

## **JONATHAN D. POLLACK**

### **EDUCATION**

Ph.D., Political Science, 1976, University of Michigan

M.A., Political Science, 1971, University of Michigan

A.B., Political Science, 1969, Rutgers College

### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

2016- Interim SK-Korea Foundation Chair in Korea Studies, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC

2014-Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center and Center for East Asia Policy Studies

2012-2014-Director, John L. Thornton China Center

2010—2012 Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center

2000 -2010 Chairman, Strategic Research Department (to August 2004);  
Chairman, Asia-Pacific Studies Group; and Professor of Asian and Pacific Studies, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island

1994-2000 -- Senior Advisor for International Policy, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California

1990-1994 -- Corporate Research Manager for International Policy, Rand Corporation

1988-1990 -- Chairman, Political Science Department, Rand Corporation

1988-2000 -- Faculty Affiliate, Rand Graduate School of Policy Studies

1988 -- Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

1987-1988 -- Associate Chairman, Political Science Department, Rand Corporation

1984-1987 -- Senior Staff Member, Political Science Department, Rand Corporation

1978-1984 -- Staff Member, Political Science Department, Rand Corporation

1977-1978 -- Visiting Assistant Professor of Politics, Brandeis University

1975-1978 -- Research Fellow, Program for Science and International Affairs, and Associate in Research, John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University

### **RESEARCH INTERESTS**

Chinese national security strategy; U.S.-China relations; Korean politics and foreign policy; U.S. strategy in the Asia-Pacific region; the Chinese policy making process; East Asian technological and military development; nuclear weapons and international security

## **PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND ACTIVITIES/HONORS**

Associate, National Intelligence Council, Washington, DC, 2011-2016, periodic consulting

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

National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, member of Congressionally-mandated review panel on future policy options for ballistic missile defense, 2010-2011

The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, Non-Resident Senior Fellow, 2010

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, International Peace and Security Program, Grant Recipient for project on “Rethinking Korean Nuclearization,” 2008-2009

International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1988-present

Council on Foreign Relations, 1997-present

National Academy of Sciences, Committee on International Security and Arms Control, 1990-2006; Emeritus Member since 2006

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, 1985-present

Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, 1995-present

*Asian Affairs-An American Review*, Member of Editorial Board, 1987-present

*China Security*, Member of Editorial Board, 2005-present

*Journal of Contemporary China*, Member of Editorial Board, 1997-present

Stanford University, Northeast Asia-United States Forum on International Policy, Visiting Fellow, 1984-1989

Council on Foreign Relations, International Affairs Fellow 1978-1979 (declined)

Rockefeller Foundation, International Relations Fellow, 1977-1978

International Studies Association Dissertation Fellow, 1975

University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies Fellowship, 1974-1975

University of Michigan, Horace Rackham Prize Fellowship, 1973-1974 and 1972-1973

Stanford University, N.D.F.L. Fellowship, 1969

Rutgers College, Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Sigma Alpha, *summa cum laude*, Class of 1876 Prize

## PUBLICATIONS

### Books, Reports, and Research Monographs

*Endangered Order: Revisionism and Strategic Risk in Northeast Asia.*

Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming 2017.

*China's Global Rise-Can the EU and U.S. Pursue a Coordinated Strategy?*

Washington, DC: Foreign Policy at Brookings, Goeconomic and Global Issues Paper 1, October 2016, co-authored with Philippe LeCorre.

*Order at Risk: Japan, Korea and the Northeast Asian Paradox.* Washington, DC: Foreign Policy at Brookings, Asia Working Group Paper 5, September 2016.

*China, Israel, and the United States: The Geopolitics of a Trilateral Relationship.*

Washington, DC: Foreign Policy at Brookings, February 2015, co-authored with Natan Sachs.

*Making Sense of Ballistic Missile Defense* (for the National Research Council of the National Academies). Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2012 (contributor).

*No Exit: North Korea, Nuclear Weapons and International Security.* London:

Routledge, Adelphi Books, 2011 (for the International Institute of Strategic Studies); revised Korean language edition published by the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Seoul, 2012.

*U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula.* New York: Council on Foreign Relations, Task Force Report, June 2010, Task Force member.

*North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Development: Implications for Future Policy.*

Paris: French Institute for International Relations, Proliferation Paper #33, March 2010.

*The Search for a Common Strategic Vision: Charting the Future of the US-Korea Security Partnership.* Seoul: East Asia Foundation, February 2008, contributor.

*Asia Eyes America: Regional Perspectives on U.S. Asia-Pacific Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.* Naval War College Press, Newport, Rhode Island, 2007, editor and contributor.

*Korea-The East Asian Pivot.* Naval War College Press, Newport, Rhode Island, 2006, editor and contributor.

*Managing Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Explosive Materials: An Assessment of Methods and Capabilities.* National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington, DC, 2005, contributor.

*Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Naval War College Press, Newport, Rhode Island, 2004, editor and contributor.

*Strategies for U.S. National Security-Winning the Peace in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, The Stanley Foundation, Muscatine, Iowa, October 2003, study group contributor.

*Chinese Military Power*, Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, 2003, study group contributor.

*Chinese Military Power and American Security Interests*, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, SAIS Policy Forum Series Report #11, May 2000.

*Preparing for Korean Unification: Scenarios and Implications*, Rand, Santa Monica, MR-1040-A, 1999, co-author.

*The Future of Chinese and Japanese Naval Power: Implications for Northeast Asian Maritime Security*, Rand, Santa Monica, PM-883-ROKN, December 1998, senior author; published in joint Korean-English version, 1999.

*Assembled in China: Sino-U.S. Collaboration and the Chinese Aviation Industry*, Rand, Santa Monica, DRR-1847, August 1998, senior author.

*In China's Shadow: Regional Perspectives on Chinese Foreign Policy and Military Development*, Rand, Santa Monica, CF-137-CAPP, 1998, co-editor and contributor.

*The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*, National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington, DC, 1997, contributor.

*Engaging China in the International Export Control Process: Options for U.S. Policy*, Rand, Santa Monica, DB-197-OSD, 1997, co-author.

*A New Alliance for the Next Century: The Future of U.S.-Korea Security Cooperation*, Rand, Santa Monica, MR-594-OSD, 1995, co-author.

*China's Air Force Enters the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Rand, Santa Monica, MR-580-AF, 1995, co-author.

*East Asia's Potential for Instability and Crisis: Implications for the United States and Korea*, Rand, Santa Monica, CF-119-CAPP, 1995, co-editor.

*Should the United States Worry About the Chinese-Iranian Security Relationship?* Rand, Santa Monica, DRR-923-1-A, December 1994.

*Defining a Pacific Community*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 1994, study group contributor.

*Management and Disposition of Excess Weapons Plutonium*, National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington DC, 1994, contributor.

*A New Strategy and Fewer Forces: The Pacific Dimension*, Rand, Santa Monica, R 4089/1 and R-4089/2, 1992, joint author.

*The Future of the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Relationship*, National Academy of Sciences Press, Washington DC, 1991, contributor.

*U.S. Strategic Alternatives in a Changing Pacific*, Rand, Santa Monica, R-3933-USCINCPAC, June 1990, co-author.

*The Sino-Soviet Summit—Implications for East Asia and U.S. Foreign Policy*, The Asia Society, New York, May 1989.

*Report of the Japanese-American Study Committee on Comprehensive Security*, Pacific Forum, Honolulu, February 1988.

*Nuclear Weapons and South Asian Security*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 1988, study group contributor.

*The R&D Process and Technological Innovation in the Chinese Industrial System*, Rand, Santa Monica, R-3284, May 1985.

*The Chinese Electronics Industry in Transition*, Rand, Santa Monica, N-2306, May 1985.

*Planning China's Energy Development—An Initiative for Sino-American Collaboration*, Rand, Santa Monica, May 1984, joint author.

*Managing the Strategic Triangle: Summary of a Workshop Discussion*, Rand, Santa Monica, N-2125-USDP, April 1984, co-author.

*The Lessons of Coalition Politics: Sino-American Security Relations*, Rand, Santa Monica, R-3133-AF, February 1984.

*The Sino-Soviet Rivalry and Chinese Security Debate*, Rand, Santa Monica, R-2907-AF, October 1982.

*Security, Strategy, and the Logic of Chinese Foreign Policy*, University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, Berkeley, Research Papers and Policy Studies Monograph No. 5, 1981.

*U.S.-PRC Relations in the Mid-1980s: An Assessment and Forecast*, Rand, Santa Monica, N-1506-ISA, June 1980, co-author.

*Military Power and Policy in Asian States: China, India, Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1980, co-author.

*Defense Modernization in the People's Republic of China*, Rand, Santa Monica, N-1214-AF, October 1979.

*Perception and Action in Chinese Foreign Policy: The Quemoy Decision*, University of Michigan, Department of Political Science, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1976.

### **Book Chapters and Essays in Professional Symposia**

“Competing Visions: China, America and the Asia-Pacific Security Order,” in Jacques Delisle and Avery Goldstein (eds.), *China's Global Engagement-Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the Twenty-First Century* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2017, pp. 155-182.

“Changes and Prospects for the Structure of Regional Stability in East Asia: A U.S. Perspective,” in *Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Korean Research Institute for National Strategy-Brookings Institution Joint Conference*, Seoul, Korea, January 2016.

“Is Xi Jinping Rethinking Korean Unification?” in *Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Korean Research Institute for Strategy-Brookings Institution Joint Conference*, Seoul, Korea, January 2015.

“China’s Views of Korean Unification and US-China Relations,” in *Proceedings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Korean Research Institute on Strategy-Brookings Institution Joint Conference*, Seoul, Korea, January 2014.

“Korean Crisis Prompts Confrontation with China,” in *Big Bets and Black Swans-A Presidential Briefing Book* (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy at Brookings, January 2014), with Richard C. Bush III.

“Avert Conflict in the South and East China Seas,” in *Big Bets and Black Swans*, with Richard C. Bush III and Bruce Jones.

“Return to the Asia Rebalance,” in *Big Bets and Black Swans-A Presidential Briefing Book*, with Jeffrey A. Bader.

“The ROK-US Alliance at Sixty,” in *Proceedings of the Seminar in Commemoration of the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ROK-US Alliance*. Seoul: Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, September 2013.

“The North Korean Nuclear and Missile Threat and Future US-ROK Relations,” in *Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> Korea Research Institute on Strategy-Brookings Institution Joint Conference*, Seoul, Korea, January 2013.

“Confrontation over Korea,” in *Big Bets and Black Swans-A Presidential Briefing Book* (Washington, DC: Foreign Policy at Brookings, January 2013).

“China’s Rise and US Strategy in Asia,” in *Look East, Act East: Transatlantic Agendas in the Asia Pacific* (Paris: Institute for Security Studies, Report No. 13, December 2012), pp. 51-58.

“Establishing Credibility and Trust: The Next President Must Manage America’s Most Important Relationship,” in *Campaign 2012*, ed. Benjamin Wittes (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2012), with Kenneth Lieberthal, pp. 116-126.

“Worlds Apart: NATO and Asia’s Nuclear Future,” in *Rethinking Nuclear Risks in Europe: A Framework for Action*, eds. Steven Andreasen and Isabelle Williams (Washington, DC: Nuclear Threat Initiative, 2011), pp. 172-183.

“China-Unease from Afar,” in *The Arab Awakening-America and the Transformation of the Middle East*, eds. Kenneth Pollack and Daniel Byman (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), pp. 258-264.

“U.S. Asia-Pacific Strategy in the Obama Administration,” in *American Foreign Policy: Regional Perspectives*, ed. Richmond Lloyd (Newport: Naval War College Press, 2009), pp. 71-80.

- “Unfinished Business: The North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program,” in *Nuclear Strategies and Doctrines-National Policies and International Security*, ed. Mark Fitzpatrick, Alexander Nikitin, and Sergey Oznobishchev. Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2008, pp. 113-120.
- “The Korean Peninsula in U.S. Strategy: Policy Issues for the Next President,” in *Strategic Asia, 2008-09: Challenges and Choices*, ed. Ashley J. Tellis, Mercy Kuo, and Andrew Marble. Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008, pp. 134-164.
- “Energy Insecurity with Chinese and American Characteristics: Realities and Possibilities,” in *Maritime Implications of China’s Energy Strategy*, ed. Gabriel Collins et al. Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 2008, pp. 437-455.
- “The United States and Southeast Asia: In Search of a Strategy,” in *Changing Security Dynamics in Southeast Asia*, ed. N.S. Sisodia and Sreeradha Datta. New Delhi: Magnum Books Pvt Ltd, 2008, pp. 303-318.
- “U.S. Strategies in Northeast Asia: A Revisionist Hegemon,” in *Power and Security in Northeast Asia: Shifting Strategies under U.S. Hegemony*, ed. Byung-kook Kim and Anthony Jones. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, 2007, pp. 55-95.
- “Between Two Worlds: U.S. Asia-Pacific Strategy in Transition,” in *Asia Eyes America-Regional Perspectives on U.S. Power*, 2007, ed. Jonathan D. Pollack, pp. 3-31.
- “Korea’s Looming Transformation,” in *Korea-The East Asian Pivot*, 2006, ed. Jonathan D. Pollack, pp. 3-22.
- “China's Short-Range Ballistic Missile Capabilities,” in *If China Attacks Taiwan*, ed. Steve Tsang. Palgrave-Macmillan, London, 2006, pp. 57-71.
- “The Bush Administration and East Asia: Does the United States Need a New Regional Strategy?” in *George W. Bush and East Asia: A First Term Assessment*, ed. Robert M. Hathaway and Wilson Lee. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, 2005, pp. 99-116.
- “The Transformation of the Asian Security Order: Assessing China's Impact,” in *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*, ed. David Shambaugh. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005, pp. 329-346.
- “The Strategic Futures and Military Capabilities of the Two Koreas,” in *Strategic Asia, 2005-06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty*, ed. Ashley Tellis and Michael Wills. National Bureau of Asian Research, Seattle, 2005, pp. 136-172.
- “South Korea: The Tyranny of Geography and the Vexations of History,” in *The Nuclear Tipping Point: Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices*, ed. Kurt M. Campbell, Robert J. Einhorn, and Mitchell B. Reiss. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 254-292, co-author with Mitchell B. Reiss.

“Sino-American Relations in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Strategic Pause or Transformation?” in *Strategic Surprise?-U.S.-China Relations in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2004, ed. Jonathan D. Pollack, pp. 1-20.

"The Shifting U.S. Strategic Calculus in Northeast Asia," in *U.S. Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region*, ed. Wilson Lee, Robert M. Hathaway, and William M. Wise. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Sorrento Group, Washington, DC, 2003, pp. 31-39.

"Learning by Doing: The Bush Administration in East Asia," in *George W. Bush and Asia-A Midterm Assessment*, ed. Robert M. Hathaway and Wilson Lee. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, 2003, pp. 57-71.

"American Perceptions of Chinese Military Power," in *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myths and Reality*, ed. Herbert Yee and Ian Storey. RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2002, pp. 43-64.

"The Implications of Democratization for Peace and Security in the Region," in *Across the Taiwan Strait-Democracy: The Bridge between Mainland China and Taiwan*, ed. Bruce Herschensohn. Lexington Books, Lanham, MD, 2002, pp. 55-61.

"The Changing Political-Military Environment: Northeast Asia," in *The United States and Asia-Toward a New U.S. Strategy and Force Posture*, Rand, Santa Monica, MR-1315-AF, 2001, pp. 91-135.

"The Study of the PLA: A Review Essay," in *Seeking Truth from Facts: A Retrospective on Chinese Military Studies in the Post-Mao Era*, ed. James C. Mulvenon and Andrew N.D. Yang. Rand, Santa Monica, CF-160-CAPP, 2001, pp. 181-201.

"China and a Changing North Korea: Issues, Uncertainties, and Implications," in *North Korea's Engagement: Perspectives, Outlook, and Implications*, National Intelligence Council and Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, CR- 2001-01, May 2001, pp. 87-96.

“The Evolving Security Environment in Asia: Its Impact on Russia,” in *Russia and Asia-Pacific Security: The Emerging Security Agenda*, ed. Gennady Chufrin. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, pp. 447-473.

“Straddling as Strategy: The United States and Northeast Asian Security,” in *Northeast Asia towards 2000: Interdependence and Conflict?* ed. Kay Moller and Kyongsoo Lho. Nomos, Baden-Baden, 1999, pp. 55-76.

“Technology, Innovation, and Institutional Identity in Modern China,” in *Constructing China: The Interaction of Culture and Economics*, ed. Kenneth G. Lieberthal, Shuen-fu Lin, and Ernest P. Young. Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1997, pp. 297-315.

“Sino-American Relations: Prospects and Implications,” in *China and Security in Asia*, National Institute of Defense Studies, Tokyo, 1997, pp. 1-11.



“Regional Cooperation for Peace and Stability on the Korean Peninsula: The Role of American Policy,” in *Peace Regime-Building on the Korean Peninsula and the Roles of Regional Powers*, ed. Joung-Binn Lee. Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Seoul, 1997.

“Designing a New American Security Strategy for Asia,” in *Weaving the Net: Conditional Engagement with China*, ed. James J. Shinn. Council on Foreign Relations Press, New York, 1996, pp. 99-132.

“China and Asia’s Nuclear Future,” in *Bridging the Nonproliferation Divide: The United States and India*, ed. Francine Frankel. University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland, 1995, pp. 97-119.

“The Future of China’s Nuclear Weapons Policy,” in *Strategic Views from the Second Tier*, ed. John Hopkins and Weixing Hu. University of California: Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1994, pp. 157-165.

“China Between the Superpowers: In Search of a Security Strategy,” in *China Under Deng Xiaoping*, ed. Michael Ying-mao Kau and Susan H. Marsh. M. E. Sharpe, Inc., White Plains, NY, 1993, pp. 357-377.

“Security Dynamics between China and Southeast Asia: Problems and Potential Approaches,” in *China and Southeast Asia—Into the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Richard L. Grant. Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies, Honolulu, 1993, pp. 30-38.

“The United States in East Asia: Holding the Ring,” in *Asia’s International Role in the Post-Cold War Era*, Part I, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, Adelphi Paper #275, March 1993, pp. 69-82.

“Future American Strategy in Northeast Asia: Options and Implications for a New Era,” in *A New Order in Northeast Asia and Korea-U.S. Relations*, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Seoul, 1993, pp. 3-15.

“China and Japan in the New Pacific Era,” in *New Perspectives for U.S.-Asia Pacific Security Strategy*, ed. Dora Alves. National Defense University Press, Washington DC, 1992, pp. 87-107.

“Structure and Process in the Chinese Military System,” in *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China*, ed. Kenneth G. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992, pp. 151-180.

“The Opening to America, 1968-1982,” *Revolutions Within the Chinese Revolution, 1966-1979 - The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 15, ed. Roderick MacFarquhar and John King Fairbank. Cambridge University Press, London, 1991, pp. 402-472.

“The Arms Race in Asia,” in *Handbooks to the Modern World: Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Robert H. Taylor. Facts on File Publications, New York and Oxford, 1991, pp. 1244-1262.

“China in Transition,” in *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: A Symposium*, University of California, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, Studies in Global Conflict and Cooperation, Volume 1, 1990, pp. 11-15.

“The Korean War and Sino-American Relations,” in *Sino-American Relations, 1945-1955-A Joint Assessment of a Critical Decade*, ed. Harry Harding and Yuan Ming. Scholarly Resources, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware, 1989, pp. 207-231. Also published in Chinese by Peking University Press, 1988.

“China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year—1989*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1989, pp. 421-423, 428-429.

“Will the Soviet-Vietnamese Alliance Endure?” in *Vietnam Today*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Asia Program, Washington, DC, Occasional Paper No. 34, August 1988, pp. 78-85.

“Sino-Soviet Relations in the 1990s,” in *The Dynamics of Sino-Soviet Relations*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Asia Program, Washington, DC, Occasional Paper No. 31, May 1988, pp. 25-40.

“China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year—1988*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1988, pp. 421-424, 428-429.

*Mr. Gorbachev Goes to Washington*, RAND, P-7414, December 1987.

“China’s Relations with East Asia and the Pacific Region,” in *East Asia, the West, and International Security: Prospects for Peace*, Part II, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, Adelphi Paper #217, Spring 1987, pp. 56-74.

“China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year—1987*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1987, pp. 463-466, 470-471.

“The Future of Chinese Policy in Northeast Asia,” in *The Changing Security Environment in Northeast Asia: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Harry H. Kendall. University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 18-25.

“China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year-1986*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1986, pp. 493-497, 501-502.

“The United States and the Pacific Challenge,” *International Politics—1985*, Haus Rissen International Institute for Politics and Economics, Hamburg, 1985, pp. 52-56 (in German).

“East Asia: A Positive Example for U.S. Interests,” *International Security Yearbook 1984/1985*, ed. Barry M. Blechman and Edward N. Luttwak. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1985, pp. 165-182.

“China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year-1985*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1985, pp. 498-501, 506.

“China and the Global Strategic Balance,” in *China’s Foreign Relations in the 1980s*, ed. Harry Harding. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1984, pp. 146-176.

- “China in the Evolving International System,” in *China: The Eighties Era*, ed. Norton Ginsburg and Bernard Lalor. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1984, pp. 353-374.
- “China” and “Taiwan” Essays, *Britannica Book of the Year—1984*, The Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago, 1984, pp. 233-238, 648-649.
- “Rebuilding China’s Great Wall: Chinese Security in the 1980s,” in *The Chinese Defense Establishment: Continuity and Change in the 1980s*, ed. Paul H.B. Godwin. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1983, pp. 3-20.
- “China’s Agonizing Reappraisal,” in *The Sino-Soviet Conflict—A Global Perspective*, ed. Herbert J. Ellison. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1982, pp. 50-73.
- “China and the Security of Asia,” in *Security Policies in East Asia: Four Essays*, ed. Chae Jin Lee. The University of Kansas, Center for East Asian Studies, Lawrence, Conference and Colloquium Series No. 1, 1982, pp. 42-65.
- “Sino-Soviet Relations in Strategic Perspective,” in *China, The Soviet Union, and the West—Strategic and Political Dimensions in the 1980s*, ed. Douglas Stuart and William Tow. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1982, pp. 275-292.
- “Sino-Soviet Competition in the 1980s,” in *Mainland China’s Modernization: Its Prospects and Problems*, ed. Robert A. Scalapino and Carl G. Rosberg. University of California, Institute of International Studies and Institute of East Asian Studies, Berkeley, 1981, pp. 245-265.
- “The Evolution of Chinese Strategic Thought,” in *New Directions in Strategic Thinking*, ed. R. J. O’Neill and D. M. Horner. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1981, pp. 137-152.
- “The Modernization of National Defense,” in *China’s Four Modernizations: The New Technological Revolution*, ed. Richard Baum. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1980, pp. 241-261.
- “China as a Military Power,” in Onkar Marwah and Jonathan Pollack, *Military Power and Policy in Asian States*, 1980, pp. 43-99.
- “Continuity and Change in the Sino-Soviet Relationship,” in *The Future of Sino-Soviet Relations*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, Occasional Paper No. 92, December 1979, pp. 18-22.
- “East Asian Security in the 1980s: A Conference Summary,” in *Asian Security in the 1980s: Problems and Policies for a Time of Transition*, ed. Richard H. Solomon. Rand, Santa Monica, R-2492-ISA, November 1979, pp. 285-305, co-author.
- “The People’s Republic of China in a Proliferated World,” in *International Political Effects of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*, ed. John Kerry King. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1979, pp. 125-144.

“Sino-Soviet Relations,” in *Perceptions: United States and Soviet Union Relations*, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1978, pp. 209-213, co-author.

“China as a Nuclear Power,” in *Asia’s Nuclear Future*, ed. William H. Overholt. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1977, pp. 35-65.

