

**LT COL ORIANA MASTRO**

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RANK Lieutenant Colonel (USAFR), DOR 03 December 2024

TAFCSO 28 May 2010

SECURITY CLEARANCE Available upon request

CURRENT DUTY Deputy Chief, Reserve China Global Strategy, Pentagon

OBJECTIVE Challenging DO position (IMA or TR) in intelligence, strategy, plans, or policy

QUALIFICATIONS Recognized USAFR Leader. Two-time Individual Reservist of the Year (CGO 2016, FGO 2022), one of sixteen reservists featured in the Air Force Reserve Command's 2018 Profiles in Leadership series. Identified as a High Performance Officer (HPO) thirteen times since 2014 by intel or special duty/non-core development teams.

Qualified Joint Officer. Four years of experience in JDAL position at INDOPACOM; Joint and Combined Warfighting School (JCWS-H) graduation September 2024.

Committed to Service. Participated in a number of competitive reserve development courses include JOLD, IJOLD, and YROW. Volunteered and participated in KR17 as the A2A OIC; Athena LOE on improving childcare in USAFR.

China Expert. Respected China military and security expert with PhD from Princeton. Professionally proficient in Mandarin Chinese (DLPT 3,3,3) and only reservist to be certified as a China FAO (16F3D) as a 1LT.

Seasoned Briefer. Prepared and delivered high-quality, unique content briefings at the highest levels of the Air Force, to include the past three CSAFs, the SecAF, COMPACAF, CDRUSINDOPACOM and the A2/6, A3, etc.

Intelligence Professional (14N4): I have produced over three dozen intelligence products at the Headquarters Staff level for A2; was the most productive reservist in the Asia-Pacific Regional Center at DIA.

Effective Action Officer: A political-military affairs specialist (certified PAS/RAS), my political-military experience and strong understanding of interagency processes allow me to be an effective action officer at an above the wing level.

Innovative Strategist. I have made major strategic contributions to US and joint strategy and plans. I am also a part of the Pathfinder program.

Training Manager. I have also designed onboard China briefings for half a dozen GOs, and have designed/delivered 12 hours of critical training on the Chinese military to the whole PACAF A5 directorate.

Exceptional Writer. I have extensive writing, research and analytical skills that are manifested in the publication of two books, fourteen articles in major publications, seven book chapters, six policy reports, six congressional testimonies and dozens of op-eds.

#### CIVILIAN EDUCATION

PhD, Princeton University, Politics, 2013

M.A., Princeton University, Politics, 2009

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

#### MILITARY EDUCATION

JCWS-H, September 2024 expected graduation

LEAP, Chinese Mandarin 25M1 advanced, 2021

Air Command and Staff College (by correspondence), 2020

Joint Military Attaché School (JMAS) Reserve Support Course (RSC) in residence, 2014

Squadron Officer Course (by correspondence), 2014

Officer Intelligence Course, in residence, 2011

Officer Training School, in residence, 2010

#### MILITARY AWARDS

2025 HQ AFRC Annual Award Winner (FGO category)

2024 Defense Meritorious Service Medal

2022 Joint Service Commendation Medal

2022 Individual Reservist of the Year (FGO category)

2020 Meritorious Service Medal with first oak leaf cluster

2018 Meritorious Service Medal

2017 Air Force Recognition Ribbon

2016 Individual Reservist of the Year (CGO category)

2016 Joint Meritorious Unit Award

2014 Air Force Commendation Medal (for achievement)

2013 A8X Company Grade Officer (CGO) of the Year

2013 Air Force Achievement Medal

2010 OTS Distinguished Graduate

2010 OTS USAA Leadership Award

2010 National Defense Service Medal

2010 Global War on Terrorism Service Medal

#### DUTY HISTORY

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

2/21-4/24	IMA to the Policy, Posture Branch Chief, INDOPACOM J5, Camp Smith, Hawaii
7/20-7/21	Deputy Branch Chief, Plans, INDOPACOM J5, Camp Smith, Hawaii
7/18-7/20	Senior China Analyst, HAF/A2O, Pentagon
2/16-7/18	Political Military Affairs Strategist, PACAF A5X, Hickam
12/14-2/16	Reserve Air Attaché, DAS for Asia-Pacific Region, Bolling
4/13-12/14	Asia-Pacific Strategist, Asia-Pacific Cell (A8XS-APC), Pentagon
9/10-4/13	China Strategist, Strategic Studies Group (SSG), Pentagon

