#### MAJ ORIANA MASTRO

RANK Maj (USAFR), DOR 28 May 2019

TAFCSD 28 May 2010

SECURITY CLEARANCE Available upon request

CURRENT DUTY Strategic Planner, INDOPACOM J5, Camp Smith, Hawaii

OBJECTIVE Challenging joint O5 IMA position in intelligence, strategy, plans, or policy

QUALIFICATIONS China Expert. Respected China military and security expert with PhD from top US political science program. I am professionally proficient in Mandarin Chinese (DLPT 3/3) and only reservist to be certified as a China FAO (16F3D) as a 1LT.

Seasoned Briefer. I have prepared and delivered high-quality, unique content briefings at the highest levels of the Air Force, to include the past three CSAFs, the SecAF, COMPACAF, and the A2/6, A3, among many others.

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

Effective Action Officer: a political-military affairs specialist (16P4), my political -military experience and strong understanding of interagency processes allow me to be an effective action officer at an above the wing level.

Innovative Strategist. I have made major strategic contributions to PACAF strategy and plans. In particular, I wrote the unclassified PACAF strategy in 2016. For these contributions, I was awarded Individual Reservist of the Year (CGO) in 2016.

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

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

Recognized USAFR Leader. One of sixteen reservists featured in the Air Force Reserve Command’s 2018 Profiles in Leadership series. I have participated in a number of competitive reserve development courses include JOLD, IJOLD, and YROW as well as identified as a High Performance Officer (HPO) seven times since 2014 by intel or special duty/non-core development teams (most recently on intel KPL April 2019). I volunteered and participated in KR17 as the A2A OIC.

CIVILIAN EDUCATION

PhD, Princeton University, Politics, 2013

M.A., Princeton University, Politics, 2009

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

MILITARY EDUCATION

Air Command and Staff College (by correspondence), 2020

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

Squadron Officer Course (by correspondence), 2014

Officer Intelligence Course, in residence, 2011

Officer Training School, in residence, 2010

MILITARY AWARDS 2020 Meritorious Service Medal with first oak leaf cluster

2018 Meritorious Service Medal

2017 Air Force Recognition Ribbon

 2016 Individual Reservist of the Year (CGO category)

2016 Joint Meritorious Unit Award

2014 Air Force Commendation Medal (for achievement)

2013 A8X Company Grade Officer (CGO) of the Year

2013 Air Force Achievement Medal

2010 OTS Distinguished Graduate

2010 OTS USAA Leadership Award
2010 National Defense Service Medal

2010 Global War on Terrorism Service Medal

DUTY HISTORY

7/20-pres Strategic Planner, INDOPACOM J5, Camp Smith, Hawaii

7/18-7/20 Senior China Analyst, HAF/A2O, Pentagon

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

12/14-2/16 Reserve Air Attaché, DAS for Asia-Pacific Region, Bolling

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

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

CIVILIAN EXPERIENCE

8/20-pres Stanford University, FSI, Center Fellow

9/19-pres American Enterprise Institute, Senior Non-Resident Fellow

8/13-7/20 Georgetown University, Assistant Professor of Security Studies

9/17-8/19 American Enterprise Institute, Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar

8/16-8/17 Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

## 3/12-5/13 Center for a New American Security (CNAS), Fellow

6/10-9/10 Project 2049, Summer Associate

6/09-9/09 U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), Analyst

6/08-9/08 RAND Corporation, Summer Associate

8/06-8/07 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, China Program, Junior Fellow

SELECT CIVILIAN FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

American in the World Consortium Best Policy Article on U.S. Foreign Policy

and Grand Strategy given by Johns Hopkins SAIS 2020

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, China Fellow 2020-1

The Council on Foreign Relations, Term Member 2018-pre

Jeane Kirkpatrick Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (AEI) 2017-19

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations Public Intellectuals Program 2016-18

Ellis Joffe Prize for PLA Studies Winner for outstanding research contributions 2017

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Stanton Nuclear Security Fellowship 2016-17

Asia Foundation Faculty Research Grant on the Domestic Dimensions of IR 2016

Georgetown University Internal Summer Academic Grant 2016

Georgetown University Junior Faculty Research Fellowship Award 2015

Georgetown University Professor in Residence at Campion Hall, Oxford 2015

Miller Center National Fellowship, University of Virginia 2012-13

Pacific Forum CSIS nonresident Sasakawa Peace Fellow 2012-13

Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), Summer Visiting Fellow 2012

Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies (PIIRS) Summer Research Grant 2012

Princeton University’s Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice Research Grant 2012

One of Top 99 Most Influential International Professionals Under 33, *Diplomatic Courier* 2011

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

Smith Richardson Foundation World Politics and Statecraft Pre-doctoral Fellowship 2010-11

Bradley Fellow, recipient of grant to conduct research Beijing, Seoul 2009-12

Woodrow Wilson School Undergraduate Program Preceptor Award 2009

Parker D. Handy Fellow, twice-received for student with future in public affairs 2007-09

PUBLICATIONS

***Books***

*The Costs of Conversation: Obstacles to Peace Talks in Wartime* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Security Studies Series, 2019). *Winner of the 2020 International Security Section of the American Political Science Association Best Book by an Untenured Faculty Member*

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

***Select Peer-Reviewed***

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

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

“Conflict and Chaos on the Korean Peninsula: Can China’s Military Help Secure North Korea’s Nuclear Weapons?” *International Security,* Fall 2018, 84-116, <https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00330>.

