

revised 11/17

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME June Teufel Dreyer

ADDRESSES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS

Business: Department of Political Science
POB 8047
University of Miami
Coral Gables FL 33124
(305) 284-2403
fax: (305) 284-3636
email: jdreyer@miami.edu

the address above is for U.S. mail. For FedEx and other courier services, please use:
1300 Campo Sano #140
University of Miami
Coral Gables FL 33146 [different zip code from
US mail]

DEGREES RECEIVED, INSTITUTIONS, YEARS, AND FIELDS

Ph.D. Harvard University 1973
Government and Far Eastern Languages
(joint degree)

M.A. Harvard University 1963
East Asian Studies

B.A. Wellesley College 1961
Political Science

Certificates of Proficiency in Elementary, Intermediate, and Newspaper Chinese, Yale University Summer Language Institute, summers of 1961, 1962. Certificates of Proficiency in Intermediate Japanese and in Reading Japanese for Research Purposes, Doshisha University, 1968, 1969.

WORK EXPERIENCE

1979-present Professor of Political Science

2003-2004 Director, University Honors Program, University of Miami

2001-2006 Member, U.S.-China Security Review Commission (appointed by Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert, March 2001; reappointed 2003;2004. www.uscc.gov)

- 2001-2004 Chair, Department of Political Science
- 1979-1986 Director, East Asian Programs and Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Miami, Coral Gables Florida (concurrent appointment)
- March-September 1980 Acting Director, Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami
- 1978-1979 Senior Far East Specialist, Federal Research Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- 1975-1978 Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.
- 1972-1975 Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. (Tenure granted 2/75).
- 1970-71 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- 1966-67 Tutor and Teaching Fellow, Department of Government, Harvard University.

DISTINCTIONS RECEIVED; FELLOWSHIPS

- 2017 Received Japan Institute for National Fundamentals award for best book of 2016.
- 2017 Received University of Miami Faculty Senate's Distinguished Scholar award
- 2016 Elected vice-president of the American Association for Chinese Studies.
- Consulted by Mitsubishi UFJ Research and Consulting (MURC), Tokyo, on the disputed islands in the East China Sea, Kurils, and Takeshima/Dokdo. MURC is under contract to produce a study on this issue for the Office of the Prime Minister, Japan.
-
- Official invitee to inauguration of Tsai Ing-wen as president of Taiwan, June 2016
- Member of International Observers Group for Taiwan Election of January 2016
- Named Faculty Adviser to the Rumsfeld Foundation
- 2015 Participant in Track II diplomatic exercise, Beijing University, March 2015

- 2014 Guest of Japanese government for interviews on Diaoyu/Senkaku islands Controversy, November 2014
- 2014 Cooper Fellow, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Miami
- 2014 Board of Advisers, Japan Forum, NBR (one of three)
- 2011 Center for Humanities Fellow, University of Miami
- 2010- Board of Advisers, National Bureau of Asian Research/Woodrow Wilson Center
- 2009- Board of Advisers, Leibniz-Institute für Globale and Regionale Studien, *China Aktuell/Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Hamburg.
- 2008- Research Fellow, International Strategy Assessment Center, Washington, D.C.
- 2009- Board of Directors, American Association for Chinese Studies, New York, New York.
- 2001-2006 Commissioner, United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission [established by U.S. Congress, www.uscc.gov]
- 2001 Summer Research Grant, School of Business, University of Miami
- 2000 Research Excellence Award, School of Business, University of Miami
- 2000 Summer Research Grant, School of Business, University of Miami
- 2000-present Editorial Board, *Orbis*
- 1999-2000 Provost's Award for Scholarly Excellence, University of Miami
- 1999 Research Excellence Award, School of Business, University of Miami
- 1999- Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia
- 1992-2001 Adjunct Professor of Asian-Pacific Studies, U.S. Air Force Special Operations School
- 1998, 2000 Summer Research Grant, School of Business, University of Miami
- 1997 Research Excellence Award, School of Business, University of Miami
- 1995-present Board of Editors, *Journal of Contemporary China*
- 1994-1998 Asia-Pacific Program Director, Global Strategy Council, Washington, D.C.

- 1992 Research Excellence Award, School of Business, University of Miami
- 1992-1995 Member, governing board of Security Studies Section, International Studies Association
- 1986-present Member, International Institute of Strategic Studies, London
- 1984-1988 Member, Executive Panel, Chief of Naval Operations, Department of Defense
- 1982-1985 Member, Board of Governors, The East-West Center, Honolulu. Chair, Program Committee and Member, Executive Committee, Board of Governors
- 1983-1998 Member, Board of Advisors, Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.
- 1987 Chair, Program Committee, American Association for Chinese Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.
- 1984 Chair, Program Committee, Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.
- 1983 Vice-Chair, Program Committee and Chair for China and Inner Asia Panels, Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, San Francisco
- 1982-83 Fellow, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University
- FY 1988 Received \$50,000 grant from Far Eastern Textile Ltd. to organize a conference entitled "Washington-Peking-Taipei: A Decade After Normalization," Southern Center for International Studies, Atlanta, Georgia, May 5-6 1988.
- Fiscal Years 1980-1982 Principal Investigator, Undergraduate International Studies Grant, U.S. Department of Education. \$ 108,500
- Summer 1976 Miami University, Summer Research Grant
- Summer 1975 Fellow, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, Berkeley
- Summer 1975 Social Sciences Research Council Grant
- Summer 1974 Miami University Summer Research Grant
- Summer 1973 Fellow, East Asian Institute, Harvard University
- Summer 1973 Harvard University Summer Research Grant

- 1968-1969 Harvard Travelling Fellow
- 1967-1968 Kendall Fellow of Radcliffe College
- 1962-1966 National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships for summer and academic years of 1962-1966. (Four awards constitute maximum period of eligibility).
- 1961-1962 Radcliffe College Grant
- 1958-1961 Wellesley College Scholar

LANGUAGE CAPABILITIES

Chinese	(good)
French	(good)
German	(fair)
Japanese	(fair)

FOREIGN TRAVEL: YEARS AND PURPOSE OF VISITS

- July 2016: Japan, received award from Japan Institute for National Fundamentals
- June 2016: Taiwan, attended presidential inauguration as guest of Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- January 2016: Taiwan, member of International Election Observer Group
- June 2015 Shanghai: taught summer course at Huadong Zhifa Daxue.
- March 2015 Beijing: Participant in Track II diplomatic exercise at Beijing University
- November 2014 Tokyo. Guest of Japanese government for ten days' discussion with defense and foreign policy officials.
- September 2014 Nottingham, U.K., presented paper at funded international conference.
- June 2014: taught summer course at Huadong Zhifa Daxue
- December 2011: Shanghai, Ten days, assisted in setting up exchange program between University of Miami and Fudan University.
- June 2011: Shanghai. taught summer course at Huadong Zhifa Daxue.
- March 2011: delivered paper on Sino-American-Japanese relations at Fudan University, Shanghai.

May 2009: Oxford, U.K.. Participated in seminar on cross-strait relations, Oxford University.

August 2008: Taipei, Taiwan. Discussant at Institute for Taiwan Defense and Strategic Studies conference; conducted interviews with political and military officials and think tank members.

July 2008: Shanghai. Delivered lectures at Huadong University of Political Science and Law, one week

October 2007 Brussels, Paris, Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, London: two week speaking tour on cross-strait relations

November 2006 London, speaker at Royal United Services Institute. (separate visit from below)

October/November 2006 Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris, Berlin, London: ten day speaking tour on cross-strait relations

August 2005 China and Hong Kong, ten days, member of U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission delegation

December 2004 Taiwan, member of delegation to observe Legislative Yuan elections

November-December 2004 Brussels and Prague, member of U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission delegation

June 2004 England. Delivered the Hillary term lecture at St. Antony's College, Oxford

March 2004 Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, ten days, member of US-China Economic and Security Review Commission delegation

January 2004 Taiwan, one week, served as discussant at conference

December 2003 Taiwan, one week, delivered paper at conference

March 2003 Japan, one week, participant in Trilateral Dialogue (US-Taiwan-Japan)

January 2003 Taiwan, one week, participated in international conference on Taiwan security and air power

August 2002 Taiwan, one week, member of Trilateral Dialogue (US-Taiwan-Japan)

January 2002 Taiwan, one week, member of US-China Security Review Commission delegation

November 2001 Taiwan, one week, member of election observation group

November 2001 China, one week, member of US-China Security Review Commission delegation

//

- May 2000 Taiwan, one week, participated in conference on U.S. China Relations sponsored by Institute of International Relations, National Taiwan University.
- July 1999 Taiwan, one week, participated in conference, *International Peace and Security in the Taiwan Strait*, co-sponsored by 21st Century Foundation (Taipei) and American Enterprise Institute (Washington, D.C.)
- June 1999 Taiwan, two weeks, participate in conference *Cross-Strait Relations and Ensuring Asian Security*, co-sponsored by *Tzu-yü Shih-pao* (Liberty Times) and Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in Japan. Also participated in Government Information Office of Republic of China-sponsored visit to Taiwan, meeting government and economic leaders.
- May-June 1999 China, three weeks, participated in symposium *The Emerging Political-Criminal Nexus in China* co-sponsored by Organized Crime Research Center of Institute for Criminal Law and Justice of the China University of Political Science and Law (Beijing) and the National Strategy Research Center, Washington, D.C.
- April 1999 Taiwan, one week, participated in conference commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Taiwan Relations Act sponsored by the Academia Sinica, Taiwan. Served as discussant for conference on 50th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.
- March 1999 Canada, three days. Made speech at University of Quebec at Montreal forum *Les Nouvelles Orientations de la Politique Etrangere et Militaire de la Chine*
- August 1994 China, three weeks, participated in conference, *Sino-American Relations in the Post-War Era*, co-sponsored by the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (Beijing) and the Washington Institute Washington D.C); visited the Institute's offices in Kunming, and ethnic minority areas of Yunnan.
- July 1994 Hong Kong, one week, participated in conference, *Chinese Economic Reform and Defense Policy*, same sponsorship as June 1993, below.
- June 1993 Hong Kong, one week, participated in conference, *Regionalism and the Chinese People's Liberation Army*, co-sponsored by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London) and the Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies (Taipei).
- June 1992 Taiwan, one week, participated in conference, *The PLA in the New Era*, Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies.
- May 1992 Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Japan, three weeks: study leader for Smithsonian Museum Associates visit.

- December 1991 Taiwan, one week, organized and led neutral observer team that monitored the National Assembly election.
- June 1991 Tokyo, guest of Japan Institute of International Affairs and Japanese Foreign Ministry, one week, to discuss Chinese military since Tiananmen.
- Hong Kong, sponsored by US Information Agency, one week. Lectured to groups of journalists and to seminar at Hong Kong University on strategies for renewal of China's MFN status, Chinese foreign policy since Tiananmen, US attitudes toward Hong Kong's policy on Vietnamese refugees.
- November-December 1989 Taiwan, two weeks, organized and led neutral observer group that monitored the Legislative Yuan elections.
- June-July 1989 Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Fiji, Majuro. 5 weeks. USIA-sponsored lecture tour on American defense policy, US elections, women in US politics.
- March-April 1989 Taiwan, one week, same as March 1988 visit
- May-July 1988 Fiji, Palau, Marshall Islands, Northern Mariana Islands, Hong Kong, Taiwan, 5 weeks USIA speaker on American foreign policy; ethnic politics
- March 1988 Taiwan, one week. Presented paper at conference on Chinese military affairs, Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung; interviewed several senior military officers of the Taiwan armed forces, visited military academies.
- August-September 1987 Philippines, Taiwan. Presented paper at conference in Manila (one week); did research and conducted interviews on Taiwan since martial law lifted (Kaohsiung and Taipei: two weeks)
- November-December 1986 Taiwan. Served as neutral observer for the December 1986 National Assembly and Legislative Yuan elections. (two weeks)
- May-June 1986 New Zealand, Australia, Brunei, Taiwan. United States Information Agency-sponsored speaking tour on topics related to American defense policy and security commitments in Asia and Pacific. (six weeks)
- June-August 1984 Taiwan, China, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Australia, and New Zealand. United States Information Agency-

- sponsored speaking tour on topics related to American defense policy, Chinese foreign relations, and Asia-Pacific defense. (nine weeks)
- August 1982 West Germany. Participant, conference on Power and Policy in the People's Republic of China, sponsored by Die Arbeitstelle Politik Chinas und Ostasiens, Universitat des Saarlandes. (one week)
- June-July 1982 China. Tour Group Leader. (three weeks)
- June 1982 Taiwan. Participant, 11th Annual Sino-American Conference on Mainland China. (one week)
- March 1982 Hong Kong. Speaker, International Financial Seminar. (one week)
- 1968-1969 Japan. Dissertation research and language study. (one year)
- 1967-1968 Hong Kong. Dissertation research and language study. (one year)
- 1969; 1957 Europe. Language study and recreation. (four months)

CONSULTANTSHIPS

- Expert Witness Research and Testimony, U.S. Department of Justice v. Ralph Merrill, April-October 2010. On Chinese-Albanian arms transfers.
- Consultant, Department of Defense, Office of Net Assessment, on China's activities in Latin America, December 2008.
- Consultant, U.S. Government, 2004, 2006, 2012, 2013, and 2017.
- Consultant, *National Geographic* film division, for documentary *China: Beyond the Clouds*, broadcast on public television, October 1995.
- Consultant, Ambrica Productions, Inc., for documentary *China: the Mao Years: 1949-1976*, which appeared on public television, April 1994.
- Expert Witness Testimony, asylum cases involving Chinese nationals, Canadian Immigration Board, 1994.
- Expert Witness Testimony, asylum cases involving Chinese nationals, US Immigration and Naturalization Agency, Miami, 1991-93.
- Multinational Strategies Corporation, New York, November-December 1986. Project on Asian defense capabilities.

Office of Technology Assessment, United States Congress, July 1986. Assessment of US technology transfer to the People's Republic of China.

The Northrop Corporation, California, December 1984-January 1985. *Foreign Sales of Military and Dual-Use US Equipment to the PRC* (sole author).

The National Geographic, 1979-present. Editorial work on articles concerning ethnic minorities; principal consultant for map of China which accompanied the magazine's July 1980 issue; principal consultant for four-part film *China: Beyond the Clouds*, which appeared on public television in October 1994.

Booz, Allen, and Hamilton, Washington D.C. June-November 1980. *Chinese Defense Capabilities and US Options*. Co-author of proprietary study funded by the Defense Nuclear Agency, Department of Defense.

Pacific-Sierra Research Corporation, October-November 1980. *US Alliances: Change and Continuities*. Co-author of study funded by Los Alamos National Laboratories.

Frost and Sullivan, Inc., World Political Risk Forecasts. June 1981-present. Author of annual China report and consultant for Frost and Sullivan's business clients. Have also served as reviewer for the Taiwan and Hong Kong political risk reports.

The American College Testing Program, 1973-1980. Test question writer.

US Department of Education, November 1981-present. Member of review panel to award Fulbright and Fulbright-Hayes fellowships to China, Japan, and Taiwan.

PUBLICATIONS

Books (sole authored)

Middle Kingdom and Empire of the Rising Sun: Sino-Japanese Relations Past and Present. Oxford University Press, 2016.

China's Forty Millions: Minority Nationalities and National Integration in the People's Republic of China. Harvard University Press, 1976. 333 pp.

China's Political System: Modernization and Tradition.

1st edition: Paragon House (US rights) Macmillan (world rights), 1993. 458 pp.

2nd edition: Allyn & Bacon (all rights), 1996. 349 pp.

3rd edition: Longman's (all rights), 2000. 340 pp.

4th edition: Longman's (all rights), 2004. 358 pp.

5th edition: Pearson Longman (all rights), 2006. 347 pp.

6th edition: " , 2008, 346 pp.

7th edition: " , 2009 (380 pp.)

8th edition: " , 2012 (377 pp.)

9th edition: " , 2015 (381 pp.in press)

10th edition: Routledge , in progress, est. publication 2017.

Books (edited)

Chinese Defense and Foreign Policy Paragon House, 1989. Editor & author of "Conclusions" chapter and chapter entitled "The Demobilization of PLA Servicemen and Their Reintegration Into Civilian Life." (357 pp.)

Asian Pacific Regional Security (editor and author of concluding chapter) Washington Institute Press 1990. (246 pp.)

U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Policies, Prospects, and Possibilities Lexington Books, Lanham MD, 2004 (with Christopher Marsh). Author of one chapter, "Encroaching on the Middle Kingdom: China's View of Its Place in the World," and co-author, with Christopher Marsh, of introductory chapter.

Contemporary Tibet: Politics, Development, and Society in a Disputed Region. M.E. Sharpe Armonk, N.Y., 2006 (with Barry Sautman). Author of one chapter, "Economic Development in Tibet Under the People's Republic of China," and co-author, with Barry Sautman, of introductory chapter, "The Tibet Question in Contemporary Perspective."

Chapters and Journal Articles

"China's Approach to Africa," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 November 1963, pp. 443-469.

"China's Future in Africa," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 5 December 1963, pp. 517-519.

"China's Minorities in the Cultural Revolution," *The China Quarterly*, No. 35 (July-September 1968), pp. 96-109.

"Inner Mongolia and the Purge of Ulanfu," *Current Scene*, Vol. 6 No. 20, 15 November 1968, 22 pp. Translated into German and reprinted as "Der Sturz des Ulanfu," in *Digest des Osten*, January 1969.

"Minority Nationalities and the Elite Engaged in Minority Nationalities Policymaking," in Robert Scalapino, ed., *Elites in the People's Republic of China*, University of Washington Press, 1972, pp. 416-450. A revised version of this chapter appeared as "Nationalities: Traditional and Party Elites," in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol 43, No. 4 (Winter 1970-1971), pp. 506-530.

"Autonomy in the Northwest," *Current Scene*, Vol. 12, No. 9, (September 1974), 18 pp.

"China's Quest for a Socialist Solution," *Problems of Communism*, Vol 24, No. 5 (September-October 1975), pp. 49-62.

- "Go West Young Han: The *Hsia-fang* Movement to China's Minority Areas," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol 48, No. 3 (Fall 1975), pp. 353-369.
- "Ethnic Relations in China," in *Ethnic Conflict in the World Today*, ed. Martin O. Heisler, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 1977, pp. 100-111.
- "The Kazakhs," in *Ethnic Conflict in International Relations*, ed. Astri Suhrke and Lela Garner Noble, New York, Praeger, 1977, pp. 146-177.
- "Language Planning for China's Ethnic Minorities," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Fall 1978), pp. 369-383.
- "Ethnic Minorities in the Sino-Soviet Dispute," in *Soviet Asian Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. Brian Silver and William O. McCagg, New York, Pergamon Press, 1979, pp. 195-226.
- "Subnational Groups, Unconventional Warfare, and Modern Security Planning," in *The Future of Conflict*, Washington D.C., National Security Affairs Institute, the National Defense University, 1979, pp. 68-92.
- Chinese Strategy Against a Soviet Conventional Attack*. Defense Intelligence Agency, 1979, DDB-2200-60-79. 86 pp. (Classification: Secret)
- "The US-USSR-China-Japan Quadrangle in the Pacific Basin," in *Continuity and Change in the Eighties and Beyond*, Proceedings of the Sixth National Security Affairs Conference of the National Defense University, Washington D.C., 1979, pp. 113-134.
- "Limits of the Permissible in China," *Problems of Communism*, November-December 1980, pp. 48-65.
- "Human Rights in China," in *Human Rights in Asia: Communist Countries*, Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1 October 1980. US Government Printing Office, 1981, pp. 101-127.
- "Peking's Stake in Rapprochement," *The New York Times*, 4 February 1981.
- "China," in *Protection of Ethnic Minorities: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Robert G. Wirsing, New York, Pergamon Press, 1981, pp. 145-169.
- "The Chinese Militia," in *Communist Armies in Politics*, ed. Jonathan R. Adelman, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1981, pp. 187-205.
- "The Islamic Community of China," *The Search*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1981, pp. 360-389.
- "China's Prospects," *The New York Times*, 29 May 1981.

- "US Nuclear Weapons Policy Toward China," in *Chinese Defense Capabilities and US Options*, Defense Nuclear Agency, 1981, proprietary study. 26 pp. (Classification: Secret)
- "China and Tibet: a Thirty Year Assessment," SPEARHead, Journal of the Society for the Protection of East Asians' Human Rights, Autumn, 1981, pp. 5-22. Reprinted in *Tibetan Review*, December 1981, pp. 8-22.
- "China's Military Capabilities at Present and at the End of the Decade," in *Implications of US-China Military Cooperation*, workshop jointly sponsored by the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, October 1981. US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 97th Congress, CommitteePrint, January 1982.
- "China's Military Capabilities," The Asia Society, August 1982. 23 pp. Reprinted in Richard C. Bush, ed., *China Briefing, 1982*. Boulder Colorado, Westview Press, 1983, pp. 29-48. Excerpted in *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 September 1982; *Aerospace Daily*, 26 August 1982, and *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, 23 August 1982.
- "Citizen Soldiers and Civil-Military Relations in China," *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1, Fall 1982, pp. 63-82.
- "Islam in China," *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 1 No. 2, Fall 1982, pp. 31-60.
- "The Chinese People's Militia: Transformation and Strategic Role," in Paul H.B. Godwin, ed., *Chinese Defense Issues in the 1980s*. Boulder, Colorado, 1983, Westview Press, pp. 155-186.
- "Pluralism in the People's Republic of China," in Raymond Gastil, ed., *Freedom in the World: Political Rights and Civil Liberties 1983-84*. Greenwood Press, 1984, pp. 249-266.
- "China's Military Modernization," *Orbis*, Winter 1984, pp. 1011-1026.
- "The Chinese Communist Military," *Current History*, September 1984, pp. 169-178.
- "Civil-Military Relations in China," *Comparative Strategy*, Winter 1985, pp. 27-49. An adaptation of this article appeared in King-yuh Chang, ed., *Perspectives on Development in Mainland China*, Boulder, Colorado, 1985, Westview Press, pp. 87-104.
- Proceedings of the Fourteenth Sino-American Conference on Mainland China*, Institute for International Studies, The University of South Carolina, Occasional Paper, 1985, Columbia, South Carolina. 38 pp.
- "ASEAN Countries' Political Attitudes Toward China and Their Effect on Regional Trade," in *China's Trade With Other Pacific Rim Nations*, Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on US Trade With China, 98th Congress, 4 October 1984, Washington D.C., 1985, US Government Printing Office, pp. 220-229.

- "The Military Balance in the Taiwan Straits," in Martin Lasater, ed., *The Two Chinas: A Contemporary View*. Washington, D.C., 1986, The Heritage Foundation, pp. 76-95.
- "The Role of the Military in the Chinese Economy," in *China's Economy Looks Toward the Year 2000*, Joint Economic Committee, US Congress, 1986, US Government Printing Office. Vol. II, pp. 186-198.
- "The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region at Thirty: a Report Card," *Asian Survey*, July 1986, pp. 721-744.
- "The Role of the Armed Forces in Contemporary China," in Edward Olsen and Stephen Jurika, eds., *The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies*. Boulder, Colorado, 1986, Westview Press, pp. 25-54.
- Proceedings of the Fifteenth Sino-American Conference on Mainland China*. Institute for International Studies, The University of South Carolina, Occasional Paper, 1986. Columbia, S.C. 42 pp. Reprinted in *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 22 No. 11(November 1986), pp. 11-59.
- "China's Emerging Role in the South Pacific," in Ann Trotter, ed. *New Zealand and China*., Dunedin, New Zealand, 1986, University of Otago Press, pp. 97-113.
- "Political and Economic Developments in China (Mainland and Taiwan) and Their Implications for US-China Relations" in *Survey of Recent Developments in China (Mainland and Taiwan) 1985-1986*. ed. Hungdah Chiu. University of Maryland School of Law, Occasional Papers in Contemporary Asian Studies, Number 2, 1987, pp. 177-191.
- "The Military Balance in Asia and the Pacific," *The American Asian Review*, Vol. 5 No. 1 (Spring 1987), pp. 37-56.
- "Deng Xiaoping and Modernization of the Chinese Military" *Armed Forces and Society*, Winter 1988, pp. 215-231; reprinted in Shao-Chuan Leng, ed. *Changes in China: Party, State, & Society*, University of Virginia, Miller Center, 1989.
- "The PLA: Demobilization and Its Effects," in *Issues and Studies*, Vol. 24 No. 2 (February 1988) pp. 86-106; reprinted in Yu-ming Shaw, ed. *Changes & Continuities in Chinese Communism*. Boulder, Colorado, 1988, Westview Press.
- "China's Changing Perceptions of International Relations," in *Geopolitics and Strategy in East Asia: Testing the US-Japanese Alliance*. ed. Toby Trister Gati and Michael Mochizuki. Greenwood Press, 1988.
- "Chinese Perspectives on the Maritime Strategy" presented at symposium on the Maritime Strategy, The Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, August 13-14 1987. Appeared in conference volume, 1988.
- "The PLA since the Thirteenth Party Congress" *Issues & Studies* January 1989, pp. 94-109.

- Washington-Peking-Taipei: A Decade After Normalization*, editor and author of one chapter, "Security Issues on the Mainland and Taiwan." Atlanta, Georgia, April 1989, The Southern Center for International Studies. (iv + 79 pp.)
- China & Tibet," *Current History* September 1989, pp. 281-289; reprinted in Hungdah Chiu and June Teufel Dreyer, *Tibet: Past and Present*, University of Maryland School of Law, Occasional Papers in Contemporary Asian Studies, No. 4, 1989; excerpted in *Tibet Press Watch* (New York), January 1990.
- "The People's Liberation Army and the Power Struggle of 1989," *Problems of Communism*. September-October 1989., pp. 41-48.
- "The Role of the PLA in China's Political Struggle," in Richard H. Yang, ed., *The PLA and the Tiananmen Crisis*. Kaohsiung, Taiwan, October 1989, Sun Yat-sen Center for Policy Studies.
- "Democratization & Authoritarianism in China," *The Political Chronicle*. Fall 1989, pp. 20-26.
- "The Role of the Military " *World Policy Journal*, Fall 1989, pp. 647-655.
- "Sino-Soviet Military Relation," Testimony to U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee discussions on The Sino-Soviet Summit, in *Sino-Soviet Relations After the Summit*, Committee Print 101-83, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1990.
- "Taiwan in 1989: Democratization and Economic Growth," *Asian Survey* January 1990, pp. 52-59.
- "Taiwan: Election Day," *Arete*, March/April 1990, pp. 68-71.
- "Divided Loyalties: the Chinese People's Liberation Army," *Arete*, March/April 1990, pp. 72-77.
- "The Modernization of China's Military," (review article) *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1990, pp. 104-108.
- "The PLA Since Tiananmen," *Current History*, September, 1990.
- "Taiwan in 1990: Fine-tuning the System," *Asian Survey*, January 1990, pp. 57-63.
- "Tibetan Ethnocentrism and International Politics," *Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 19, April 1991, pp. 41-54.
- "US-China Military Relations," *In Depth*, Spring 1991, pp. 8-24; a revised and updated version appears under the title "Military Relations: Sanctions or Rapprochement," in William Tow, ed., *Building Sino-Soviet Relations: An Analysis for the 1990s*. New York, Paragon House, 1990.

- "The PRC Military and the Threat to the ROC," in Ray S. Cline, ed., *The Role of the Republic of China in the International Community*, Washington, D.C., United States Global Strategy Council, 1991, pp. 37-46.
- "The Role of the PLA in the Post-Tiananmen Period," *Asian Outlook*, Vol. 26, No. 5, July-August, 1991, pp. 12-20.
- "Ethnic Minorities in Mainland China Under Teng Hsiao-p'ing," in Bih-jaw Lin and James T. Myers, eds., *Forces for Change in Contemporary China*, Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Republic of China, 1992, pp. 251-262.
- "Taiwan's December 1991 Election," *World Affairs*, Fall 1992.
- "The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the New World Order: An Overview," in *China's Military: the PLA in 1992/1993*, ed. Richard Yang, Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies, Taipei, 1993 (distributed in the US by Westview Press).
- "The People's Liberation Army Since the Fourteenth Party Congress," *Washington Journal of Modern China*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 20-36.
- "Juggling Liberalization and Repression," *The World And I*, June 1993, pp. 28-32.
- "The Chinese Military Since the Soviet Coup," *Asian American Review*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 25-43.
- "China's Ethnic Minorities," *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, special issue on ethnic minorities in contemporary nation-states, vol. 19, no. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 331-358.
- "Deng the Soldier," special issue of *China Quarterly* devoted to Deng Xiaoping, no. 135, September 1993, pp. 536-550; an updated version of this article forms a chapter in David Shambaugh, ed., *Deng Xiaoping: Portrait of a Chinese Statesman*, Oxford University Press, 1995 and Clarendon paperback, 1995, pp. 128-142.
- "Reorganizing and Modernizing the Chinese Military," chapter in Michael Ying-mao Kau and Susan H. Marsh, eds., *China In the Era of Deng Xiaoping: A Decade of Reform*, Armonk, New York, 1993, M.E. Sharpe, pp. 333-353.
- "Prospects for US-Chinese Military Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region," *In Depth*, vol.3, no.3 (Fall 1993), pp. 67-78.
- "The PLA and Regionalism in Xinjiang," *The Pacific Review* (London), vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 41-56; a longer version appears as "The PLA and Regionalism: Xinjiang," in Richard Yang *et al.*, *Chinese Regionalism: The Security Dimension*, Boulder, Colorado, 1994, pp.249-276.
- "Taiwan's Position On Salient Transnational Issues," in Robert Sutter and William Johnson, eds., *Taiwan in World Affairs*, Boulder, Colorado, 1994, Westview Press, pp. 113

-143.

"The People's Army: Serving Whose Interests?" *Current History*, September 1994, pp. 265-269.

Corruption in the People's Liberation Army: For Good or For Evil," chapter in *The People's Liberation Army: Toward the Twenty-First Century*, American Enterprise Institute, 1994.

"The United States and Asian Regional Security," *In Depth*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Fall 1994), pp. 3-18.

"Regionalism in the People's Liberation Army," CAPS Papers no. 9, Chinese Council of Advanced Policy Studies (Taipei) May, 1995.

"The Great Military Buildup," *World & I*, December 1995.

"Domestic Implications of an Emerging PLA," chapter in James R. Lilley, ed., *China's Military Modernization*, Kegan Paul, 1996.

"Regional Security Issues," *Journal of International Affairs*, Winter 1996, pp. 391-411.

China's Strategic View: the Role of the People's Liberation Army, Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College (monograph series) April 1996.

"The Military's Uncertain Politics," *Current History*, September 1996, pp. 254-259.

"The Republic of China's National Defense," *American Asian Review*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 63-85.

"The New Officer Corps: Implications for the Future," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 47 June 1996, pp. 315-335. A slightly revised and updated version of this appears in David Shambaugh, ed., *The People's Liberation Army*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

"A History of ROC Cross-Strait Interchange," in James R. Lilley, ed., *Crisis in the Taiwan Strait*, Washington D.C., National Defense University Press, 1997, pp. 13-43.

"The Taiwan Strait Crisis and the ROC's National Security," in Winston L Yang, ed., *The Republic of China on Taiwan in the 1990*, New York, Center for Asian Studies, St. John's University, 1997, pp. 205-230; reprinted by permission of the editor in *American Asian Review*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Fall 1997), pp. 1-27.

"China's Ethnic Minorities" in Samuel Oliner, ed., *Race, Ethnicity and Gender: A Global Perspective*, Dubuque, Iowa, Kendall/Hunt, 1997, pp. 143-157.

"Assimilation and Accommodation in China" in Michael Brown and Sumit Ganguly, eds.,

Government Politics and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University Studies in International Security, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1997, pp. 355-398.

"State of the Field Report: Research on the Chinese Military," *AccessAsia* vol. 1, no.1, Spring 1997, pp. 5-29.

"The People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong," *American-Asian Review*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Winter 1997) pp. 107-128.

"Tibetan Revolt," in David Tarr, ed., *Encyclopedia of Political Revolution*, Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly, 1998.

"The Power of the PLA" *World & I*, October 1998, pp. 46-51.

"Hong Kong: Political Uncertainties and Economic Troubles Mark Months Since Reversion," *Wellesley*, Summer 1998, pp. 13-17.

"China's Rusting Sword: Military Data and Analysis," in Robert Leavitt, ed., *Rough Waters: Navigating the U.S.-China Security Agenda*, New York, Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, New York University, 1998, pp. 17-22 [This became part of MSNBC's presentation when President Clinton visited China in June 1998]

"The Potential for Instability in Minority Regions," in David Shambaugh, ed., *Is China Unstable? Assessing the Factors*. Washington, D.C.: Sigur Center for Asian Studies, The George Washington University, 1998, pp. 123-143; reprinted in David Shambaugh, ed., *Is China Unstable?*, Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 2000, pp. 125-142.

"China's Military Strategy Toward Taiwan," *American-Asian Review* vol. 17, no. 3 (Fall 1999), pp. 101-128, reprinted in Winston L. Yang and Deborah A. Brown, eds., *Across the Taiwan Strait: Exchanges, Conflicts, and Negotiations*, New York, St. John's University Press, 1999, pp. 151-180.

"China, the Monocultural Paradigm," *Orbis*, vol 43 no. 4 (Fall 1999), pp. 581-597.

"China's Military Strategy Regarding Japan," in James R. Lilley and David Shambaugh, eds., *China's Military Faces the Future*. Armonk, N.Y., M.E. Sharpe, 1999, pp. 322-343.

"The Crisis in the Taiwan Strait," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November-December 1999, pp. 36-42.

"Tensions in the Taiwan Strait," essay for CNN interactive, Atlanta, September-October 1999.

"The Defense of Taiwan: A View From Afar," in James R. Lilley and Larry Wortzel, ed., *China in the Twenty-First Century*. Carlisle PA, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College/American Enterprise Institute, 1999, pp. 289-320.

"China's Relations With Its Asian Neighbors," in *What If China Does Not Modernize?*

Implications for War and Peace ed. Edward Friedman., and Barrett McCormick, Armonk, N.Y, M.E. Sharpe, 2000, pp. 163-191.

"China's Attitude Toward the Taiwan Relations Act," in *The Legacy of the Taiwan Relations Act: A Compendium of Authoritative 20th Century Assessments*. Government Information Office, Republic of China, 1999; a slightly condensed version of this appears as chapter 10 in Jaw-Lin Joanne Chang and William W. Boyer, *United States-Taiwan Relations: Twenty Years After the Taiwan Relations Act*. College Park, MD, University of Maryland Series in Contemporary Studies, No. 156 (Number 1, 2000), pp. 203-230.

"The PLA and Kosovo: A Strategy Debate," *Issues and Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (January-February 2000), pp. 100-119; reprinted with permission of *Issues and Studies* as "The PLA and Kosovo," Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, LeTort Papers, May 2000.

"Flashpoint in the Taiwan Strait," *Orbis* Vol. 44, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 615-630.

"U.S.-China Security Relations: Past, Present, and Future," *Issues and Studies* Vol. 36, No. 4 (July/August 2000), pp. 33-65.

"Ethnicity and Economic Development in Xinjiang," *Inner Asia*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 2000), pp. 137-154.

"How To Deal With Beijing: A China Policy for the Bush Administration," *Education About Asia*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall 2001, pp. 8-16.

"Sino-Japanese Relations: Cooperation and Conflict," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 10, No. 28, Spring 2001, pp. 373-385.

"Recent Developments in the Chinese Military," in David Graff and Robin Higham, eds., *A Military History of China*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 2002, pp. 285-302.

"Taiwan Issue Least of Beijing's Problems," *Taipei Journal*, May 31, 2002, p. 7.

"Hong Kong Five Years Later: Not With a Bang But a Whimper," *Orbis*, Vol. 41 No. 1 (Winter 2003), pp. 176-186.

"The Evolution of Language Policies in China," in Michael Brown and Sumit Ganguly, *Fighting Words: Language and Ethnic Conflict in Asia*, Harvard University Center for Science and Technology/M.I.T. Press, 2003, pp. 353-384.

"The Evolution of Language Policies and National Identity in Taiwan," in Michael Brown

and Sumit Ganguly, *Fighting Words: Language and Ethnic Conflict in Asia*, Harvard University Center for Science and Technology/M.I.T. Press, 2003, pp. 385-410.

- “Economic Development in Tibet Under the People’s Republic of China,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 12, No. 36, 2003, pp. 411-430.
- “Lessons Learned From the Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen,” in Larry Wortzel et al, *The Lessons of History: the Chinese People’s Liberation Army at Seventy-Five* (U.S. Army War College: Strategic Studies Institute, 2003), pp. 405-426.
- “China and Taiwan: Thoughts on the Analysis of Cross-Strait Relations,” in *New Development of the U.S.-Japan Alliance*, ed. Tomohito Shinoda, Tokyo, International University of Japan, Research Institute, 2003, pp. 28-38.
- “Taiwan’s Evolving Identity,” in *The Evolution of a Taiwanese National Identity*. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Asia Program Special Report, August, 2003.
- “Encroaching on the Middle Kingdom?” in Christopher Marsh and June Teufel Dreyer, eds., *U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Policies, Prospects, and Possibilities*, (Lexington Books: Lanham, MD, 2004), pp. 85-104; also co-authored introductory chapter with Christopher Marsh, pp. ix-xv.
- “China’s Ability To Take A Military Option and Its Calculations,” in Steve Tsang, *Peace and Security Across the Taiwan Strait*, Palgrave/St. Antony’s, London, 2004, pp. 144-167..
- “The Limits to China’s Growth,” *Orbis*, Vol. 48 No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 233-246.
- “Clinton’s China Policy,” in Todd Shields et al, ed., *The Clinton Riddle: Perspectives on the Forty-Second President*, University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 2004, pp. 153-172.
- “Enhancing U.S.-Taiwan Relations as U.S.-China Relations Evolve,” in Yi Yuan et al, eds. *The Rise of China Revisited: Perception and Reality*, National Cheng-chi University Center for International Relations Research, 2005, pp. 177-191.
- “China’s Strategic Vulnerability to Minority Separatism,” *Asian Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 69-85.
- “People’s Liberation Army: China” entry for Oxford University Press, *Encyclopedia of the Modern World*, 2006.
- “From China With Love,” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol.. 12, No. 2 Winter/Spring 2006, pp. 85-102.

“Scenario for a Sino-Japanese Confrontation,” proprietary study commissioned by U.S. Government 2006.

“Sino-Japanese Rivalry and Its Implications for Developing Nations.” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 46, No. 4, July/August 2006, pp. 538-557.

“The China Connection: China’s Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean,” Center for Hemispheric Studies, November 2006, pp. 1-14.

“Understanding the Status Quo,” *RUSI Journal* (Royal United Services Institute, London), February 2007.

“Chinese Foreign Policy,” FPRI Footnotes (Foreign Policy Institute, Philadelphia, Vol. 12, No. 5. February 2007, pp. 1-3; “A Bluffer’s Guide : June Teufel Dreyer Explains Chinese Foreign Policy,” *The China Review* (Great Britain China Centre), February 2007, pp. 1-3 [these two are different versions of the same base article, revised in accordance with the two institutes’ respective editorial committees and published by the UK center with the permission of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, which originally commissioned the piece]

“The People’s Army: Serving Whose Interests?” in David B.H. Denoon, *China: Contemporary Political, Economic, and International Affairs*, NYU Press, New York, 2007, pp. 17-36.

“Sino-American Energy Cooperation,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 16, No. 52 (August 2007), pp. 461-476.

“U.S. Response to Rising Taiwanese Identity and China’s Emerging Power,” in ed. Peter C.Y. Chow, *Economic Integration, Democratization, and National Security in East Asia*, Edward Elgar Press, UK, 2007, pp. 83-100.

“China’s Power and Will: The PRC’s Military Strength and Grand Strategy“ *Orbis* Fall 2007 pp. 461-476.

“A New Era in Sino-Indian Relations or Deja-vu All Over Again?” International Assessment and Strategy Center, January 2008.

“Japan and the Security of the Taiwan Strait” in Peter C.Y. Chao, ed. *The One China Dilemma*”, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 291-306.

“The Rise of China and Sino-American Energy Co-operation,” in Zhao Suisheng, ed., *China-U.S. Relations Transformed: Perspectives and Strategic Interactions*. (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 176-187 (a revised and updated version of the article that appears as “Sino-American Energy Cooperation,” five entries above)

“The Next Superpower?” in “Debating China’s Future,” *China Security*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 3-26.

“U.S.-China Relations: Engagement or Talking Past East Other?” *Journal of Contemporary China* Vol. 17, Issue 57 (November 2008), pp. 591-609.

“U.S.-Taiwan Relations and the Referendum Issue” *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol 16, Special Issue (2009), pp. 41-56.

“Grimm Foreign Policy?” *The Diplomat*, February 14, 2011 (magazine article)

“Why Taiwan Matters,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, July 2011 (*FPRI e-Note* based on my testimony to the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearings on the same topic, June 16, 2011. The testimony also appears on the FPRI website and that of the International Strategy Assessment Center, Washington, D.C.

Mao Zedong as an Insurgent: Theory and Practice: Is There an ‘Eastern Way of War’ paper delivered at conference on counterinsurgency, University of South Carolina/Fort Jackson October 18 2011, available on conference website. www.warbyanothermeans.cas.sc.edu

“PLA Lessons from Foreign Conflicts: The Air War in Kosovo,” in Roy Kamphausen, ed., *Other People’s Wars: PLA Lessons from Foreign Conflicts*,” Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2011.

“Japan’s View of Cross-Strait Relations,” in Peter Chow, ed. *National Identity and Economic Interest: Taiwan’s Competing Options and Their Implications for Regional Stability*,. Palgrave, 2012, pp. 283-298..

“Recent Developments in the Chinese Military,” in David A. Graff and Robin Higham, eds., *A Military History of China* (updated edition), University of Kentucky Press, 2012, pp. 285-303.

“The Shifting Triangle: Sino-American-Japanese-Relations in Stressful Times,” *Journal of Contemporary China*. vol. 21 issue 75, May 2012, pp. p. 409-426.

“Sansha: New City in the South China Sea,” *China Brief* Volume: 12 Issue: 16, pp. 4-7.

“The Sino Stranglehold,” *Foreign Policy*, September 21, 2012.

“China’s Drive Into Asia “, *Defense Dossier*, No. 5, November 2012.

“Sino-Japanese Territorial and Maritime Disputes” chapter in *Beijing’s Power and China’s Borders: Twenty Neighbors in Asia*, ed. Bruce Elleman, Stephen Kotkin, and Clive Schofield, M.E. Sharpe 2012. pp. 80-95.

“China, Latin America, and the United States,” in *The Impact of Globalization on Latin America*, Center for Hemispheric Studies, June 2012.

“China’s Presence in Latin America: the Security Dimension,” Chapter 15 of conference procedures *Asia and Latin America: Setting the Agenda* ed. Ariel Armony, 2012.

“China’s Up; Japan’s Down: Competing Options for U.S. Foreign Policy,” *Orbis*, Vol 57 No. 1 (Fall 2013), pp. 83-100.

“Obama’s Pivot To Asia: Implications for Taiwan,” Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, February 26, 2013.

“Sino-Japanese Relations: the Security Perspective,” University of Nottingham, U.K., February 18, 2013.

“Style Over Substance: the Xi-Obama Summit,” University of Nottingham, U.K., June 10, 2013.

“Apparent Calm at Sea Reflects Beijing Tactics,” *Oxford Analytica*, October 7, 2013

“Xi Jinping: Hawk or Reformer?” *Foreign Policy Research Institute e-note*, December 2, 2013

“China’s ADIZ Signals More Assertive Defence Posture,” *Oxford Analytica*, December 2, 2013

“The PLA in 2014: Military Advances Presage More Confrontation,” *Oxford Analytica*, January 2014.

“China and the Ukraine,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute e-note*, March 2014.

“A New Cold War?” *Oxford Analytica*, April 2014.

“Trouble in Fishing Waters,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute e-note*, May 2014.

“Convergence and Divergence in Sino-Japanese Relations,” *Orbis*, Spring 2014.

“The Shifting Triangle: Sino-Japanese Relations in Stressful Times,” in Shaun Breslin, Carla Freeman, and Simon Shen, eds., *China and the World*, Sage Library of International Relations . Reprint of previously published refereed article

The PLA in 2014. *Oxford Analytica* January 2014

China and the United States: A New Cold War? . *Oxford Analytica* April 2014

China and the Ukraine: Principled Policy or Power Politics? Foreign Policy Research Institute e-note, March 2014.

What Obama Should Say About China in Japan, The Asia Society, China File, April 23 2014 (a debate/conversation with six others)

Trouble in Fishing Waters: China, ASEAN, and the South China Sea, FPRI enote: “ May 2014

Abe Faces China...and Vice-Versa, University of Nottingham, September 2014.