#### CIVILIAN EXPERIENCE

07/25-pres	Indo-Pacific Policy Lab, Lab Director
01/23-pres	Stanford University, Courtesy Assistant Professor of Political Science
05/24-pres	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nonresident Scholar
8/20-pres	Stanford University, FSI, Center Fellow
9/19-12/23	American Enterprise Institute, Non-Resident Senior Fellow
8/13-7/20	Georgetown University, Assistant Professor of Security Studies
9/17-8/19	American Enterprise Institute, Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar
8/16-8/17	Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
3/12-5/13	Center for a New American Security (CNAS), Fellow
6/10-9/10	Project 2049, Summer Associate
6/09-9/09	U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), Analyst
6/08-9/08	RAND Corporation, Summer Associate
8/06-8/07	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, China Program, Junior Fellow

#### SELECT CIVILIAN FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Policy Leader Fellow, European University Institute	2025-26
Council on Foreign Relations Member	2024-pres
John H. McArthur Distinguished Fellowship, Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada	2022
Smith Richardson Foundation Strategy and Policy Fellows Program	2021
American in the World Consortium Best Policy Article on U.S. Foreign Policy and Grand Strategy given by Johns Hopkins SAIS	2020
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, China Fellow	2020-1
The Council on Foreign Relations, Term Member	2018-pre
Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)	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
Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship	2016-17
Asia Foundation Faculty Research Grant on the Domestic Dimensions of IR	2016
Georgetown University Internal Summer Academic Grant	2016
Georgetown University Junior Faculty Research Fellowship Award	2015
Georgetown University Professor in Residence at Campion Hall, Oxford	2015
Miller Center National Fellowship, University of Virginia	2012-13
Pacific Forum CSIS nonresident Sasakawa Peace Fellow	2012-13
Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), Summer Visiting Fellow	2012
Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) Summer Research Grant	2012
Princeton University's Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice Research Grant	2012
One of Top 99 Most Influential International Professionals Under 33, <i>Diplomatic Courier</i>	2011

George Washington University, Institute for Security and Conflict Studies (ISCS), predoc	2010-11
Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Pre-doctoral Fellowship	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, twice-received for student with future in public affairs	2007-09

## SELECT PUBLICATIONS

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### **Books**

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

Silver Medalist in the 2026 Axiom Business Book Awards (International Business / Globalization category)

Reviewed in *US Army War College, The China Journal, The China Quarterly, Asian Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Claremont Review of Books, New Statesman, Financial Times, Kirkus Review, and War on the Rocks*

*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 (APSA) Best Book by an Untenured Faculty Member.

Honorable Mention, Diplomatic Studies Section Award, International Studies Association (ISA)

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**

“Close Encounters with the PLA Regional Experiences and Implications for Deterrence,” in Oriana Skylar Mastro (eds.), *Encounters and Escalation in the Indo-Pacific* (National Bureau of Asian Research Special Report #108, May 2024).

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

***Peer-Reviewed***

“Human vs. Machine: Behavioral Differences Between Expert Humans and Language Models in Wargame Simulations,” with Max Lamparth, Anthony Corso, Jacob Ganz, Jacquelyn Schneider, and Harold Trinkunas, *AI, Ethics, and Society Conference* (San Jose, CA, October 2024),  
<https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2403.03407>.