“In the Shadow of the Thucydides Trap: International Relations Theory and the Prospects for Peace in U.S.-China Relations,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science,* November 2018,https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-018-9581-4.

“The Theory and Practice of War Termination: Assessing Patterns in China's Historical Behavior,” *International Studies Review,* <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/vix061>*.*

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

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

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

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

***Articles***

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

“How China Ends Wars: Implications for United States and East Asian Security,” *The Washington Quarterly,* vol 4, iss 1, March 2018: 45-60.

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

“Why Chinese Assertiveness is Here to Stay,” *The Washington Quarterly* 37, No. 4, 2014: 151-170.

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

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

***Book Chapters and Edited Volumes***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***Reports and Briefs***

“Military Confrontation in the South China Sea”, Council on Foreign Relations, *Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 36,* May 21, 2020, cfr.org/ConfrontationSouthChinaSea.

 “Sea of Troubles,” *The Economist, In the World 2020,* November 2019,

<https://worldin.economist.com/article/17356/edition2020south-china-sea-troubles>.

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

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

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

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

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

“The Obama-Xi Summit: A New Era in Bilateral Relations?” NBR Commentary, June 12, 2013.

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

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

***Congressional Testimony***

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“China' Lukewarm Response to Indian Military Modernization,” *China Brief* 13 Jan 2017.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

***Podcasts***

“China's Challenge to US primacy with Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro,” Policy, Guns & Money: The ASPI Podcast, January 2019, <https://soundcloud.com/user-415599049/chinas-challenge-to-us-primacy-cve-online-the-google-approach-and-indigenous-stem-engagement>.

“Great Power Competition with Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro,” Defense 2020, December 9, 2019, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/great-power-competition/id1485255825?i=1000459228590>.

“After Words with Newt Gingrich, Interviewed by Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro,” CSPAN, October 31, 2019, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?465505-1/after-words-newt-gingrich>.

“Episode 40: China/Russia Strategic Alliance,” Newt’s World, October 26, 2019, <http://www.westwoodonepodcasts.com/pods/newts-world/>.

“Oriana Skylar Mastro on SiriusXM POTUS,” The Trendline with Kristen Soltis Anderson, SiriusXM, September 2019, <https://www.siriusxm.com/clips/clip/2dbb4911-9a32-b0df-8072-e0dfe2b83171/14bd37b1-e3c3-4323-9b3d-eda87dd80a8b>.

“Oriana Skylar Mastro on the Jim Bohannon Show (February 6, 2019)” Jim Bohannon Show, February 2019, http://www.jimbohannonshow.com/jim-bohannon-podcasts/.

“CogitAsia Podcast: Xi Runs this Town,” CogitAsia, CSIS Podcast, November 2017, https://www.cogitasia.com/cogitasia-podcast-xi-runs-this-town/.

“Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Scholar: Conversation w/ Dr. Oriana Skylar Mastro,” The Global Cable, University of Pennsylvania Perry World House Podcast, November 2017, <https://global.upenn.edu/perryworldhouse/podcasts>.

“China’s Grand Strategy,” The Security Studies Podcast, Georgetown University, November 2017, https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/episode-18-oriana-mastro-on-china-and-its-military/id1110393903?i=1000394505553&mt=2.

“China and India Relations,” University of Pennsylvania Center for the Study of Contemporary China, October 17, 2017, Episode 1, http://penncscc.libsyn.com/china-india-relations-oriana-skylar-mastro.

“What Will the President’s Policy Be Toward North Korea?” TrumpWatch with Jesse Lent, 12 April 2017, Episode 19, https://soundcloud.com/trumpwatchwbai/ep-19-41217-what-will-the-presidents-policy-be-toward-north-korea-guest-oriana-skylar-mastro

“Bull in a China Shop,” No Jargon, Scholars Strategy Network, 24 January 2017, Episode 68, http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/podcast/bull-china-shop.

"What Trump Means for China," Asia Unbound, Council on Foreign Relations, 14 December 2016, http://blogs.cfr.org/asia/2016/12/14/what-trump-means-for-china/.

“Let’s Talk about Great Power Competition with China,” Pacific Pundit, 26 Oct 16, http://www.pacific pundit.org/podcast/2016/10/26/episode-5-lets-talk-about-great-power-competition-with-china.

TEACHING

The Theory and Practice of Security (required masters in security studies introductory course); Researching Chinese Foreign Policy (undergraduate level); China and its Military (masters level); Research Seminar in International Security (required masters in security studies research methodology course). Also served as teaching assistant to Thomas Christensen for International Relations in East Asia and Chinese Foreign Relations (undergraduate level), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

SELECT PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES, TRAINING AND ASSOCIATIONS

Fellow at Institute for Corean Studies (ICAS)

Military Veterans in Political Science board member

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (IQMR) 2015

Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders Program

CSIS Project on Nuclear Issues (PONI) China Working Group

Future Leaders Program, Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI)

Next Generation National Security Leader Program, CNAS

2010 Summer Workshop on Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS)