

## ROBERT S. ROSS

Department of Political Science  
Boston College  
Chestnut Hill, MA 02167-3807

Tel: (617) 552-3259  
email: robert.ross@bc.edu

### **EDUCATION**

Columbia University. Political Science. M.A., 1980; M.Phil., 1981; Ph.D., 1984.  
Columbia University. East Asian Institute. Certificate, 1980.  
London School of Economics. Graduate Studies in International Politics, 1976-1977.  
Tufts University. History. B.A., *cum laude*, 1976.

### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Professor, Department of Political Science, Boston College, 1997-present.  
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Boston College, 1993-97.  
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Boston College, 1989-1993.  
Visiting Assistant Professor, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 1986-1987.  
Lecturer, Columbia University, Department of Political Science, 1983-1986.

### **PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS**

Executive Committee Member and Associate, John King Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University.  
Non-Resident Fellow, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft.  
Advisory Board Member, Institute for US-China Issues, University of Oklahoma.  
Academic Committee Member, Pangoal Institution, Beijing.  
Senior Research Fellow, Center for America Studies, Tongji University.  
Senior Research Associate, Institute for Defense Studies, Norwegian Ministry of Defense, 2009-2016.  
Senior Advisor, Security Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998-2010.  
Visiting Scholar, Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defence College, April-May, 2009.  
Visiting Senior Fellow, Institute of International Strategic Studies, School of Public Policy, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 2003.  
Visiting Professor, Department of International Relations, People's University, Beijing, July 1992 (sponsored by the Committee of International Relations Studies with the People's Republic of China).  
Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, 1989.  
Post-Doctoral Fellow in Chinese Studies, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 1987-1988.

Visiting Scholar, Department of International Politics, Peking University, Beijing, 1985.  
Assistant Director, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1984-1986.

## **AWARDS AND HONORS**

Honorary Professor, Fudan University, Shanghai.  
Honorary Professor, Xian School of International Studies, Xian.  
Visiting Professor, People's University (Beijing), 2018.  
Distinguished Lecturer, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2014.  
United States Institute of Peace, Research Fellowship, 2001-2002.  
Fulbright Professorship, College of Foreign Affairs, Beijing, China, 1994-1995.  
Boston College, Summer Research Grant, 1991.  
International Research Exchange Board (IREX), Travel Grant for Research in the Soviet Union, 1991.  
United States Institute of Peace, Research Fellowship, 1990-1991.  
MacArthur Foundation, Collaborative Research Program, Program on Peace and International Cooperation, 1989-1995.  
Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation, Advanced Research Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies, 1988-1989 (two-year fellowship).  
Wellington Koo Doctoral-Research Fellowship, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1982-1983.  
Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship (Chinese), 1981-1982.  
Harriman Scholar, The American Assembly, 1981.

## **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND PUBLIC SERVICE**

Council of Foreign Relations.  
National Committee for U.S.-China Relations.  
Academic Advisory Group, U.S.-China Working Group, United States Congress.  
Non-Resident Scholar, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft  
Academic Committee, China-US People-to-People Exchange, Peking University.  
Advisory Board, East Asian Peace Programme, Uppsala University, Sweden.  
Faculty Advisory Committee (Boston), Fung Scholars & Fellows, Victor and William Fung Foundation.  
United States Committee, Council for Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific (Founding Member, Board Member 1993-4, 1997-2000)  
Faculty Advisory Group, China Province of the Society of Jesus, for the development of the Jesuit Liberal Arts College in Hong Kong (2012).  
Non-Resident Scholar, Tufts Institute for Leadership and International Perspective, Tufts University. 2000-2002.  
Advisor, Program on Sino-American Negotiation and Conflict, University of Montana, Missoula (1998-2000).  
Advisor, "Tug of War: The Story of Taiwan," a documentary production of WGBH, Boston (1998).

Consultant, various U.S. government agencies.

## **EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERSHIPS**

*Security Studies* monograph series, co-editor, Chinese Social Science Literature Press.

*Security Studies* monograph series, School of International Studies, Peking University, Shanghai People's Press.

*Grand Strategy* monograph series, Peking University Press.

Security Studies.

Journal of Contemporary China.

Journal of Cold War Studies.

Asia Policy.

Journal of Chinese Political Science.

Issues and Studies (Taiwan).

Chinese Political Science Review.

Guoji Anquan (International security) (School of International Relations, Beijing).

Waijiao Pinglun (Foreign affairs review) (Beijing).

Meiguo Wenti Yanjiu (Fudan American review) (Shanghai).

Zhongguo Zhengzhixue Pinglun (Chinese political science review) (Fudan University)

Yatai Anquan yu Haiyang Yanjiu (Asia-Pacific security and maritime affairs) (Nanjing University).

Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiaticos (Portugal review of Asian studies) (Lisbon).

US-China Perception Monitor

## **PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS**

*Monographs:*

Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power, and Politics (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Great Wall and Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security, with Andrew J. Nathan (New York: W.W. Norton Publishers, 1997).

Recipient of 1997 Choice magazine award for Outstanding Political Science Book in International Relations.

Published on mainland China as Changcheng yu Kongchengji: Zhongguo dui Anquan de Xunqiu (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 1997); published on Taiwan as Changcheng yu Kongchengji: Zhongguo Xunqiu Anquan de Zhanlue (Taipei: Maitian Chubanshe Gongsi, 1998).

Negotiating Cooperation: The United States and China, 1969-1989 (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

Published in China as Fengyun Huanbian de Zhong Mei Guanxi (1969-1989): Zai Tanpan zhong Hezuo (Turbulence in U.S.-China Relations (1969-1989): Negotiating Cooperation) (Beijing: China National Translation Press, 1998).

The Indochina Tangle: China's Vietnam Policy, 1975-1979 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

*Edited Books:*

US-China Foreign Relations: Power Transition and its Implications for Europe and Asia, co-edited with Øystein Tunsjø and Wang Dong (London: Routledge, 2021).

Strategic Adjustment and the Rise of China: Power and Politics in East Asia, co-edited with Øystein Tunsjø (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

China in the Era of Xi Jinping: Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges, co-edited with Jo Inge Bekkevold (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2016).

Twenty-First Century Seapower: Cooperation and Conflict at Sea, co-edited with Peter Dutton and Øystein Tunsjø (London: Routledge, 2012).

Published in China as 21 Shiji Haiyang Daguo: Haishang Hezuo yu Chongtu Guanli (Twenty-first century maritime powers: Cooperation and conflict management at sea) (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Zhubanshe, 2014).

US-China-EU Relations, Managing the New World Order, co-edited with Øystein Tunsjø and Zhang Tuosheng (London: Routledge, 2010).

Published in China as Zhong Mei Ou Guanxi: Goujian Xin de Shijie Zhixu (China-US-EU Relations: Constructing a new world order) (Beijing: Shiji Zhishi Chubanshe, 2012).

China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics, co-editor, with Zhu Feng (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Published in China as Zhongguo Jueqi: Lilun yu Zhengce Guandian (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 2008).

New Directions in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy, co-editor, with Alastair Iain Johnston (Palo Alto, Ca: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History, co-editor, with William C. Kirby and Gong Li (Cambridge, MA: Asia Center, Harvard University, 2005).

Published in China as Zong Jiedong Zouxiang Jianjiao: Zhong Mei Guanxi Zhengchanghua Jincheng zai Tantuo (From thaw to normalization: A reexamination of the process of normalization of U.S.-China relations) (Beijing: Zhongyang Wenxian Chubanshe, 2004).

Re-Examining the Cold War: U.S.-China Diplomacy, 1954-1973, co-editor with Jiang Changbin (Cambridge, MA: Asia Center, Harvard University, 2001).

Published in China in two volumes: 1955-1971 Nian de Zhong Mei Guanxi -- Huanhe Zhiqian: Lengzhan Chongtu yu Kezhi de Cai Tanta (U.S.-China Relations from 1955-1971 -- Before Detente: An Examination of Cold War Conflict and Restraint) (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, 1998); Zong Duizhi Zouxiang Huanhe: Lengzhan Shiqi zhong Zhong Mei Guanxi zai Tanta (From Confrontation to Detente: A Reexamination of Cold War U.S.-China Relations) (Beijing: Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, 2000).

Engaging China: Management of an Emerging Power, co-editor and contributor (London: Routledge, 1999).

Published in China as Yu Zhongguo Jiechu: Yingdui Yige Jueqi de Dagu (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe, 2001).

After The Cold War: Domestic Factors in U.S.-China Relations, editor and contributor (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

East Asia in Transition: Toward a New Regional Order, editor and contributor (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995).

China, the United States and the Soviet Union: Tripolarity and Policy Making in the Cold War, editor and contributor (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993).

Published in China, with additional Chinese-authored articles, as Mei Zhong Su Sanjiao Guanxi: 70-80 Niandai (U.S.-China-Soviet Triangular Relations: 1970s and 1980s), co-edited with Ni Xiaoquan (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1993).

## **PUBLICATIONS: ARTICLES**

"International Bargaining and Domestic Politics: Conflict in U.S.-China Relations since 1972," World Politics, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (January 1986).

Reprinted in Steven Spiegel, ed., At Issue: Politics in the World Arena, 5th edition, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).

"China's Strategic Role in Asia," in James W. Morley, ed., The Challenge of the Pacific Basin (Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, 1986).

"Indochina's Continuing Tragedy," Problems of Communism, vol. XXXV, no. 6 (November-December 1986).

"Foreign Policy in 1987: Independent Rhetoric/Pragmatic Policy," in Anthony J. Kane, ed., China Briefing, 1988 (Boulder: The Asia Society and Westview Press, 1988).

"China and the Ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia: Political Liability/Economic Asset," in Joyce K. Kallgren, Noordin Sopiee, and Soedjati Djijawandono, eds., ASEAN and China: An Evolving

Relationship (Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1988).

"Succession Politics and Post-Mao Chinese Foreign Policy," in June Teufel Dreyer, ed., Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy (New York: Paragon House, 1989).

"From Lin Biao to Deng Xiaoping: Elite Instability and China's U.S. Policy," The China Quarterly, no. 118 (June 1989).

"China, The Soviet Union and Indochina: Recent Developments and Prospects," in Sino-Soviet Relations, Committee on International Relations, United States Senate, and the U.S. Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1990).

"China's Pacific Security Policy in the 1990s: Preparation for the Insecure Twenty-First Century," in Dora Alves, ed., Evolving Perspectives for Pacific Basin Strategies in the 1990s and Beyond (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1990).

"China's Strategic View of Southeast Asia: A Region in Transition," Contemporary Southeast Asia, vol. 12, no. 2 (September 1990).

"American China Policy and the Security of Asia," in China's Foreign Relations After Tiananmen: Challenges for the United States in NBR Analysis, no. 3 (December 1990) (Seattle, WA: National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research).

"The Bush Administration and China: Development of a Post-Cold War China Policy," in William T. Tow, ed., Building Sino-American Relations: An Analysis for the 1990s (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute, 1991).

"National Security, Human Rights, and Domestic Politics: The Bush Administration and China," in Kenneth A. Oye, Robert J. Leiber, and Donald Rothchild, eds., Eagle in a New World (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992).

"China and the Cambodian Peace Process: The Value of Coercive Diplomacy," Asian Survey, vol. 31, no. 12 (December 1991).

"China Learns to Compromise: Change in U.S.-China Relations, 1982-1984," China Quarterly, no. 128 (December 1991).

"China and Post-Cambodia Southeast Asia: Coping with Success," in Allen S. Whiting, ed., Chinese Foreign Policy, special issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science, vol. 519 (January 1992).

"Coping With China: U.S. China Policy After the Cold War," in Robert Art and Seyom Brown, eds., U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1992).

"China, Japan, and the United States and the Challenge of Indochina," in The Challenge of Indochina: An Examination of the U.S. Role (Washington: D.C.: The Aspen Institute, 1993).

"U.S. Policy Toward China: The Strategic Context and the Policy-making Process," in China, the United States and the Soviet Union: Tripolarity and Policy Making in the Cold War, ed., (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993).

"The United States and China in the 1990s: Facing the Issues," in Gerrit Gong and Lin Bi-Jaw, eds., Sino-American Relations in a Time of Change (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1994).

"New Directions in Chinese Security Studies," (with Paul H.B. Godwin), in David Shambaugh, ed., The American Study of Contemporary China (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

"Clinton and China: The Failure of Linkage," Contemporary Papers of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, no. 4 (1994).

China and the Stability of East Asia," in Robert S. Ross, ed., East Asia In Transition: Toward A New Regional Order (M.E. Sharpe, 1995).

Published in China as "Zhongguo yu Dong Ya de Wending" (China and the stability of East Asia), in Zhanlue yu Guanli (Strategy and Management), no. 5, 1995.

"Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South China: The Politics of Economic Integration," in Jane Khanna, ed., Southern China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan: Evolution of a Subregional Economy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1995).

"The United States and China and the Stability of Southeast Asia," in David M. Lampton and Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr., eds., United States-China Relations at a Crossroads (The Atlantic Council and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, University Press of America, 1995).

"China and Post-Cold War Southeast Asia: The Challenge of Economic Competition," in David Wurfel and Bruce Burton, eds., Southeast Asia in the New World Order: The Political Economy of a Dynamic Region (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

"Enter the Dragon: China and the World Trade Organization," Foreign Policy, no. 104 (September 1996).

Reprinted in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkoph, eds., The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives, fifth edition (NY: McGraw Hill, 1997), and in John T. Rourke, ed., Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Issues in World Politics, eighth edition (New York: Dushkin/McGraw Hill, 1998).

Published in China as "Zhulong ru Guan," in Shijie Maoyi Zuzhi Dongtai yu Yanjiu (WTO Focus), no. 2 (February), 1997.

"Managing a Changing Relationship: China's Japan Policy in the 1990s," (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College/Carlisle Barracks, 1996).

Published in China as “Zhongguo 90 Niandai de dui Ri Zhengce,” in Zhang Yunling, ed., Hezuo Haishi Duikang: Lengzhan hou de Zhongguo, Meiguo he Riben (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1997).

“The 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis: Lessons for The United States, China, and Taiwan,” Security Dialogue, vol. 27, no. 4 (December 1996).

“Beijing as a Conservative Power,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 76, no. 2 (March/April 1997).  
Reprinted in George McKenna and Stanley Feingold, Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues (New York: Dushkin/McGraw Hill, 1998); Liu Guoli, ed., Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2004).  
Published in China in Cankao Ziliao (Reference materials), March 19, 1997; published in Japan in Chuo Koron, no. 5, 1997.

“Why Our Hardliners Are Wrong,” The National Interest, no. 49 (Fall 1997).  
Reprinted in Eugene R. Wittkopf, ed., The Future of American Foreign Policy, third edition, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998); Owen Harries, ed., China in The National Interest (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

“China,” in Richard Haass, ed., Economic Sanctions and American Diplomacy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1998)

“The 1998 Sino-American Summit,” Asian Update, The Asia Society (June 1998).

“The Strategic and Bilateral Context of Policy Making in China and the United States: Why Domestic Factors Matter,” in Robert S. Ross, ed., After the Cold War: Domestic Factors and U.S.-China Relations (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

Published in China as “Mei Zhong Guanxi zhong de Chongtu yu Hezuo -- Quyu Waijiao, Shuangbian Guanxi he Tanpan Jizhi,” in Zhao Baoxu, ed., Kua Shiji de Zhong Mei Guanxi (Sino-American Relations across the Century) (Beijing: Dongfang Chubanshe, 1999).

“The Geography of the Peace: Great Power Stability in Twenty-First Century East Asia,” International Security, vol. 23, no. 4 (Spring 1999).

“U.S. Security Policy in Asia,” in Suh Jin-Young and Soh Changrok, eds., The World After the Cold War: Issues and Dilemmas (Seoul: Graduate School of International Studies, Korea University, 1999).

“Managing the Rise of China: Engagement in U.S. China Policy,” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., Engaging China: Management of an Emerging Power (London: Routledge, 1999).

“China and the Future of the Geopolitical and Military Balance in Asia,” Occasional Paper of the Centre d’Etudes des Politiques Etrangères et de Sécurité, Université Québec à Montréal (December 1999).



“The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and Use of Force,” International Security, vol. 25, no. 2 (Fall 2000).

Also published in Robert J. Art and Patrick M. Cronin, eds., United States and Coercive Diplomacy (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2003).

Published in China as “Wuli de Xiandu: Zhong Mei Guanxi de Taiwan Wenti (The limits of force: The Taiwan issue in China-U.S. relations), in Zhanlue yu Guanli (Strategy and management), no. 3, 2001.

“Zhongguo Jingji Fazhan dui Guoji Jingji he Anquan de Yiyi” (The international economic and strategic significance of Chinese economic development), in Hu Angang, ed., Zhongguo Zouxiang (Prospects of China) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang Renmin Chubanshe, 2000).

“Heping Dilixue: 21 Shiji de Dongya” (Peace geography: East Asia in the 21st century), Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi (International economics and politics), no. 11, 2000.

“Ershiyi Shiji Dongya de Liliang Junheng: Liangji Jiegou de Wendingxing” (The twenty-first century East Asian Balance of Power: The stability of bipolarity), Zhang Yunling, ed., 21 Shiji: Shijie Geju yu Daguo Guanxi (21st century: World structure and great powers relations) (Beijing: Social Science Documents Press, 2001).

“The Diplomacy of Tiananmen: Two-Level Bargaining and Great Power Cooperation,” Security Studies, vol. 10, no. 2, 2001.

“The Stability of Deterrence in the Taiwan Strait,” The National Interest, Fall, 2001.

Reprinted in Owen Harries, ed., China in The National Interest (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

“The Origins of Engagement: The Bush Administration and China,” in Raymon H. Meyers, Michel C. Oksenberg, and David Shambaugh, eds., Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

“Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and U.S.-China Relations,” International Security, vol. 27, no. 2 (Fall 2002).

Published in China as “Chuanyue Taiwan Haixia – Weishe, Shengji Kongzhi yu Zhong Mei Guanxi,” Guoji Zhengzhi Yanjiu (Studies of international politics), no. 1 (February 2004).

“The Evolution of U.S.-China Relations and the Impact on Sino-Japanese Relations: 1972-1992,” in Ezra F. Vogel, Yuan Ming, Tanaka Akihiko, eds., The Golden Age of the U.S.-China-Japan Triangle, 1972-1989 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).

“The U.S.-China Peace: Great Power Politics, Spheres of Influence, and the Peace of East Asia,” Journal of East Asian Studies, vol. 3, no. 3 (Fall 2003).

Published in China as “Mei Zhong Hezu: Daguo Zhengzhi, Yingxiang Fanwei yu Dongya Heping,” Shijie Jingji Yanjiu (Studies in international economics), no. 3 (2004).

“Bipolarity and Balancing in East Asia,” in T.V. Paul and James J. Wurtz, eds., Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Published in China in Yan Xuetong, ed., Dongya Anquan Hezuo (East Asian security cooperation) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2004).

“The Clinton Administration and China, 1993-2001,” in Ezra Vogel, ed., China, Japan and the United States in the Twenty-First Century (Cambridge, MA: Asia Center, Harvard University, 2004).

“Assessing the China Threat,” The National Interest, no. 81 (Fall 2005).

“Managing Great Power Cooperation: A Realist China Policy for the United States,” Policy Analysis Brief, Stanley Foundation (2005).

“Mei Zhong: Qidai Hezhong Daguo Guanxi” (The United States and China: Looking forward to what kind of great power relationship) in Song Nanshen, ed., Daguo zhi Lu (The road of the great powers) (Beijing, Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, 2005).

“Toward a Stable and Constructive China Policy,” NBR Analysis (December 2005).

“Taiwan’s Fading Independence Movement,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 85, no. 1 (March-April 2006).

Published in Taiwan as “Mei Xuezhe Cheng Taiwan Duli Yundong zai Shuailuo” (U.S. scholar says Taiwan independence movement is declining), Central News Agency, March 8, 2006.

Published in Japan as “Chu Tai Anteika Jidai no Hajimari” (Beginning of an era of China-Taiwan stability) (April, 2006).

“Comparative Deterrence: The Taiwan Strait and the Korean Peninsula,” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., New Directions in the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: Essays in Honor of Allen S. Whiting (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

“China if by Land, United States if by Sea: The Strategic Foundations of Stable U.S.-China Relations,” Brown Journal of World Affairs, vol. XII, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2006).

“Yalta-sur-Mer-Jaune” (Yalta on the Yellow Sea), Outre-Terre (France), no. 15 (2006).

“Explaining Taiwan’s Revisionist Foreign Policy,” Journal of Contemporary China, vol. 15, no. 48 (August 2006).

Recipient of the “Best Paper” award of the 2006 annual meeting of the Association of Chinese Political Studies.

“Balance of Power Politics and the Rise of China: Accommodation and Balancing in East Asia,” Security Studies, vol. 15, no. 3 (July-September 2006) .

Also published in William W. Keller and Thomas G. Rawski, eds., China’s Rise and the Balance of Influence in Asia (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

“Zong Lengzhan dao Zhongguo de Jueqi: Meiguo dui Zhongguo Waijiao Zhengce Yanjiu de Bianhua yu Yanxu” (From the Cold War to China’s rise: Change and continuity in American studies of Chinese diplomatic policy), Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi (World economics and politics), no. 10 (2006).

“The Rise of China: Theoretical and Policy Perspectives,” with Zhu Feng, in Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng, eds., China’s Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

“The Challenge of Nationalism,” Chinese Security, vol. 4, no. 2 (spring 2008).

“The Rise of Russia. Sino-Russian Relations, and U.S. Security Policy,” Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defense College (June 2009).

“China,” in Neyla Arnas, ed., Fighting Chance: Global Trends and Shocks in the National Security Environment (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press and Potomac Books, 2009).

“Here Be Dragons: Debate - Is China a Military Threat?/Myth?,” The National Interest, no. 103 (September/October 2009).

“China’s Naval Nationalism: Sources, Prospects, and the American Response,” International Security, vol. 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009).

“The Challenge of Success: China’s New Global Confidence and U.S.-China Relations,” Harvard China Review, vol. 6, no. 1 (January 2010).

“The Rise of Chinese Power and the Implications for the Regional Security Order,” Orbis, vol. 54, no. 4 (Fall 2010).

“Correspondence: Debating China’s Naval Nationalism,” International Security, vol. 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010).

“China’s Three Rises, Regional Power Transitions and East Asian Security: 1949 to the Twenty-First Century,” in William C. Kirby, ed., The People’s Republic of China at 60: An International Assessment (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011).

Published in China as “Zhongguo Jueqi, Diqu Quanli Zhuanyi yu Dongya Anquan: Zong 1949 dao 21 Shiji” (The rise of China, regional power transitions, and East Asian security: 1949 to the 21<sup>st</sup> century), Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi, no. 11 (October 2009).