“China,” *Collier’s Yearbook 1975*, Macmillan Educational Corporation, New York, 1974, pp. 177-181.

“The Study of Chinese Military Politics: Toward a Framework for Analysis,” in *Political-Military Systems: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Catherine McArdle Kelleher. Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California, 1974, pp. 239-270.

### **Journal Articles**

“China’s Rise: What About a Transatlantic Dialogue?” *Asia-Europe Journal*, forthcoming June 2017, co-authored with Philippe LeCorre.

“The Strategic Meaning of China-ROK Relations: How Far Will the Rapprochement Go and with What Implications?” *The Asan Forum*, September 2014.

“Japan’s Defense Policy Revision-Where is Japan Headed?” *Lawfare*, August 2014.

“The Kim Dynasty and North Korea’s Nuclear Future: Will History Still Rhyme?” *Asia Policy*, January 2012, pp. 182-190.

“Kim Jong-il’s Clenched Fist,” *The Washington Quarterly*, October 2009, pp. 153-173.

“The Major Powers and the Two Koreas: Stability at Risk?” *Korea Journal of Defense Analysis*, Spring 2009 special issue, Guest Editor.

“The Major Powers and the Two Koreas: An Uneasy Transition,” *Korea Journal of Defense Analysis*, Spring 2009, pp. 1-9.

“Energy Insecurity with Chinese and American Characteristics: Implications for Sino-American Relations,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, May 2008, pp. 229-245.

“Chinese Military Power: What Vexes the United States and Why?” *Orbis*, Fall 2007, pp. 635-650.

“American Strategy toward Northeast Asia and the China Factor,” *Korean Journal of Security Affairs*, June 2007, pp. 7-24.

“India and East Asia: Maritime Security Dimensions,” *Bulletin of the Center for Security Analysis*, Chennai, #15, July 2007, pp. 43-51.

“China’s Power Ascendance: Implications for Maritime Strategy,” *Maritime Affairs* (New Delhi), Summer 2007, pp. 41-59.

“Chinese Military Messages- Portents and Cautions,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, February 2007.

“North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons Program to 2015: Three Scenarios,” *Asia Policy*, January 2007, pp. 105-123.

“North Korea’s Nuclear Test-Continuing Reverberations,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, October 2006.

“North Korea’s Missile Tests-Troubling Trajectories,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, July 2006.

“Japan’s Strategic Realignment-Consequential Changes,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, November 2005.

“The Pentagon Eyes China’s Military-Back to Threat-Based Planning?” *IISS Strategic Comments*, July 2005.

“America’s Alliances in East Asia-Purposes and Prospects,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, May 2005.

“Does the Study of Asian International Relations Require International Relations Theory?” *Issues and Studies*, March 2005, pp. 220-224.

“The United States and Asia in 2004: Unfinished Business,” *Asian Survey*, January/February 2005, pp. 1-13.

“South Korea’s Nuclear Experiments-Damaging Disclosures,” *IISS Strategic Comments*, October 2004.

“U.S. Troop Withdrawals from South Korea-Beginnings of the End of the Alliance?” *IISS Strategic Comments*, June 2004.

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“The United States, North Korea, and the End of the Agreed Framework,” *Naval War College Review*, Summer 2003, pp. 11-49.

Chinese Security in the Post-11 September World: Implications for Asia and the Pacific,” *Asia-Pacific Review*, November 2002, pp. 12-30.

“Assessing Alternative U.S.-Chinese Strategic Futures: Some Preliminary Hypotheses,” *Korea National Defense University Review*, December 2002, pp. 5-31.

“The Bush Administration and Northeast Asia: In Search of a Strategy,” *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, Fall/Winter 2001, pp. 1-25.

“Korean Unification: Illusion or Aspiration?” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Winter-Spring 2001, pp. 77-90.

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### **Additional Publications**

Frequent blog posts on the Brookings Institution website; op-eds in *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Asian Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune* and *International New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Yale Global Online*, *South China Morning Post*, *Nikkei Asian Review* and other publications in the United States, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea.

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