

THOMAS FINGAR

Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow
Stanford University

Experience

I returned to Stanford in January 2009 to share and teach what I had learned during twenty-three years in Washington that included four years as the first Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis and Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, and eleven years (in various positions, including Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research) as the senior analyst in the Department of State. During that fifteen-year period, I was responsible for analytic work on all countries and all issues and personally reviewed, revised, and approved approximately 14,000 analytic papers for the President, the Secretary of State, and other senior officials. My duties during 2005-2008 also included responsibility for *The President's Daily Brief*, the preparation of National Intelligence Estimates, and improving the quality and utility of analysis performed in the sixteen agencies comprising the Intelligence Community.

Trained as a political scientist, my principal fields of study were comparative politics (primarily China and the Soviet Union) and international relations. After research, writing, and teaching on these subjects at Stanford during 1975-1985, I was asked to lead analytic work on China in the Department of State and did so from 1986 to 1989. In 1989, I added the rest of Asia to my portfolio when I was named Director of the Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific; I picked up the rest of the world in 1994 when I became Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Analysis in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. My work as both analyst and leader earned numerous senior awards, including two Presidential Rank Awards and the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal.

Education

- B.A. Cornell University, 1968 (Government/History)
- M.A. Stanford University, 1969 (Political Science)
- Ph.D. Stanford University, 1977 (Political Science)

Non-Degree Programs

- Columbia University, 1967 (Intensive Chinese)
- Defense Language Institute, West Coast, 1969-70 (Intensive German)
- Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies, Taipei, 1973-74
- The Senior Seminar, 1992-1993

Positions

- 2010- Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University
- 2009-2010 Payne Distinguished Lecturer, Stanford University
- 2005-2008 Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis and Director, National Intelligence Council
- 2004-2005 Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research
- 2003-2004 Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research
- 2001-2003 Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research
- 2000-2001 Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research
- 1994-2000 Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis, Department of State
- 1989-1994 Director, Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific, Department of State
- 1986-1989 Chief, China Division, Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific, Department of State
- 1984-1985 Senior Research Associate, International Strategic Institute, Stanford University
- 1981-1984 Director, US-China Relations Program, Stanford University
- 1981 Co-Director, US-China Education Clearinghouse, Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China
- 1979-1981 Assistant Director, US-China Relations Program, Stanford University
- 1975-1979 Research Associate, US-China Relations Program, Stanford University
- 1970-1972 German Translator, United States Army, Heidelberg, Germany

Other Experience

- 1986-2008 Regular, and increasingly frequent, meetings with and hearings before members of Congress. Most were in closed session, but several required unclassified testimony and Statements for the Record, some of which are cited in my list of publications. During this period I also participated in many State Department "Town Meetings" for the American public and met with hundreds of foreign officials in Washington or during official travel to approximately 80 countries.
- 1975-1985 While at Stanford, I served as a consultant to the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, SRI International, SAIC, Atlantic Richfield, and numerous other organizations.

Languages

- Chinese (Mandarin)
German

Publications

See attached list

Books and Monographs

- Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence Analysis and National Security*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.
- Requisites and Consequences of Technological Change in Contemporary China*. Stanford, CA: Northeast Asia-United States Forum, 1985. (With David Bachman).
- Modernizing China's Electronics Industry: Prospects for US Business*. Stanford, CA: Northeast Asia-United States Forum, 1985.
- An Introduction to Education in the People's Republic of China and US-China Educational Exchanges, Revised Edition*. Washington, DC: US-China Education Clearinghouse, 1982. (With Linda Reed).
- Higher Education and Research in the People's Republic of China: Institutional Profiles*. Washington, DC: US-China Education Clearinghouse, 1981.
- Survey Summary: Students and Scholars from the People's Republic of China in the United States, Spring 1981*. Washington, DC: US-China Education Clearinghouse, 1981. (With Linda Reed).
- United States-China Relations in 1979: Agreements, Protocols, Accords, and Understandings. Chinese Law and Government XIV:1* (Spring 1981). (With Victor H. Li.).
- Higher Education in the People's Republic of China*. Stanford, CA: Northeast Asia-United States Forum, 1981. (Editor and contributor).
- China's Quest for Independence: Policy Evolution in the 1970s*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980. (Editor and contributor).
- Scientific and Technical Chinese, Volumes I and II*. Stanford, CA: US-China Relations Program, 1978 (with Kung-yi Kao, Carl Crook, and Ernest Chin).
- Politics and Policymaking in the People's Republic of China, 1954-55*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1977.
- China's Energy Policies and Resource Development*. Stanford, CA: US-China Relations Program, 1977.

Articles

- "Global Trends 2025: Implications for South Korea and the US-ROK Alliance," in Byung Kwan Kim, Gi-Wook Shin, and David Straub, Editors, *Beyond North Korea: Future Challenges to South Korea's Security* (Stanford, CA: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2011), pp. 249-261.
- "How China Views US Nuclear Policy," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* web edition, May 20, 2011 at <http://www.thebulletin.org/web-edition/features/how-china-views-us-nuclear-policy>.
- "Alternate Trajectories of the Roles and Influence of China and the United States in Northeast Asia and the Implications for Future Power Configurations," in Gordon Flake, Editor, *One Step Back?: Reassessing an Ideal Security State for Northeast Asia 2025* (Washington, DC: The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, March 2011), pp. 117-135.
- "Analysis in the U.S. Intelligence Community: Missions, Masters, and Methods," in

- Baruch Fischhoff and Cherie Chauvin, Editors, *Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011, pp. 3-27.
- “Worrying About Washington: China’s Views on the US Nuclear Posture Review,” *The Nonproliferation Review* 18:1 (March 2011), pp. 51-68. Chinese translation published in *Meiguo Wenti Yanjiu [Fudan American Review]* 2010/2, May 2011, pp. 16-35.
- “What Hu Jintao Wants To Know,” *Foreign Policy* January-February 2011, pp. 42-43.
- “Don’t Make the Wikileaks Problem Worse,” *McClatchy-Tribune News Service*, January 18, 2011 (with Roger George).
- “Office of the Director of National Intelligence: Promising Start Despite Ambiguity, Ambivalence, and Animosity,” in Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, Editors, *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011, pp. 139-155.
- "Desafíos y alternativas: factores y decisiones que determinarían nuestro futuro" (Challenges and Choices: Drivers and Decisions that will Shape our Future), in Jose Felix Tezanos, Editor, *Incertidumbres, Retos Y Potencialidades Del Siglo XXI: Grandes Tendencias Internacionales*. Madrid: Editorial Sistema, 2010, pp. 13-29.
- “Five Years Later, A Stronger Intelligence Community,” *The Washington Post*, April 30, 2010 (with Mary Margaret Graham).
- “Intelligence Analysis and Dissemination,” in *Intelligence: Gathering, Analysis, & Dissemination*. Charlottesville, VA: Miller Center of Public Affairs, 2010, pp. 52-73.
- “Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence and National Security, Lecture 3: Anticipating Opportunities and Using Intelligence to Shape the Future,” Payne Lecture, October 21, 2009, http://iis-db.stanford.edu/evnts/5859/lecture_text.pdf.
- “Strategies of Influence: New Challenges, New Possibilities,” Naval War College, June 17, 2009, <http://www.usnwc.edu/events/csf/Multimedia/CSFMedia.aspx>.
- “Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence and National Security, Lecture 2: Spies Collect Data, Analysts Provide Insight,” Payne Lecture, May 19, 2009, http://iis-db.stanford.edu/evnts/5763/Payne_Lecture_No_2_Final--5-19-09.pdf
- “Energy, Geopolitics, and Security,” Harvard University, April 22, 2009, <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/cepr/Papers/Geopolitics%20flyer%20final%20rev5-07.pdf>.
- “Enhancing South Korea’s Security: The US Alliance and Beyond,” March 19, 2009, http://ksp.stanford.edu/events/enhancing_south_korea_security_the_us_alliance_and_beyond/.
- “Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence and National Security, Lecture 1: Myths, Fears, and Expectations,” Payne Lecture, March 11, 2009, http://iis-db.stanford.edu/evnts/5628/Payne_Lecture_No_1_Final--3-11-09.pdf.
- “The United States and the Islamic World in 2025.” Brookings Institution, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2009/02_security_grand/02_security_grand.pdf.
- “Challenges of US Diplomacy in East Asia.” Executive Lecture Forum Addresses 2000-2001 (September 2001).

- “Frustrations and Hopes: An American Perspective on United States-China Relations.” *Journal of Contemporary China* (2001) 10 (27) (October 2001), pp. 331-337.
- “Global Trends Affecting US-PRC-Taiwan Relations,” in Gerrit W. Gong and Bih-jaw Lin, Editors. *Sino-American Relations in a Time of Change*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1994.
- “Government China Specialists: Scholar Officials and Official Scholars,” in David Shambaugh, Editor. *American Studies of Contemporary China*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and M.E. