

RICHARD CLARENCE BUSH III

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Spring 2011: Visiting Professor, University of Hong Kong, Department of Politics and Public Administration

Taught a course on Taiwan as an issue in U.S.-China relations.

Fall 2006 – Fall 2011: Visiting Professor, Cornell University, China and Asia-Pacific Studies Program

Taught a course on contemporary U.S.-China relations to juniors in a specialized major.

July 2002 – present: Director, Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies [after October 2013, Center for East Asia Policy Studies], and Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Carries out a program of public outreach, scholarly study, and international exchanges concerning the countries of Northeast Asia.

September 1997 – June 2002: Chairman of the Board and Managing Director of the American Institute in Taiwan, Washington, D.C.

Headed the Congressionally authorized and funded organization which since 1979 has conducted unofficial relations with Taiwan on behalf of the United States government and under the direction of the Secretary of State. AIT has a headquarters in Washington, which serves as the point of contact for Taiwan's representatives in the United States, a field office in Taipei, and a sub-office in Kaohsiung.

July 1995 --September 1997: National Intelligence Officer for East Asia, National Intelligence Council, Washington, D.C.

Coordinated analysis of East Asia issues within the Intelligence Community and acted as an interface between the Community and policy-makers.

January 1995 -July 1995: Director for Minority Liaison, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

On behalf of Ranking Minority Member Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, facilitated coordination among Democratic Members of the Committee and with the

Executive Branch and House leadership. Also advised Chairman Hamilton on China, Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

January 1994 -January 1995: Director for Committee Liaison, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

On behalf of Chairman Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, facilitated coordination both within the Foreign Affairs Committee and between it and the Executive Branch and House leadership. Also advised Chairman Hamilton on China, Japan, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

January 1993- December 1993: Professional Staff Member, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

Advised Committee Chairman Rep. Lee H. Hamilton on U.S. policy toward the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

July 1983 -December 1992: Staff Consultant, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

Provided support on legislation and oversight regarding China, Taiwan, Japan, and Indochina to the Subcommittee Chairman, Rep. Stephen J. Solarz. Also provided staff support to Rep. Solarz concerning U.S. policy on Latin America and the former Soviet Union.

July 1981- June 1983: Deputy Program Director, China Council of The Asia Society, New York City and Washington, DC.

Managed a non-profit, public-education program on China, with thirteen affiliates across the country and a comprehensive series of educational materials for general and specialized publics.

January 1977- July 1981: Program Associate, China Council of The Asia Society, New York City and Washington, DC.

Coordinated preparation of a range of briefing activities for journalists and educational materials for general audiences.

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

Columbia University (New York City), Department of Political Science and East Asian Institute.

Degrees awarded: M.A., December 1973; M.Phil., January 1975; Ph.D., May 1978. Doctoral dissertation focused on the political relationship between the Chinese cotton textile industry and the Kuomintang regime, 1927-37. Fellowships: National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships and Fulbright Fellowship for Dissertation Research Abroad.

Lawrence University (Appleton, Wisconsin), Department of Political Science.

Degree awarded: B.A., June 1969. Honors in course and in independent study; induction into Phi Beta Kappa.

PUBLICATIONS AND SELECTED SPEECHES

Hong Kong in the Shadow of China: Living with the Leviathan (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016)

“Security Policy,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, edited by Gunter Schubert (New York, Routledge, 2016)

“US policy toward Taiwan,” *Asian Education and Development Studies*, Vol. 5 (Spring 2016), pp. 266 - 277 (www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/AEDS-10-2015-0052).

“Taiwan’s 2106 Elections and Their Implications for Relations with China and the United States,” Asia Working Group Paper, no. 1, Brookings Institution, December 2015 (www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/12/taiwan-elections-china-us-implications-bush/taiwan-elections-china-us-implications-bush-final-2.pdf).

“US-Taiwan Relations Since 2008,” in *Political Changes in Taiwan under Ma Ying-jeou: Partisan conflict, Policy Choices, external constraints and security challenges*, edited by Jean-Pierre Cabestan and Jacques deLisle (New York: Routledge, 2014).

“China’s Rise and Other Global Trends: Implications for Taiwan Democracy,” in *New Challenges for Maturing Democracies in Korea and Taiwan*, edited by Larry Diamond and Gi-Wook Shin (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2014).

Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, January 2013).

“Uncharted Strait: On America’s Security Commitment to Taiwan,” Brookings Policy Brief no. 186, January 14, 2013.

“Thoughts on the Republic of China and its Significance,” Speech, Taiwan’s Academia Historica, September 13, 2012,

“The Republic of China in Historical Perspective,” *A Spectacular Century: The Republic of China Centennial Democracy Forums*, edited by Hung-mao Tien and Wen-Cheng Lin (Taipei: Cultural Commission of the Executive Yuan and the Institute for National Policy Research, 2011), pp. 8-31.

“The January 2012 Taiwan Elections and What They Mean,” keynote speech at a Brookings-CSIS conference on the Taiwan elections, January 17, 2011 (http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/events/2012/0117_taiwan_elections/lunch%20address.pdf)

“Kim Jong-un’s Shaky Hold on Power in North Korea,” *The Daily Beast*, December 19, 2011.

“Upgrading Taiwan’s Defense,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 2011.

“The 2011 DOD China Report and Taiwan’s Security,” *China Times*, October 11, 2011 (in Chinese).

“The United States and China: A G-2 in the Making?” originally published in the Japanese journal *Gaiko*, July 2011, English version available at http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2011/1011_china_us_g2_bush.aspx.

“As Number One, China to Face Hour of Choice,” YaleGlobal, June 30, 2011 (<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/number-one-china-face-hour-choice>).

“The Republic of China in Historical Perspective,” Presentation at a conference on A Spectacular Century: The Republic of China Centennial Democracy Forums, Taipei, Taiwan, June 13, 2011 (http://www.brookings.edu/speeches/2011/0624_china_bush.aspx).

“The Significance of the Republic of China for Cross-Strait Relations,” Remarks at a Brookings symposium on “The Dawn of Modern China,” May 20, 2011 (http://www.brookings.edu/speeches/2011/0520_china_bush.aspx)

“Taiwan and East Asian Security,” *Orbis*, Spring 2011), pp. 274-289.

“The U.S. Policy of Extended Deterrence in East Asia: History, Current Views, and Implications,” in *Brookings Institution Arms Control Series*, no. 5, February 2011.

Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, October 2010).

“China-Japan Security Relations,” Brookings Institution, *Policy Brief* no. 177, October 2010 (http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2010/10_china_japan_bush.aspx).

“The Challenge of a Nuclear North Korea: Dark Clouds, Only One Silver Lining,”

Brookings Institution, *Policy Paper* no. 23, Foreign Policy Program, September 2010 (http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2010/09_north_korea_bush/09_north_korea_bush.pdf).

“Taiwan Faces Growing Threat: Communist China Undermines Rapprochement,” *Washington Times*, September 18, 2010.

“Guns, Wheelchairs, and Shark’s Fin Soup: The Social Foundation of Taiwan’s Future,” talk presented at the Columbia University Symposium on “Taiwan in the Twenty-first Century: Politics, Economy and Society,” June 13, 2010, Taipei, Taiwan (http://www.brookings.edu/speeches/2010/0613_taiwan_bush.aspx).

“Extended Deterrence in East Asia,” in *U.S. Nuclear and Extended Deterrence: Considerations and Challenges*, publication of the Brookings Institution Arms Control Initiative, Steve Pifer, ed., June 2010.

“China-Japan Tensions, 1995-2006: Why They Happened, What to Do,” *Policy Paper* no. 16, Brookings Foreign Policy Program, June 2009 (http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2009/06_china_japan_bush/06_china_japan_bush.pdf).

“The Mind of Kim Jong-Il II,” *The Huffington Post*, May 25, 2010 (http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/0525_north_korea_bush.aspx).

“China-Taiwan: Recent Economic, Political, and Military Developments Across the Strait, and Implications for the United States,” testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, March 18, 2010 (http://www.brookings.edu/testimony/2010/0318_china_economy_bush.aspx).

“Cross-Strait Moderation and the United States” – A Response to Robert Sutter,” PacNet No. 17A, Pacific Forum CSIS, March 12, 2009 (<http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/pac0917a.pdf>), with Alan Romberg.

“On the Eve of Obama's Inauguration: American Soft Power in Asia,” Brookings Northeast Asia Commentary, January 2009, (http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2009/01_asia_bush.aspx).

“Contending with the Rise of China: Build on Three Decades of Progress,” with Jeffrey A. Bader, in *Opportunity 08: Independent Ideas for America’s Next President*, 2nd edition (Washington, D.C., 2007), ed. by Michael E. O’Hanlon, pp. 54-67.

“Thoughts on the Nanjing Massacre,” Northeast Asia Commentary, December 2007 (http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2009/01_asia_bush.aspx).

“Contending with the Rise of China: Build on Three Decades of Progress,” with Jeffrey A. Bader, in *Opportunity 08: Independent Ideas for America’s Next President* (Washington, D.C., 2007), ed. by Michael E. O’Hanlon, pp. 38-50.

“The United States and Taiwan,” in Lung-chu Chen, editor, *Membership for Taiwan In the United Nations: Achieving Justice and Universality* (New York: New Century Institute Press, 2007). pp. 57-67.

A War Like No Other: The Truth About China's Challenge to America, with Michael O’Hanlon (New York: Wiley Publishers, 2007).

“Contending with the Rise of China: Build on Three Decades of Progress,” with Jeffrey A. Bader, an “Opportunity ’08” paper, The Brookings Institution, February 2008, <http://www.opportunity08.org/Issues/OurWorld/26/r1/Default.aspx>

“Future Prospects and Challenges of Taiwan's Democracy,” Keynote Address, Taiwanese Political Science Association, December 10, 2005, Taipei, Taiwan

“The US Policy of dual deterrence,” in Steve Tsang, ed., *If China Attacks Taiwan: Military strategy, politics and economics* (New York: Routledge, 2005)

“Taiwan Faces China: Attraction and Repulsion,” in David Shambaugh, ed., *Power Shift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

“Chinese Decisionmaking Under Stress: The Taiwan Strait, 1995-2004,” in Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel, eds., *Chinese National Decisionmaking Under Stress* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, 2005)

Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2005)

“Lee Teng-hui and ‘Separatism,’” in Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Co-editor, with Sharon Yanagi and Kevin Scott, of *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2003-2004* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, 2004).

“Introduction and Review of 2003,” in Bush, Yanagi, and Scott, *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2003-2004*.

“China’s Business Leaders: Assuming a Political Role?” in Bush, Yanagi, and Scott, *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2003-2004*.

At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations Since 1942 (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

“United States Policy Toward Taiwan,” in *Breaking the China-Taiwan Impasse*, ed. by Donald Zagoria (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003).

Co-editor, with Catharin Dalpino, of *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2002-2003* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, 2003).

“Introduction and Review of 2003,” in Bush and Dalpino, *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2002-2003*.

“Cross-Strait Relations: A Time for Careful Management,” in Bush and Dalpino, *Brookings Northeast Asia Survey, 2002-2003*.

“PRC Foreign Policy and Security Behavior: Decision-Making Problems,” *Journal of International Security Affairs* 4 (Winter 2003).

“Taiwan Policy Making since Tiananmen: Navigating through Shifting Waters,” in Ramon H. Myers, Michel C. Oksenberg, and David Shambaugh, eds., *Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 179-200.

“Political Change in Taiwan: Implications for U.S. Policy,” speech delivered at Stanford University, May 2000, reprinted in *Proceedings of the Walter H. Shorenstein Forum*, October 2000.

“United States Policy Toward Taiwan,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 22:3 (June 2000).

“East Asia in the Twenty-first Century and the Rise of China,” lecture sponsored by the Lt. William Kellogg Harkins, Jr. Values Program and the Mojmir Polvolny Lectureship in International Studies, Lawrence University, February 24, 2000.

“The United States Role in the Taiwan Strait Issue,” speech delivered at Southern Illinois University, December 1998, reprinted in Paul H. Tai, *United States, China, and Taiwan: Bridges for a New Millennium* (Carbondale, IL: Public Policy Institute, 1999).

“Vietnamese Storage of Remains of Unaccounted US Personnel,” Intelligence Community Assessment, National Intelligence Council, October 1996.

“Domestic Political Considerations that Shape U.S. Policy Toward China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan,” in David M. Lampton and Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr., eds., *United States and China*

Relations at a Crossroads (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995), pp. 147-159.

“Taiwan's International Role: Implications for U.S. Policy,” in Robert G. Sutter and William R. Johnson, eds., *Taiwan in World Affairs* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 207-302.

“The Future of Sino-American Policy: The Process,” in Gerritt W. Gong & Bih-jaw Lin, eds., *Sino-American Relations at a Time of Change* (Washington and Taipei: Center for Strategic & International Studies and Institute of International Relations, 1993), pp. 25-34.

“Clinton and China: Scenarios for the Future,” in *The China Business Review*, vol. 20 (Jan. 1993), pp. 16-20.

“The Role of the United States in Taiwan-PRC Relations,” in Denis Fred Simon and Michael Y. M. Kau, eds., *Taiwan: Beyond the Economic Miracle* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992).

“Liangyan guanxi gezhong keneng qingshi fazhan di jiexi” (Analysis of the development of various possible scenarios for cross-Strait relations), *Zhongguo Shibao* (China Times), December 4, 1991.

“The Role of Congress in Shaping Washington's China Policy,” in Andrew B. Brick, ed., *America's China Policy and the Role of the Congress, the Press, and the Private Sector* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 1991).

Author of: U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, “The Political Situation in China: Report of a Staff Study Mission” (Washington, D.C., 1991).

“Helping the Republic of China to Defend Itself,” in Ramon H. Myers, ed., *A Unique Relationship: The United States and the Republic of China Under the Taiwan Relations Act* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1989).

Principal author of: U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, “Elections on Taiwan: Report of a Staff Study Mission” (Washington, D.C., 1988).

“China's Political Evolution, 1972-1982,” (with Michel Oksenberg), in *Problems of Communism*, 31 (Sep.-Dec. 1982).

“Political History, 1949-81,” in Frederic M. Kaplan and Julian M. Sobin, eds., *Encyclopedia of China Today* (New York: Eurasia Press, 1982), pp. 69-81.

The Politics of Cotton Textiles in Kuomintang China (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982). Published version of doctoral dissertation.

Editor, *China Briefing*, 1982 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982).

Co-editor, *China Briefing*, 1981 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981); contributed article therein on "The Rise of Hu Yaobang."

Co-editor, *China Briefing*, 1980 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980); contributed article therein on "Deng Xiaoping: China's Old Man in a Hurry."

Co-compiler, *The People's Republic of China: A Basic Handbook* (New York: Council on International and Public Affairs, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1984).

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

Lived in the Philippines (1950-55), Hong Kong (1960-65), and Taiwan (1975).
Professional travel in Asia, former Soviet Union, South and Central America. In December 1990 and December 1993, undertook a series of lectures in China on the role of Congress in shaping U.S. China policy, coordinated by the American Participants program of USIA.

LANGUAGES

Chinese (spoken and reading) and French (reading).

MILITARY SERVICE

September 1970- April 1972, U.S. Army, Military Police Corps. Served for fourteen months in the Provost Marshall's Office, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY.
Honorable discharge with rank of sergeant.

MEMBERSHIPS

Phi Beta Kappa
National Committee on U.S.-China Relations
Council on Foreign Relations

AWARDS

National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, June 1998.

PERSONAL

Born November 1947, married, two adult children.