

Timothy R. Heath, Ph.D.

Career summary: Nationally recognized expert on Chinese leadership, politics, strategy, and military.

Work experience:

Employer: The RAND Corporation

Dates: 2014- present

- *Senior international defense researcher.* I initiate and carry out research on defense related topics related to China.

Employer: US Pacific Command (USPACOM)

Dates: 2010-2014.

- *Senior China Analyst:* I was the senior China analyst in the USPACOM China Strategic Focus Group. I was responsible for research and analysis on topics related to China's strategy and defense.

Employer: DNI Open Source Center

Dates: 2004-2009

Analyst: I was a senior analyst for Chinese military topics. I carried out research and analysis on Chinese military capabilities and operations.

Employer: Office of Naval Intelligence

Dates: 2000-2004

PLA Navy analyst. I carried out research and analysis on the PLA Navy's operations and capabilities. I spent the year 2003-2004 deployed as a US Army National Guard activated reservist on homeland defense (Operation Noble Eagle).

Employer: US Army

Dates: 1996-1999

Squad leader. I trained and led a squad of combat engineers. During this time, I served a 10 month tour in Bosnia.

Education:

George Mason University, Fairfax VA

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

Date: 05/2021

George Washington University, Washington DC

Degree: Master of Arts in Asian Studies Date: 05/2005

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA

Degree: Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy Date: 05/ 1994

Language skills:

Chinese Mandarin Highly proficient

French Proficient

German Working proficiency

Non-RAND publications and commentary:

Books

China's New "Governing Party" Paradigm: Political Renewal and the Pursuit of National Rejuvenation.
London, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.

Book chapters

"Post Industrial Inter-state Rivalry and the Future of U.S.-China Competition," in *New Asian Disorder*, Lowell Dittmer (ed.), 2021.

"An Overview of China's National Military Strategy," in *China's Evolving Military Strategy*, Joe McReynolds (ed.), 2016.

"Towards Strategic Leadership: Chinese Communist Party-People's Liberation Army Relations in the Hu Jintao Era," in *Assessing the PLA in the Hu Jintao Era*, R. Kamphausen (ed.), 2014.

Congressional Testimony

"The Consolidation of Political Power in China Under Xi Jinping: Implications for the PLA and Domestic Security Forces: Addendum," U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, April 11, 2019.

"The Consolidation of Political Power in China Under Xi Jinping: Implications for the PLA and Domestic Security Forces," U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, February 7, 2019.

"Chinese Political and Military Thinking Regarding Taiwan and the East and South China Seas," U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, April 13, 2017.

"Developments in China's Military Force Projection and Expeditionary Capabilities," U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission, January 21, 2016.

RAND Research

Anticipating Adversary Military Interventions, with Jennifer Kavanagh, Bryan Frederick, Nathan Chandler, Samuel Charap, Ariane M. Tabatabai, Edward Geist, Christian Curriden, September 2021.

China's Military Interventions: Patterns, Drivers, and Signposts, with Christian Curriden, Bryan Frederick, Nathan Chandler, and Jennifer Kavanagh, September 2021.

China's Quest for Global Primacy: An Analysis of Chinese International and Defense Strategies to Outcompete the United States, with Derek Grossman and Asha Clark, June, 2021.

What Deters and Why: The State of Deterrence in Korea and the Taiwan Strait, April 2021.

Science-Based Scenario Design: A Proposed Methodology to Support Political-Strategic Analysis, February 2019.

China and the International Order, with Mike Mazarr and Astrid Cevallos, May 2018.

China's Pursuit of Overseas Security, March 2018.

The Chinese Air Force's First Steps Toward Becoming an Expeditionary Air Force, with Cristina Garafola, November 2017.

What Role Can Land-Based, Multi-Domain Anti-Access/Area Denial Forces Play in Deterring or Defeating Aggression?, with Timothy Bothds, Joel Predd, Michael Chase, Michael Johnson, Michael Lostumbo, James Bonomo, Muharrem Mane, and Paul Steinberg, May 2017.

The PLA and China's Rejuvenation: National Security and Military Strategies, Deterrence Concepts, and Combat Capabilities, with Cortez Cooper and Kristin Gunness, December 2016.

Assessing the Training and Operational Proficiency of China's Aerospace Forces: Selections from the Inaugural Conference of the China Aerospace Studies Institute (CASI), with Ed Burke, Astrid Cevallos, and Mark Cozad, October 2016.