“Chinese Nationalism and Its Discontents,” The National Interest, no. 116 (November-December 2011)..

Published in China as “Zhongguo de Minzu Zhuyi ji Qi bu Manzuzhe,” at <http://www.zhongdaonet.com/NewsInfo.aspx?id=2122>.

“The Rise of Russia. Sino-Russian Relations, and U.S. Security Policy,” in Gustaaf Geeraerts and Eva Gross, eds., Perspectives for a European Security Strategy Towards Asia: Views from Asia, Europe and the US (Brussels: Academic & Scientific Publishers, 2011).

“China’s Aircraft Carrier: Chinese Naval Nationalism and Its Implications for the United States,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (October 2011).

“Zhongguo Junshi Xiandaihua ji dui Meiguo Anquan ji Dongya Anquan Zhixu de Yingxiang” (Chinese military modernization and its influence on U.S. security and the East Asian security order), Kongtian Liliang Zazhi (Air and space power journal) , vol. 6, no. 2 (summer 2012).

“Chinese Nationalism and the American Response: Sources of Tension and Prospects for Renewed Cooperation,” in Gilbert Rozman, ed., China’s Foreign Policy: Who Makes It, and How Is It Made? (Seoul: Asan Institute, 2012).

“The Problem with the Pivot: Obama’s New Asia Policy Is Unnecessary and Counterproductive,” Foreign Affairs, vol. 91, no. 6 (November/December 2012).

Published in China as “Meiguo Chongfan Yazhou Zhanlue de Wenti” (The problem with the U.S. return to Asia), in Guoji Guanxi Xinxu Dongtai (Trends in international relations information), vol. 7, no. 10 (December 2012), at <http://www.cfau.edu.cn/uploadfiles/2012121812102311.pdf>.

“China’s Military Modernization and East Asian Security,” in Bjørn Terejesen and Øystein Tunsjø, eds., The Rise of Naval Powers in Asia and Europe’s Decline (Oslo: Institute for Defence Studies, 2012).

“U.S. Grand Strategy, The Rise of China and U.S. National Security Strategy for East Asia,” Strategic Studies Quarterly, vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer 2013).

“The U.S. Pivot to Asia and Implications for Australia,” in Centre of Gravity, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, April 2013.

“What the Pivot Means for Transatlantic Relations: Separate Course or New Opportunity for Engagement?,” in Transatlantic Security Cooperation in Asia After the U.S. Pivot, German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 2013.

“The Domestic Sources of China’s ‘Assertive Diplomacy,’ 2009-2010; Nationalism and Chinese Foreign Policy,” in Rosemary Foot, ed., China Across the Divide (Oxford University Press, 2013).

“The Pivot in Perspective,” Insight, Journal of the American Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai, November 2013

“The Fate of The Pivot: U.S. Policy in East Asia,” Policy Brief, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore (March 2014).

“Thinking About U.S.-China Relations,” Peace (Beijing), no. 111 (June 2014).

“Dang Daguo Zouxian Haiyang: Xiongxin de Daijia yu Minzu Zhuyi de Beiju” (When great powers go to sea: The price of ambition and the tragedy of nationalism), in 21 Shiji Haiyang Daguo: Haishang Hezuo yu Chongtu Guanli (Twenty-first century maritime powers: Cooperation and conflict management at sea) (Beijing: Social Sciences Literature Press, 2014.)

“The Revival of Geopolitics in East Asia: Why and How?,” Global Asia, vol. 9, no. 3 (fall 2014).

“American Public Diplomacy and U.S.-China Relations: 1949-2012,” in Geoffrey Wiseman, ed., Isolate or Engage: Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy, and Public Diplomacy (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2015).

“Xi Jinping and the Challenges to Chinese Security Policy,” with Mingjiang Li, in Robert S. Ross and Jo Inge Bekkevold, eds., China in the Era of Xi Jinping: Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2016).

“The Rise of the Chinese Navy: From Regional Naval Power to Global Naval Power?” in China’s Global Engagement: Cooperation, Competition, and Influence in the 21st Century, Jacques deLisle and Avery Goldstein, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2017).

Published in China as “Zhongguo de Haijun Jueqi: Zong Quyuxing Haijun Liliang dao Quanqixing Haijun Liliang”?, Guoji Anquan Yanjiu (Journal of international security studies), no. 1, 2016.

“The United States and China in Northeast Asia: Third-Party Coercion and Alliance Relations,” in Robert S. Ross and Øystein Tunsjø, eds., Strategic Adjustment and the Rise of China: Power and Politics in East Asia, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

“The Great Power Challenge to the East Asian Peace,” in Elin Bjarnegård and Joakim Kreutz, eds., Debating the East Asian Peace, (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017).

“What Does the Rise of China Mean for the United States?,” in Jennifer Rudolph and Michael Szonyi, eds., The China Questions: Critical Insights into a Rising Power (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

“Troubled Waters,” The National Interest, no. 155 (May-June 2018).

Published in China as “Zhongguo Haijun Jiasu Xiandaihua Donyao Mei zai Yazhou Zhudaoquan,” (The acceleration of Chinese naval modernization shakes U.S. dominance in East Asia), Reference News, April 18, 2018.

“Nationalism, Geopolitics and Naval Expansionism: From the Nineteenth Century to the Rise of China,” Naval War College Review, vol. 71, no. 4 (autumn 2018).

“On The Fungibility of Economic Power: China’s Economic Rise and the East Asian Security Order,” European Journal of International Politics, vol. 25, no. 1 (2019).

Published in China as “Lun Jingji Liliang de Qudaixing: Zhongguo de Jingji Jueqi yu Dong Ya de Anquan Zhixu,” Meiguo Wenti Yanjiu (Fudan American review), 2017 (no. 1).

“Anliu Yongdong: Yingdui Zhongguo Jueqi de Zhi yu Luan” (Surging undercurrent: Dealing with governance and chaos in China's rise), in Lengzhan Guoji Shi Yanjiu (Cold War international history studies), no. 27 (2019).

“Learning From Foreign Colleagues: Research In China,” in Peter Krause and Ora Szekeley, eds. The Unorthodox Guide to Fieldwork (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

“Beyond Theoretical Determinism: Exploring The Complexity of Power Transitions” (review essay), Journal of East Asian Studies, vol. 20, no. 2 (2020).

“It’s Not a Cold War: Competition and Cooperation in U.S.-China Relations,” China International Strategy Review, vol. 2, no. 1 (2020).

Published in Chinese in Zhongguo Guoji Zhanlue Pinglun (China international strategy review), no. 6, 2020.

“The Changing East Asian Balance of Power and the Regional Security Order,” in Robert S. Ross, Øystein Tunsjø, and Wang Dong, eds., US-China Foreign Relations: Power Transition and its Implications for Europe and Asia (New York: Routledge, 2020).

“Conclusion: The United States, China, and Europe in an Age of Uncertainty,” in Robert S. Ross, Øystein Tunsjø, and Wang Dong, eds., US-China Foreign Relations: Power Transition and its Implications for Europe and Asia Era (New York: Routledge, 2020).

“Sino-Russian Relations: The False Promise of Russian Balancing,” International Politics, vol. 57, no. 5 (2020).

“Sino-Vietnamese Relations in the Era of Rising China: Power vs. Resistance and the Sources of Instability,” Journal of Contemporary China (forthcoming, published on-line December 2020).

“From Hegemony To Bipolarity: The New East Asian Security Order, American Strategy, and the Prospects for War And Peace” (work in progress).

“Rising China between North and South Korea: The New Security Order on the Korean Peninsula” (work in progress).