge University Press, 2019
- Gregg A. Brazinsky, *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry during the Cold War*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), H-Diplo, 2018
- Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, *Mao and the Sino-Soviet Partnership, 1945-1959: A New History*. (New York: Lexington Books, 2015), H-Diplo, 2017
- Austin Jersild, *The Sino-Soviet Alliance: An International History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), *Cold War History* (Taylor and Francis Online) 2016
- “Where is China Headed?” Review of Thomas J. Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015); Henry Paulson, *Dealing With China: An Insider Unmasks the New Economic Superpower* (New York: Twelve, 2015); Michael Pillsbury, *The Hundred-Year Marathon: China’s Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower* (New York: Henry Holt, 2015). *Orbis* Summer 2016, vol. 60, no. 3 (June 2016): 453-459.
- Zhihua Shen and Danhui Li, *After Learning to One Side: China and its Allies in the Cold War* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011), H-Net, 2012.
- Michael H. Hunt and Steven I. Levine, *Arc of Empire: America’s Wars in Asia from the Philippines to Vietnam*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), H-Net, 2012.
- Artemy Kalinovsky and Sergey Radchenko, eds., *The End of the Cold War and the Third World* (New York: Routledge, 2011), H-Diplo, 2011
- Lorenz Luthi, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 12, no.1 (Winter 2010).
- Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the “New Man”: From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), *Journal of Global History* November 2010, vol. 5, no. 3 (November 2010): 516-517.
- Sergey Radchenko, *Two Suns in the Heavens: The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy, 1962-1967* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), H-Diplo, 2010.
- Nicholas Khoo “Breaking the Ring of Encirclement: The Sino-Soviet Rift and Chinese Policy toward Vietnam, 1964-1968,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 12, no.1 (Winter 2009-2010): 3-42; H-Diplo, 2010.

## PRESENTATIONS



Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies annual meeting [2], Berlin Colloquium on Contemporary History, Boston College history department, Brigham Young University Kennedy Center, Columbia University history department, Department of State: Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), Drexel University history and sociology of emerging markets series, East China Normal University history department, George Washington University Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, London School of Economics, Naval Academy, Naval War College, People's University (Beijing), Pomona College history department, Princeton University history department, Social Science Research Council, Stanford University Hoover Institution, Tsinghua University, University of Amsterdam international studies department, University of Havana, University of Hong Kong, University of Texas at Austin, Wesleyan University, Woodrow Wilson Center/National History Center [2], Yale University [5].

## LANGUAGES

<i>Fluent</i>	English, Russian, Hebrew
<i>Advanced (speaking, writing, reading)</i>	Mandarin Chinese
<i>Proficient (speaking, writing, reading)</i>	German, French, Spanish, Portuguese
<i>Beginner (speaking, writing, reading)</i>	Persian, Arabic
<i>Some reading knowledge</i>	Romanian, Serbo-Croatian

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

Soviet and Russian history, Modern Chinese history, Cold War, Economic and Political Development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Decolonization, International Relations, Modern Intellectual History, History of Marxism, Political Movements and Ideologies, Revolutionary Movements.