

## JONATHAN R. STROMSETH

Jonathan Stromseth has broad experience as a policymaker, scholar, and development practitioner. Areas of expertise include China, Vietnam, Southeast Asia, foreign policy, good governance, global development cooperation, and humanitarian and disaster assistance.

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**February 2017 to present – Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asia Studies and Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Program, Center for East Asia Policy Studies and John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC.** Leading Southeast Asia program with a strong focus on U.S. engagement in the region. Key initiatives include directing a trilateral project with partners in Southeast Asia and Australia on the implications of China's rise for security, economic, and governance trends, and editing *Southeast Asia Insights*, an online forum dedicated to scholarly analysis of policy challenges in the region.

**September 2014 to January 2017 – Member of Policy Planning Staff, Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of State, Washington DC.** Provided the Secretary, Policy Planning Director, and other Department Principals with independent analysis and recommendations on the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign policy toward East Asia, including relations with China, Vietnam, and key regional institutions such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

**2006 to September 2014 – Country Representative to China, The Asia Foundation, Beijing.** Led Beijing office and oversaw all Asia Foundation projects and operations in China. Managed a grants and technical assistance portfolio focusing on governance reform, environmental protection, women's empowerment, U.S.-China relations, development cooperation, disaster management, and educational exchange.

**2000 to 2005 – Country Representative to Vietnam, The Asia Foundation, Hanoi.** Led Hanoi office and oversaw all Asia Foundation projects and operations in Vietnam. Developed and managed programs in the areas of governance and law, economic reform, and international affairs.

**July 1998 to 2000 – Director of Vietnam Programs, The Asia Foundation, Bangkok.** Developed and managed Vietnam programs out of the Foundation's office in Bangkok, Thailand, prior to establishing the Foundation's office in Hanoi in March 2000.

**September 1997 to June 1998 – Adjunct Lecturer and Staff Associate, Columbia University, New York City.** Taught graduate courses on political change in Indochina and international relations of Southeast Asia at the School of International and Public Affairs.

**Spring 1994 – Consultant, The Asia Foundation, Bangkok.** Assisted in establishing a promotion center for small and medium enterprises at Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Can Tho, Vietnam.

**July 1992 to June 1993 – Electoral Officer, United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), Phnom Penh and Takeo Province.** Served as:

- Assistant Provincial Electoral Officer and Co-coordinator of Polling in Takeo (1/93-6/93).
- Information Officer at Electoral Headquarters in Phnom Penh and Editor of *Free Choice*, Bi-weekly Newsletter of Electoral Component (7/92-12/92).

**Spring 1992 – Rapporteur, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City.** Served as rapporteur of a study group focusing on international relations in Southeast Asia and U.S. policy toward the region.

**Summer 1989 – Research Economist, USAID, Bangkok.** Co-authored a report on the prospects for reconstruction of the Cambodian economy, pending the finalization of a peace framework.

***Affiliations:***

Council on Foreign Relations, member

National Committee on United States-China Relations, member

**EDUCATION**

**Columbia University, New York City**

- Ph.D., Department of Political Science, 1998.

- M.Phil., Department of Political Science, 1992.

- M.I.A. (Master of International Affairs), School of International and Public Affairs, 1991.

- Certificate in Pacific Basin Studies, East Asian Institute, 1990.

**Honors/Awards:** Dissertation Fellowship (write-up), Institute for the Study of World Politics; Dissertation Fellowship (research), Social Science Research Council and American Council for Learned Societies; President’s Fellowship, Columbia University; Pacific Basin Studies Fellowship, East Asian Institute; Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (Mandarin Chinese), U.S. Department of Education; Winner, Andrew Wellington Cordier Essay contest.

**Cornell University, Ithaca, NY**

Exchange Scholar Program (Southeast Asian Studies), 1991-92. Studied Vietnamese language and politics.

**National University of Singapore.** Fulbright Scholar, 1985-86. Studied Southeast Asian politics, focusing on the Cambodian conflict.

**St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN**

B.A., magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa, with distinction in History and Asian Studies, 1985.

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS, AND RESEARCH**

***Books, Reports, and Academic Articles***

*Rivalry and Response: Assessing Great Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia*, editor and contributor, Brookings Institution Press, 2021.

“Competing with China in Southeast Asia: The Economic Imperative,” in *The Future of US Policy Toward China: Recommendations for the Biden Administration*,” edited by Ryan Hass et al. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, November 2020, pp. 52-59.

“Beyond Binary Choices? Navigating Great Power Competition in Southeast Asia” (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 2020).

“The Testing Ground: China’s Rising Influence in Southeast Asia and Regional Responses” (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, November 2019).

“Don’t Make Us Choose: Southeast Asia in the Throes of U.S.-China Rivalry” (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, October 2019).

“Democracy at a Crossroads in Southeast Asia: Great Power Rivalry Meets Domestic Governance,” with Hunter Marston (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, February 2019).

*China’s Governance Puzzle: Enabling Transparency and Participation in a Single-Party State*, with Edmund Malesky and Dimitar Gueorguiev (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

“Good Governance and International Development Cooperation,” in *Emerging Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation*. Seoul: Korean Development Institute and The Asia Foundation, November 2011, pp. 94-108.

*Dialogue on U.S.-Vietnam Relations, Vol. 2, Global and Regional Influences*. San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2004.

*Dialogue on U.S.-Vietnam Relations, Vol. 1, Domestic Dimensions*. San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2003.

“Business Associations and Policy-Making in Vietnam,” in *Getting Organized in Vietnam: Moving In and Around the Socialist State*, edited by Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet et al. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003, pp. 62-109.

*Business Associations in Vietnam: Status, Roles and Performance*, with Nguyen Phuong Quynh Trang, Private Sector Discussions, no. 13. Hanoi: Mekong Project Development Facility/International Finance Corporation, August 2002.

