# M. TAYLOR FRAVEL

Department of Political Science Massachusetts Institute of Technology 77 Massachusetts Ave, E40-471 Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 324-0222 fravel@mit.edu

#### **CURRENT POSITION AND AFFILIATIONS**

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Arthur and Ruth Sloan Professor of Political Science, 2018–Director, Security Studies Program, 2019–

#### PAST POSITIONS AND AFFILIATIONS

### Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Acting Director, Center for International Studies, 2017–2018 Associate Professor of Political Science (with tenure), 2011–2018 Cecil and Ida Green Career Development Chair, 2008–2011 Associate Professor of Political Science (without tenure), 2008–2011 Assistant Professor of Political Science, 2004–2008 Faculty Member, Security Studies Program, 2004–

# American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Visiting Scholar, 2006–2007

#### Harvard University

Visiting Scholar, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, 2023–2024 Visiting Fellow, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, 2012–2013 Fellow, Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program, 2006–2007 Faculty Associate, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006–2008 Postdoctoral Fellow, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 2003–2004

### **Stanford University**

Predoctoral Fellowship, Center for International Security and Cooperation, 2001–2003 Asia/Pacific Scholar, 1999–2000

#### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D.	Stanford University, Political Science, 2004
$MS_{c}$	London School of Economics International I

M.Sc. London School of Economics, International Relations, with Distinction, 1996
 M.A. University of Oxford (New College), Philosophy, Politics and Economics, 1995

B.A. Middlebury College, History, summa cum laude, 1993

#### OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Principal Investigator, Maritime Awareness Project, National Bureau for Asian Research, 2015-

Member, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2004–

Term Member, Council on Foreign Relations, 2004–2009

#### FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, Carnegie Corporation of New York (\$200,000), 2016–2018

Fellow, Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2011–2013

Research Associate, National Asia Research Program, National Bureau of Asian Research and Woodrow Wilson International Center, 2010–2012

Graduate Research Fellowship, National Science Foundation, 1998–2001

Rhodes Scholar (Vermont and New College), 1993

Truman Scholar, 1992

Phi Beta Kappa, Middlebury College, 1992

#### RESEARCH GRANTS

MISTI Greater China Innovation Fund, MIT (Principal Investigator, \$28,000), 2017–2019

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan), (Co-Principal Investigator, \$250,000), 2014–2015

MISTI Greater China Innovation Fund, MIT (Principal Investigator, \$30,000), 2012–2014

U.S. Institute of Peace, Unsolicited Grant Program (Principal Investigator, \$54,375), 2008–2001

Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, Research Grant (Principal Investigator, \$8,000), 2008-2010

Junior Faculty Research Grant, International Security and Foreign Policy Program, Smith Richardson Foundation (Principal Investigator, \$60,000), 2008–2009

School of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Grant, MIT (\$2,000), 2008

David L. Boren Graduate Fellowship, 2001-2003

Dissertation Research Grant, Institute for the Study of World Politics (declined), 2001

Dissertation Research Grant, Social Science History Institute, Stanford University, 2001

Foreign Language Area Scholarship, Department of Education, 1999

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books**

*Active Defense: China's Military Strategy Since* 1949. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019. Princeton Studies in International Relations and History. Cloth and paperback.

Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Disputes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. Princeton Studies in International Relations and History. Cloth and paperback.

Japanese edition: Chūgoku no ryōdo funsō: Buryoku kōshi to dakyō no ronri (Tokyo: Keiso shobo, 2019).

Korean edition: *Junggugui Yeongtobunjaeng: Tahyeopgwa Muryeokchungdorui Maekeonijeum* (Kim & Kim Books, 2021).

Chinese language edition (Taiwan): *Jiji fangyu*: Cong guoji qingshi, neibu douzheng, jiedu 1949 yilai Zhongguo junshi zhanlue de bian yu bubian (Taipei: Maitian chuban, 2023)

#### **Edited Books and Online Readers**

China's Foreign Policy in the Transformation of World Politics: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

IR Theory and the Future of China-US Competition: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

IR Theory Studies in China: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

Debating China-US Strategic Competition: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) (Coedited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

Contending Theories of Rising Powers: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

China in the Territorial/Maritime Disputes: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016) (Coedited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

Debating China-US Relations: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

*Understanding China's Foreign Policy Transformation: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Liu Feng) [e-reader]

China in the Asia-Pacific: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Matt Ferchen) [e-reader]

China's Rise and International Norms: A CJIP Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Matt Ferchen) [e-reader]

China and East Asian Order: A Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Matt Ferchen) [e-reader]

Rethinking China's Rise: A Reader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) (Co-edited with Sun Xuefeng and Matt Ferchen)

### Journal Articles and Book Chapters

"China's Potential Lessons from Ukraine for Conflict Over Taiwan," *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 46, No. 3 (Fall 2023)

"Two Paths: Why States Join or Avoid China's Belt and Road Initiative," *Global Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 2023) (with Eleanor Atkins, Raymond Wang, Nicholas Ackert and Sihao Huang)

"The Dynamics of an Entangled Security Dilemma: China's Changing Nuclear Posture," *International Security* Vol. 47, No. 4 (Spring 2023) (with Henrik Stålhane Hiim and Magnus Langset Trøan)

"Managing United States–China university relations and risks," *Science* 380 (6642), 246-248 (with Richard Lester, Lily Tsai, Suzanne Berger, Peter Fisher, David Goldston, Yasheng Huang, and Daniela Rus)

"How Much Risk Should the United States Run in the South China Sea?," *International Security* Vol. 47, No. 2 (Fall 2022) (with Charles L. Glaser)

"China's Military Strategy for a 'New Era': Some Change, More Continuity, and Tantalizing Hints," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, earlyview 2022 (with Joel Wuthnow)

"China Engages the Arctic: A Great Power in a Regime Complex," *Asian Security* Vol. 18, No 2 (2022) (with Kathryn Lavelle and Liselotte Odgaard)

"Stormy Seas: The South China Sea in US-China Relations," in Avery Goldstein and Jacques de Lisle, eds., *After Engagement: Dilemmas in U.S.-China Security Relations* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2021) (with Kacie Miura)

"A 'China in the World' Paradigm for Scholarship," *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 55, No. 1 (March 2021) (with Melanie Manion and Yuhua Wang)

"China's "World-Class" Military Ambitions: Origins and Implications," *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 42, No. 4 (Spring 2020)

"Stability in a Secondary Strategic Direction: China and the Border Dispute with India After 1962," in Kanti Bajpai, Selina Ho and Manjari Chatterjee Miller, eds., Routledge Handbook of China-India Relations (New York: Routledge, 2020)

"Dangerous Confidence: Chinese Views of Nuclear Escalation," *International Security* Vol. 44, No. 2 (Fall 2019) (with Fiona S. Cunningham)

"Shifts in Warfare and Party Unity: Explaining Changes in China's Military Strategy," *International Security* Vol. 42, No. 3 (Winter 2017/2018)

"Threading the Needle: The South China Sea Disputes and U.S.-China Relations," in Robert Ross and Øystein Tsunjo, eds., *Strategic Adjustment and the Rise of China: Power and Politics in East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017)

"Qualitative Investigations of Theoretical Models: The Value of Process Tracing," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* Vol. 29, No. 3 (2017) (with Peter Lorentzen and Jack Paine)

"Explaining China's Escalation in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands Dispute," *Global Summitry* Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 2016)

"China's Changing Approach to Military Strategy: The *Science of Military Strategy* from 2001 to 2013," in Joe McReynolds, ed., *China's Evolving Military Strategy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Press, 2016)

Reprinted in Japanese as: "Henka shitsutsu aru Chuugoku no Gunji Senryaku Apurochi," *Chuugoku no Shinka suru Gunji Senryaku* (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 2017)

"Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Strategy and U.S.-China Strategic Stability," *International Security* Vol. 40, No. 2 (Fall 2015) (with Fiona S. Cunningham)

"The PLA and National Security Decisionmaking: Insights from China's Territorial and Maritime Disputes," in Phillip Saunders and Andrew Scobell, eds., *The PLA's Role in National Security Policy-Making* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2015)

"China's New Military Strategy: 'Winning Informationized Local Wars,'" China Brief Vol. 15, No. 13 (June 2015)

"Projecting Strategy: The Myth of Chinese Counter-Intervention," *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 2015) (with Christopher P. Twomey)

"Things Fall Apart: Maritime Disputes and China's Regional Diplomacy," in Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein, eds., *China's Challenges: The Road Ahead* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)

"Territorial and Maritime Boundary Disputes in Asia," in Saadia Pekkanen, Rosemary Foot, and John Ravenhill, eds., *Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

"The Challenge of Maritime Disputes," in China Association for Military Science, ed., *Asia-Pacific Security: New Issues and New Ideas* (Beijing: Junshi kexue chubanshe, 2014)

"Growing Competition in the South China Sea," in Michael McDevitt, ed., *The Long Littoral Project: South China Sea* (Washington, DC: Center for Naval Analysis, 2013)

"Maritime Security in the South China Sea and the Competition over Maritime Rights," in Patrick Cronin and William Rogers, eds., *Asia in the Balance: U.S. Strategy in the South China Sea* (Washington, DC: Center for New American Security, 2012)

"China's Strategy in the South China Sea," Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 33, No. 3 (December 2011)

"Beyond the Moat: The PLAN's Evolving Interests and Potential Influence," in Phil Saunders *et al.*, eds., *The Chinese Navy: Expanding Capabilities, Evolving Roles* (National Defense University Press, 2011) (with Alex Liebman)

"Economic Growth, Regime Insecurity, and Military Strategy: Explaining the Rise of Non-Combat Operations in China," *Asian Security*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 2011)

Reprinted in Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield, eds., *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012)

"China's Assertive Behavior – Part Two: The Maritime Periphery," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 35 (Summer 2011) (with Michael D. Swaine).

"China Views India's Rise: Deepening Cooperation, Managing Differences," in Ashley Tellis, Travis Tanner, and Jessica Keogh, eds., *Strategic Asia 2011–12: Asia Responds to Its Rising Powers—China and India* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2011)

"International Relations Theory and China's Rise: Assessing China's Potential for Territorial Expansion," *International Studies Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (December 2010)

"China's Search for Assured Retaliation: Explaining the Evolution of China's Nuclear Strategy," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No 2 (Fall 2010) (with Evan S. Medeiros)

"The Limits of Diversion: Rethinking Internal and External Conflict," *Security Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (May 2010)

"Explaining Stability in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Dispute," in Gerald Curtis, Ryosei Kokubun and Wang Jisi, eds., *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-US Relations* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2010)

Reprinted in Japanese as: "Senkaku/Diaoyu Shoto mondai ha naze antei shite iru no ka," in Sankyoku o toku: Nichibeichu kankei no kizo to tenbo" (Iwanami Shoten, 2010)

"Zhongguo junshi jueqi chutan [A Preliminary Analysis of China's Military Rise], *Zhongguo Guoji Zhanlue Pinglun*, No. 2, 2009, pp. 292-311

"China's Search for Military Power," The Washington Quarterly, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Summer 2008)

"Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Winter 2007/2008)

"Securing Borders: China's Doctrine and Force Structure for Frontier Defense," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August 2007)

"The Structural Sources of China's Compromises," International Security, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2006)

"Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Fall 2005)

"The Evolution of China's Military Strategy," in David Finkelstein and James C. Mulvenon, eds., *China's Revolution in Doctrinal Affairs*, (Alexandria: Center for Naval Analysis, 2005)

"China's New Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 6 (November/December 2003) (with Evan S. Medeiros)

Reprinted in Chinese as "Zhongguo xin waijiao," in Men Honghua, ed., *Zhongguo: Daguo jueqi* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2004)

Reprinted in Liu Guoli, ed., Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition, (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2004)

"The Revolution in Research Affairs: Online Sources for the Study of the PLA," in James C. Mulvenon and Andrew N.D. Yang, eds., *Poverty of Riches: New Challenges and Opportunities in PLA Research*, (Santa Monica: RAND Corp, 2003)

"Towards Civilian Supremacy: Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan's Democratization," Armed Forces & Society, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Fall 2002)

"Online and On China: Research Sources in the Information Age," *The China Quarterly*, No. 163 (September 2000)

"Red Herring Hegemon: China and the South China Sea," *Current History*, Vol. 96, No. 611 (September 1997) (with William J. Dobson)

"China and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, 1990-1995," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 11 (November 1996)

# Other Publications (Selected)

"China's Misunderstood Nuclear Expansion," Foreign Affairs, November 10, 2023 (with Henrik Stålhane Hiim and Magnus Langset Trøan)

"The Myth of Chinese Diversionary War," Foreign Affairs, September 14, 2023

"How to Avoid a War Over Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs*, October 13, 2022 (with Thomas J. Christensen, Bonnie S. Glaser, Andrew J. Nathan, and Jessica Chen Weiss)

"China's nuclear arsenal is growing. What does that mean for U.S.-China relations?," *Washington Post*, November 11, 2021 (with Fiona Cunningham)

"China and India are pulling back from the brink. They've created a buffer zone and started talks," *Washington Post*, March 3, 2021

"China's Sovereignty Obsession," Foreign Affairs, June 26, 2020

"Why are China and India Skirmishing at Their Border? Here's 4 Things to Know," Washington Post, June 2, 2020

"Does the Global Pandemic Open New South China Sea Opportunities for Beijing? Not Really," Washington Post, May 7, 2020

"Mike Pompeo Criticized China for Not Respecting Its Neighbors' Territorial Integrity. What's the Story?," Washington Post, February 21, 2020

"Why India Did Not "Win" the Standoff with China," War on the Rocks, September 1, 2017

"Danger at Dolam," Indian Express, July 18, 2017

"Why Does China Care So Much About the South China Sea? Here are 5 Reasons," *The Washington Post*, July 13, 2016.

"What Will Guide China's Response to the South China Sea Tribunal Ruling?," South China Morning Post, Friday, July 8, 2016.

Conflict and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Strategic Net Assessment (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015) (with Michael D. Swaine, Nicholas Eberstadt, Mikkal Herberg, Albert Keidel, Evans J.R. Revere, Alan Romberg, Eleanor Freund, Rachel Esplin Odell, and Audrye Wong)

*U.S. Policy toward the Disputes in the South China Sea since* 1995, Policy Brief, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, March 2014)

Reprinted and updated in Chinese as "Meiguo dui Nanhai youguan zhengyi de zhengce: 1995-2017," Dangdai Meiguo pinglun No. 1 (2017)

Reprinted in Enrico Fels and Truong-Minh Vu, eds., *Power Politics in Asia's Contested Waters: Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea* (Springer, 2016)

"Q&A: M. Taylor Fravel on China's Dispute with Vietnam," The New York Times, May 8, 2014

"Chinese Signaling in the East China Sea?," The Monkey Cage, The Washington Post, April 12, 2014

"The Dangerous Math of Chinese Island Disputes," *The Asian Wall Street Journal* and *The Wall Street Journal*, October 28, 2012

"How to Defuse South China Sea Conflicts," The Asian Wall Street Journal, June 26, 2012

"The Asian Arms Race that Wasn't," Foreign Policy, May 8, 2012 (with Vipin Narang)

"All Quiet in the South China Sea: Why China is Playing Nice (For Now)," Foreign Affairs, March 22, 2012

"Why 'Non-Combat' PLA Operations Are Vital for China's Regime Stability," *Global Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 2011)

"US-China Relations and China's New Diplomacy," Working Paper Series, No. 18, Rohatyn Center for International Affairs, 2005

"The United States as an Asian Power: Realism or Conceit?", Center for International Studies Audit of the Conventional Wisdom, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, April 2005 (with Richard J. Samuels)

Net Assessment: Online Sources for the Study of the PLA (Santa Monica: RAND Corp, DRR-3283, April 2004)

"The Changing Face of Chinese Diplomacy," *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 25 November 2003 (with Evan S. Medeiros)

Editor, China Foreign Policy Net, (www.stanford.edu/~fravel/chinafp.htm), 1999-2004. An online portal for information sources on Chinese foreign policy.

"How the Internet Will (Not) Change China," Asia/Pacific Research Center, *Intelligence Fax*, No. 18, (September 2000)

"The Bureaucrats' Battle over the Internet in China," Virtual China, (Feb. 18, 2000)

# Work in Progress

"The Economic Effects of Joining China's Belt and Road Initiative" (with Eleanor Atkins, John Minnich, and Rayond Wang)

"Perfect Storm: Power Transitions and Territorial Disputes" (with Kacie Miura)

"Technological Competition and the US-China Rivalry"

"PRC Behavior in Inter-state Security Crises: What Deters China and How China Sends Signals" (with Alastair Iain Johnston and Rachel Esplin Odell)

# SEMINARS, PRESENTATIONS, AND TALKS

"How and Why Countries Join China's Belt and Road Initiative: Implications for Chinese Influence" Norweigan Institute of Defence Studies (November 2023); Australian National University (April 2023); London School of Economics (November 2022)

"Economic Interactions and Political Influence along the BRI: A First-Cut" Boston University (October 2023)

"China's Past and Present Approaches to Military Strategy: Past and Present" University of Copenhagen (October 2023)

"China's Military Strategy and Operational Doctrine" National Bureau of Asian Research (August 2023)

"China's Military Strategy in the New Era"

Foreign Service İnstitute (July 2023); Foreign Service Institute (May 2023); Marine Corps War College (May 2022); Network 2020 (April 2022); Army War College (April 2022); Lincoln Laboratory (April 2022); National Defense University (February 2022); Air Command and Staff College (January 2022); Australian Defence College (October 2021); Ashoka University, India (September 2021); Center for Land Warfare Studies, India (June 2021); Oxford University (April 2021); University of Kentucky (April 2021); Harvard University, Faribank Center (March 2021)

"The Future of US-China Relations" APARC, Stanford (May 2023); Chatham House, UK (May 2023)

"The Dynamics of an Entangled Security Dilemma: China's Changing Nuclear Posture" Harvard University, Fairbank Center (April 2023)

"China-India Border Dispute" Center for New American Security (March 2023)

"China Response to the War in Ukraine"

Harvard University, Fairbank Center (March 2023); MITSUI lecture, MIT (September 2022); Missile and Space Community of Practice Annual Conference (June 2022); American Academy of Arts and Sciences (April 2022); Starr Forum, MIT (April 2022)

"China's Approach to Nuclear Weapons: Past, Present, Future" Kansas City National Security Campus (February 2023)

"Perfect Storm: Power Transitions and Territorial Disputes" Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies (December 2022); ISA (March 2021)

"The 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and US-China Relations" Starr Forum, MIT (November 2022)

"Predictions for the 20<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress of the CCP" Cambridge University (October 2022)

"Roundtable: Future of China-India Relations" Council on Foreign Relations (October 2022)

"Evaluating US Strategy toward China" Princeton-Tsinghua Seminar (July 2022)

"Technological Competition and the US-China Rivalry" Norwegian Nobel Institute (June 2022)

"The Economic Effects of Joining China's Belt and Road Initiative" University of California-San Diego, January 2022

"PRC Behavior in Inter-state Security Crises: What Deters China and How China Sends Signals" US Naval War College (December 2021)

"US China Policy under the Biden Administration" Ohio State University (November 2021); MIT (October 2021)

"The PLA's Goal of Becoming a "World Class Military": Origins and Implications" CAPS-RAND-NDU-USIP conference, Taipei, Taiwan (November 2021)

"China's Military Strategy for a 'New Era' "CAPS-RAND-NDU-USIP conference, Taipei, Taiwan (November 2021)

"Few Strings Attached: Why Countries Join China's Belt and Road Initiative" University of Virginia (October 2021); APSA (October 2021); School of Oriental and African Studies (April 2021); Oxford University (January 2021)

"China's Borderland Relations: An Overview" Young China Watchers (August 2021)

"China's Approach to the Arctic" Danish Foreign Policy Society (August 2021)

"Cooperation and Conflict on China's Periphery" Ananta Centre, Delhi (May 2021)

"China's Grand Strategy" Seminar XXI (May 2021)

Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, hearing on "US-China Relations and Chinese Communist Party's Centennial" (January 2021)

"Debate: China Will Not Use Significant Force Against A Neighbor in the Next Five Year" Center for Strategic and International Studies (December 2020)

"The India-China Border Dispute: Past, Present, and Future" University of San Francisco, (November 2020); Foreign Correspondents Club, Beijing, (June 2020)

"China's Military Strategy and U.S.-China Relations" University of Albany (November 2020); Business Executives for National Security, New York (October 2019); Business Executives for National Security, Chicago (September 2019)

"China and the Challenge of Maritime Disputes" Association of Chinese Political Science Annual Conference, Keynote (October 2020) "The Current Situation in the South China Sea" National Committee on US-China Relations (October 2020)

"Active Defense: China's Military Strategy Since 1949"

John Quincy Adams Society (October 2020); Naval War College (June 2020); INDOPACOM, May 2020 Stanford University (January 2020); King's College, London (November 2019); National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (October 2019); University of Michigan (September 2019); World Affairs Council, San Francisco (September 2019); Center for Advanced Policy Studies, Taipei, Taiwan (August 2019) Business Executives for National Security, Boston (April 2019); Princeton University (March 2018); Brown University (November 2017); Georgetown University (October 2017)

"The India-China Border Clash" Brown-Harvard-MIT South Asia Symposium (September 2020); US Institute of Peace (July 2020); Council on Foreign Relations (July 2020); Asia Society (July 2020) "China's Military Strategy and the China-India Border Dispute" Jamestown Foundation (July 2020)

"Prospects for US-China Nuclear Competition" National Defense University (June 2020)

"U.S. Policy Toward China in the South China Sea" George Washington University (May 2020)

"China's National Military Strategy"

Consuls General Briefing, MIT (September 2019); Congressional and Executive Branch Seminar, MIT (April 2019)

Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, hearing on "A 'World-Class' Military: Assessing China's Global Military Ambitions" (June 2019)

"The Military Strategic Guidelines in the New Era" Naval War College (May 2019)

"Stormy Seas: The South China Sea in US-China Relations" University of Pennsylvania (May 2019)

"The South China Sea and US-China Relations," Harvard Salon (November 2018)

"US-China Relations on the Eve of the Mid-Terms," MIT (November 2018)

"China and North Korea"

MIT, Washington DC (April 2018); Starr Forum, MIT (October 2017)

"China's Calculus in the South China Sea"

MIT (April 2018); Harvard University (March 2018); Department of State (March 2017)

"Chinese Views of Nuclear Escalation"

George Washington University (April 2018); ISA (April 2018); George Washington University (September 2017)

"China and the U.S.-China-Russia Nuclear Relationship" New Nuclear Age Initiative, American Academy of Arts and Sciences (December 2017)

"Life on the Great Power Frontier" APSA (September 2017)

"China's Territorial Disputes: Past, Present, and Future" Stanford University (May 2017)

"China's Maritime Disputes"

Royal Danish Defense College (May 2017); Seminar XXI, (May 2015); Hoover Institution Working Group on Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy, Washington DC (June 2014); Seminar XXI (May 2014); Lincoln Laboratory (March 2014); Harvard Kennedy School (March 2014); Harvard Kennedy School (November 2013); Princeton University (November 2013); Seminar XXI (April 2013); Congressional and Executive Workshop, MIT (April 2013); Boston Committee on Foreign Relations (January 2013); World Affairs Council, Houston (October 2012); Public Intellectuals Program, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, Burlingame, CA (October 2012); Pacific Council for International Policy (September 2012)

"Explaining the Evolution of China's Military Strategy" Lone Star Forum, LBJ School, University of Texas (April 2017); School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University (September 2016); Georgetown University (December 2015); University of Washington (April 2015); RAND, Washington, DC (April 2014); Harvard Kennedy School (March 2014); Tulane University (February 2014); Harvard University (March 2013); Northwestern University (March 2013); University of Chicago (March 2013); Lincoln Laboratory (February 2013); National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo, Japan (November 2012); University of Michigan (October 2012); Tufts University (October 2012); ISA (April 2012); APSA (September 2011); George Washington University (April 2011); MIT (April 2011); Stanford University (February 2011); Mershon Center, Ohio State University (January 2011)

"China's Approach to Preventing Conflict" Harvard Kennedy School (March 2017)

"China's Approach to the South China Sea: Insights from China's Other Territorial Disputes" University of Pennsylvania (December 2016)

"China's Response to the South China Sea Tribunal" Boston University (November 2016)

"Regime Insecurity and Chinese Foreign Policy" CENTRA, Washington, DC (October 2016)

"Maritime Disputes in U.S.-China Relations" Fairbanks Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University (October 2016)

"Assuring Assured Retaliation: China's Nuclear Posture and U.S.-China Strategic Stability" Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC (May 2016); ISA (March 2016)

"China's Military Strategy" Seminar XXI (May 2016); Lincoln Laboratory (April 2016)

"China's Foreign and Security Policies Under Xi Jinping" Association for Asian Studies, Seattle, WA (April 2016)

"Sources of Conflict and Stability in Asia," Asia Vision 21, Fung Global Institute, Hong Kong (June 2015)

"Evolving Security Dynamics in Asia" Starr Forum, MIT (May 2015)

"Counterintervention in China's Military Strategy" Congressional and Executive Branch Seminar, MIT (April 2015) "China's Military"

Lincoln Laboratory (April 2015); NATO Parliamentary Seminar, MIT (April 2015)

"Explaining the Absence of Armed Conflict over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Since 2012" Free University of Berlin, Germany (January 2015)

"China's Search for Stability: Chinese Views of U.S. Nuclear Strategy and Forces" George Washington University (December 2014)

"The Management of Maritime Disputes in East Asia" 5<sup>th</sup> Xiangshan Forum, Beijing, China (November 2014)

"Steps to Promote Strategic Trust between China and Japan" SIPRI, Stockholm (July 2014)

"East Asian Territorial Disputes and Great Power Relations"

Norwegian Institute for Defense Studies, (May 2014); Peking University, (November 2013)

"China's Maritime Disputes Under Xi Jinping: The South and East China Seas" MIT, Washington, DC (April 2014); Center for Naval Analysis (February 2014)

"China, Japan and the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute" Harvard University (February 2014)

"Conflict Avoidance in Close Quarters"

Workshop on the Development of the Global Commons and Order at Sea, Beijing, China (November 2013)

"China and the US 'Pivot' to Asia" Harvard University (October 2013)

"The History of China's 'Nine-dashed line' in the South China Sea" Center for Naval Analysis (August 2013)

"China's Nuclear Strategy" Council on Foreign Relations (May 2013)

"Things Fall Apart: The Challenge of Maritime Disputes to China's Regional Foreign Policy" University of Pennsylvania (April 2013)

"The Danger of Instability in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Dispute" Starr Forum, MIT (April 2013)

"The Challenge of Maritime Disputes in the Asia Pacific" Xiangshan Forum, Beijing, China (November 2012)

"China and Maritime Disputes in East Asia: American Perspectives" Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China (November 2012); Institute of American Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing, China (November 2012)

"Future Challenges for Chinese Foreign Policy" World Affairs Council, Houston (October 2012)

"The United States in the South China Sea Disputes," Berlin Conference on Asian Security, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, Germany (June 2012)

"China Views India's Rise" Brown University (May 2012) "China and Sudden Instability in North Korea: Interests, Priorities, and Likely Responses" Harvard Kennedy School (May 2012); United States Institute of Peace (February 2012)

"From Assertiveness to Moderation: Explaining China's Behavior in the South China Sea" Seminar XXI (April 2012), Harvard Kennedy School (February 2012); Fletcher School, Tufts University (January 2012)

Witness, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hearing on "Investigating the Chinese Threat, Part One: Military and Economic Aggression," Washington, DC (March 2012)

"China's Changing Approach to the South China Sea" Department of State (January 2012)

"China's Territorial Disputes: Past, Present, and Future" US-Japan Kanazawa Conference, Ishikawa, Japan (January 2012); Systems Planning Corporation, Alexandria, VA (February 2011)

"The PLA's Role in National Security Policymaking in Territorial Disputes" CAPS-NDU-CEIP-RAND Conference on the PLA, Taipei, Taiwan (November 2011); National University of Singapore (August 2011); Center for Naval Analysis (April 2011)

"China's Strategy in the South China Sea" MIT (November 2011); East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore (August 2011) Naval War College (May 2011)

"Is China Becoming Assertive in its Territorial Disputes?" Center for Strategic and International Studies (October 2011)

"Maritime Security in the South China Sea and the Competition over Maritime Rights" Center for New American Security (September 2011)

"Conflict and Cooperation in the East China Sea" Center for Naval Analysis (September 2011)

"China and National Security" President's Intelligence Advisory Board, Washington, DC (September 2011)

"China's Military Rise: Assessing Military Capabilities and National Influence" APSA (September 2011); ISA (February 2009); China Rising Workshop, MIT (February 2009)

"Assessing the U.S. Security Commitment to Taiwan" Tobin Project (August 2011)

"Myths about China's Military Modernization and the Potential for US-China Conflict" S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore (August 2011); Tobin Project (December 2010)

"China and the South China Sea: American Perspectives" Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China (July 2011); Institute of American Studies, China Contemporary Institutes of International Relations, Beijing, China (July 2011)

"China's Grand Strategy: Implications for South Asia" Harvard Kennedy School (May 2011)

"Economic Growth, Regime Security, and Military Strategy in China"

Harvard University (May 2011); University of California, Berkeley (September 2010); China Foundation for International Strategic Studies, Beijing, China (July 2010); Draper Laboratory (June 2010); Lincoln Laboratory (May 2010); McGill University (October 2009); University of Pennsylvania (July 2009)

"Chinese Military Capabilities and Doctrine" National Asia Policy Assembly, Washington, DC (June 2010)

"Major Change in Military Strategy: The PLA's Adoption of the 1956 Strategic Guidelines," National Security Studies Program, Harvard University (April 2010)

"The Sources of China's Nuclear Strategy" Working Group on the Strategic Use of Force, MIT (November 2009); Cornell University (April 2009)

"Three Perspectives on China's Rise: Threat, Opportunity or Menace?" Lifetime Learning, Newton, MA (April 2009); Burchard Scholars Program, MIT (February 2009) "China's Territorial Future: Will Conquest Pay?"

Cornell University (April 2009); Tsinghua University (November 2008); ISA (March 2008); Princeton University (March 2008); CENTRA, Washington, DC (February 2008); Waseda University, Japan (October 2007); MIT (September 2007); APSA (August 2007); CENTRA, Washington, DC (June 2007); University of Maryland (February 2006)

"Explaining Inaction in the Senkaku / Diaoyu Dispute: Implications for China-Japan U.S. Relations" East-West Center, Honolulu (March 2009)

"Foreign Policy and the Next U.S. Administration: China" Starr Forum, MIT (September 2008)

"Territorial Disputes in the Trilateral Relationship: Opportunities and Challenges in the Senkaku / Diaoyu Dispute"
Peking University (June 2008)

"China's Territorial Disputes" ISA (March 2008)

"China as a Rising Power"

Workshop on US-Japan Relations and a Changing Asia, Endicott House, MIT (February 2008)

"China's Search for Military Power: Internal Control, Peripheral Denial and Limited Force Projection" MIT-Japan Program, Japan (January 2008; National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan (February 2007)

"Territorial Disputes and US-Japan-China Cooperation" Japan Center for International Exchange, Japan (October 2007)

Sino-American Security Dialogue

University of Oklahoma (May 2007); East-West Center, Honolulu (June 2006); Fudan University, Shanghai (June 2005); Mershon Center, Ohio State University (June 2004); Institute for Asia-Pacific Studies, CASS, Beijing, China (October 2003); Inaugural Participant, University of Colorado (May 2002)

"Securing China: Cooperation and Escalation in Territorial Disputes"
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge (April 2007); Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University (April 2007)

"China's Management of Territorial Disputes: Comparing Land and Maritime Conflicts" Naval War College (March 2007); National Defense University (August 2006)

"Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes"

University of Texas, Austin (March 2007); Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program workshop (March 2007); National Security Seminar, Olin Institute, Harvard University (February 2007); Dartmouth College (November 2006); Princeton University (October 2006); APSA (September 2006)

