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2014-10-20
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Xu, B. 2013. SCS Tensions, 11 January 2013. Council on Foreign Relations. Internet: http://www.cfr.org/china/south-china-sea-tensions/p29790#p3. Access 19 February 2013.

Email Interviews:

Bussert, J. 2013. Email Interview, 9 July 2013. James C. Bussert is a retired USN Master Chief Sonarman (or E-9 enlisted rank). He currently writes for the *SIGNAL Media*, which provides in-depth, relevant and timely news in the communications and information technology realms of the defence, intelligence and global security communities.

Bussert authored the book *People's Liberation Army Navy Combat Systems Technology, 1949-2010*. Rare among books on weapon systems technologies, this work traces China s development from a coastal defence force of obsolete ships with crude weapons to its current complex missile catamarans and Aegis-like destroyers with vertical launch weapons and long-range cruise missiles. As the only book devoted solely to all combat systems on Chinese warships, it is a convenient one-stop reference filled with tables that break down specifications and parameters into specific areas, such as sensors and weapons for specific hulls. This book has been translated into Mandarin. He received the Armed Forces Communications and Electronics Association (AFCEA) International's Sparky Baird Award in 2011 for the year's best contributed article in SIGNAL magazine. He has authored twenty-four articles on China's military capacity and is regularly cited, in such journals as *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, as an authoritative source on combat system hardware and software, and in particular relation to China.

Dutton, P. 2013. Email Interview, 18 July 2013. Prof. Peter Dutton is a Professor of Strategic Studies and Director of the China Maritime Studies Institute at the U.S. Naval War College.

Professor Dutton's current research focuses on American and Chinese views of sovereignty and international law of the sea and the strategic implications to the United States and the United States Navy of Chinese international law and policy choices. Selected recent publications include: *Military Activities in the EEZ: A U.S.-China Dialogue for Security in the Maritime Commons* (December 2010), *Caelum Liberam: Air Defense Identification Zones Outside Sovereign Airspace* (American Journal of International Law, October 2009), *Charting a Course: US-China Cooperation at Sea* (China Security, April 2009), *Scouting, Signaling and Gate-Keeping: Chinese Naval Operations in Japanese Waters and the International Law Implications* (China Maritime Studies Monograph, April 2009), *and Carving Up the East China Sea* (Naval War College Review, Spring 2007). Additionally, Professor Dutton has testified before the U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission on Chinese Perspectives on Sovereignty and Access Control (February 2008) and on the Implications of Chinese Naval Modernization (June 2009). Additionally, he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Maritime Disputes and Sovereignty Issues in East Asia (July 2009). Professor Dutton also researches and lectures on topics related to international law of the sea issues in the East and SCSs, East and Southeast Asia, the Arctic, the Proliferation Security Initiative, and Maritime Strategy. He is a retired Navy Judge Advocate and holds a Juris Doctor from the College of William and Mary, a Master's of Arts (with distinction) from Naval War College, and a Bachelor's of Science (cum laude) from Boston University.

Emmers, R. 2013. Email Interview, 4 July 2013. Dr. Ralf Emmers is Associate Professor and Acting Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.

Dr. Ralf Emmers' research interests include Security studies and International Relations theory, International institutions in the Asia-Pacific, Maritime Security, and Security and International politics of Southeast Asia. Professional activities have included serving as the Head of Graduate Studies at RSIS (2006-2009); as a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University/Griffith University (2009), funded by the Australian Research Council (ARC) Center of Excellence in Policing and Security (CEPS); as a Participant at the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Study Group on Human Trafficking in the Asia-Pacific Region (2005); as a Ford Fellow on Non-Traditional Security in Asia (2003-05), Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies

(IDSS); as an IDSS Post Doctoral Fellow in Asian Security (2002); and as a Research Associate at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta (2000). Dr. Emmers is an Editorial Board member of *The Pacific Review*. He is the author or editor of nine books and has contributed numerous journal articles and book chapters in edited volumes. His authored works include *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* (Routledge, 2010), *The East Asia Summit and the Regional Security Architecture* (University of Maryland School of Law, 2011, coauthored). He is editor of *ASEAN and the Institutionalization of East Asia* (Routledge, forthcoming). Additionally, he has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *The Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey*, and *Asian Security*.

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Mr. Iida's areas of expertise include China's Foreign Policy and East Asian Studies. He received his B.A. in Policy Management and M.A. in Media and Governance from Keio University, and his M.A. in East Asian Studies from Stanford University. His English publications include *China's Multilateral Cooperation in East Asia, Its Objectives and Implications* (2005), and *ASEAN Attempting to Strengthen Cohesiveness* (2001). Japanese publications include *Chugoku no Tonan Ajia ni Taisuru Anpo Kyoryoku* [China's Security Cooperation with Southeast Asia] (2003), and *Higashi Timor PKO to Chugoku* [China and the PKO in East Timor] (2001).

Johnston, A. I. 2013. Email Interview, 8 July 2013. Prof. Alastair Iain Johnston is the The Governor James Noe and Linda Noe Laine Professor of China in World Affairs, International Relations at Harvard University, Department of Government.

Prof. Johnston's research and teaching interests include socialization in international institutions, the analysis of identity in the social sciences, and ideational sources of strategic choice, mostly with reference to China and East Asia. He is the author of *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton 1995) and *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000* (Princeton 2008). He is also co-editor (with Robert Ross) of *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (Routledge 1999); *New Directions in the Study of China's Foreign Policy* (Stanford 2006)(with Robert Ross); *Crafting Cooperation: Regional Institutions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge 2007)(with Amitav Acharya); *Chinese-English*

English-Chinese Glossary on Nuclear Security Terms (Mianyang: Atomic Energy Press, 2008)(with the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Security and Arms Control and the Chinese Scientists Group on Arms Control); and *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists* (Cambridge 2009)(with Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, and Rose McDermott).

Joshy, P. 2013. Email Interview, 9 July 2013. Paul Joshy is an Associate Fellow at the National Maritime Foundation in New Delhi.

Mr. Joshy's areas of interest include International Relations Theory, Asian Security, Japan's Foreign and Security Policy, China's Foreign Policy, India's Look-East Policy, Indian Ocean Region and Maritime Security. And current projects include: 'Indo-Japan Relations: From Economic Partner to Strategic Ally". His experience includes RSIS-MacArthur Associate Visiting Fellow, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore – May 1 to July 31, 2010; and Salzburg Global Seminar Fellow (Session 467) "Asia's Emerging Powers: Rivalry and Global Responsibility" December 8 to 13, 2009, Salzburg, Austria. He has authored over twenty-five articles relating to East Asian maritime security, including: *India and Japan: Reluctant Idealism to Practical Realism* (2008), *Territorial Dispute in the East China Sea and its Effects on China-Japan Relations* (2008), *Energy Security in China's Foreign Policy : A Maritime Perspective* (2010), *Emerging Powers and Cooperative Security in Asia* (2010) and *Emerging Security Architecture in the Indian Ocean Region: Policy Options for India* (2011).

Nathan, A. 2013. Email Interview, 4 July 2013. Andrew J. Nathan is Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University.

Prof. Nathan's teaching and research interests include Chinese politics and foreign policy, the comparative study of political participation and political culture, and human rights. He is engaged in long-term research and writing on Chinese foreign policy and on sources of political legitimacy in Asia, the latter research based on data from the Asian Barometer Survey, a multi-national collaborative survey research project active in eighteen countries in Asia. Nathan is chair of the steering committee of the Center for the Study of Human Rights and chair of the Morningside Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Columbia. He served as chair of the Department of Political Science, 2003-2006, chair of the Executive Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2002-2003, and director of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, 1991-1995. Off campus, he is co-chair of the board, Human Rights in China, a member of the board of Freedom House, and a member of the Advisory Committee of Human Rights Watch, Asia, which he chaired, 1995-2000. He is a

member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the Association for Asian Studies, and the American Political Science Association. Books include *Peking Politics, 1918-1923; Chinese Democracy; Popular Culture in Late Imperial China,* co-edited with David Johnson and Evelyn S. Rawski; *Human Rights in Contemporary China*, with R. Randle Edwards and Louis Henkin; *China's Crisis; The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security*, with Robert S. Ross; *China's Transition; The Tiananmen Papers,* co-edited with Perry Link; *Negotiating Culture and Human Rights: Beyond Universalism and Relativism,* co-edited with Lynda S. Bell and Ilan Peleg; *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files,* co-authored with Bruce Gilley; *Constructing Human Rights in the Age of Globalization,* co-edited with Mahmood Monshipouri, Neil Englehart, and Kavita Philip; *How East Asians View Democracy,* co-edited with Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Doh Chull Shin; and the second edition of *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress,* co-authored with Andrew Scobell.

Panda, A. 2013. Email Interview, 10 July 2013. Mr. Ankit Panda is a Research Specialist and special assistant to the Director of the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination on geopolitical crises with a portfolio focusing largely on the region between the Aegean to the West, the Hindu Kush to the East, the Caucasus to the North, and the Gulf of Aden to the South. And is concurrently a researcher on a multi-institutional project on Indian political thought and foreign policy.

Ankit Panda received his A.B. in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. His senior thesis, for which he conducted several interviews with experts and diplomats, applied international relations theory towards explaining the origins and evolution of strategic convergence between India and Japan in the 21st century. He has additionally produced policy papers on China's influence and compliance record at international fora, Trans-Atlantic cyber security cooperation, and Turkey's role as a model of democracy for Middle-Eastern and North African states after the Arab Spring. His other research interests include international relations theory, Indian political thought, Anglo-American jurisprudence, cyber security, and the Internet. Panda has previously been associated with the Department of Politics at Princeton University, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance in Stockholm, Sweden, the Department of International Relations at the French Senate in Paris, France, and the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi, India. As a Research Specialist and Special Assistant to the Director, Ankit is directly involved with specialized research, writing, and production of LISD policy papers and reports. He is also the Director's Conference Coordinator for the Liechtenstein Colloquium on European and International Affairs.

Ross, R. 2013. Email Interview, 2 July 2013. Robert S. Ross is a Professor of Political Science at Boston College and Associate, John King Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University.

Current Research interests include Chinese security policy, nationalism and Chinese defence policy, East Asian security, and U.S.-China relations. He has taught at Columbia University and at the University of Washington and in 1989 was a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. In 1994-1995 he was Fulbright Professor at the Chinese Foreign Affairs College and in 2003 he was a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Institute of International Strategic Studies, Qinghua University, Beijing. In 2009 he was Visiting Scholar, Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defence College. He is currently Visiting Professor, Institute for Defence Studies, Norwegian Defence University College. His recent publications include *Chinese Security Policy: Structure, Power, and Politics* (2009), *US-China-EU Relations: Managing the New World Order* (2011), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics* (2008), and *New Directions in the Study of Chinese Foreign* Policy (2006). His other major works include *Normalization of U.S.-China Relations: An International History* (2007); *Great Wall and Empty Fortress: China's Search for Security* (1998), *Negotiating Cooperation: U.S.-China Relations, 1969-1989* (1995), and *The Indochina Tangle: China's Vietnam Policy, 1975-1979* (1988). Professor Ross is the author of numerous articles on Chinese security policy and U.S.-China relations in *World Politics*, *The China Quarterly*, *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Orbis*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, and *Asian Survey*. His books and articles have been translated in China, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and various European countries.

Singh, M. 2013. Email Interview, 8 July 2013. Brigadier Mandip Singh is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi and a member of the China and East Asia cluster.

Brig Mandip Singh was commissioned into the Regiment of Artillery in 1983. He is a graduate of the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington and done the Higher Command Course at Mhow. He has commanded an Artillery Regiment in Jammu & Kashmir on the Line of Control and an Artillery Brigade in the Western sector. His academic qualifications are BSc, MSc(Def Studies), MPhil and Dip in Mgt. His publications include *Does China Mix Business with Politics* (2013), *China-Russia relations: Bonding but Can it Endure?* (2013), *China consolidates claim in the SCS* (2013), *China's Defence Budget: 2013-2014* (2013), and *China Year Book 2011* (2012); in addition to 26 other publications.

Swaine, M. 2013. Email Interview, 8 July 2013. Michael Swaine is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of the most prominent American analysts in Chinese security studies.

Formerly a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, Swaine is a specialist in Chinese defence and foreign policy, U.S. –China relations, and East Asian international relations. He has authored and edited more than a dozen books and monographs and many journal articles and book chapters in these areas, directs several security-related projects with Chinese partners, and advises the U.S. government on Asian security issues. He received his Ph.D. in government from Harvard University. His books include *America's Challenge: Engaging a Rising China in the Twenty-first Century* (2011), *Sino-American Crisis Management and the U.S.-Japan Alliance* (2009), *Assessing the Threat: The Chineses Military and Taiwan's Security* (2007), *Managing Sino-American Crises: Case Studies and Analysis* (2006), *Military Modernization in Taiwan* (2005), *Managing Relations with the United States* (2005), *U.S.-China Relations and the Implications for Okinawa* (2005), *Ballistic Missiles and Missile Defense in Asia* (2002), and *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy* (2000).

Thayer, C. 2013. Email Interview, 19 July 2013. Prof. Carl Thayer is an Emeritus Professor at the University of New South Wales in Canberra, Australia.

Prof. Thayer's research interests include the Politics of Vietnam, the role of the military in Vietnam, Foreign Policy of Vietnam, Political terrorism in Southeast Asia, Multilateral security institutions in the Asia-Pacific, China’s defence cooperation with Southeast Asia and Climate change and its impact on Southeast Asian security. Carl has served three major periods away from University College. From 1992-95, he was seconded to the Regime Change and Regime Maintenance Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU. From 1999-2001, he was granted ‘leave in the national interest’ to take up the position of Professor of Southeast Asian Security Studies and Deputy Chair of the Department of Regional Studies at the U.S. Defence Department’s Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Hawaii. From 2002 to 2004, he was seconded to Deakin University as On Site Academic Coordinator of the Defence and Strategic Studies Course, the senior course, at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (CDSS), Australian Defence College, Weston Creek. Professor Thayer has spent special study leave at the ANU’s Strategic and Defence Studies Centre; Harvard’s Center for International Affairs; International Institute of Strategic Studies in London; Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Chulalongkorn University in Thailand; Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore; and the Department of Political Science at Yale. In 2005, he was the C. V. Starr Distinguished Visiting Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at The Paul H. Nitze

School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. During 2006-07 Carl directed the Regional Security Studies module at the Australian Command and Staff College, Weston Creek. In 2008, he spent the first half of the year as the inaugural Frances M. and Stephen H. Fuller Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Center of Southeast Asian Studies, Ohio University in the United States and the second half of the year as Visiting Fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU. Prof. Thayer has authored over 380 publications including: *Vietnam People's Army: Development and Modernization* (2009), *Leadership Dynamics in Terrorist Organisations in Southeast Asia* (2005), *Regional Outlook Forum 2005: Political Outlook for Malaysia, Myanmar and Vietnam* (2005), *Security, Political Terrorism and Militant Islam in Southeast Asia* (2003), *Force Modernization in Southeast Asia and Its Implications for the Security of the Asia Pacific* (2000).

Womack, B. 2013. Email Interview, on 2 July 2013. Professor Brantly Womack is currently a Cumming Memorial Professor of Foreign Affairs in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics, University of Virginia.

Current research interests include asymmetric international relationships, the relationship of public authority and popular power in China; provincial diversification in China; domestic politics and foreign policy of Vietnam; China's relations with Southeast Asia. He was a Fulbright Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Fellow, Mellon Fellow; recipient of numerous research grants. Honorary professor at Jilin University (Changchun, China), and at East China Normal University (Shanghai, China). Author of *China among Unequals: Asymmetric Foreign Relations in Asia* (2010); *China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry* (2006); *Foundations of Mao Zedong's Political Thought, 1917-1935*; co-author of *Politics in China* (3rd ed.); editor of *China's Rise in Historical Perspective* (2010); *Contemporary Chinese Politics in Historical Perspective*, *Media and the Chinese Public*; *Electoral Reform in China*; author of more than one hundred journal articles and book chapters on Asian politics, including articles in *World Politics, World Policy Journal, China Quarterly, Pacific Affairs*, and *China Journal*.