China's Military: What's New? And What's Next? FPRI enote: September 2014

China's Tianxia: Do All Under Heaven Need One Arbiter? Yale Global, October 30, 2014.

China and Latin America Security Interests Center for Hemispheric Studies, December 2014.

Asia Since the Summits: The Good, the Bad, and the Uncertain in APEC and the G20, FPRI enote, December 2014

“Can China Change the World Order?” *Journal of Contemporary China* , Vol. 24, No. 96, 2015.

“Japan and China Security,” in Lowell Dittmer and Maochun Yu, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Chinese Security* (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 2015).

“Security Dimensions Of China's Relations With Japan,” in Lowell Dittmer and Mao-chen Yu, eds. *Routledge Handbook of China's Security*, Oxford, U.K. Routledge, 2015. pp. 104-122.

“China and Russia: A Limited Liability Partnership,” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, February 2015. Reprinted in *Eurasia Review* February 19, 2015 and in the Department of Defense's *Early Bird* daily news feed for DoD personnel, February 20, 2015

“The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Who Will Benefit,” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, April 2015.

“Shangri-La 2015 and the Contest Ove the South China Sea: A Dialogue of the Deaf?” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, June 2015.

“Washington Contemplates the Chinese Military,” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note. September 2015.

“The Rise of China and the Geopolitics of Asia,” *Orbis*, Fall 2015.

“China and Russia: The Partnership Deepens,” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, January 2016.

“China's Military Reorganization---and America's Window of Opportunity.” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, March 2016.

“Can Xi Stay the Course?” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note, April 2016;

“Searching for the ‘Goldilocks Solution’ in the Asia Pacific Region: The Shangri La Dialogue 2016,” Foreign Policy Research Institute e-Note June, 2016

The Curious Case of Okinotori: Rock, Reef, or Island? Center for Strategic and International Studies Pacific Forum, PacNet #59, July 18, 2016.

Introduction to recently declassified 1972 Japanese documents on the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relation, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C.

Chapter on the Tianxia Trope in *Suisheng Chao: The Making of China’s Foreign Policy in the 12st Century*, Routledge, 2016. (reprint of article previously published in peer-reviewed *Journal of Contemporary China*, selected for inclusion in the book) <https://www.routledge.com/The-Making-of-Chinas-Foreign-Policy-in-the-21st-century-Historical-Sources/Zhao/p/book/9781138954830>

Taiwan-Japanese Relations in the Tsai Era, *Orbis*, Fall 2016.

Co-edited with Jacques de Lisle, Steven A. Cozens Professor Of Law, University of Pennsylvania Law School, special issue of *Orbis* on Taiwan politics, and co-author with Prof. deLisle of the introductory, non-refereed, chapter. Introduction to recently declassified 1972 Japanese documents on the normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relation, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C.

Chapter on the Tianxia Trope in *Suisheng Chao: The Making of China’s Foreign Policy in the 12st Century*, Routledge, 2016. (reprint of article previously published in peer-reviewed *Journal of Contemporary China*, selected for inclusion in the book) <https://www.routledge.com/The-Making-of-Chinas-Foreign-Policy-in-the-21st-century-Historical-Sources/Zhao/p/book/9781138954830>

Taiwan-Japanese Relations in the Tsai Era, *Orbis*, Fall 2016.

Co-edited with Jacques de Lisle, Steven A. Cozens Professor Of Law, University of Pennsylvania Law School, special issue of *Orbis* on Taiwan politics, and co-author with Prof. deLisle of the introductory, non-refereed, chapter.

Taipei and Tokyo in the Tsai Era Global Taiwan Institute, Vol 1, Issue 4 October 12, 2016; translated and re-distributed in Chinese and English by Central News Agency, Taiwan.

Will Trump Make a Good President? Participant in debate organized by financial website wallethub.com, November 2016.

<https://wallethub.com/blog/will-donald-trump-be-a-good-president/30384/#june-teufel-dreyer>

How Should Trump Deal With China? ASAN Forum, December 2016.

<http://www.theasanforum.org/what-trump-should-do-about-china/>

“Managing Sino-American Relations,” *Orbis*, Vol. 61, No. 1, Winter 2017, pp. 83-90.

“Trump and Taiwan: A Fresh Start or a Turn for the Worse,” e-note, Foreign Policy Research Institute, January 17, 2017. <http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/01/trump-taiwan-fresh-start-turn-worse/>

“Mar-a-Lago: the Summit that Wasn’t,” e-note, Foreign Policy Research Institute, April 10, 2017. <http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/04/mar-lago-summit-wasnt/>

“The First Hundred Days: Trump Meets Asia...and Reality,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, May 1, 2017. <http://www.fpri.org/article/2017/05/first-hundred-days-trump-meets-asiaand-reality/>

China’s 19th Party Congress: A Coronation With Qualifications,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, October 25, 2017 <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/10/chinas-19th-party-congress-coronation-qualifications/>

“The NIDS China Security Report 2017: Change in Continuity – The Dynamics of the China-Taiwan Relationship,” <http://globaltaiwan.org/2017/03/08-gtb-2-10/#JuneTDreyer030817>

“China’s Dream, Japan’s Nightmare?” *Japan Forward*, June 11, 2017

https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=http-3A_japan-2Dforward.com_chinas-2Ddream-2Djapans-2Dnightmare_&d=DwICJg&c=y2w-uYmhgFWijp_IQN0DhA&r=xrDIId5n0f_uGxkL8rxgdorZ3jvH9O1WOp7drF1pLU2M&m=R_-O61SRNs_q3Ldp3JbkUyJWoj0VLaYNoVBvNX9cMIU&s=bBSj8wDsMPHe-Z7JmTZx8tmfjucX_wVS8iluIYxl1Uc&e=

“Steps Forward in the Taiwan-Japan Partnership,” *Global Taiwan Brief*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, January 11, 2007 <http://globaltaiwan.org/2017/01/11-gtb-2-2/#JuneDreyer011117>

“ASEAN Summit’s China Tilt Portends a New World Order” *Yale Global*, May 16, 2017.

<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/asean-summits-china-tilt-portends-new-world-order#overlay-context=>

“Sino-Japanese Relations: No Pyrotechnics, No Progress,” *Comparative Connections*, Center for Strategic and International Studies Pacific Forum, May 2017. <http://cc.csis.org/2017/05/no-pyrotechnics-no-progress/>

“Sino-Japanese Relations: No Setbacks, No Progress,” *Comparative Connections*, Center for Strategic and International Studies Pacific Forum, September 2017.

In Progress

Taiwan in the Tsai Era co-edited with Jacques deLisle (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018)