Thomas J. Christensen

Columbia University • School of International and Public Affairs

Professional Positions 2003-present

James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs • September 2021-present

Senior Advisor, China Coordination Office, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, United States Department of State • March 2023-Present.

Interim Dean, Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs • January-June 2022

Professor of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, July 2018-Augut 2021

Director of the China and the World Program, Columbia University • July 2018-present

Director, Contemporary China Initiative, Columbia University • March 2019-present

July 2013-present Chief Editor, Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and Warren Cohen Book Series on the United States in East Asia, Columbia University Press

William P. Boswell Professor of World Politics of Peace and War, Director, China and the World Program, Princeton University January 2011-June 2019

Professor of Politics and International Affairs; Director, China and the World Program Princeton University • July 2003-June 2018

Director, Master's of Public Policy Program, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University • July 2009-June 2018

Foreign Affairs Expert, Secretary's Policy Planning Staff United States Department of State • July 2008-July 2018

Faculty Director, Truman Scholars Program, Princeton University • July 2011-June 2018

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for relations with China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia • July 2006-July 2008

Series Co-Editor, Princeton University Press, Studies in International History and Politics
January 2003-July 2006, January 2010-July 2013

Academic Advisory Board, Schwarzman Global Scholars Program • May 2013-2016

Non-Resident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy, John L. Thornton China Center The Brookings Institution • January 2010-Present

Thomas J. Christensen Page 1 of 12

Columbia University (September 1987-February 1993)

Ph.D., Political Science, International Relations

Area Specialization: Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy • February 1993

Peking University, Beijing, China, Advanced Research Scholar August 1990-January 1991 (Ph.D. Dissertation Research)

University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, China, Business Chinese Classes• Summer 1987

University of Pennsylvania (September 1985-August 1987)

M.A., International Relations - August 1987

Cornell University. FALCON intensive Chinese language class (June-August 1985)

Haverford College (September 1980-May 1984)

B.A., Honors in History • May 1984

Employment and Professional Experience

July 2002 – June 2003 Professor of Political Science • MIT

July 1998 – June 2002

Associate Professor of Political Science • MIT

July 1997 - June 1998

Associate Professor of Government • Cornell University

July 1993 – June 1997

Assistant Professor of Government • Cornell University

1993 – 2006, 2008-2015

Research Interviews with Experts on Chinese Security Issues • Beijing, Shanghai and Taipei

July 2001 - 2006

Director for China, National Bureau of Asian Research

November 2000 – 2006, 2008--2014

Member, Board of Directors, National Committee on United States-China Relations

January-June 2006

Member, U.S-China Task Force, Council on Foreign Relations

Summer 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002

Summer Studies, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Office of Net Assessment

Thomas J. Christensen Page 2 of 12

January 2000 and June 2002

American Delegation Member, 10th and 11th U.S.-China Dialogue sponsored by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations • Beijing, China and Tarrytown, NY

1998-1999

Co-Chair, Future of Chinese Power Study Group, Council on Foreign Relations

Fall 1994 – Spring 1995

Member of the Asian Security Study Group, Asia Project, Council on Foreign Relations

August 1990 – January 1991

Advanced Researcher • Beijing University

June 1988 – July 1988

Research Interviews on Technology Import-Export Policy • Beijing and Shanghai

June 1987 – August 1987

University of International Business and Economics • Beijing, Chinese Business and Language Program

June 1985 – August 1985

Falcon Chinese Language Course • Cornell University

Grants and Awards

U. S. Department of State, Secretary's Open Forum, Distinguished Public Service Award for Outstanding Contributions to International and National Affairs • September 13, 2002

Teaching Award, Top 5 Classes in Fall 2021 Semester, for International Strategy, School of International and Public Affairs

Honorary Fellow, Foreign Policy Association, 2025

Book awards for The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power

Council on Foreign Relations, Arthur Ross Book Award, Silver Medal, 2016

Foreign Affairs magazine Book of the Year Selectee, 2015

Amazon.com Editors' Book of the Year Award Selectee (History) 2015

Fareed Zakaria GPS (CNN) Book of the Week Selectee, 2015

New York Times Book Review, Editor's Choice, 2015

The Luce Foundation 2 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning January 2024 (\$400,000)

The Carnegie Corporation 2 Year Grants for the China and the World Program beginning January 1, 2022 (\$500,000) and January 2024 (\$500,000)

Thomas J. Christensen Page 3 of 12

- The Chubb Foundation 3 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning January 1, 2022 (\$300,000)
- The Carnegie Corporation 2 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning January 1, 2020 (\$700,00)
- The Carnegie Corporation 3 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning July 2013 (\$687,900), renewed January 2017 (\$575,000)
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation 3 Year Grant for the China and the World Program Beginning July 2013 (\$500,000)
- The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, selected to distribute fellowships to gifted graduate students at Princeton University 2004-2006; 2008-2014 (\$25,000 per year).
- Smith Richardson Foundation Grant for research on China's Cold War Alliances 1998-2000
- Summer research grants, Olin Institute Project on East Asian Security, Harvard University 1994 1996
- John M. Olin Fellowship in National Security, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University 1991 1993
- SSRC/MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace and Security 1989 1991
- Columbia University President's Fellowship; Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellow, September 1988 May 1989
- MacArthur Fellowship for Peace and Cooperation, Columbia University June 1988 August 1988
- Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Fellowship September 1987 May 1988
- Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania September 1986 August 1987

Publications

- "The Russian Invasion of Ukraine and the Prospects for a U.S.-PRC Cold War," in Bard Nikolas Vik Steen, ed. *A New Cold War?* forthcoming 2025, Oxford University Press.
- "A Leader and a Subversive: Robert Jervis's Contradictory Contributions to International Relations Theory," in Richard H. Immerman, Stacie E. Goddard, and Diane N. Labrosse, eds., *The Jervis Effect: The Scholarship and Legacy of Robert Jervis* (Columbia University Press, forthcoming 2025).

Thomas J. Christensen Page 4 of 12

- "Competition, Cold War, or Conflict? Navigating U.S.-China Relations?" in G. John Ikenberry, ed., *Great Decisions 2025*, (New York, American Foreign Policy Association, 2025)
- Bonnie S. Glaser, Jessica Chen Weiss, and Thomas J. Christensen, "Scared Strait," a letter debate forum, *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2024.
- "Mutually Assured Disruption: Globalization, Security, and the Dangers of Decoupling," *World Politics* 75 Anniversary Special Issue, January 2024.
- Bonnie S. Glaser, Jessica Chen Weiss, and Thomas J. Christensen, "Taiwan and the True Sources of Deterrence, Why America Must Reassure, Not Just Threaten China," *Foreign Affairs* January/February 2024.
- Thomas Christensen, Steven Goldstein, Lev Nachman, Sarah Newland, and Robert Ross, "Domestic Politics in Taiwan and the United States Drive Taiwan' Mainland Policy," Harvard University, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, February 12, 2023
 https://fairbank.fas.harvard.edu/research/blog/domestic-politics-in-taiwan-and-the-u-s-drive-taiwans-mainland-policy/
- John T. Downey, Thomas J. Christensen, and Jack Lee Downey, *Lost in the Cold War: The Story of Jack Downey, America's Longest-Held Prisoner of War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022)
- UCSD Asia Society Task Force on U.S.-China Relations, "Avoiding War Over Taiwan," October 13, 2022, https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/avoiding-war-over-taiwan
- Thomas J. Christensen, M. Taylor Fravel, Bonnie S. Glaser, Andrew J. Nathan, Jessica Chen Weiss, "Avoiding War Over Taiwan," *Foreign Affairs*October 2022
 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/how-avoid-war-over-taiwan
- UCSD Asia Society Task Force on US-China Relations, "Hardheaded Diplomacy with China on Ukraine," March 11, 2022 https://china.ucsd.edu/opinion/statement/index.html
- Thomas J. Christensen, "A Much Beloved Giant Gadfly: An Essay in Honor of Robert Jervis," in H-Diplo, February 4, 2022, at https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/9663546/h-diplo-issf-tribute-life-scholarship-and-legacy-robert-jervis
- Thomas J. Christensen and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "The Human Factor: How Robert Jervis Re-Shaped Our Understanding of International Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, January, 2022
 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2022-01-07/human-factor

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- Thomas Christensen, Zack Cooper, Karl Eikenberry, Bonnie Glaser, and Taylor Fravel, "China's Military Challenge" in Asia Society and UCSD U.S.-China Task Force, *China's New Direction: Challenges and Opportunities for U.S. Policy* September 14, 2021.

 https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/chinas-new-direction-
- "There Will Be No New Cold War: The Limits of U.S.-PRC Strategic Competition," *Foreign Affairs*, March 22, 2021

challenges-and-opportunities-us-policy

- No New Cold War: *Why* U.S.-Strategic Competition will not be like the U.S.-Soviet Cold War" a research report of the ASAN Institute, Seoul, South Korea September 2020

 http://en.asaninst.org/contents/no-new-cold-war-why-us-china-strategic-competition-will-not-be-like-the-us-soviet-cold-war/
- "Developing A New Approach to Covid-19 in U.S.-China Relations," in Ryan Hass. Ryan McElveen, and Robert D. Williams, eds. *The Future of US Policy Toward China: Recommendations for the Biden Administration* (New Haven and Washington: Yale University Law School and the Brookings Institution, 2020)

 https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Thomas-J-Christensen.pdf
- "A Modern Tragedy? COVID-19 and US-China Relations," Brookings Institution, May 2020 https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-modern-tragedy-covid-19-and-us-china-relations/
- "A Modern Tragedy? COVID-19 and US China Relations," *The Reed* (The Student and Alumni Journal of the Weatherhead East Asia Institute, Columbia University) May 2020 http://weai.columbia.edu/publications/the-reed/
- Asia Society/UCSD Task Force on U.S.-China Relations, "Saving Lives in America, China, and Around the World," April 3, 2020 https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/saving-lives-america-china-and-around-world
- Task Force Co-Author, "Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy," Asia Society and UC San Diego, 2019. Thomas J. Christensen, Steven Goldstein et al., "Conclusion," in Alan Romberg, Across the Taiwan Strait: From Cooperation to Confrontation? (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2018)

Thomas J. Christensen Page 6 of 12

- Thomas J. Christensen and Patricia Kim, "Don't Abandon Ship," *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2018
- "Introduction for Roundtable on *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* and How Statesmen Think: The Psychology of International Politics," December 8, 2017, ISSF-Roundtable, 10-4, December 8, 2017, H-Diplo Website
 https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/1000429/issf-roundtable-10-4-perception-and-misperception-international
- "Hemispehric Pressure: As Asian Powers Rise, How Should the West Respond," *The New York Times Book Review* May 12, 2017.
- Task Force Co-Author, U.S. Policy Toward China: Recommendations for a New Administration," Asia Society, February 7, 2017. http://asiasociety.org/files/USChina Task Force Report FINAL.pdf
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- "Author's Response: Roundtable on *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*," H-Diplo ISSF Roundtable, Volume XI, No. 4 October 30, 2016, H-Diplo Website
 https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/150678/issf-roundtable-china-challenge-shaping-choices-rising-power
- The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015)
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 - Reprinted as "Managing Disputed with China," *Japan Times* June 9, 2015
- "China's Military Might: First the Good News," *Bloomberg View* June 4, 2015 9:46 AM

 Reprinted as "China's Military Might: The Good News," *Japan Times* June 8, 2015.
- "Review of Richard D. Bernstein, China 1945: Mao's Revolution and America's Fateful Choice," (New York Times Sunday Book Review, Jan. 11, 2015)
- "The Meaning of the Nuclear Evolution: China's Strategic Modernization and U.S.-China Relations," *Journal of Strategic Studies* (August 2012).

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- "The Meaning of the Nuclear Evolution: China's Strategic Modernization and U.S.-China Relations," in James W. Davis, ed., *Psychology, Strategy and Conflict: Perceptions of Insecurity in International Relations* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).
- "More Actors, Less Coordination?: New Challenges for the Leaders of a Rising China," in Gilbert Rozman and Hahm Chaibong, eds., *China's Foreign Policy: Who Makes it, and How is it Made?* (Seoul: Asan Institute Press, 2012)
- Worse than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Coercive Diplomacy in Asia (Princeton University Press, 2011).
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Multipolarity, Perceptions, and the Tragedy of 1914," *International Studies Quarterly* (Summer 2011).
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- "Shaping the Choices of a Rising China: Recent Lessons for the Obama Administration," *Washington Quarterly* (June 2009)
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- "Windows and War: Changes in the International System and China's Decision to Use Force." in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds. *New Approaches to China's Foreign Relations: Essays in Honor of Allen S. Whiting* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
- Thomas J. Christensen, Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, "Introduction" in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds. *New Approaches to China's Foreign Relations: Essays in Honor of Allen S. Whiting* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
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Thomas J. Christensen Page 8 of 12

- A Statement Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Military Modernization and the Cross-Strait Balance, September 15, 2005, http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written_testimonies/05_09_15wrts/christensen_thomas.htm
- "Looking Beyond the Nuclear Bluster: Recent Progress and Remaining Problems in PRC Security Policy" China Leadership Monitor, Vol 15 (Summer 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org
- "Have Old Problems Trumped New Thinking? China's Relations with Taiwan, Japan and North Korea" China Leadership Monitor, Vol 14 (Spring 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org
- Prepared Testimony Before the United States House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, House International Relations Committee, April 6, 2005, "China's Anti-Secession Law and Developments Across the Taiwan Strait" http://wwwc.house.gov/international-relations/109/20403.PDF
- "Worse than a Monolith: Disorganization and Rivalry within Asian Communist Alliances and U.S. Containment Challenges, 1949-69," *Asian Security* Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 2005), pp. 80-127.
- "Taiwan's Legislative Yuan Elections and Cross-Strait Security Relations: Reduced Tensions and Remaining Challenges," China Leadership Monitor, Vol 13 (Winter 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org
- "Contradictory Messages on Deterrence: *Zhanyixue* and Taiwan Scenarios," James Mulvenon and David Finkelstein, eds., *The PLA Revolution in Doctrinal Affair* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005).
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- Thomas J. Christensen and Michael A. Glosny, "Sources of Stability in U.S.-China Security Relations," in Richard Ellings and Michael Wills, eds. *Strategic Asia 2003-2004: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003).
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- "PRC Foreign Relations After the National People's Congress: Iraq, North Korea, SARS, and Taiwan." *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 7, Summer 2003)
- "Optimistic Trends and Near-term Challenges: Sino-American Security Relations in Early 2003," *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 6, Spring 2003).

Thomas J. Christensen Page 9 of 12

- "The Party Transition: Will It Bring a New Maturity in Chinese Security Policy?" *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 5, Winter 2003).
- "A Smooth Ride Despite Many Potholes: The Road to Crawford," *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 4, Fall 2002).
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- "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Autumn 2002).
- "Bejing's Views of Taiwan and the United States in Early 2002: The Renaissance of Pessimism," *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 3, Summer 2002).
- "Terrorism, Taiwan Elections, and Tattered Treaties: PRC Security Politics From September 11 Through Year's End," *China Leadership Monitor* (Winter 2002, Issue One, Part Two)
- "Tracking China's Security Relations: Causes for Optimism and Pessimism," *China Leadership Monitor* (Winter 2002, Issue One).
- "Why We Should Better Coordinate American and European Policies Toward China." Forum Paper, U.S.-European Forum, Fourth Meeting, October 22-23, 2001, published at http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/europe/forumpapers/christensen.htm
- "China," in Richard Ellings and Aaron Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia*, 2001-02 (Seattle, Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2001).
- "Correspondence: Power and Resolve in U.S. China Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001)
- Posing Problems Without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001). An earlier version of this article appears on the web site of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University as "SAIS Policy Forum Series Report Number 14, December 2000."
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- "Correspondence: Spiral, Security, and Stability in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Spring 2000)

Thomas J. Christensen Page 10 of 12

- "Theater Missile Defense and Taiwan's Security," *Orbis*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 2000).
- "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999). Reprinted in Michael E. Brown and Sean Lynn-Jones, eds., *The Rise of China: An International Security Reader*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000); and in Michael Mastanduno and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *Emerging International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, Columbia University Press, 2003.
- "Pride, Pressure, and Politics: The Roots of China's Worldview," in Yong Deng and Feiling Wang, eds., *In the Eyes of the Dragon: China Views the World and Sino-American Relations* (Boulder, Colo: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder "Progressive Research About Degenerate Alliances," *American Political Science Review* (Winter 1997/98).
- "Perceptions and Alliances in Europe, 1865-1940," *International Organization* (Winter 1996/97).
- "Chinese Realpolitik," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1996).
- Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-58, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- "A Lost Chance for What? Rethinking the Origins of US-PRC Confrontation," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1995).
- "Conclusion: Systemic Stability and the Security of the Most Vulnerable Significant Actor," in Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis, eds., *Coping With Complexity in the International System* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1993).Book Review, John F. Copper, *China Diplomacy: The Washington-Taipei-Beijing-Triangle* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992) in *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1993).
- "Threats, Assurances, and the Last Chance for Peace: The Lessons of Mao's Korean War Telegrams," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992).
- "Correspondence: Mobilization and Inadvertence in the July Crisis," *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Summer 1991).
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization* (Spring 1990) reprinted in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, eds., *International Relations Theory*, 2nd. Edition (New York: MacMillan, 1993).

Thomas J. Christensen Page 11 of 12

"A Troubled Triangle: US-Japan Relations and Chinese Security Perceptions." (monograph)

"Parsimony is No Simple Matter: International Relations Theory, Area Studies, and the Rise of China." (article)

Organizational Memberships and Affiliations

Asia Society/UCSD Task Force on U.S.-China Relations • Member

Brookings Institution Senior Non-Resident Fellow

Council on Foreign Relations • Life Member

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations • Board of Directors (July 1996-2006, July 2009-July 2014)

National Bureau of Asian Research Advisory Council Member, National Asia Research Program

National Bureau of Asian Research. Advisory Council Member, Chinese Language Program

American Academy of Social Sciences • Project Steering Committee • Meeting the Challenges of a New Nuclear Age 2018-2019

Editorial Boards

Nancy B. Tucker and Warren I. Cohen Series on the United States in Asia, Columbia University Press • Chief Editor

Studies in Asian Security Book Series • International Board • Stanford University Press

World Politics - Editorial Committee 2004-2006 and 2009-2018

World Politics • Editorial Board 2018-present

China Security • Editorial Board

Chinese Journal of International Politics • Editorial Board • Oxford University Press

Foreign Languages

Chinese (Mandarin) • Fluency in conversation and reading

Spanish • Moderate ability to read

Columbia University Service

Director, China and the World Program, SIPA, 2018-present

Interim Dean, SIPA, January 2022-June 2022

Faculty Director, Contemporary China Initiative, Columbia University 2019-2023

Provost's Faculty Advisory Board 2020-2021

Provost's China Working Group, 2021-present

SIPA Faculty Development Committee 2019-2020

SIPA Davis Fellowship Awards Committee 2018-2023

Columbia Global Center, Beijing Faculty Advisory Committee 2018-present

Center for Global Energy Faculty Advisory Committee, Columbia University 2019-2020

Weatherhead East Asia Institute • Faculty Affiliate

Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies - Faculty Affiliate and Executive Committee

Thomas J. Christensen Page 12 of 12

Reportable Outside Professional Activities (In Accordance with Conflict of Interest Reporting Rules at Columbia SIPA)

BNP Paribas, London March 2019: Spoke on a Panel at an International Banking Conference in Brussels, Belgium about US-China Economic Relations

Thomas J. Christensen Page 13 of 12