“Sino-Russian Military Alignment and Its Implications for Global Security,” *Security Studies* 33:2 (April 2024): 254-290, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2024.2319587>.

“Talking to the Enemy: Explaining the Emergence of Peace Talks in Interstate War,” with David Siegel, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 35:3, July 2023, 182–203.

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

“Reassurance and Deterrence in Asia,” *Security Studies* (November 2022).

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

“How South Korea Can Contribute to the Defense of Taiwan,” with Sungmin Cho, *The Washington Quarterly*, 45:3 (Fall 2022), 109-129, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2022.2126586>.

“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*, Winter 2021 online,  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15512169.2020.1865990>.

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

“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 of Strategic Studies* 34, No. 2 (April 2011): 219-244.

### ***Policy Articles***

“Kim’s Dangerous Liaisons: Russia, China, and the Growing North Korea Threat,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2026.

“The Taiwan Tightrope: Deterrence is a Balancing Act, and America Is Starting to Slip,” with Brandon Yoder, *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2025.

“China’s Agents of Chaos: The Military Logic Behind Beijing’s Growing Partnerships,” *Foreign Affairs* vol. 103, no.6, November/December 2024.

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

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

“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>.

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

“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 41, 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***

“U.S.-China Relations,” in G. John Ikenberry (eds.) *Great Decisions Briefing Book* (Foreign Policy Association, January 2026).

“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.

“Chinese Grand Strategy,” in John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, Jeannie L. Johnson (eds), *Strategy in the Contemporary World, 7th edition*, 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.

“Does China pose a threat to US national security?,” in Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szonyi (eds), *The China Questions, Part II* (Harvard University Press, 2022). Honorable Mention, Franklin R Buchanan Prize for Curricular Materials.

“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, forthcoming 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 Antiaccess-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 Tyler Jost, *Bureaucracies at War: The Institutional Origins of Miscalculation*, *Political Science Quarterly* 00, no. 0 (August 2025): 1–6.

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*, *The 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.

## **POLICY PUBLICATIONS, TESTIMONY AND PUBLIC COMMENTARY**

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### **Congressional Testimony**

“Burden Sharing in the Indo-Pacific: Recommendations for U.S. Defense Policy,” *Testimony prepared for the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations*, March 26, 2025.

“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*, 12 April 2018.

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

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

### **Reports and Briefs**

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.

“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>.

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

“Diminishing Returns in U.S.-China Security Cooperation,” in *The US and China in Asia: Mitigating Tensions and Enhancing Cooperation*, Pacific Community Initiative Publication, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and Peking 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.

### ***Commentary***

“Con Trump, interazioni pericolose” (Dangerous Interactions Under Trump), *Formiche Magazine*, No. 217, October 2025, 36.

“Lessons Learned from Pakistan’s Use of Chinese-Provided Weapons,” *War On The Rocks*, May 28, 2025. <https://warontherocks.com/2025/05/lessons-learned-from-pakistans-use-of-chinese-provided-weapons/>.

“Oriana Skylar Mastro makes a case for paring America’s nukes,” *The Economist*, January 6, 2025. <https://www.economist.com/by-invitation/2025/01/06/oriana-skylar-mastro-makes-a-case-for-paring-americas-nukes>.

“Beijing Can Take the South China Sea Without Firing a Shot,” *New York Times*, July 25, 2024.

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

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

“Biden Says We’ve Got Taiwan’s Back, But Do We?,” *New York Times*, May 27, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/27/opinion/biden-taiwan-defense-china.html>.

“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.

“China-India: Talk is cheap, but never free,” *The Interpreter*, September 29, 2020

“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>.

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## TEACHING

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

## SELECT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES, TRAINING AND ASSOCIATIONS

Fellow at Institute for Korean-American Studies (ICAS)  
Military Veterans in Political Science board member  
Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) 2015  
Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders Program  
CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) China Working Group  
Future Leaders Program, Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI)  
Next Generation National Security Leader Program, CNAS  
2010 Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS)