

**Curriculum Vitae  
April 2024**

**JOHN W. GARVER**

**Emeritus Professor  
Sam Nunn School of International Affairs  
Georgia Institute of Technology  
Atlanta, Georgia**

**DEGREES EARNED**

Ph.D.	1979	University of Colorado	Political Science
M.S.	1973	University of Colorado	Political Science
B.A. & B.S.	1968	Oklahoma State University	Political Science Psychology (two undergraduate degrees)

**EMPLOYMENT**

Emeritus Professor School of International Affairs Georgia Institute of Technology	June 2015 -present
Professor, School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology	1993-2015
Associate Professor, School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology	1990-93
Assistant Professor, School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology	1985-89
Visiting Research Associate, Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University.	1984-85
Director, Pomona College's China Program Nanjing University, People's Republic of China.	1984
Sinologist, cruise ship on Yangtze River, China, operated	1983

by Lindblad travel company

Research Fellow, Stanford Center and Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan.	1982-83
Assistant Professor, University of Nevada, Reno.	1981-82
Adjunct Faculty member, School of Area Studies, Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State.	1980
Instructor, Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan.	1979-80
Research Scholar, Universities Service Center, Hong Kong	1978
Instructor, University of Maryland, Overseas Program, Taiwan.	1977
Research Scholar, Institute for International Relations, Taipei, Taiwan.	1976-78
Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado.	1973-75
U.S. Army, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Infantry Division, West Germany.	1970

## **FOREIGN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION**

**Chinese:** 1976-78: Intensive Chinese study in Taipei, Taiwan National Normal University

1982-83: Intensive Chinese study in Taipei, Taiwan National University, Inter-University Program

1989: Intensive summer program in Chinese, Taipei, Taiwan National University

Various: directed or assisted with numerous China based study programs.

**German:** German language courses at the Goethe Institute, Atlanta: Fall 1988, Winter 1989, Spring 1989, Fall 1990, Winter 1990, Fall 1993.

1991, Fulbright Commission Program on German Reunification. Based in Bonn, extensive study and touring re then current process of German unification.

1970. Service w/ U.S. Army in Germany, 1970.

1967: Summer work at Mannesmann steel company, Duisberg, West Germany.

1 year undergraduate study of German at Oklahoma State University.

### **ORGANIZATION and LEADERSHIP of EAST ASIAN PROGRAMS**

2005-2012: Conceptualized, organized and successfully directed five summer cycles of new multi-region (Japan, Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong) 9 week-long program on East Asia economic and political development. Asian partners included Sogang University, Sun Yat-sen National University, and Guangdong University of Foreign Studies.

1995-2000: Conceptualized, organized and directed 8-week summer program based at Fudan University in Shanghai on political economy of China's opening and reform process. Negotiated arrangements with Fudan University. This was the 1<sup>st</sup> China program of any school in the University System of Georgia. Cycles of the program with 20 or so students each cycle ran successfully under Garver's direction in summers of 1996, 1998, and 2000, after which INTA professor Feiling Wang assumed directorship of the program.

1990-2006: Assisted with seven iterations of Carleton College's China program based at University of International Business and Economics, Beijing.

1984: Director, Pomona University Program at Nanjing University.

1983: Sinologist on Lindblad Travel cruise ship on Yangtze

### **PUBLISHED BOOKS and MONOGRAPHS**

(n = 15, not including translations into foreign languages.)

Crossing Borders: the Making of an American Asian Specialist, Fulton Books, Medville, PA, 2022. 222 pages. Memoir.

China's Quest: History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, Oxford University Press, Second, revised and expanded soft-bound paper-back edition. 2018. 910 pages.

China's Quest: History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, Oxford University Press. Initial hard-bound edition, 2016. 868 pages.

Editor with Robert Ash and Penelope Prime, Taiwan's Democracy: Economic and Political Changes, Routledge, 2011.

The Vital Triangle: China, the United States, and the Middle East, with Jon B. Alterman, Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008. 144 pages. (Culmination of multi-year funding from Smith Richardson Foundation.)

China and Iran, Ancient Partners in a Post-Imperial World, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006. 401 pages.

Ibid. Arabic translation by The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. 2009,

Ibid. Persian translation by Center for Political and International Studies (Foreign ministry think tank), Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran. 2009.

Ibid. Korean translation. February 2007:

John Garver, Flynt Leverett, and Hillary Mann Leverett, (co authors) Moving (Slightly) Closer to Iran: China's Shifting Calculus for Managing Its 'Persian Gulf Dilemma', Asia-Pacific Policy Papers Series, Edwin Reischauer Center, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, October 2009. (Monograph, 56 pages.) [http://www.sais-jhu.edu/bin/y/v/moving\\_slightly-closer.pdf](http://www.sais-jhu.edu/bin/y/v/moving_slightly-closer.pdf)

The China-India-U.S. Triangle: Strategic Relations in the Post-Cold War Era, NBR Analysis, (Monograph published by the National Bureau of Asian Research), vol. 13, No. 5 (October 2002). 67 pages.

The Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2001. 447 pages.

Face Off: China, the United States and Taiwan's Democratization, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1997. 193 pages.

The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and United States Cold War Strategy in Asia, Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997. 312 pages.

Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China, New York: Prentice Hall, 1993. 346 pages. Undergraduate survey of China's foreign relations.

Organizational Capabilities of the Chinese PLA, Dunwoody: Joint Management Services, 1993. Prepared for the Director, Net Assessment, Office of the Secretary of Defense. 350 pages.

ChineseSoviet Relations During the SinoJapanese War, 1937-1945: The Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. 301 pages.

Ibid. Published in Chinese as: Duishou yu mengyou (Enemy and friend), Hunan: Shehui kexue wenxuan chubanshe, 1992.

Ibid. Concluding chapter translated into Chinese and published in Shijieshi yanjiu dongtai (Foreign research on world history), no. 3, p. 26-30. Also published in Zhongguo geming shiliao (Historical materials on the Chinese revolution), 1990, no. 4. Also published in Zhongguo xiandai shi (Contemporary Chinese history), 1990, no. 5.

Ibid. Published in Uigur, February 1992.

China's Decision for Rapprochement with the United States, 1968-1971, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1982. (Based on PhD dissertation) 174 pages.

## **BOOK CHAPTERS (n = 40)**

“Mismanaging China's Rise,” in Engaging China: Fifty Years of Sino-American Relations, edited by Anne F. Thurston, New York: Columbia University Press, 2021, p. 56-85.

“India and the Emerging Sino-Iranian Partnership,” in India's Great Power Politics: Managing China's Rise, editors, Jo Inge Bekkevold, S. Kalyanaraman, London: Routledge, 2021, pages 122-142.

“Calculus of a Chinese Decision for War with India,” in India and China in Asia: Between Equations and Equilibrium, Jagannath P. Panda, editor, London: Routledge, 2019, p. 85-105.

“The New Fulcrum of Asia: the Indo-Japan Entente and the Rise of China,” in International Relations and Asia’s Southern Tier, Gilbert Rozman, editor, Heidelberg: Springer Publishers, 2017, p. 279-296.

“Keeping Pakistan as a Balancer While Courting Indian Friendship,” Book Review roundtable on Andrew Small’s “The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia’s New Geopolitics,” Asia Policy, National Bureau of Asian Research, No. 21, January 2016. p. 148-150.

“China and the Iran Nuclear Deal: China’s Mediation Effort,” The Crescent and the Red Star: China and the Middle East, James Reardon-Anderson, editor, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, p. 123-148.

“Limitations on China’s Ability to Understand Indian Apprehensions about China’s Rise as a Naval Power,” in David Brewster, editor, India and China at Sea: Sino-Indian Strategic Competition in the Maritime Domain, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, p. 75-89.

“China’s Rise and the Eurasian Transportation Revolution,” in China’s Maritime Silk Road and South Asia, Jean-Marc Blanchard, editor, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 33-54.

“India and the Emerging Sino-Iranian Partnership,” China Currents, vol. 16, no. 1 (January 2017). [http://www.chinacenter.net/2017/china\\_currents/16-1/india-emerging-sino-iranian-partnership/](http://www.chinacenter.net/2017/china_currents/16-1/india-emerging-sino-iranian-partnership/)

“China and Iran: Expanding Cooperation under Conditions of U.S. Hegemony,” in Toward Well-oiled Relations? China’s presence in the Middle East Following the Arab Spring, Nev Horesh, editor, London: Palgrave, 2015, p. 180-205.

“The U.S. Factor in Sino-Iranian Energy Relations,” in David Zweig and Yufan Hao, editors, Sino-US Energy Triangles: Resource Diplomacy under Hegemony, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 207-225.

“The Emerging International China-India Division of Labor and India’s Quest for Status Parity and Security with China,” in Emerging China: Prospects of Partnership in Asia, Sudhir T. Devare, Swaran Singh, and Meena Marwah, editors, London, New York, New Delhi: Routledge, 2012, p. 64-113..

“Introduction,” in Robert Ash, John Garver, Penelope Prime, editors, Taiwan’s Democracy: Economic and Political Challenges, Routledge, 2011, p.1-34.

“Europe’s Role in Maintaining Peace in the Taiwan Strait,” in [Conflict Prevention and Management in Northeast Asia: The Korean Peninsula and Taiwan Strait in Comparison](#), Niklas Swanstrom, et al., editors, London: Cambridge Scholars, 2010, p. 165-188.

“India’s China Policies,” [Indian Foreign Policy](#), Sumit Ganguly, editor, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. 83-105.

“India-China Security Relations,” [Handbook of Asian Security](#), Sumit Ganguly, editor, London: Routledge, 2009. p.,126-138.

”Mao Zedong, the Comintern, and the Second United Front,” in [Mao Zedong and the Chinese Revolution](#), 4 Volumes, Gregor Benton, editor, London: Routledge, 2007. Reprint of 1992 article in [The China Quarterly](#). (This 4 volume work is designed to be the authoritative compendium of research on Mao and the Chinese revolution.)

"China's Decision for War with India in 1962," in [New Approaches to the Study of Chinese Foreign Policy](#), Robert S. Ross and Alastair Iain Johnston, editors, Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 86-130.

“China's U.S. Policies," [China Rising, Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy](#), Yong Deng and Fei-ling Wang, editors, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005, pp. 201-243.

"China's Influence in Central and South Asia; Is it Increasing?", in David Shambaugh, editor. [Powershift: China and Asia’s New Dynamics](#), Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 205-227.

“Mao Zedong E Raspad Ketaysko-Sovetskeh Otnasheney 1956-1966,” (Mao Zedong and the Breakup of Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1956-1966), in Festschrift published for Michael Titarenko, long-time head of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia. 2003.

"Asymmetrical Indian and Chinese Threat Perceptions," in [India as An Emerging Power](#), Sumit Ganguly, editor, London: Frank Cass, 2003, p. 109-134.

“China,” in [The Origins of World War Two, The Debate Continues](#), Robert Boyce and Joseph A. Maiolo, editors, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 10-23.

"Asymmetrical Indian and Chinese Threat Perceptions," [India as an Emerging Power](#), Sumit Ganguly, editor, London: Frank Cass, 2003, p. 109-134.

"The Sino-Pakistan Entente Cordiale and the Future Accommodation of India and China," [South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances](#), Michael Chambers,

editor, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, November 2002, p. 385-447.

"The Gestalt of Sino-Indian Relations," in The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications, Carolyn W. Pumphrey, editor, Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, January 2002, p. 263-285.

"China and the Second World War," in Joe Maiolo, The Origins of the Second World War: The Debate Continues, London: Macmillan, 2001, p. 190-203.

"Sino-Russian Relations," in Samuel Kim, editor, China and the World, Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium, 4th edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 1998, p. 114-132.

"The PLA as an Interest Group in Chinese Foreign Policy," Chinese Military Modernization, C. Dennison Lane, et. al, editors, New York: Kegan Paul, 1996, p. 246-281.

"The Tet Offensive and Sino-Vietnamese Relations," The Tet Offensive, Marc Gilbert and William Head, editors, Westport, CN: Praeger, 1996, p. 45-61.

"The U.S. strategy of Graduated Escalation and the Problem of Chinese Entry into the Vietnam War," Looking Back on the Vietnam War, William Head and Lawrence E. Grinter, editors, Westport: Praeger, 1993, p. 105-117.

"China and the New World Order," in China Briefing, 1992, William Joseph, editor., New York: The Asia Society, 1993, p. 55-80.

"The Development Imperative and Beijing's Triangular Policy: A Reinterpretation," Mainland China After the Thirteenth Party Congress, King-yuh Chang, editor, Boulder: Westview Press, 1990, p. 271-294.

"China's Wartime Diplomacy, 1937-1945," China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945, Steven I. Levine, editor, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1990, p. 3-32.

"Peking's Soviet and American Policies: Toward Equidistance," in Peking's Foreign Policy in the 1980s, David S. Chou, editor, Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1989, p. 116-138.

"China's Response to the Strategic Defense Initiative," in China's Military Modernization, Larry Wortzel, editor. Westport, Conn. Greenwood Press, 1988, pp. 126-148.



"The Reagan Administration's Southeast Asian Policy," in U.S.-Asian Relations, James Hsiung, editor, New York: Praeger, 1983, p. 85-130.

**REFERRED JOURNAL ARTICLES** (n = 56, including reprints)

"Diverging Perceptions of China's Emergence as an Indian Ocean Power," in India and China at Sea: A Contest of Status and Legitimacy in the Indian Ocean, Roundtable," David Brewster, editor, Asian Policy, No. 22 (July 2016), p. 56-60.

"Keeping Pakistan as a Balancer While Courting Indian Friendship," Book Review Roundtable, Asian Policy, no. 21 (January 2016), p. 148-151.

"China's Misperception of a US Anti-China Conspiracy," U S-China Perception Monitor (online journal) , 29 July 2015. The Carter Center, Atlanta. <http://www.uscnpm.org/blog/2015/07/29/chinas-misperception>

Published by the Carter Center in Chinese in as "Meiguo you fan hua yinmo ma?" Yanjiu baogao, December 2015, vol. 1, issue 3.

