

## **ORIANA SKYLAR MASTRO**

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### **CURRENT POSITION**

Center Fellow (tenure-track), Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University  
Courtesy Assistant Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

### **EDUCATION**

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**Ph.D.**, Princeton University, Politics, 2013

**M.A.**, Princeton University, Politics, 2009

**B.A.**, Stanford University, East Asian Studies with honors in International Security, 2006

**Languages:** Professionally proficient in Mandarin, Italian; conversational in Spanish, French

### **TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS**

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International Security, Chinese Military and Security Policy, Diplomacy, Coercion, Military Operations and Strategy, Challenge of Rising Powers

### **OTHER RESEARCH RELATED EMPLOYMENT**

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**Nonresident Scholar**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2024-present

**Non-Resident Senior Fellow**, American Enterprise Institute, 2020-2023

**Assistant Professor of Security Studies**, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 2013-2020

**Resident Scholar**, American Enterprise Institute, 2019-2020

**Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar**, American Enterprise Institute, 2017-2019

**Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow**, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), 2016-17

**Fellow**, Center for a New American Security (CNAS), 2012-2013

**Scholar in Residence**, School of International Service, American University, 2012-2013

**Predocctoral Fellow**, Miller Center National Fellowship, University of Virginia, 2012-13

**Predocctoral Fellow**, George Washington University, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies (ISCS), 2010-11

**Summer Associate**, Project 2049 Institute, Summer 2010

**Analyst**, Joint Intelligence Operations Center, U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), Summer 2009

**Summer Associate**, RAND Corporation, Summer 2008

**Junior Fellow**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, China Program, 2006-2007

### **SELECT FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS**

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#### **Major Academic Fellowships and Awards**

John H. McArthur Distinguished Fellowship, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (20K) 2022

Smith Richardson Foundation Strategy and Policy Fellows Program (60K) 2021

International Security Section of APSA Best Book by an Untenured Faculty Member 2020

Diplomatic Studies Section of the ISA Book Award, Honorable Mention 2020

American in the World Consortium (SAIS/Duke/UTexas), Best Policy Article 2020

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, China Fellow (20K) 2020

Korea Foundation Next Generation Fellowship (40K)	2019-20
Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) (110K)	2016-17
Faculty Research Grant on the Domestic Dimensions of IR, Asia Foundation (20K)	2016
Summer Research Fellowship, Georgetown University	2016
Junior Faculty Research Fellowship Award, Georgetown University	2015
Georgetown University Professor in Residence, Campion Hall, Oxford University	2015
Predocotrual Fellowship, Miller Center, University of Virginia	2012-13
Summer Research Grant, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS)	2012
Research Grant, Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, Princeton University	2012
World Politics and Statecraft Pre-doctoral Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation	2010-11
Predocotrual Fellowship, George Washington University, ISCS	2010-11
Bradley Fellow, Recipient of grant to conduct research Beijing, Seoul	2009-12
Woodrow Wilson School Undergraduate Program Preceptor Award	2009
Parker D. Handy Fellow, Princeton University, (PhD student with most promising future)	2007-09

### Other Awards and Fellowships

Council on Foreign Relations Member	2024-pres
Individual Reservist of the Year (Field Grade Officer category)	2022
Council on Foreign Relations Term Member	2018-23
Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) (195K)	2017-19
National Committee on U.S.-China Relations Public Intellectuals Program	2016-18
Ellis Joffe Prize for PLA Studies Winner for outstanding research contributions	2017
Individual Reservist of the Year (Company Grade Officer category)	2016
A8X Company Grade Officer (CGO) of the Year	2013
Pacific Forum CSIS nonresident Sasakawa Peace Fellow	2012-13
Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), Summer Visiting Fellow	2012
One of Top 99 Most Influential International Professionals Under 33, <i>Diplomatic Courier</i>	2011
Officer Training School Distinguished Graduate and USAA Leadership Award	2010

## PUBLICATIONS

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### Books

*Upstart: How China Became a Great Power* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, June 2024).

*The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Security Affairs Series, 2019).

Winner of the 2020 International Security Section of the American Political Science Association Best Book by an Untenured Faculty Member

Honorable Mention, Diplomatic Studies Section Book Award, International Studies Association

Reviewed in *Foreign Affairs*, *The China Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, the *Australian Strategic Policy Institute*, *War on the Rocks*, *Pacific Affairs* and *The Journal of Chinese Political Science*

Reviewed in H-Diplo Roundtable 12-6, January 21, 2021 by: James Fearon, Todd Hall, Xiaoyu Pu, Kristopher Ramsay, and Robert Trager, with an introduction from Avery Goldstein and my response: <https://issforum.org/roundtables/12-6>.

Reviewed in an *Asia Policy* Book Review Roundtable by Dan Reiter, Prashanth Parameswaran, Patricia M. Kim, John H. Gill, Carlyle A. Thayer with my response, *Asia Policy*, Vol 14, No 3 (July 2019): 169-191.

### ***Edited Volumes***

*Assessing the Threat: The Chinese Military and Taiwan's Security* with (eds.) Michael D. Swaine, Andrew N.D. Yang and Evan S. Medeiros, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment, July 2007).

Reviewed in *The China Quarterly*, *China Journal*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*

*Encounters and Escalation in the Indo-Pacific* (National Bureau of Asian Research, May 2024).

### ***Peer-Reviewed Articles***

“Sino-Russian Military Alignment and Its Implications for Global Security,” *Security Studies* (April 2024): 1-37.

“Talking to the Enemy: Explaining the Emergence of Peace Talks in Interstate War,” with David Siegel, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 35:3, July 2023.

“The Next Flashpoint? China, the Republic of Korea, and the Yellow Sea,” *Asia Policy* 18:1 (January 2023), 67-93.

“Deterrence in the Indo-Pacific,” in “Roundtable: Minilateral Deterrence in the Indo-Pacific,” *Asia Policy*, 17:4 (October 2022), 8-18.

“Reassurance and Deterrence in Asia,” *Security Studies*, Fall 2022, Volume 31, Issue 4.

“Understanding the Challenge of China's Rise: Fixing Conceptual Confusion about Intentions,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, June 2022.

“Teach What You Preach: A Comprehensive Guide to the Policy Memo as a Methods Teaching Tool,” *Journal of Political Science Education*, Vol 17, Issue 1, 2021: 326-240.

“It Takes Two to Tango: Autocratic Underbalancing, Regime Legitimacy and China's Responses to India's Rise,” *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, (2019): 114-152.

“Conflict and Chaos on the Korean Peninsula: Can China's Military Help Secure North Korea's Nuclear Weapons?” *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Fall 2018): 84-116.

“The Theory and Practice of War Termination: Assessing Patterns in China's Historical Behavior,”

*International Studies Review*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (December 2018): 661-84.

“In the Shadow of the Thucydides Trap: International Relations Theory and the Prospects for Peace in U.S.-China Relations,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Vol. 24, No.1, November 2018: 25-45.

“A Global People’s Liberation Army: Possibilities, Challenges and Opportunities” with Kristen Gunness, *Asia Policy* 22, (July 2016): 131-155.

“The Vulnerability of Rising Powers: The Logic Behind China's Low Military Transparency,” *Asian Security* 12, Issue 2, 2016: 63-81.

“The Great Divide: Chinese and Indian Views on Intrawar Negotiations, 1959-1962,” *The Journal of Defence Studies* 6, No. 4, (October 2012): 71-108.

“Signaling and Military Provocation in Chinese National Security Strategy: A Closer Look at the Impeccable Incident of March 2009,” *Journal for Strategic Studies* 34, No. 2 (April 2011): 219-244.

### ***Non-Peer Reviewed Articles***

“The Pivot That Wasn’t: Did America Wait Too Long to Counter China?,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 103, no.4, July/August 2024.

“How South Korea Can Contribute to the Defense of Taiwan,” with Sungmin Cho, *The Washington Quarterly*, 45:3 (Fall 2022), 109-129.

“Strait of Emergency? Debating Beijing’s Threat to Taiwan,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2021: 225-229.

“The Taiwan Temptation,” *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2021: 58-67.

“Chinese Intentions in the South China Sea,” *Wilson Center Fellowship Report 2020-2021*, April 2021, 331-358, <https://chinafellowship.wilsoncenter.org/2020-21-essay-collection>.

Response to Roundtable 12-6 on Oriana Skylar Mastro, *The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*, ISSF: H-Diplo, January 21, 2021.

“All in the Family: North Korea and the Fate of Hereditary Autocratic Regimes,” *Survival*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (April-May 2020): 1-22.

“The PLA’s Evolving Role in China’s South China Sea Strategy,” *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue 66, Winter 2020.

“Sea of Troubles,” *The Economist: The World in 2020*, November 2019, <https://worldin.economist.com/article/17356/edition2020south-china-sea-troubles>.

“Author’s Response: The Theoretical and Practical Importance of Understanding Wartime Diplomacy,” *Asia Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July 2019): 188-191.

“The Stealth Superpower,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2019: 31-39  
*Winner of the 2019 American in the World Consortium Best Policy Article on U.S. Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy given by the Henry A. Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at Johns Hopkins SAIS.*

“How China Ends Wars: Implications for United States and East Asian Security,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Spring 2018): 45-60.

“Why China Won’t Rescue North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2018: 58-67.

“Why Chinese Assertiveness is Here to Stay,” *The Washington Quarterly* Vol. 37, No. 4, (Winter 2015): 151-170.

“China Can’t Stay Home,” *The National Interest*, November/December 2014: 38-45.

“The Problems with the Liberal Peace in Asia,” *Survival* 56, (April/May 2014): 129-158.

### **Book Chapters**

“China’s Nuclear Enterprise: Trends, Developments, and Implications for the United States and Its Allies,” in Heather Williams, Kelsey Hartigan, Lachlan MacKenzie, Rob Soofer, Tom Karako, Franklin C. Miller, Leonor Tomero, Jon Wolfsthal, *Project Atom 2023, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 2023, 26-37.

“Deepening US-Taiwan Cooperation Through Semiconductors,” with Kharis Templeman, in Larry Diamond, James O. Ellis Jr. and Orville Schell (eds), *Silicon Triangle: The United States, Taiwan, China, and Global Semiconductor Security* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2023), 187-226.

“Is China a Challenge to US national security?” in Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szonyi (eds), *The China Questions 2* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022). Honorable Mention, Franklin R Buchanan Prize for Curricular Materials.

“Chinese Grand Strategy,” in John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, Jeannie L. Johnson (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World, 7th edition*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022).

“Military Competition with China: Harder than the Cold War?,” in *US versus China: Promoting ‘Constructive Competition’ to Avoid ‘Destructive Competition,’ SMA Perspectives: Emergent Issues for National Security*, US Department of Defense, October 2021, 72-81.

“Nuclear Deterrence and the US-China Strategic Relationship,” in Stephan Frühling and Andrew O’Neil (eds), *Alliances, Nuclear Weapons and Escalation: Managing Deterrence in the 21st Century*, Australian National University Press, 2021.

“Asymmetric but Uneven: The China-India Conventional Military Balance,” with Arzan Tarapore, in Kanti Bajpai, Selina Ho, and Manjari Chatterjee Miller (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of China-India Relations*, (London: Routledge, 2020): 235-247.

“Long-Term Strategic Competition between the United States and China in Military Aviation,” with Michael Chase, in Tai Ming Cheung and Thomas G. Mahnken (eds.), *The Gathering Pacific Storm: Emerging US-China Competition in Defense Technological and Industrial Development* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2018): 111-137.

“Ideas, Perceptions, and Power: An Examination of China’s Military Strategy,” in Ashley Tellis, Alison Szalwinski and Michael Wills (eds.), *Strategic Asia 2017–18: Power, Ideas, and Military Strategy in the Asia-Pacific*, (Washington, D.C.: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017): 18-43.

“Dynamic Dilemmas: China’s Evolving Northeast Asia Security Strategy,” in Gil Rozman (ed), *2016 Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies*, (Washington DC: Korea Economic Institute, 2016): 9-22.

“A Global Expeditionary People’s Liberation Army: 2025-2030,” in Roy Kamphausen and David Lai (eds.), *The Chinese People's Liberation Army in 2025*, (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2015): 207-234.

“China’s Anti-access-Area Denial (A2/AD) Capabilities: Is American Rebalancing Enough?,” in William H. Natter III and Jason Brooks (eds.), *American Strategy and Purpose: Reflections on Foreign Policy and National Security in an Era of Change*, (Lexington: CENSA, 2014): 118-140.

“Noninterference in Contemporary Chinese Foreign Policy: Fact or Fiction?,” in Donovan Chau and Thomas Kane (eds.), *China and International Security: History, Strategy, and 21st Century Policy*, Vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2014): 95-114.

### **Book Reviews**

Book Review of Rush Doshi, *The Long Game: China’s Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*, *Asia Policy* vol. 17, no. 1 (January 2022): 161-172.

Roundtable 11-12 on M. Taylor Fravel, *Active Defense: China’s Military Strategy since 1949*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, (2019), ISSF: H-Diplo, March 6, 2020.

Book Review of Andrew Kennedy, *The International Ambitions of Mao and Nehru: National Efficacy Beliefs and the Making of Foreign Policy*, *China Journal* 74 (July 2015): 181-182.

Book Review of Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, in *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 5, No. 4 (Winter 2011): 147-149.

## ***Congressional Testimony***

“The Challenges of Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait: Recommendations for US Policy,” *Testimony prepared for House Select Committee on Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party*, April 26, 2023.

“The Precarious State of Cross-Strait Deterrence,” *Testimony prepared for the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, February 18, 2021.

“China’s Maritime Ambitions,” *Testimony prepared for the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and Nonproliferation*, June 30, 2020.

“China’s Military Modernization Program: Trends and Implications,” *Testimony prepared for the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, September 4, 2019.

“A New Approach for an Era of U.S.-China Competition,” *Testimony prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Full Committee*, March 13, 2019.

“Cooperation and Competition with China: The Need for New Approaches,” *Testimony prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy*, September 5, 2018.

“China’s Policy Toward Contingencies in North Korea,” *Testimony prepared for the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, April 12, 2018.

“Developments in China’s Military Force Projection and Expeditionary Capabilities,” *Testimony prepared for the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, January 21, 2016.

“China’s Active Defense Strategy and Its Regional Impact,” *Testimony prepared for the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*, January 27, 2011.

## ***Select Commentary and Op-Eds***

“The Next Tripartite Pact?,” *Foreign Affairs*, February 19, 2024,  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/next-tripartite-pact>.

“This Is What America Is Getting Wrong About China and Taiwan,” *New York Times*, October 16, 2023.

“Japan must do more, and faster, to avert war over Taiwan,” *Washington Post*, February 2, 2023.

“Can the U.S. Deter China? Lessons from Putin’s Invasion of Ukraine,” *CSIS Interpret: China*, August 23, 2022.

“China Hasn’t Reached the Peak of Its Power,” with Derek Scissors, *Foreign Affairs*, August 22, 2022.

“China’s huge exercises around Taiwan were a rehearsal, not a signal,” *The Economist*, August 10, 2022.

“Biden Says We’ve Got Taiwan’s Back, But Do We?,” *New York Times*, May 27, 2022.

“Beijing is Used to Learning From Russian Failures,” with Derek Scissors, *Foreign Policy*, April 18, 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/04/18/china-russia-ukraine-taiwan-war/>.

“Invasions Are Not Contagious,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 3, 2022, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/taiwan/2022-03-03/invasions-are-not-contagious>.

“Ukraine is a Distraction from Taiwan,” with Elbridge Colby, *The Wall Street Journal*, February 13, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/ukraine-is-a-distraction-from-taiwan-russia-china-nato-global-powers-military-invasion-jinping-biden-putin-europe-11644781247>.

“North Korea is Becoming an Asset for China,” with Sungmin Cho, *Foreign Affairs*, February 3, 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2022-02-02/when-redlines-fail>.

“What the US Withdrawal from Afghanistan Means for Taiwan,” *New York Times*, September 13, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/13/opinion/china-taiwan-afghanistan.html> (int’l edition September 15, 2021).

“China’s Dangerous Double Game with North Korea,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 2, 2021, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-04-02/chinas-dangerous-double-game-north-korea>

“What Chinese Leaders are Saying about the South China Sea,” *The Interpreter*, February 24, 2021, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/what-are-china-s-leaders-saying-about-south-china-sea>.

“How China is Bending the Rules in the South China Sea,” *The Interpreter*, February 17, 2021, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/how-china-bending-rules-south-china-sea>

“The Soft War that America is Losing,” with Aynne Kokas, *Australian Financial Review*, January 15, 2021, <https://www.afr.com/world/north-america/the-soft-war-that-america-is-losing-20210115-p56ubr>.

“Russia and China Team Up on the Indian Ocean,” *The Interpreter*, December 16, 2020, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/russia-and-china-team-indian-ocean>.

“The real reason Biden’s pick for Pentagon Chief is the wrong choice,” *The Washington Post*, December 10, 2020, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/12/09/china-middle-east-loyd-austin-defense-secretary/>.

“Free Nations Must Speak for Australia,” with Zack Cooper, *Australian Financial Review*, December 5, 2020, <https://www.afr.com/world/asia/free-nations-must-speak-for-australia-20201204-p56kmu>

“Beijing’s Line on the South China Sea: Nothing to See Here,” *The Interpreter*, November 27, 2020, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/beijing-s-line-south-china-sea-nothing-to-see-here>.



“Biden will speak softer but act stronger on Taiwan,” with Emily Young Carr, *Foreign Policy*, November 10, 2020. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/11/10/biden-taiwan-election-trump-china/>

“China-India: Talk is cheap, but never free,” *The Interpreter*, September 29, 2020. <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/china-india-talk-cheap-never-free>

“Hong Kong e Taipei tra l’incudine e il martello,” (Hong Kong and Taipei between a rock and a hard place), *Formiche Magazine*, No. 159, June 2020, 66-67.

“5 Things to Know If Kim Jong Un Dies,” *Foreign Policy*, April 27, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/04/27/5-things-to-know-if-kim-jong-un-dies/>

“Why Tsai Ing-wen’s Re-Election as President Could Darken Taiwan’s Future,” *LA Times*, January 11, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-01-11/taiwan-president-tsai-ingwen-election-china>.

“The Surest Way to Lose to China is to Disparage Expertise,” *Defense One*, December 2, 2019, <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/12/surest-way-lose-china-disparage-expertise/161598/>

“Le ragione per mantenere bassa la protesta,” (Reasons to keep the protests at a low level), *Formiche*, October 2019, 18-20.

“How an Alliance System Withers: Washington is Sleeping through the Japanese-Korean Dispute. China Isn’t,” with Bonnie Glaser, *Foreign Affairs* (online), September 9, 2019, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-09-09/how-alliance-system-withers>.

“Pyongyang is Playing Washington Against Beijing,” *Foreign Policy*, August 9, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/05/pyongyang-playing-washington-beijing-china-us-nukes-kim/>

“Dangers of a Doctrine of Patriotism,” with Arzan Tarapore, *The Hill*, September 29, 2018, <https://thehill.com/opinion/international/409064-dangers-of-a-doctrine-of-patriotism>

“Can India Help the United States Against China?” *Brookings Institution Lawfare Blog*, August 26, 2018, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/can-india-help-united-states-against-china>.

“Xi Jinping and Kim Jung Un Keep Meeting – and Here’s Why,” *The National Interest* (online), June 26, 2018, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-xi-north-koreas-kim-keep-meeting%E2%80%94heres-why-26415>.

“The Big Winner of the Singapore Summit,” with Bonnie Glaser, *Foreign Affairs* (online), June 15, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-06-15/big-winner-singapore-summit?cid=int-fls&pgtype=hpg>.

“Can China End Wars Once They Start?,” *Brookings Institution Lawfare Blog*, May 20, 2018, <https://lawfareblog.com/can-china-stop-wars-once-they-start>.

“What China Gained from Hosting Kim Jung Un,” *Foreign Affairs* (online), April 9, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-04-09/what-china-gained-hosting-kim-jong-un>

“Why Xi Jinping Wants to Broker the Trump-Kim Deal,” *The National Interest* (online), March 28, 2018, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-xi-jinping-wants-broker-the-trump-kim-deal-25118>.

“China is Gaining on the United States. What Are We Doing About it?,” with Ely Ratner, *Politico*, February 9, 2018, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/02/09/china-united-states-donald-trump-216955>

“Yes, North Korea could drive a wedge between the U.S. and South Korea,” with Arzan Tarapore, *The Washington Post: Washington Post Monkey Cage*, January 12, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/12/yes-north-korea-could-drive-a-wedge-into-the-u-s-south-korea-alliance-heres-the-problem/?utm\\_term=.d2feb952bdcf](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/12/yes-north-korea-could-drive-a-wedge-into-the-u-s-south-korea-alliance-heres-the-problem/?utm_term=.d2feb952bdcf).

“Xi is fast arming China to impose its influence around the world,” *Newsweek*, January 3, 2018, <http://www.newsweek.com/xi-fast-arming-china-impose-its-influence-around-world-767251>.

“Trump Should Consider Kim Jung-Un’s Response to a Limited Strike Against North Korea,” *Newsweek*, January 2, 2018, <http://www.newsweek.com/trump-should-consider-kim-jong-uns-response-limited-strike-against-north-korea-768951>.

“Will China Invade North Korea and Take Its Nuclear Facilities?,” *Newsweek*, September 14, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/will-china-invade-north-korea-and-take-its-nuclear-facilities-665008>.

“Countering Chinese Coercion: The Case of Doklam,” with Arzan Tarapore, *War on the Rocks*, August 29, 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/08/countering-chinese-coercion-the-case-of-doklam/>. #16 most read WOTR article in 2017.

“China’s Lukewarm Response to Indian Military Modernization,” *China Brief* 17, Iss. 1, January 13, 2017.

“Taiwan’s Defense Policy Under Tsai,” *China Brief* 16, Iss. 15, October 4, 2016.

“Why China Will Become a Global Military Power,” *Brookings Institution Lawfare Blog*, January 11, 2015, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/foreign-policy-essay-why-china-will-become-global-military-power>.

“China’s ADIZ: A Test of U.S. Resolve?,” *Brookings Institution Lawfare Blog*, December 15, 2013, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/foreign-policy-essay-oriana-skylar-mastro-chinas-adiz-%E2%80%93-successful-test-us-resolve>.

“USAF Strategic Approach in the Asia-Pacific: Aspirations and Reality,” *Banyan Analytics Brief*, October 2, 2013.

“New CMC Vice Chairmen Strong Advocates for Joint, Modern Chinese Military,” with Michael S. Chase and Benjamin S. Purser, III. *China Brief*, November 16, 2012.

“What’s the Truth about U.S.-China Strategic Mistrust?,” *Best Defense*, November 16, 2012, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/11/16/whats-the-truth-about-u-s-china-strategic-mistrust-you-cant-handle-the-truth/>.

“China’s Air Force: Ready for Take Off?,” with Michael S. Chase, *The Diplomat*, November 6, 2012.

“In Search of ‘Dexter’: Why You Can’t Buy Pirated DVDs in China Anymore,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 26, 2012.

“False Start,” *The New Republic (online)*, December 15, 2006.

“How to Deal with North Korea,” coauthored with Minxin Pei, *Financial Times*, December 13, 2006.

### **Reports and Briefs**

“Defense, Deterrence, and the Role of Guam,” in Rebecca Heinrichs (ed.), *Defending Guam* (Washington, D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2022): 44-48.

“The United States Must Avoid a Nuclear Arms Race with China,” *Cato Unbound*, September 21, 2020.

“Military Confrontation in the South China Sea,” *Council on Foreign Relations, Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 36*, May 21, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/report/military-confrontation-south-china-sea>.

“Diminishing Returns in U.S.-China Security Cooperation,” in *The US and China in Asia: Mitigating Tensions and Enhancing Cooperation*, Pacific Community Initiative Publication, John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and Beijing University, October 2019, 32-43.

“China’s End Run Around World Order,” *Cato Unbound*, March 14, 2018, <https://www.cato-unbound.org/2018/03/14/oriana-skylar-mastro/chinas-end-run-around-world-order>.

“Risk and Resiliency: China’s Emerging Air Base Strike Threat,” with Ian Easton, *Project 2049 Institute*, November 8, 2017.

“China’s Evolving North Korea Strategy,” United States Institute for Peace Brief 231, September 12, 2017, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2017/09/chinas-evolving-north-korea-strategy>.

“The Emerging Asia Power Web: The Rise of Bilateral Intra-Asian Security Ties,” with Patrick Cronin, Richard Fontaine, Zachary Hosford, Ely Ratner and Alexander Sullivan, *Center for a New American Security*, June 2013.

“The Obama-Xi Summit: A New Era in Bilateral Relations?,” The National Bureau of Asian Research, June 12, 2013.

“The Sansha Garrison: China’s Deliberate Escalation in the South China Sea,” Center for a New American Security: *East and South China Seas Bulletin* 5, September 2012.

“Air Power Trends in Northeast Asia: Implications for Japan and the U.S. Japan Alliance,” with Mark Stokes, *Project 2049 report*, Aug 2011.

### **COURSES TAUGHT (undergraduate and master’s levels)**

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International Security in a Changing World (large undergrad survey course); The Theory and Practice of Security (required master’s in security studies introductory course); Researching Chinese Foreign Policy (undergraduate seminar); China and its Military (master’s level); China’s Space and Counterspace Programs; Research Seminar in International Security (required master’s in security studies research methodology course).

Also served as teaching assistant to Thomas Christensen for International Relations in East Asia and Chinese Foreign Relations (undergraduate level), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

### **MILITARY CAREER**

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**Deputy Director**, Reserve China Global Strategy, Pentagon 4/24-pres

- Supports HQ Air Force on great power competition efforts

**IMA to Plan and Posture Branch Chief**, J5, INDOPACOM, Camp Smith 7/20-4/24

- Awarded the 2022 Individual Reservist of the Year (FGO category)

**Senior China Analyst**, HAF A2/6A, Pentagon 7/18-7/20

- Awarded Meritorious Service Medal

**Political Military Affairs Strategist**, PACAF A5X, Hawaii 2/16-7/18

- Awarded the 2016 Individual Reservist of the Year (CGO) for strategic contributions
- Awarded Meritorious Service Medal

**Reserve Air Attaché**, Asia-Pacific Region 12/14-2/16

- Certified as a Regional Area Strategist (RAS) in China, 16F3K

**Asia-Pacific Strategist**, Asia-Pacific Cell (A8XS-APC), Pentagon 4/13-12/14

- A8X 2013 CGO (Company Grade Officer) of the Year
- Awarded Air Force Commendation medal for service to CSAF

**China Strategist**, Strategic Studies Group (SSG), Pentagon, 9/10-4/13

- Awarded Air Force Achievement medal for service to CSAF

### ***Professional Military Education***

**Joint Combined Warfighting School** currently enrolled

**Air Command and Staff College**, by correspondence 2020  
**Squadron Officer School**, by correspondence, 2014

**Officer Intelligence Course**, Goodfellow, AFB Dec 2011  
• Lonestar exercise top briefer award, graduated with 97% academic average

**Officer Training School**, Maxwell AFB May 2010  
• Distinguished graduate, wing commander, sole recipient of USAA leadership award

**SELECT INVITED ACADEMIC TALKS AND WORKSHOPS**

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- 2023 University of San Diego
- 2023 National Security College
- 2023 Stanford University, Knight-Hennessy Scholars
- 2022 Institute for Peace & Diplomacy and the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada
- 2022 Claremont McKenna College Athenaeum
- 2022 McGill-University of Montreal Center for International Peace and Security Studies
- 2022 Texas A&M University, Economic Statecraft Research Seminar
- 2021 Yale-NUS Research Seminar
- 2021 Emory International Relations Research Seminar
- 2020 Australia National University Women in Security Research Seminar
- 2020 Notre Dame International Security Center Research Seminar
- 2019 Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM) Research Seminar
- 2019 Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs
- 2019 Stanford University, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Affairs
- 2019 Naval War College
- 2018 Duke University, Security, Peace and Conflict Workshop
- 2018 Harvard University, Government Department Research Seminar Series
- 2018 Duke University, Winter Security Forum
- 2018 University of Maryland, China and the World Conference Speaker
- 2017 University of Pennsylvania, Center for Contemporary China Speakers Series
- 2017 University of Pennsylvania, Perry World House Workshop
- 2017 MIT, Security Studies Program Seminar Series
- 2017 Princeton University, China and the World Lecture Series
- 2017 Harvard Kennedy School, Korea Working Group Lecture Series
- 2017 Wellesley University, ALLIES Speaker Series
- 2017 University of Virginia, Miller Center Speaker Series
- 2016 Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation Lecture Series
- 2016 Stanford University, Political Science Research Seminar Series
- 2016 Naval Post-graduate School, Research Seminar Series
- 2016 Columbia University, Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Research Seminar
- 2016 Indiana University, School of Global and International Studies, East Asia Speakers Series
- 2015 George Washington University, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies (ISCS) Research Seminar
- 2015 Sorbonne, Research Seminar Series
- 2015 Oxford University, China Center, Speaker Series

2015 St. Andrews, Edinburgh, School of International Relations, Speaker Series  
 2015 King's College London, War Studies, Speaker Series  
 2014 Princeton University, China and the World Lecture Series  
 2014 Australian National University, China in the World Series  
 2014 George Washington University, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies, Lecture

### **SELECT CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

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Book Project, *Hiding in Plain Sight: How China Became a Great Power* presented at University of Wisconsin, McGill, Notre Dame, University of Maryland, Stanford, ISA 2022, APSA 2018; AAS 2018; ISA 2018.

“Posing Problems Without Shacking Up: The Sino-Russian Relationship and its Impact on East Asia Regional Security,” presented at ISA 2022, ISA 2020, Emory research seminar, ANU research seminar.

*The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime*, various versions presented at APSA 2017; ISA 2017; ISA 2016; ISAC-ISSS 2014.

“It Takes Two to Tango: Autocratic Underbalancing, Regime Legitimacy and China’s Responses to India’s Rise,” paper presented at ISA 2018; APSA 2016.

“The Day After: The United States, China and the Rush to Secure DPRK WMD,” presented at ISA 2018; ISA 2017.

“Dynamic Dilemmas: China’s Evolving Northeast Asia Security Strategy,” presented at ISA 2016.

“Rising Powers and Military Secrecy: Explaining Chinese Military Transparency,” presented at ISA 2015, ISAC-ISSS 2014, MPSA 2014.

“How China Ends Wars (1950-1979) Implications for Future Flashpoints,” APSA 2015; CAPS-NDU-RAND Conference on PLA Affairs 2013, Taipei.

“Chinese Naval Modernization and its Implications for the U.S.-Japan Alliance,” talk given at MIT workshop on China’s Rise, Japan’s Military Posture, and the U.S.-Japan Alliance, February 2014.

“Economics Won’t Save Us: The Problem with the Liberal Peace in Asia,” presented at Shanghai Forum, Fudan University, 2014; IISS-SAIS Merrill Center Young Strategists Programme 2013.

“Settling the Score: The Interactive Effect of Combat Outcomes and Bargaining Behavior on War Duration and Termination,” presented at the Miller Center for Public Policy, University of Virginia, May 2013; MPSA 2011.

“China’s Asia-Pacific Security Vision,” talk given at SAIS roundtable on Asia-Pacific Security, February 2013.

“Fighting without Talking: A Closer Examination of the Sino-Indian War,” presented at the Center for the Advanced Study of India (CASI), University of Pennsylvania, April 2013.

“China’s Anti-access-Area Denial (A2/AD) Capabilities: Is the U.S. Rebalancing Enough?,” presented at Five University Workshop, Korea University, December 2012.

“Chinese Ship-Based Air Defense Systems,” presented at the China Maritime Studies Institute, Naval War College, “China’s Strategy for the Near Seas,” May 2011.

### **SERVICE TO THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION AND SELECT TRAINING**

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*Asia Policy* editorial board member.  
 Military Veterans in Political Science board member.  
 American Mandarin Society board member.  
 Academic Exchange board member.  
 Reviewer for *International Security*, *Journal of Chinese Political Science International Organization*,

*Security Studies, Journal of Conflict Resolution, World Politics, International Studies Quarterly, International Studies Review, International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, China Information, and Pacific Review.*

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) 2015; 2010 Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS).

**OTHER PUBLIC POLICY ACTIVITIES**

Fellow at Institute for Corean-American Studies (2017-present); Pacific Forum CSIS nonresident Sasakawa Peace Fellow (2012-2013); CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) China Working Group (2012); Future Leaders Program, Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI) (2010); Next Generation National Security Leader Program, CNAS (2010).

**Publications, commentary and media appearances available at: [www.orianaskylarmastro.com](http://www.orianaskylarmastro.com).**