*Reform and Response in Vietnam: State-Society Relations and the Changing Political Economy*. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1998.

*Cambodia: Post-Settlement Reconstruction and Development*, with Robert J. Muscat. Occasional Paper of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1990.

“Unequal Allies: Negotiations over U.S. Bases in the Philippines.” *Journal of International Affairs* 43, no. 1 (Summer/Fall 1989), pp. 161-188.

*Time on Whose Side in Cambodia?* ISIS Paper, no. 2. Bangkok: Institute of Security and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1988.

### **Op-Eds and Blogs**

“COVID-19 Comes to Cambodia,” with Adrien Chorn, *Order from Chaos*, The Brookings Institution, 19 May 2021.

“The U.S. Must Urgently Rethink Its Economic Policies in Asia,” with David Dollar, *Nikkei Asia*, 17 February 2021.

“U.S.-China Rivalry after COVID-19: Clues and Early Indications from Southeast Asia,” *Lawfare*, 21 May 2020.

“As U.S. Aircraft Carrier Departs Vietnam, What Are the Implications for Regional Security?” with Hunter Marston, *Order from Chaos: Foreign Policy in Troubled World*, The Brookings Institution, 9 March 2018.

“New Chinese Agency Could Undercut Other Anti-Corruption Efforts,” with Dimitar Gueorguiev, *Nikkei Asia*, 6 March 2018.

“Rescuing U.S. Economic Strategy in Asia,” with Mireya Solis and David Dollar, *Order from Chaos*, The Brookings Institution, 25 October 2017.

“America’s Asia Policy Must Offer a Positive Agenda,” with Ryan Hass, *Nikkei Asia*, 13 November 2017.

“Trump Reassures ASEAN, Previews a Broader Asia Policy,” *Order from Chaos*, The Brookings Institution, 12 May 2017.

“As Xi and Trump Meet, China’s Neighbors Will Be Watching,” *Order from Chaos*, The Brookings Institution, 4 April 2017.

“The New Face of Foreign Aid in Asia,” *In Asia: Weekly Insight and Features from Asia*, The Asia Foundation, 24 October 2012.

“Searching for Global Cooperation in Sino-U.S. Relations: The Case of Foreign Aid,” *In Asia*, 9 June 2010.

“Reforming Transparency and Participation in China: Implications for Sino-U.S. Relations,” *In Asia*, 11 November 2009.

“Economic Reforms Pave Way for Visit to the White House,” *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 21 June 2005.

“Cambodia Finds the Road to Recovery Bumpy,” *Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, 26 June 1995.

*Free Choice*, Bi-Monthly Newsletter of UNTAC Electoral Component. Editor, Issues 1-9. Authored articles include: “Kampong Thom: Microcosm of Cambodia” (6 November 1992), “Preparing the Ground in Monduliri” (23 October 1992), and “Visit to Pailin” (23 September 1992).

### **Public Presentations and Interviews**

“Jonathan Stromseth on Southeast Asia’s Great Power Dynamics,” Interviews (Diplomacy, Southeast Asia), *The Diplomat*, 27 April 2021.

“The U.S.-China Strategic Rivalry in Southeast Asia,” Brookings Cafeteria Podcast, with David Dollar and Bill Finan,” 9 February 2021.

“What Did ASEAN Meetings Reveal About US Engagement in Southeast Asia?” The Current Podcast, The Brookings Institution, 5 November 2019.

“US Asia Policy and Regional Cooperation,” International Symposium on Global Economic and Regional Relations,” Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore, 30 October 2019.

“Southeast Asia: Caught in the Middle of US-China Competition,” Dollar and Sense Podcast, The Brookings Institution, 28 May 2019.

“China and America: The New Geopolitical Equation,” Global Minnesota, World Affairs Council of America, Minneapolis Central Library, 11 April 2018.

“State of the Region Lecture,” Fifth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Research Group (SEAREG), University of Texas at Austin, 1 June 2017.

“China’s Relations with Southeast Asia: Implications for U.S. Foreign Policy,” Princeton - Harvard China and the World Program, Princeton University, 19 April 2017.

“U.S. Priorities and Next Steps in the Asia Pacific Region,” Truman National Security Project (Asia group), Washington, D.C., 28 January 2016.

“Looking Ahead to 2016: What’s Next for U.S.-China Relations,” U.S.-Asia Update Roundtable Series, Council on Foreign Relations, New York City, 15 December 2015.

“Foreign Aid from and to Asia: Approaches and Challenges,” 2011 Conference of the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations, Seoul, 21 August 2011.

“Good Governance and International Development Assistance,” Conference on Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation: Lessons for Development Effectiveness, Colombo, 15 June 2011.

“Comparing the Reform Experiences of China and Vietnam: Implications for North Korea,” International Conference on Humanitarian and Development Assistance to the DPRK, Seoul, 15 November 2010.

“Public Participation in Lawmaking and Administrative Rulemaking in China and Vietnam: A Comparative Perspective,” public lecture when receiving honorary degree at Northwest University of Politics and Law, Xian, Shaanxi Province, 13 April 2008.

Opening remarks and commentary on U.S.-Vietnam relations, Second China-U.S.-Vietnam Trilateral Conference, Sanya, Hainan, hosted by Chinese Institute of International Studies on 12-14 December 2007.

“The Legal Framework and Operating Environment for Non-Governmental Organizations in China,” Annual Conference of Business for Social Responsibility (BSR), San Francisco, 23 October 2007.

“Promoting Public-Private Partnerships for Disaster Preparedness in China,” Workshop on Disaster Management, Department of Civil Affairs, Qingdao, 13 September 2007.