"The New Fulcrum of Asia: The Indo-Japan Entente and the Rise of China," The Asian Forum, 9 March 2014. <http://www.theasianforum.org/the-new-fulcrum-of-asia-the-indo-japan-entente-and-the-rise-of-china>

Republished as Chapter 18 in Gilbert Rozman, editor, International Relations and Asia's Southeren Tier, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

"China and Iran: Cautious Friendship with America's Riva," China Report (New Delhi), Special Edition, Srikanth Kondrapalli, editor, vol. 49, No. 1 (2013), p. 69-88. (This is India's premier China journal.)

"Is China Playing a Dual Game in Iran?," China and the World, Shaun Breslin, editor, New York: SAGE, September 2014. Reprint of 2011 Washington Quarterly article.

"The Unresolved Sino-Indian Border Dispute: An Interpretation," China Report (New Delhi), May 2011, vol. 47, # 2, p. 99-113. (This is India's premier China journal.)

"The Diplomacy of a Rising China in South Asia," Orbis, vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer 2012), p. 391-411.

"The Appearance of the 'China Factor' in Russo-American Relations in the early 1970s," in "Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka (Far Eastern Affairs), May 2012.

"Is China Playing a Dual Game in Iran?," Washington Quarterly, Winter 2011, P. 75-88.

Garver, J.W., and Fei-ling Wang, "China's Anti-Encirclement Struggle," Asian Security, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 2010),

"The Unresolved Sino-Indian Border Dispute: An Interpretation," China Report (New Delhi), (Vol. 47, no 2), April-June 2011.

"Time for China to Act Responsibly on Iran," Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong), web-magazine.

URL: <http://www.feer.com/international-relations/2008/october/China-Should-Ac>

"Development of China's Overland Transportation Links with Central, Southwest, and South Asia," The China Quarterly, No. 185 (March 2006), p. 1-22. Lead article in issue.

Ibid. Reprinted in China's International Relations in Asia, Li Mingjiang, editor, Routledge, 2009. Part of "Critical issues in Modern Politics" series.

"China's Kashmir Policies," India Review, vol. 3, issue 1 (January 2004), p. 1-24. Lead article in issue.

"India, China, the United States, Tibet, and the Origins of the 1962 War," India Review, vol. 3 no. 2 (April 2004), p. 171-182.

"The (former) Coming War with America," Journal of Contemporary China, vol. 12, no. 36 (2003), p. 576-585.

"The Opportunity Costs of Mao's Foreign Policy Choices," The China Journal, No. 49, January 2003, p. 128-135.

"Mao's Soviet Policies," The China Quarterly, No. 173, March 2003, p. 197-213.

"Asymmetrical Indian and Chinese Mutual Threat Perceptions," special issue of Journal of Strategic Studies, vol. 25, no. 4 (December 2002), p. 109-134.

"The Security Dilemma in Sino-Indian relations," India Review, vol. 1, No. 4 (October 2002), p. 1-38.

"Sino-American relations in 2001, The difficult accommodation of two great powers," International Journal, Spring 2002, p. 283-310.

"The Restoration of Sino-Indian Comity following India's Nuclear Tests," The China Quarterly, No. 168, (December 2001), p. 864-888.

"Food for Thought; Reflections on Food Aid and the Idea of Another Lost Chance in Sino-American Relations," Journal of East Asian-American Relations, vol. 7, No. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1998), p. 101-06.

"The Origins of the Sino-American Confrontation: Two Views," Diplomatic History, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Summer 1998), p. 489-494

"Little Chance," Diplomatic History, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 1997), Special Symposium on "Rethinking the Lost Chance in China," Warren I. Cohen, issue editor, p. 87-94.

"Sino-Indian Rapprochement and the Sino-Pakistan Entente," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 111, No. 2 (Summer 1996), p. 323-347.

"Polemics, Paradigms, Responsibility, and the Origins of the U.S.-PRC Confrontation in the 1950s," The Journal of American-East Asian Relations, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Spring 1994), p. 1-34. (Lead article in issue).

"China, German Reunification and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," The Journal of East Asian Affairs, Vol. VIII, no. 1, (Winter/Spring 1994), p. 135-172.

"The Chinese Communist Party and the Collapse of Soviet Communism," China Quarterly, No. 133, March 1993, p. 1-26. (Lead article in issue. Article in consecutive issue.)

"China's Push through the South China Sea; the Interaction of National and Bureaucratic Interests," The China Quarterly, no. 132, Dec. 1992, p. 999-1028.

"Mao, the Comintern, and the Second United Front," The China Quarterly, no. 129, March 1992, p. 1761-79.

"The Chinese Threat in the Vietnam War," Parameters, vol. xxii, no. 1 (Spring 1992), p. 73-85.

"China and South Asia," Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Sciences, volume 519, January 1992, p. 67-85.

"Sino-Indian rivalry in Nepal; the clash over Chinese arms sales to Nepal," Asian Survey, vol. xxxi, no. 10 (October 1991), p. 956-975.

"Chinese Foreign Policy: The Diplomacy of Damage Control," Current History, vol. 90, no. 557, (September 1991), p. 1-241-246.

"The Indian Factor in Recent Sino-Soviet Relations," China Quarterly, no. 125, (summer 1991), p. 55-85.

"The Soviet Union and the Xi'an Incident," Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs, no. 26, (July 1991), p. 145-175.

"New Light on Sino-Soviet Relations: the Memoir of China's Ambassador to Moscow, 1955-1962," China Quarterly, no. 122, (June 1990), p. 304-307.

"The 'New Type' of Sino-Soviet Relations," Asian Survey, vol. xxix, no. 12 (December 1989), p. 1136-1152.

"The Development Imperative and Beijing's Triangular Policy: Toward Equidistance," Issues and Studies, vol. 24, #10 (October 1988), p.55-77.

"The Origins of the Second United Front: The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party," China Quarterly, no. 113 (March 1988), p. 29-59.

"Policy Toward China," Orbis, Spring 1988, p. 295-297.

"Indian-Chinese Rivalry in Indochina," Asian Survey, 27, no. 1 (November 1987), pp. 1205-1219.

"Chiang Kai-shek's Quest for Soviet Intervention in the Sino-Japanese War," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 102, no. 2 (Summer 1987), pp.295-316.

Ibid, published in Chinese as "Jiang Jieshi moqiu Sulian san zhan," Guo wai Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu, (Foreign research on recent Chinese history), no. 12, 1989, Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing p. 180-202.

Ibid, published in Chinese as "Jiang Jieshi tanqiu Sulian jieru Zhong Ri zhanzheng," Nanjing Daxue Xuebao (Nanjing University Journal), 1988, no. 2 (July), p. 116-123, 45.

"China's Response to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative," Asian Survey, vol. 26, no. 11 (November 1986), pp. 1220-1239.

"The Taiwan Question in SinoU.S. Relations: The Confrontation Over U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan," Orbis, vol. 26, no. 4 (January 1983), pp. 999-1035.

"SinoVietnamese Conflict and SinoAmerican Rapprochement," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 96, no. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 445-464.

"The SinoSoviet Territorial Dispute in the Pamirs," China Quarterly, no. 85 (March 1981), pp. 107-118.

"SinoSoviet Relations in 1970: The Tilt Toward the Soviet Union," China Quarterly, no. 82 (June 1980), pp. 214-249.

"Taiwan's Russian Option: Image and Reality," Asian Survey, vol. 18, no. 7 (July 1978), pp. 751-766.

## CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

13 April 2011; Testimony on "China's Iran Policies" before U.S. Congress U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission. <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/4.13.11Garver.pdf>

29 October 2009: Breakfast briefing on "China and the Middle East" for Congresspeople and Senators, hosted by The Aspin Institute. Capital Building, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C. 26 Senators and Congress-people (not staffers) in attendance.

22 July 2005: Testimony before U.S. Congress U.S.-China Economic and Security Review commission, "China's South Asian Interests and Policies." Washington, D.C. Testimony posted on U.S.-China Commission website at: [http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written\\_testimonies/05\\_07\\_21-22wrts/garver\\_john\\_wrts.htm](http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2005hearings/written_testimonies/05_07_21-22wrts/garver_john_wrts.htm)

## NON-REFEREED PROFESSIONAL OUTPUT: (N = 45)

"Who would win a US-Iran War? A Strong and peaceful China," South China Morning Post, 22 June 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/opinion/article/3015606/who-would-win-us-iran-war-strong-and-peaceful-china>

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“India’s Cultural and Territorial Concerns with China, “ in India’s Perspectives and Concerns about China, Conference Proceedings, Katharine Webb and Joya Laha, Project Memorandum, PM-3497-USG, RAND, National Security Research Division, January 2010, p. 31-56.

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"Security Dimensions of the India-China Territorial Dispute," in India's Perspectives and Concerns about China, Conference Proceedings, National Security Research Division, RAND corporation, January 2001, PM 3497-SG, p. 31-56

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Published by Jamestown Foundation. Lead article in issue. <http://jamestown.org/publications>

“China’s Probable role in Central and South Asia,” Asia Program Special Report, (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), No. 126 (January 2005), p. 4-8.

"China and Its Neighbors: Russia, Japan, and India", Newsletter, of the Center for China Research Center, < [www.chinacenter.net](http://www.chinacenter.net)>, (vol. 4, no. 2), Spring 2005.

"China's Probable Role in Central and South Asia," Asia Program Special Report No. 126, January 2005, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, p. 4-8.

Taiwan’s Presidential Elections,” Newsletter, China Research Center (vol. 3, no. 2) March 2004. [www.chinacenter.net](http://www.chinacenter.net)

“Iran-China relations: Ancient Partners building a Post-Imperial World,” Presentation to Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholarship, 14 July 2005. Posted on WWC website.

"Remembering the 1962 India-China Conflict; Could it Happen Again?," [rediff.com](http://rediff.com), Special Series: 40 Years after the 1962 war, 6 November 2002.

“More From the ‘Say No Club’,” The China Journal, No. 45 (January 2001), p. 151-58.

“China As Number One,” The China Journal, No. 39 (January 1998), p. 61-66.

“Sino-American Relations,” in The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

“Forward,” in the Eyes of the Dragon: China Views the World, Yong Deng and Fei-ling Wang, editors, Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, p. vii-xi.

The Atlanta Communiqué on China, The Final Report of the Southeast Regional American Assembly on U.S.-China Relations, 19-22 February 1998. Edited transcript and wrote introduction to report of conference.



Will China Be Another Germany?, Paper prepared for U.S. Army War College Annual Strategy Conference, China into the 21st Century, April 1996, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

Taiwan, China, and the United States; the question of Taiwan membership in the United Nations, The Atlanta Papers No. 1, Conference Proceedings, edited and with introduction by J.W. Garver, September 1995.

"Why China Decided to Resort to Military Coercion," in China-Taiwan; Chinese Perspectives on the Crisis in the Straits, A Non-Attributional Draft Report, prepared by SAIC for the Under Secretary of the Navy, October 1996.

"Getting to Mars," Orbis, Summer 1988, p. 403-409.

"Wang Ming," in Encyclopedia of World Biography, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985.

"Comment on SinoSoviet Relations," China Quarterly, no. 88 (December 1981), pp. 689-90.

### **NON-PUBLISHED PAPERS**

"Djibouti, the PLA-N, and Sino-Iranian relations." "Quick Look Question" for Director of Global Operations, United States Central Command, September 2017.

"Determinants of China-India Relations from 2000 to 2006," Prepared for National Intelligence Officer for East Asia. December 2000.

"Long Term China-Related Scenarios over the Next 10-20 Years," Prepared for the Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense, November 1992.

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS** (n = 185; Professional meetings only, NOT community organizations)

18 March 2019: "The end game in Iran." Telephone interview, Chatam House, London.

10 November 2018: Presentation on "The Increasing Military Threat to Taiwan," Conference on Taiwan Politics and Society, Kennesaw State University.

3-5 November 2018, Presentation on “the Current Crisis in US-PRC Relations,” Conference on “Five Decades of U.S. Engagement with China: What Have We Learned?,” Johnson Foundation at Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin.

12 September 2018: Keynote speech on “China’s Strategy in South Asia,” University of Hull, Hull, United Kingdom.

6 March 2018: Roundtable on “Chinese deterrence and escalation: Lessons from recent China-India border exchanges,” Center for Naval Analysis,” Arlington, Virginia.

12 April 2017: “The One China Principle and Asian International Relations” Workshop on The “one China” Policy, Its Past and Future, Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Tech.

9 March 2017: Roundtable on “Transitions: The Future of US-China around the Globe,” International Conference on China and the World (in cooperation with Harvard and Princeton Universities), Georgia Institute of Technology.

5 Dec. 2016: Talk on “India, China and the Asian Century,” Department of International Relations, Jadapur University, Kolkatta, India.

28 Nov. 2016: Talk on “India, China, and the Indian Ocean,” United Services Institution, New Delhi, India.

24 Nov. 2016: Workshop on India-China relations, Indian Council of World Affairs, Sapru House, New Delhi, India.

22 Nov. 2016: Keynote Address, “Chinese Foreign Policy in the Coming Decade,” National Conference on China and the World in the Coming Decade, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, New Delhi, India.

22 Nov. 2016: Workshop on India-China Relations, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, India.

21 Nov. 2016: Keynote address, “India and the Emerging Sino-Iranian Partnership,” Conference on India and the Great Powers: Continuity and Change, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (Indian) and Norwegian Institute for Security Studies, New Delhi, India. Webcast: <https://www.facebook.com/NunnSchoolGT/> Also at: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xp-0TfbyzXQ&index=4&list=PLrR2OTOrNPrgnqurat0X\\_QMH7KH8qSx80](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xp-0TfbyzXQ&index=4&list=PLrR2OTOrNPrgnqurat0X_QMH7KH8qSx80)

18 Nov. 2016: Keynote Address on “China, India and the Asian Century,” International Conference on Current Developments in China: Regional Implications on Security and

Stability,” Chennai Center for Chinese Studies, National Maritime Foundation, and Madras University, Chennai, India.

15 Nov. 2016: Workshop on China-India relations, Chennai Center for Chinese Studies, Chennai, India.

11 Nov. 2016: “Iran as an Emerging Focus of India-China Rivalry,” Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore,

4 Nov. 2016: Workshop on China, Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu.

3 Nov. 2016: “Iran as an Emerging Focus of India-China Rivalry,” Conference on the Maritime Silk Road, Chinese Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College, Honolulu.

25 Aug. 2016. Talk on “A Trump Presidency and U.S.– China Elections,.” Public forum, Jimmy Carter Presidential Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

13 Jun. 2016, Extended interview on India-China-US relations on eve of Modi visit to Washington by Pranay Sharma, “Checking the Mates. Modi plays a triangular balancing game with the US and China. Will he succeed?”, Outlook (New Delhi). <http://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/checking-the-mates/297252>

5 May 2016, Presentation on “China’s Nepal Policies,” Workshop on “Nepal: Internal Challenges and Regional Dynamics, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

14 Apr. 2016: “History of the Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China,” National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, New York City. Video of talk: <https://www.ncuscr.org/content/interview-john-garver-history-china%E2%80%99s-foreign-relations> Audio podcast of interview: <https://www.ncuscr.org/content/interview-john-garver-history-china%E2%80%99s-foreign-relations> Also at <http://www.globalatlanta.com/books-2016-chinas-quest-history-foreign-relations-peoples-republic-china/>

9 Mar. 2016: “China’s and India’s Soft Power,” Chindia Conference, India-China-America Institute, Kennesaw State University, Atlanta.

8 Jan. 2016: “China and the Iran Nuclear Negotiations,” China and the Middle East Working Group III, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

7 Jan. 2016: “Iran’s deepening Ties with China,” Middle East Institute, Johns Hopkins, SAIS, Washington, D.C. Podcast available at <http://www.mei.edu/events/irans-deepening-ties-china-and-russia>

27 Nov. 2015: Workshop on “India and China at Sea: Competition and Coexistence,” Shanghai Institute of International Studies, Shanghai, China. Presentation on “China’s Rise and ‘Reassurance’ in the Indian Ocean.”

21-21 Nov. 2015: Conference on “Political Economy of China’s maritime Silk Road Initiative and South Asia,” East China Normal University, Shanghai. Presented paper on “China’s Rise and the Eurasian Transportation Revolution” and chaired session.

4 Oct. 2015: “China and the Iran Nuclear Negotiations,” China and the Middle East Working Group II, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar, Center for International and Regional Studies, Doha, Qatar.

2 Oct. 2015: Keynote speaker, “Summing Up China’s Foreign Policies: Internal Drivers are Key,” China Goes Global Ninth Annual Conference, Center for International Business, Education and Research,” Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia.

12 September 2015: Keynote speaker, “Sino-US Relations and the Rise of China,” National Convention of U.S.-China People’s Friendship Association, Atlanta, Georgia.

17 June 2015: Pod cast on “China’s Rise and It’s Neighbors.” Carnegie-Tsinghua Institute for International Peace , Beijing. Available at <http://carnegietsinghua.org/publications/?fa=podcasts?>

12 June 2015. Presentation on “Rise of China and Its Neighbors” Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, China.

10 July 2014: Presentation on China-Japan-US relations, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (in Chinese).

27 May 2014: India-China Relations, Keynote speech at conference on Sino-India relations, Institute for Defense Studies, Ministry of Defense, Oslo, Norway. Available online at <http://ifs.forsvaret.no/seminar-konferanser/arr-2014/sider/27-May-india-foreign-policy.aspx>

10-11 November 2013: Forum on US-China. The Carter Center. (Invited participant)

13 May 2013, “US-China Relations in a Changing World,” Carter Center Project Design Workshop, 13-14 May 2013. (Invited.)

17 April 2013: Discussant, Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office, Atlanta: Video-recorded discussion of President Ma Ying-jeio on Taiwan political and economic situation.

28 March 2013: Talk on “China’s Rise and the United States,” Atlanta Council on International Relations, Capital City Club, Atlanta.

18 January 2013: “China’s Resource Diplomacy with Iran,” Asia Society conference on “The Triangle of Sino-American Energy Diplomacy, New York City. Video program at: <http://asiasociety.org/video/business/experts-discuss-sino-american-energy-diplomacy-complete>

17 January 2013: “China’s Resource Diplomacy with Iran,” Asia Society conference on “The Triangle of Sino-American Energy Diplomacy,” Houston, Texas.

25 December 2012: “China’s Rise in South Asia,” Conference on The Rise of contemporary China, Haifa University, Israel.

13 October 2012: Dialogue on “China’s Rise,” Luncheon 2-person dialogue as part of plenary session of AACCS conference.

13 October 2012: “Chinese Perceptions of U.S. Policy toward China,” AACCS conference, Atlanta.

13 October 2012: “China’s Revolutionary Thrust in Southeast Asia, 1961-1981,” AACCS conference, Atlanta.

18 May 2012: “Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy,” College of International Affairs, Beijing University, Beijing, China. In Chinese.

24 February 2012: “The View from Washington,” Roundtable on Taiwan’s Presidential Election, Southern Center for International Affairs, Kennesaw State University. Videotaped for use in high schools around Georgia. (Invited.)

16 November 2011: “China Town Hall” and “China Town Hall Roundtable,” National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and World Affairs Council of Atlanta, one of two Speakers prior to and following live webcast featuring Zbigniew Brzezinski. (Invited.)

10 November 2011: “China and Iran,” Atlantic Council, Iran Task Force, Washington, D.C. (Invited.)

4 November 2011: “China’s Relations with South Asia,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, Washington, D.C. (invited.) Transcript and video posted at <http://www.fpri.org/research/asia/internationalrelationsinasia1111/>

17 October 2011: "China and the Middle East," Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University, Boston. (invited.)

27 September 2011: Participant, Roundtable Discussion on Swiss role as Protecting Power of US interests in Iran, World Affairs Council of Atlanta and Consulate General of Switzerland in Atlanta. .

21 January 2011: University of Macao and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. Paper/ presentation on "China's Resource Diplomacy toward Iran." Conference on China's Resource Diplomacy.

14 October 2010: U.S. Navy War College, China Maritime Studies Institute. Lecture, "Geopolitics of the Indian Ocean Littoral,"

31 August 2010: U.S. Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Participant, "Analysis of China, Southeast Asia and the South China Sea Region," Peer Review Workshop,

3 June 2010: University of Westminster, London. Keynote address: "The unresolved Sino-Indian territorial dispute." Conference on "Revisiting the China-India Border Dispute." (Invited.)

12 May 2010: United States Institute for Peace, and Stimson Center, Washington, D.C. Presentation on "Iran-China Relations," Workshop on "U.S. Strategies for Alternative Iranian Futures." (Invited.)

10 May 2010: Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Presentation on "China and Iran's nuclear programs" to conference on "U.S.-China Cooperation on Global Issues." Presentation available via C-span at: <http://cspan.org/Watch/Media/2010/05/10/HP/A/32787/Brookings+Institution+Discussion+on+USChina+Global+Challenges.aspx>

8 April 2010: Participant, Workshop on Chinese-Indian rivalry in the Indian Ocean, Booz Allen Hamilton, Washington, D.C. Workshop sponsored by the Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Secretary of Defense.

5 March 2010: Paper and presentation on "China's National Humiliation Complex," Emory University conference on "Memory, Literature, and Culture in Contemporary China."

28 January 2010: Presentation on "China and the Middle East," Conference on "Middle East-China relations," CENTRA Technology, Arlington, Virginia.

21 January 2010: Paper and presentation on "Security Dimensions of the India-China Territorial Dispute," Workshop on India's Perspective of, and Concerns with, China," Office of South Asia Analysis conference, RAND Corporation, Arlington, Virginia.

22 November 2009: Paper on "The Emerging International China-India Division of Labor and India's Quest for Status parity and Security with China," Conference organized by India Council on World Affairs (Indian equivalent of U.S. Council on Foreign Relations), New Delhi, India, 21-23 November 2009. (Invited.)

14 October 2009: Keynote speaker, panel on "China-Iran relations and the current nuclear crisis," Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C. The monograph Moving (Slightly) Closer to Iran Was issued in association with this panel. Over 100 people attended. (Invited.)

2 July 2009, Presented paper on "The Russia-China-India Triangular Relation and the United States," Conference on "Political Confidence and Security Building in Northeast Asia, 2-3 July 2009, Far Eastern Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences, Vladivostok, Russia. (Invited.)

12 June 2009: Presentation on "The Rise of China and the Decline of the United States?," Department of Political Science, Suzhou University, Taipei, Taiwan. (Invited.)

16 April 2009: Presentation on "U.S., China, and the Middle East" (in Chinese) China Institute of contemporary International Relations, (research center of Ministry of State Security) Beijing, China. (Invited.)

17 April 2009. "The Rise of China and the Decline of the United States?" University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, China. (Invited.)

18 April 2009, "The Rise of China and the Decline of the United States?" College of International Affairs, Beijing University, Beijing, China. (Invited.)

8 October 2008: "China's Middle East Policies," 3-person panel discussion, organized by Center for International Strategy, Technology and Policy, Sam Nunn School, Georgia Institute of Technology.

6-7 October 2008: "India's China Policies," Workshop on Indian foreign policy, Center for South Asian Studies, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.

3 October 2008: "China's Middle East Policies," Workshop on Iran-Asia Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Bureau of Intelligence and Research U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

25 April 2008: "India-China relations," Seminar on the Future of Indian Foreign Relations, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

6-7 October 2008: "India's China Policies," Workshop on Indian foreign policy, Center for South Asian Studies, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.

3 October 2008: "China's Middle East Policies," Workshop on Iran-Asia Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Bureau of Intelligence and Research U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

25 April 2008: "India-China relations," Seminar on the Future of Indian Foreign Relations, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

21 February 2008: Invited speaker, "The China-India-U.S. Triangle," East Asia colloquium, Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio.

21 February 2008: Seminar on East Asian research, Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio.

21 January 2008: Conference theme speaker, "The China-India-U.S. Triangle," Conference on the "India-China-U.S. Triangle" organized by Center for National Renaissance. Kochi, India.

17 January 2008: Talk on "China-India-U.S. relations," Bombay University, Bombay, India.

30 October 2007: Lead speaker, "China and the Middle East: A Changing Dynamic," 2-day conference on China, the United States, and the Middle East, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. Co-sponsored by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

14 October 2007: Talk on "Normalization of U.S. China Relations, 1979: meanings for Peoples and Governments," Panel, Jimmy Carter Center, Atlanta

7 October 2007: keynote luncheon speaker, "China's Evolving Role in the International Community," national convention of U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, Sarasota, Florida.

5 October 2007: Talk on "China and the Middle East," Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology.



24 April 2007: Speech on “China and the Middle East,” Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Columbia University, New York City.

23 April 2007: Presentation on “China, India, and Russia: the Islamic Factor,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York City.

22 April 2007: “China’s Energy Policy: Implications for International Affairs and Economic Development,” China Forum sponsored by US-China People’s Friendship Association and China Research Center, Mercer University, Atlanta, Georgia.

20 March 2007: Extended Televised Interview on “The Iranian Nuclear Question,” China Central Television, Channel 9, “Dialogue.” Mr. Rui Li moderator. Beijing.

16 March 2007: Talk on “China and the Iranian Nuclear Question,” Beijing University, College of International Relations.

22 February 2007: “China-Iran Relations,” Southern Center for International Studies. Public talk, recorded and broadcast on-line by Georgia Public Television at <http://www.atlantaforumnetwork.org>

9 November 2006: “Iran-China Relations,” Edwin O. Reishauer Center, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.

9 November 2006: Seminar on Asian energy, Edwin O. Reishauer Center, School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.

9 November 2006: “Iran-China Relations.” Sigur Center for Asian Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

14 September 2006: Welcoming comments (as co-convenor) and panel chair at conference on “China, the United States and the Middle East: The Vital Triangle, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

7 September 2006: “US-PRC Strategic Cooperation in the Persian Gulf: Is it Likely?” National Institute of Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, D.C.

29 April 2006: “Is PRC-US Strategic Cooperation in the Persian Gulf Possible,” Sino-American Conference on US-PRC Cooperation, Graduate School of International Studies, Denver University.

17 March 2006: “Sino-Indian Relations,” The Patterson School of Diplomacy, University of Kentucky.

16 March 2006: "The China-India-US New Strategic Triangle," Patterson School of Diplomacy, University of Kentucky.

8 March 2006: "Can India Overtake China in the Competition for Influence in Asia?," Symposium for investors and fund managers, Allen and Company, Phoenix, Arizona.

12 January 2006: "China's Influence in Central and South Asia," Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Symposium on China in Asia.

17-20 December 2005: "Europe's Role in Maintenance of Peace in the Taiwan Strait." Stockholm, Sweden. Conference sponsored by Swedish Foreign Ministry and Upsalla University, Sweden.

14 July 2005: "China-Iran Relations." Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholarship, Washington, D.C. Available at: [www.wilsoncenter.org/middleeast](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/middleeast) Exact URL: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/events/docs/garvertranscript.doc>

28 January 2005: "China-India-US Relations." Jawaharal Nehru University, School of International Affairs, New Delhi, India.

27 January 2005: Participant, Seventh International Conference on Asian Security, Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, India.

12 January 2005: "China-Iran Relations." Jaffe Center for International Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel.

11 January 2005: "China and Iran's Nuclear Programs." Israeli Foreign Ministry.

12 October 2004: Paper and presentation on "Expanding Regional Cooperation in Caspian Energy: China and Iran's Neka/CROS Project," 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Central Asia and The Caucasus, 12-13 October 2004, Tehran, Iran.

22 September 2004: Briefing on "China" for Congressional Staff, various committees U.S. Congress, organized by Woodrow Wilson Asia Center, Washington, D.C.

22 September 2004: Speech on "China and Central Asia and South Asia," Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

8 September 2004: Talk on "The Taiwan Question," School of International Studies, Beijing University, Beijing, China. In Chinese.

25 March 2004: Keynote speaker, Conference on "Taiwan's Recent Presidential Elections," Wake Forest University, Salem, North Carolina.

27 January 2004: Presentation on "China and Nonproliferation" at panel on "China's International Relations and Nonproliferation Issues," Center for International Trade and Security, University of Georgia, Athens.

5 December 2003: Presented paper on "China's Influence in Central and South Asia." Conference on "China and Asia, Emergence of a Sino-Centric Order?" George Washington University, Elliot School for Public and International Affairs.

17 October 2003: Roundtable: China and South and Southeast Asia, 44th Strategy for Peace Conference, sponsored by the Stanley Foundation, Airlie Center, Warrenton, Virginia.

November 2002: Presentation on "China's decision for war with India in 1962" at Schriftfest for Allen S. Whiting at Harvard University.

October 2002: Lecture on "China's Strategic Interests in South Asia" to Near East- South Asian Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington, D.C.

June 2002: Presentation on "China and South Asia" at conference on Dynamics of China's Relations with South and Southeast Asia, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii.

April 2002: Presentation on "China" at conference on "Afghanistan and Regional Geopolitical Dynamics after September 11" sponsored by the National Intelligence Council and Strategic Assessment Center of Science Applications International Corporation.

March 2002: Lecture on "China" at program on "China, Pakistan, and India: Unweaving the Web of a Complex Trilateral Relationship," Asia Society, New York City.

March 2002: Lecture on "The Security Dilemma in Sino-Indian Relations," Center for Asian Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbus, South Carolina.

January 2002: Presentation on "The Sino-Pakistan entente and the future of Sino-Indian relations," conference on South Asia in 2020: Strategic Balance and Alliances" at Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

December 2001: Presentation to Workshop on "Unexplored Military contingencies in Asia" sponsored by Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense and Strategic Assessment Center of SAIC. Washington, D.C.

November 2001: Presentation on "Asymmetrical Sino-Indian threat perceptions," conference on India's Foreign Relations at Center for Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

October 2001: Presentation on "U.S. Interests in South Asia and Sino-U.S. Relations" at two day conference in Beijing on "Restarting the Sino-U.S. Strategic Dialogue" sponsored by the PRC foreign ministry research center the China Institute for International Studies and the Gaston Sigur Center for International Studies at George Washington University. Beijing, China.

July 2001: Talk on "Sino-Indian relations" plus book signing, Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

May 2001: Presentation on "China's decision for war with India in 1962," Festschrift for Allen S. Whiting, University of Arizona, Tucson.

January 2001: Presentation to 2<sup>nd</sup> Workshop on "Unexplored Military contingencies in Asia" sponsored by Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense and Strategic Assessment Center of SAIC. Washington, D.C.

March 2001: Presentation on "The Gestalt of Sino-Indian relations," Triangle Institute for Security Studies, and Strategic Studies Institute of U.S. Army War College. Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina

October 2000: Presentation on "The China-India Relation" to Georgetown University, India Forum, Airlie House, Virginia.

October 2000: Keynote speaker on "The Future of Sino-U.S. Relations", Association of Chinese Professors of Social Sciences in the United States, Conference held at Kennesaw State University.

February 2000: Lecture on "Sino-US-Taiwan relations" to Taiwan Studies Workshop, Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University.

December 1999: Presentation on "Sino-U.S. relations" to conference on "Forging a Policy Consensus: Making China Policy in the Bush and Clinton Administrations," Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

September 1999: Presentation on "Sino-Indian Relations and the United States," Workshop of the "Project for the New American Century," Washington, D.C.

March 1999: Lectures (2) on “China’s South Asian Interests and Policies” and “The New Chinese-Indian-United States Triangle,” School of International Relations, Jawaharalal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

February 1999: Presentation on “The New Chinese-Indian-United States Triangle,” Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses and the India International Center, New Delhi, India.

February 1999: Presentation on “Nuclear Weapons and the China-India Relation,” at conference on South Asia’s Nuclear Dilemma, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

May 1998: Presentation on “Sino-Burma Relations” to Conference on “Towards a 21st Century Burma,” U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

October 1997: Presentation on “The Russo-Chinese Strategic Partnership” to conference on modern China. Institute of Far Eastern Affairs, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

September 1997: Presentation on “Communist Strategies in the Vietnam War.” Navy War College, Newport, Rhode Island.

August 1997: Discussant on panel on “The Taiwan Strait Crisis and U.S. Policy.” American Political Science Association, Annual Convention, Washington, D.C.

May 1997: Presentation on "Chinese-American Relations and Chinese Misperceptions of the United States," at Beijing Society for Comparative International Studies, Beijing, China. Gave the same lecture again at Beijing University.

April 1997: Presentation on "Is China an Anti-Democratic Power?," Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China.

February 1997: Lecture on “Communist Strategies in the Vietnam War.” Navy War College, Newport, Rhode Island.

October 1996: Presentation on China's Decision Making in the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, Workshop on the Strait Crisis sponsored by the Under Secretary of the Navy and the Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense.

October 1996: Presentation on "China's Political Situation," at evening program organized by the Southern Center for International Relations, Atlanta, Georgia.

April 1996: Presentation on "Will China Be Another Germany?," Annual Strategy Conference of the U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

March 1996: Lecture on "Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1996," Graduate Institute of Political Science, National Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

January 1996: Lecture on "China as Vietnam's 'Other'," at Conference on Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Pacific Rim, University of Georgia, Athens Georgia.

August 1995: Briefing on Asian Situation for Director of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense.

August 1995: Briefing on East Asian situation for Deputy Commander U.S. Pacific Forces, Pearl Harbor.

July 1995: Lecture on "Taiwan and Sino-U.S. Relations," at the Contemporary International Relations Institute, Beijing, China. (In Chinese).

July 1995: Presentation on "The United Nations and China" to conference on the United Nations and the Far East at Beijing University, Beijing, China. (In Chinese).

July 1995: Participant, conference on "China and Europe: Towards the 21st Century," People's University, Beijing, China.

June 1995: Presentation on "China and South Asia," Institute of South Asian Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China. (In Chinese).

June 1995: Presentation on "Reflections on the Past and Future of Sino-American Relations," Institute of International Affairs, Beijing, China. (In Chinese).

June 1995: Presentation on "The PLA as an Interest Group in Chinese Foreign Policy" to 6th PLA Conference sponsored by American Enterprise Institute, Coolfront, West Virginia. (Especially flown back from China to participate in conference.)

May 1995: Presentation on "Contemporary Sino-U.S. Relations," Shanghai Institute for International Relations, Shanghai, China.

May 1995: Presentation on "Main Trends in the Theoretical Analysis of International Relations in the United States," Department of International Politics, Beijing University, Beijing, China.

May 1995: Presentation on "Main Trends in the Theoretical Analysis of International Relations in the United States," Department of International Politics, International

Relations College, Beijing, China. (In Chinese)

May 1995: Presentation on "V-E Day Reflections: The Past and the Future of Sino-U.S. Relations," at Center for International Studies, Shanghai Institute of Education, China. (In Chinese)

May 1995: Presentation on "From the End of History to the Clash of Civilizations", Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, China.

May 1995: Presentation on "Role of Theory in the Study of International Relations," Department of World Politics, Fudan University, Shanghai, China.

March 1994: Presentation on "The Taiwan Problem in U.S.-PRC Relations," at the annual convention of the International Studies Association.

October 1993: Presentation on "The Logic of China's South China Sea Policy" at conference on Asian security at the Gaston Sigur Center, George Washington University.

August 1993: Presentation on "Future Asian scenarios" to Seminar on Future Inter-state Relations in Asia at Naval War College, sponsored by Office of Net Assessment, Department of Defense.

November 1992: Presentation on "China and the VWP Decision to Launch the Tet Offensive," at "Conference on the Vietnam War: Remembering Tet," Salisbury State University.

March 1993: Presentation on "Political problems and issues in China," at panel on "Third World in Perspective" program at Georgia Southwestern College.

May 1992: Presentation on "China and South Asia" at Foreign Affairs College, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing.

October 1991: Presentation on "Pearl Harbor and Asian International Relations" on panel at Third Annual Conference of the Georgia World History Association.

April 1991: Presentation on "Sino-Soviet relations during W.W. II" to Seminar on Modern China, University of Washington, St. Louis.

May 1990: Lecture on Sino-Indian relations to the South Asian Institute, Beijing University, Beijing, China.

May 1990: Lecture on Sino-Soviet relations to the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China.

April 1990: Lecture on Sino-Indian relations at the South and Southeast Asian Institute, Beijing University, People's Republic of China.

April 1990: Lecture on Sino-Soviet relations at Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, People's Republic of China.

June 1988: Presented paper on Sino-Soviet-U.S. relations at the 17th Sino-American Conference on Mainland China, Taipei.

August 1987: Presentation on "The KMT-US Alliance" at Conference on the Pattern of China's Cooperative Behavior sponsored by the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Brookings Institute.

August 1987: Presentation on "The KMT-US Alliance" at Conference on the Pattern of China's Cooperative Behavior sponsored by the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Brookings Institute.

April 1987: Lecture on "Politics and Party in Communist China." to the Southern Center for International Studies.

November 1986: Indian Council of World Affairs, Bombay, India. Lecture on "China's Role in Asia."

November 1986: Indo-American Society, Bombay, India. Lecture on "Changing U.S. Perceptions of India."

October 1986: Lectures on "China's Role in Asia" and "Sino-Soviet Relations During the Second World War," Department of Political Science, Maharaja Sarajirao University, Baroda, India.

October 1986: Harold Laski Institute, Ahmedabad, India. Lecture on "An American's View of China."

January 1986: Presentation on "China's Response to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative," Southeastern Conference of the Association for Asian Studies

November 1981: Presentation on "U.S. Southeast Asian Policy Under the Reagan Administration," MidWestern Conference of the American Association for Chinese Studies.



October 1981: Presentation on "China's Four Modernization and the AntiHegemony United Front with the United States." MidAtlantic Conference of the Association for Asian Studies.

November 1985: Conference on Wartime China sponsored by the Contemporary U.S.Asia Research Institute. Gave presentation on research prospects on China's wartime diplomacy.

April 1981: School for Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University. Presented lecture, "China's Rapprochement Decision."

March 1981: Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State. Presented paper, "China's Revolutionary Political System."

#### **G. OP ED PIECES IN NEWSPAPERS (n = 10)**

"Keep Germany on our side," Atlanta Journal Constitution, 19 May 2003, p. A11.

"The strangest of bedfellows; U.S., China could join forces to bring down North Korea," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 15 January 2003, p. A13,

"U.S. cash will make Afghanistan work," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 29 July 2002, p. A10.

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Garver, J.W., "U.S. policies toward India need fixing," The Atlanta Constitution, 1 September 2000, p. A 19.

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"Mars trip should be U.S.-Japan Venture," Atlanta Journal Constitution, Philadelphia Inquirer, Cleveland Plain Dealer, and Newsday, March, 12 July, 17 August, 1988, p. 9-A.

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The China-India Rivalry in the Globalization Era, T.V. Paul, in South Asia, Journal of South Asian Studies, Issue 3, 2018..

Shadow States: India, China and the Himalayas, 1910-1962, Berenice Guyot-Rechard, China Journal.

Rethinking the Triangle: Washington-Beijing-Taipei, Brantly Womack, Yufan Hao, editors, Brantly Womack, Yufan Hao, editors, China Journal, July 2017, p. 142-144.

Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II, China Journal, Hans van de Ven, et al, Hans van de Ven, China Journal, January 2016, p. 130-134.

The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics, Andrew Small, China Journal, January 2015, p. 146-148.

The East Moves West: India, China and Asia's Growing Presence in the Middle East, Geoffrey Kemp, China Journal, 2010. [www.MiddleEastReads.com](http://www.MiddleEastReads.com) 2010

Shadow Cold War: the Sino-Soviet Competition for the Third World, Jeremy Friedman. China Journal, July 2017, p. 155-158

Eric Heginbotham, U.S.-China Military Scorecard, Michael Pillsbury, The Hundred Year Marathon, Lyle Goldstein, Meeting China Halfway, and Thomas Christensen, The China Challenge. China Quarterly, No. 226, June 2016: Review Essay, "America's Debate over the Rise of China," of four 2015 books:

Looking for Balance: China, The United States, and Power Balancing in East Asia, Steve Chan, China Journal, July 2013, pl 285-288.

The New Silk Road: How a Rising Arab World is turning Away from the West and Rediscovering China, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. China Quarterly, No. 203 (September 2010), p. 725-26.

The Crucial Issues of the Early Cold War: Stalin and the Chinese Civil War, Donggil Kim, Diplomatic History Online, July 2010.

Chinese Foreign Relations by Bob Sutter, The China Journal, No. 60, July 2008, p. 156-57.

Japan and Greater China, by Greg Austin and Stuart Harris, China Journal. (January 2004) No. 51, p. 187-188.

Same Beds, Different Dreams, by David Lampton, for Political Science Quarterly, (vol. 117, no. 3), Autumn 2002, p. 513-14.

Across the Himalayan Gap, Indian Quest for Understanding China by Tan Chung, for The China Quarterly, No. 170, (June 2002), p. 491-93.

China and the Vietnam Wars by Qiang Zhai, China Quarterly, No. 170, (June 2002), p. 490-91.

Review essay of China's Strategic Modernization: Implications for the United States by Mark Stokes, Red Dragon Rising: Communist China's Military Threat to America by Ed Timperlake and William Triplett, and The United States and a Rising China: Strategic and Military Implications by Zalmay Khalilzad, et al, in The China Quarterly, No. 162, 2000, p. 160-62. Lead article in book review section.

Limited Adversaries, Post-Cold War Sino-American Mutual Images by Jianwei Wang in American Political Science Review, vol. 95, No. 4, p. 1047.

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Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy: The Micro-Macro Linkage Approach, by Quansheng Zhao, in The China Journal, No. 38 (July 1997), p. 211-212.

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