"Cross-Straits Relations: The View from the Mainland" Fairbank Center, Harvard University (February 2007)

"Securing the Borders: China's Doctrine and Force Structure for Frontier Defense" RAND (January 2007); CAPS-RAND-CEIP International Conference on the PLA, Taipei (November 2005)

"Studying the PLA Through Open Sources" CENTRA, Washington, DC (January 2007); CENTRA, Washington, DC (September 2004)

"Regional Responses to PLA Modernization" CAPS-RAND-CEIP International Conference on the PLA, Taipei (December 2006)

"Rising Power and International Conflict: Three Perspectives"
Draper Laboratory (November 2006); Middlebury College (October 2006); Cornell University (July 2006); Lincoln Laboratory (May 2006); Stanford University (March 2006)

"Exploding the Diversionary Hypothesis: Rethinking Internal and External Conflict" MIT (April 2006); Stanford University (March 2006); APSA (September 2005)

"Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes"

Fletcher School, Tufts University (April 2006); University of Chicago (May 2005); RAND, Washington, DC (October 2004; Harvard Kennedy School (November 2003); Olin Institute, Harvard University (October 2003)

"Measuring Civilian Supremacy of the Armed Forces" APSA (September 2005)

"New Stability Across the Straits?" Shanghai Institute of American Studies (June 2005)

"Strategic Coincidence and US-China Relations" China Institute for Contemporary International Relations, Beijing, China (July 2004)

"The Future of the New Stability in US-China Relations" 5<sup>th</sup> US-China Conference on Arms Control, China Arms Control and Disarmament Association and the Monterey Institute of International Studies, Beijing, China (July 2004)

"US-China Relations and China's New Diplomacy" Middlebury College (May 2004)

"Rising Power and China's Territorial Future" Harvard University (April 2004)

"China's New Diplomacy and US-China Relations" FACES Conference, Stanford University (April 2004)

"China as a Regional Hegemon?" Warburg Conference, Simmons College (April 2004) "China's New Diplomacy"

Institute for American Studies, CASS, Beijing, China (October 2003); Shanghai Institute for American Studies, Shanghai, China (October 2003)

"US-China Relations and Neoconservatism"

Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai (October 2003)

"Explaining China's Settlement of Territorial Disputes"

Stanford University (January 2003); APSA (September 2002); Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Duke University (September 2002); Stanford University (February 2002); Stanford-Berkeley Contemporary China Network, Berkeley (November 2001)

"The Evolution of China's Military Strategy: Comparing the 1987 and 1999 *Zhanlue Xue*" RAND-CNAC Conference on the PLA, Washington DC (December 2002)

"Information Warfare and Modernization of the PLA: Emerging Doctrine and Capabilities" CAPS-RAND International Conference on the PLA, Taipei (November 2002)

"Civil-Military Relations and the Consolidation of Taiwan's Democracy" International Workshop on Challenges for Taiwan's Democratic Consolidation, Institute of National Policy Research and Hoover Institution, Stanford (October 2002) and Taipei (June 1999)

"Prospects for US-China Relations after 9/11" China Institute for Contemporary International Relations, Beijing, China (April 2002)

"Getting It Together: Territorial Consolidation and the Settlement of Territorial Disputes" ISA (March 2002)

"Explaining China's Behavior in the South China Sea" APSA (September 2001)

"The Revolution in Research Affairs: Online Sources for the Study of the PLA" CAPS-RAND Conference on the PLA, Washington DC (June 2001)

"China and Territorial Disputes" Stanford University (April 2001)

"Towards Supremacy: Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan's Democratic Consolidation" Western Political Science Association Annual Conference (March 2001)

"China in the South China Sea: Facts in Search of a Theory" ISA (February 2001)

"Uncertain China: Dealing with a Potential Great Power" Stanley Foundation Forty-First Strategy for Peace Conference (October 2000)

"Using the Internet to Study China" Stanford University (October 2000)

"China's Participation in Multilateral Security Institutions" Stanford Law School (April 2000)

"China Goes Online: Topic and Tools for Research" Stanford China Group, Stanford University, May 1999

"China in the South China Sea" Stanford University (February 1999) "China Views the World: Security from a Chinese Perspective" Clifford Symposium on China, Middlebury College (February 1998)

"Neoconservatism and Chinese Foreign Policy" RAND Corporation (August 1995)

### OTHER EXPERIENCE

Research Fellow, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, 1998-2001 Lead investigator for the ARCO China History Project.

Senior Associate Consultant, Bain & Company, San Francisco, CA, 1996-1998

#### **DISSERTATION COMMITTEES**

<u>In progress</u>. Jung-Jae Kwon, Eleanor Atkins\*, Zachary Burdette, Raymond Wang\*, Suzanne Freeman\*, Wright Smith\*, and Diana Zhu

Completed. Carol Kuntz (2009), William Norris (2010, Bush School, Texas A&M), Caitlin Talmadge (2011, MIT), Michael Glosny (2012, Naval Postgraduate School), Joshua Shifrinson (2013, University of Maryland, College Park), Nicholas Miller\* (2014, Dartmouth), Christopher Clary (2015, SUNY Albany), Miranda Priebe (2015, RAND), Mark Bell (2016, University of Minnesota), Kelly Grieco (2016, Stimson Center), Oly Oliker (2016, International Crisis Group), Joseph Torigian (2016, American University), Ketian Zhang\* (2018, George Mason University), Fiona Cunningham\* (2018, University of Pennsylvania), Kacie Miura\* (2020, University of San Diego), Rachel Esplin Odell\* (2020, Department of State), Mayumi Fukushima (2020, Belfer Center), and John Minnich\* (2023, London School of Economics)

### PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Member, Editorial Board, American Journal of Political Science, 2023–2025

Member, Distinguished Scholar Award Selection Committee, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, 2023–2024

Member, Best Article and Best Graduate Paper Award Selection Committee, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, 2022–2023

Member, Advisory Board, CSIS Open Source, 2021–

Member, Advisory Board, Chinese Foreign Language Fellowship program, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2021–

Member, Governing Council, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, 2021–

Chair, Distinguished Scholar Award Selection Committee, International Security Studies Section, International Studies Association, 2021–2022

Participant, Study Group, United States Institute of Peace, 2021–2022

Member, Advisory Board, National Asian Research Program, National Bureau of Asian Research, 2018-

Member, Editorial Board, Chinese Journal of International Politics, 2018-

Member, Advisory Board, China Power Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2016-

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Strategic Studies, 2016–

Member, Editorial Board, Security Studies, 2015-

<sup>\*</sup> chair

Member, U.S. China Policy Task Force, The Asia Society, 2015-

Member, Board of Directors, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 2015-

Member, Editorial Board, International Studies Quarterly, 2014–2019

Member, International Editorial Board, Foreign Affairs Review (外交评论), 2014–

Member, Editorial Board, The China Quarterly, 2013-

Associate Editor, Research & Politics, 2013–2018

Member, U.S.-China Working Group, Project on Nuclear Initiatives, CSIS, 2012–2013

Participant, U.S.-China Strategic Dialogue, Preventive Defense Project, 2011–

Member, Steering Committee, U.S.-China Crisis Management Project, 2011–

Co-editor, Chinese Journal of International Politics (Oxford University Press), 2009–2018

Workshop Organizer, "Assessing China's Rise: Power and Influence in the 21st Century," MIT (with Liselotte Odgaard), 2009

Selection Committee, Boren Fellowship, 2004

Workshop Organizer, "The Next Generation: China, Taiwan and the US," Stanford University (with Randall Schriver), 1999

Reviewer for Ashgate, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, Asian Security, Asian Survey, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Cambridge University Press, Carnegie Corporation, China Information, China Perspectives, Cold War History, Critical Asian Studies, Defense and Peace Economics, Foreign Policy Analysis, Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order (University of Louisville), International Affairs, International Interactions, International Organization, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, International Studies Review, Issues & Studies, Johns Hopkins University Press, Journal of Chinese Political Science, Journal of Cold War Studies, Journal of Contemporary China, Journal of East Asian Studies, Journal of Strategic Studies, M. E. Sharpe, Modern China, Palgrave, Polity Press, Princeton University Press, Pacific Review, Political Science Quarterly, Review of International Studies, Rowman & Littlefield, Security Studies, the Smith Richardson Foundation, Terrorism and Political Violence, The China Journal, The China Quarterly, University of Michigan Press, University of Pennsylvania Press, and World Politics.

## DEPARTMENTAL AND INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE

Presidential Committee on Distinguished Fellowships, MIT, 2004-06, 2007-08, 2010-12, 2014-16, 2017-23

Chair, Search Committee, Security Studies, MIT, 2022–2023

Member, Graduate Program Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2021–2022

Member, China Strategy Group, MIT, 2020–2023

Member, Search Committee, Security Studies, MIT, 2019-2021

Chair, Graduate Program Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2018–2019

Placement Coordinator, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2018–2019

Member, Summer Grant Committee, Center for International Studies, MIT, 2011–2012, 2017–2018

Member, Search Committee, Security Studies, MIT, 2017-2018

Member, Executive Board, Seminar XXI, Center for International Studies, MIT, 2016–

Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2014–2016

Member, Selection Committee, d'Arbeloff Fund for Excellence in Education, MIT, 2013–2014

Undergraduate Program Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2005–06, 2007–09, 2010–12, 2013–14

Chair, Fellowship Committee, Security Studies Program, MIT, 2011–2012

Minor Advisor, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2011-2012

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2004–06, 2007–09

Transfer Credit Examiner, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2005-06, 2007-09

Concentration and Minor Advisor, East Asian Studies, MIT, 2008

Personnel Committee, Department of Political Science, MIT, 2005–2006

British Scholarship Committee, Stanford University, 2001-2003

Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, 2001–2002

Graduate Chair, Stanford-Berkeley Contemporary China Network, 2001–2002

Convener, Stanford-Monterey Asian Security Seminar, 2000-2001

Graduate Chair, China Seminar Series, Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, 2000–2001

#### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Political Science Association International Studies Association National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

#### **MEDIA**

AFP, Asia Sentinel, Asia Times, Bloomberg, BBC News, *Christian Science Monitor*, CNN, CNN.com, Defense One, DW.com, *Financial Times*, Forbes, Foreign Policy.com, Fox News, India Today, Lawfare, *Newsweek*, National Public Radio, New England Cable News, Politico, Reddiff.com, Reuters, *South China Morning Post*, *The Atlantic*, *The Boston Globe, The Diplomat*, *The Economist, The Guardian, The Hindu, The Korean Times, The Japan Times, The New York Times, The Quint, The Print, The Straits Times, The Telegraph, The Times of India The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, Time.com, USA Today, US News and World Report*, and Vox.

# **LANGUAGES**

Mandarin Chinese