

Thomas J. Christensen

Columbia University ▪ School of International and Public Affairs
420 W 118th Street IAB Rm 1314A ▪ New York, NY ▪ 10027
Phone 212-851-9320 ▪ E-Mail tjc2175@columbia.edu

Professional Positions 2003-present

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

Professor of International and Public Affairs, Director of the China and the World Program, Columbia University ▪ July 2018-present

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

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

William P. Boswell Professor of World Politics of Peace and War, Princeton University ▪ January 2011-June 2019

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Education

Columbia University (September 1987-February 1993)
Ph.D., Political Science, International Relations
Area Specialization: Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy ▪ February 1993

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

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

University of Pennsylvania (September 1985-August 1987)
M.A., International Relations ▪ August 1987

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

Haverford College (September 1980-May 1984)
B.A., Honors in History ▪ May 1984

Employment and Professional Experience

July 2002 – June 2003 Professor of Political Science ▪ MIT

July 1998 – June 2002
Associate Professor of Political Science ▪ MIT

July 1997 – June 1998
Associate Professor of Government ▪ Cornell University

July 1993 – June 1997
Assistant Professor of Government ▪ Cornell University

1993 – 2006, 2008-2015
Research Interviews with Experts on Chinese Security Issues ▪ Beijing, Shanghai and Taipei

July 2001 – 2006
Director for China, National Bureau of Asian Research

November 2000 – 2006, 2008--2014
Member, Board of Directors, National Committee on United States-China Relations

January-June 2006
Member, U.S.-China Task Force, Council on Foreign Relations

Summer 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002
Summer Studies, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Office of Net Assessment

January 2000 and June 2002
American Delegation Member, 10th and 11th U.S.-China Dialogue sponsored by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations ▪ Beijing, China and Tarrytown, NY

1998-1999
Co-Chair, Future of Chinese Power Study Group, Council on Foreign Relations

Fall 1994 – Spring 1995
Member of the Asian Security Study Group, Asia Project, Council on Foreign Relations

August 1990 – January 1991
Advanced Researcher ▪ Beijing University

June 1988 – July 1988
Research Interviews on Technology Import-Export Policy ▪ Beijing and Shanghai

June 1987 – August 1987
University of International Business and Economics ▪ Beijing, Chinese Business and Language Program

June 1985 – August 1985
Falcon Chinese Language Course ▪ Cornell University

Grants and Awards

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

The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power

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

Foreign Affairs magazine Book of the Year Selectee, 2015

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

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

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

The Carnegie Corporation 2 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning January 1, 2020

The Carnegie Corporation 3 Year Grant for the China and the World Program beginning July 2013 (\$687,900), renewed January 2017 (\$575,000)

John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation 3 Year Grant for the China and the World Program Beginning July 2013 (\$500,000)

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, selected to distribute fellowships to gifted graduate students at Princeton University ▪ 2004-2006; 2008-2014 (\$25,000 per year).

Smith Richardson Foundation Grant for research on China's Cold War Alliances ▪ 1998-2000

Summer research grants, Olin Institute Project on East Asian Security, Harvard University ▪ 1994 – 1996

John M. Olin Fellowship in National Security, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University ▪ 1991 – 1993

SSRC/MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace and Security ▪ 1989 – 1991

Columbia University President's Fellowship; Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellow, September 1988 – May 1989

MacArthur Fellowship for Peace and Cooperation, Columbia University ▪ June 1988 – August 1988

Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Fellowship ▪ September 1987 – May 1988

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship, University of Pennsylvania ▪ September 1986 – August 1987

Publications

John T. Downey, Thomas J. Christensen, and Jack Lee Downey, *Lost in the Cold War: The Story of Jack Downey, America's Longest-Held Prisoner of* (forthcoming, Columbia University Press, 2022)

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

<https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/chinas-new-direction-challenges-and-opportunities-us-policy>

“There Will Be No New Cold War: The Limits of U.S.-PRC Strategic Competition,” *Foreign Affairs*, March 22, 2021.

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

<http://en.asaninst.org/contents/no-new-cold-war-why-us-china-strategic-competition-will-not-be-like-the-us-soviet-cold-war/>

“Developing A New Approach to Covid-19 in U.S.-China Relations,” in Ryan Hass, Ryan Mcelveen, and Robert D. Williams, eds. *The Future of US Policy Toward China: Recommendations for the Biden Administration* (New Haven and Washington: Yale University Law School and the Brookings Institution, 2020)

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Thomas-J-Christensen.pdf>

“A Modern Tragedy? COVID-19 and US-China Relations,” Brookings Institution, May 2020
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/a-modern-tragedy-covid-19-and-us-china-relations/>

“A Modern Tragedy? COVID-19 and US China Relations,” *The Reed* (The Student and Alumni Journal of the Weatherhead East Asia Institute, Columbia University) May 2020
<http://weai.columbia.edu/publications/the-reed/>

Asia Society/UCSD Task Force on U.S.-China Relations, “Saving Lives in America, China, and Around the World,” April 3, 2020
<https://asiasociety.org/center-us-china-relations/saving-lives-america-china-and-around-world>

Task Force Co-Author, “Course Correction: Toward an Effective and Sustainable China Policy,” Asia Society and UC San Diego, 2019. Thomas J. Christensen, Steven Goldstein et al., “Conclusion,” in Alan Romberg, *Across the Taiwan Strait: From Cooperation to Confrontation?* (Washington, DC: Stimson Center, 2018)

Thomas J. Christensen and Patricia Kim, “Don’t Abandon Ship,” *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2018

“Introduction for Roundtable on *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* and How Statesmen Think: The Psychology of International Politics,” December 8, 2017, ISSF-Roundtable, 10-4, December 8, 2017, H-Diplo Website
<https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/1000429/issf-roundtable-10-4-perception-and-misperception-international>

“Hemispheric Pressure: As Asian Powers Rise, How Should the West Respond,” *The New York Times Book Review* May 12, 2017.

Task Force Co-Author, U.S. Policy Toward China: Recommendations for a New Administration,” Asia Society, February 7, 2017.
http://asiasociety.org/files/USChina_Task_Force_Report_FINAL.pdf

The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016) paperback edition with Afterword.

“Author’s Response: Roundtable on *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power*,” H-Diplo ISSF Roundtable, Volume XI, No. 4 October 30, 2016, H-Diplo Website
<https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/150678/issf-roundtable-china-challenge-shaping-choices-rising-power>

The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015)

“Obama and Asia: Confronting the China Challenge,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2015)

“China’s Rising Military: Now for the Hard Part,” *Bloomberg View* June 5, 2015 10:12AM.

Reprinted as “Managing Disputed with China,” *Japan Times* June 9, 2015

“China’s Military Might: First the Good News,” *Bloomberg View* June 4, 2015 9:46 AM

Reprinted as “China’s Military Might: The Good News,” *Japan Times* June 8, 2015.

“Review of Richard D. Bernstein, *China 1945: Mao’s Revolution and America’s Fateful Choice*,” (*New York Times Sunday Book Review*, Jan. 11, 2015)

“The Meaning of the Nuclear Evolution: China’s Strategic Modernization and U.S.-China Relations,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* (August 2012).

“The Meaning of the Nuclear Evolution: China’s Strategic Modernization and U.S.-China Relations,” in James W. Davis, ed., *Psychology, Strategy and Conflict: Perceptions of Insecurity in International Relations* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

“More Actors, Less Coordination?: New Challenges for the Leaders of a Rising China,” in Gilbert Rozman and Hahm Chaibong, eds., *China’s Foreign Policy: Who Makes it, and How is it Made?* (Seoul: Asan Institute Press, 2012)

Worse than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Coercive Diplomacy in Asia (Princeton University Press, 2011).

Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, “Multipolarity, Perceptions, and the Tragedy of 1914,” *International Studies Quarterly* (Summer 2011).

The Need to Pursue Mutual Interests in U.S.-PRC Relations (Washington, DC: Special Report of the United States Institute of Peace, 2010).

“The Advantages of an Assertive China: Responding to Beijing’s Abrasive Diplomacy” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2011), pp. 54-67.

“Why the World Needs an Assertive China,” *New York Times/International Herald Tribune* February 21, 2011.

“Shaping the Choices of a Rising China: Recent Lessons for the Obama Administration,” *Washington Quarterly* (June 2009)

“The Case for a Really Long Engagement,” *Washington Post Outlook Magazine*, November 30, 2008.

“Fostering Stability or Creating a Monster? The Rise of China and U.S. Policy Toward East Asia,” *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006)

“Windows and War: Changes in the International System and China's Decision to Use Force.” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds. *New Approaches to China's Foreign Relations: Essays in Honor of Allen S. Whiting* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Thomas J. Christensen, Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, “Introduction” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert Ross, eds. *New Approaches to China's Foreign Relations: Essays in Honor of Allen S. Whiting* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

“Will China Become a ‘Responsible Stakeholder’? The Six-Party Talks, Taiwan Arms Sales, and Sino-Japanese Relations,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 16 (Fall 2005) www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

A Statement Before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Hearing on China's Military Modernization and the Cross-Strait Balance, September 15, 2005, http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written_testimonies/05_09_15wrt/christensen_thomas.htm

“Looking Beyond the Nuclear Bluster: Recent Progress and Remaining Problems in PRC Security Policy” *China Leadership Monitor*, Vol 15 (Summer 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

“Have Old Problems Trumped New Thinking? China's Relations with Taiwan, Japan and North Korea” *China Leadership Monitor*, Vol 14 (Spring 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org

Prepared Testimony Before the United States House Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, House International Relations Committee, April 6, 2005, “China's Anti-Secession Law and Developments Across the Taiwan Strait” http://www.house.gov/international_relations/109/20403.PDF

“Worse than a Monolith: Disorganization and Rivalry within Asian Communist Alliances and U.S. Containment Challenges, 1949-69,” *Asian Security* Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 2005), pp. 80-127.

“Taiwan's Legislative Yuan Elections and Cross-Strait Security Relations: Reduced Tensions and Remaining Challenges,” *China Leadership Monitor*, Vol 13 (Winter 2005) at www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org.

- “Contradictory Messages on Deterrence: *Zhanyixue* and Taiwan Scenarios,” James Mulvenon and David Finkelstein, eds., *The PLA Revolution in Doctrinal Affair* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005).
- New Challenges and Opportunities in the Taiwan Strait: Defining America’s Role* (New York: National Committee on US-China Relations, 2003).
- Thomas J. Christensen and Michael A. Glosny, “Sources of Stability in U.S.-China Security Relations,” in Richard Ellings and Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia 2003-2004: Fragility and Crisis* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003).
- “PRC Security Relations with the United States: Why Things Are Going So Well,” *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 8, Fall 2003).
- “PRC Foreign Relations After the National People’s Congress: Iraq, North Korea, SARS, and Taiwan.” *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 7, Summer 2003)
- “Optimistic Trends and Near-term Challenges: Sino-American Security Relations in Early 2003,” *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 6, Spring 2003).
- “The Party Transition: Will It Bring a New Maturity in Chinese Security Policy?” *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 5, Winter 2003).
- “A Smooth Ride Despite Many Potholes: The Road to Crawford,” *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 4, Fall 2002).
- "China" in Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg with Michael Wills, eds., *Strategic Asia 2002-03: Asian Aftershocks* (Seattle, WA: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2002).
- "The Contemporary Security Dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan Conflict," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Autumn 2002).
- "Beijing's Views of Taiwan and the United States in Early 2002: The Renaissance of Pessimism," *China Leadership Monitor* (No. 3, Summer 2002).
- "Terrorism, Taiwan Elections, and Tattered Treaties: PRC Security Politics From September 11 Through Year's End," *China Leadership Monitor* (Winter 2002, Issue One, Part Two).
- "Tracking China's Security Relations: Causes for Optimism and Pessimism," *China Leadership Monitor* (Winter 2002, Issue One).
- “Why We Should Better Coordinate American and European Policies Toward China.” Forum Paper, U.S.-European Forum, Fourth Meeting, October 22-23, 2001, published at <http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/europe/forumpapers/christensen.htm>

"China," in Richard Ellings and Aaron Friedberg, eds., *Strategic Asia, 2001-02* (Seattle, Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2001).

"Correspondence: Power and Resolve in U.S. China Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001).

Posing Problems Without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 2001). An earlier version of this article appears on the web site of the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University as "SAIS Policy Forum Series Report Number 14, December 2000."

Richard K. Betts and Thomas J. Christensen, "China: Getting the Questions Right," *The National Interest* (Winter 2000/2001).

"Clarity on Taiwan: Correcting Misperceptions on Both Sides of the Strait," *Washington Post OpEd* (March 20, 2000).

"Correspondence: Spiral, Security, and Stability in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Spring 2000).

"Theater Missile Defense and Taiwan's Security," *Orbis*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter 2000).

"China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999). Reprinted in Michael E. Brown and Sean Lynn-Jones, eds., *The Rise of China: An International Security Reader*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000); and in Michael Mastanduno and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *Emerging International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, Columbia University Press, 2003.

"Pride, Pressure, and Politics: The Roots of China's Worldview," in Yong Deng and Feiling Wang, eds., *In the Eyes of the Dragon: China Views the World and Sino-American Relations* (Boulder, Colo: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).

Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder "Progressive Research About Degenerate Alliances," *American Political Science Review* (Winter 1997/98).

"Perceptions and Alliances in Europe, 1865-1940," *International Organization* (Winter 1996/97).

"Chinese Realpolitik," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 1996).

Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict, 1947-58, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

"A Lost Chance for What? Rethinking the Origins of US-PRC Confrontation," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1995).

"Conclusion: Systemic Stability and the Security of the Most Vulnerable Significant Actor," in Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis, eds., *Coping With Complexity in the International System* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1993). Book Review, John F. Copper, *China Diplomacy: The Washington-Taipei-Beijing Triangle* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992) in *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1993).

"Threats, Assurances, and the Last Chance for Peace: The Lessons of Mao's Korean War Telegrams," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992).

"Correspondence: Mobilization and Inadvertence in the July Crisis," *International Security*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Summer 1991).

Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity," *International Organization* (Spring 1990) reprinted in Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, eds., *International Relations Theory*, 2nd. Edition (New York: MacMillan, 1993).

Unpublished Manuscripts

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

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

Organizational Memberships and Affiliations

Asia Society/UCSD Task Force on U.S.-China Relations ▪ Member
Brookings Institution ▪ Senior Non-Resident Fellow
Council on Foreign Relations ▪ Life Member
National Committee on U.S.-China Relations ▪ Board of Directors (July 1996-2006, July 2009-July 2014)
National Bureau of Asian Research ▪ Advisory Council Member, National Asia Research Program
National Bureau of Asian Research ▪ Advisory Council Member, Chinese Language Program
Asia Society ▪ Advisory Board
American Academy of Social Sciences ▪ Project Steering Committee ▪ Meeting the Challenges of a New Nuclear Age 2018-2019

Editorial Boards

Nancy B. Tucker and Warren I. Cohen Series on the United States in Asia, Columbia University Press ▪ Chief Editor
Studies in Asian Security Book Series ▪ International Board ▪ Stanford University Press
World Politics ▪ Editorial Committee 2004-2006 and 2009-2018
World Politics ▪ Editorial Board 2018-present

Foreign Languages

Chinese (Mandarin) ▪ Fluency in conversation and reading
Spanish ▪ Moderate ability to read

Columbia University Service

Director, China and the World Program, SIPA, 2018-present
Faculty Director, Contemporary China Initiative, Columbia University 2019-2020
SIPA Faculty Development Committee 2019-2020
SIPA Davis Fellowship Awards Committee 2018-2020
Center for Global Energy Faculty Advisory Committee, Columbia University 2019-2020
Columbia Global Center, Beijing Faculty Advisory Committee 2018-2020
Weatherhead East Asia Institute ▪ Faculty Affiliate
Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies ▪ Faculty Affiliate

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

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