China Inside and Out: A Collection of Essays on Foreign and Domestic Policy in the Xi Jinping Era, with Michael Chase, Cortez Cooper, Keith Crane, Liisa Ecola, Scott Harold, Bonny Lin, Lyle Morris, and Andrew Scobell, October 2015.

Peer reviewed journals

"Winning Friends and Influencing People: Naval Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics," CMSI China Maritime Reports, No. 8, 2020.

"Dispute Control: China Recalibrates Use of Military Force to Support Security Policy's Expanding Focus," *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1-2, Spring 2018, pp. 33-77.

"Avoiding U.S.-China Competition is Futile: Why the Best Option is to Manage Strategic Rivalry," *Asia Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2018, pp. 91-120.

“China’s Evolving Approach to Economic Diplomacy,” *Asia Policy*, Vol. 22, No. 2, July 25, 2016, pp 157-191.

“The Brutal Politics of China’s Economic Overhaul: What Xi Can Learn from FDR,” *The Washington Quarterly*, June 15, 2017.

“Is China Pursuing Counter-Intervention?,” *The Washington Quarterly*, November 6, 2015.

“What Does China Want? Discerning the PRC’s National Strategy,” *Asian Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 2012, pp. 54-72.

“China’s First War in the Global Era: Leadership Signaling in the Sino-Vietnam War,” *American Intelligence Journal*, January 2011

“Why PLA Watchers Keep Missing Changes to China’s Military Strategy,” *American Intelligence Journal*, January 2010

Commentary and articles

“The China Dream: Never Closer, yet Never More Elusive,” *The Hill*, October 1, 2019.

“The Ramifications of China’s Reported Naval Base in Cambodia,” *World Politics Review*, August 7, 2019.

“Public Evidence of Huawei as Cyber Threat May be Elusive, but Restrictions Could Still Be Warranted,” *The Hill*, May 7, 2019.

“China’s Military Has No Combat Experience: Does It Matter?,” *Foreign Policy*, November 27, 2018.

“U.S.-China Relations See Potential Thaw, but Risk of Military Crisis Remains,” *Newsweek*, November 20, 2018.

“Partisan Rancor Undermines Our Ability to Act on China,” *The Hill*, November 8, 2018.

“What Does China’s Pursuit of a Global Coalition Mean for World Politics?,” *Pac Forum*, October 3,

2018. “Elite Politics in the New Era,” *Party Watch* 2018 Report, October 1 2018.

“Huge Military Drills Show Both the Limits, and Durability, of China-Russia Ties,” *World Politics Review*, September 11, 2018.

“China Prepares for International Order After U.S. Leadership,” *Lawfare*, August 1, 2018.

“Without Reform and Cooperation with China, the International System Cannot Hold,” *The National Interest*, June 21, 2018.

“To Protect Interests Abroad, China Will Feature a Diverse Array of Military, Nonmilitary Forces,” *The National Interest*, April 9, 2018.

“China’s Strengthening of Communist Party Rule is Not Just a Power Grab,” *World Politics Review*, April 2, 2018.

“Beijing’s Influence Operations Target Chinese Diaspora,” *War on the Rocks*, February 28, 2018.

“The Competition for Status Could Increase the Risk of a Military Clash in Asia,” *Asian Maritime Transparency Initiative*, February 2, 2018.

“China’s Endgame: The Path Towards Global Leadership,” *Lawfare*, January 5, 2018.

“Trump’s National Security Strategy Ratches Up U.S. Competition with China,” *World Politics Review*, December 26, 2017.

“Is Xi Jinping the New Mao Zedong,” *Here and There Podcast with Dave Marash*, December 6, 2017.

“What Does the 19th Party Congress Mean for the PLA?,” *China Policy Institute Analysis*, October 18, 2017.

“U.S.-China Tensions are Unlikely to Lead to War,” *The National Interest*, April 30, 2017.

“Rocky Road Ahead Likely for U.S.-China Relations,” *The Cipher Brief*, April 11, 2017.

“The Strategic Consequences of U.S. Withdrawal from TPP,” *The Cipher Brief*, March 27, 2017.

“Why China Will Not Unify with Taiwan by 2020- and Beijing Lacks Compelling Military Options,” *Lawfare*, March 20, 2017.

“How China Plans to Beat the Rebalance,” *The Diplomat*, February 9, 2017.

“China Intensifies Effort to Establish Leading Role in Asia, Dislodge U.S.,” *China Brief*, February 6, 2017.

“China’s Military Modernization and the South China Sea,” *CSIS*, January 26, 2017.

“China Pushes Global,” *US News and World Report*, January 20, 2017.

“Taking Stock of the U.S. Rebalance and the Contest for Influence in Asia,” *World Politics Review*, January 19, 2017.

“Cracks in the Chinese Powerhouse,” *Cipher Brief*, December 17, 2016.

“The Risks of an Accelerating Rivalry between China and Japan,” *World Politics Review*, December 12, 2016.

“Book Review: China’s Military Transformation, by You Ji,” *H-Net*, July 3, 2016.

“South China Sea Spat a Symptom of U.S.-China Jockeying for Advantage,” *World Politics Review*, July 27, 2016.

“Beijing Ups the Ante in the South China Sea Dispute with HQ-9 Deployment,” *China Brief*, March 28, 2016.

“China’s Naval Modernization: Where is it Headed?,” *World Politics Review*, February 10, 2016.

“How China’s New Russian Air Defense System Could Change Asia,” *War on the Rocks*, January 21, 2016.

“Looking for a few Good Partners in Asia to Shore up the International Order,” *War on the Rocks*, November 30, 2015.

“China’s Turn Towards Regional Restructuring, Counter-Intervention: A Review of Authoritative Sources,” *China Brief*, November 17, 2015.

“How Will China Respond to Future U.S. Freedom of Navigation Operations?,” Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, October 29, 2015.

“Xi’s Visit Exposes Mismatch in U.S. and Chinese Expectations,” *World Politics Review*, September 23, 2015.

“The Holistic Security Concept: The Securitization of Policy and Increasing Risk of Militarized Crisis,” *China Brief*, June 19, 2015.

“China’s Emerging Vision for World Order,” *The National Interest*, May 20, 2015.

“China’s Island Building Stirs Fears, But Creates Openings for U.S.,” *World Politics Review*, May 15, 2015.

“Xi’s Bold Foreign Policy Agenda: Beijing’s Pursuit of Global Influence and the Growing Risk of Sino-U.S. Rivalry,” *China Brief*, March 19, 2015.

“No, China’s Not About to Collapse,” *The Diplomat*, March 13, 2015.

“Who Rules China?” *Australian Public Radio* [interview], February 13, 2015.

“The Declining Influence of Politburo Standing Committee Members and the Growing Strength of the Central Party Bureaucracy,” *Sinocism Newsletter*, January 17, 2015.

“China’s Big Diplomacy Shift,” *The Diplomat*, December 22, 2014.

“China Overhauls Diplomacy to Consolidate Regional Leadership, Outline Strategy for Superpower Ascent,” *China Brief*, December 19, 2014.

“A Thaw in Asia: Sino-Japanese Relations,” *U.S. News and World Report*, November 14, 2014.

“Understanding China’s Fourth Plenum: A Continuation of Foreign Policy by Other Means,” *The National Interest*, November 11, 2014.

“Asian Economic Integration Fuels PRC Frustration with U.S. Alliance System,” *China Brief*, June 19, 2014.

"China and the U.S. Alliance System," *The Diplomat*, June 11, 2014.

"Restructuring the PLA: Drivers and Prospects of Xi's Top Down Reforms," *China Brief*, February 6, 2014.

"Diplomacy Work Forum: Xi Steps Up Efforts to Shape a China Centered Regional Order," *China Brief*, November 7, 2013.

"Xi's Mass Line Campaign: Realigning Politics to New Realities," *China Brief*, August 9, 2013.

"China's Defense White Paper: A New Conceptual Framework for Security," *China Brief*, April 25, 2013.

"The 18th Party Congress Work Report: Policy Blueprint for the Xi Administration," *China Brief*, November 30, 2012.

Awards:

PACOM JIOC Employee of the Year (2011), PACOM JIOC Employee of the Quarter (2011), USPACOM JIOC Outstanding Performance Award (2011), DIA Superior Performance Cash Bonus (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013), DNI-OSC Excellent Performance Award (4 awards). US Army Achievement Medal (AAM), 4th Award (2004).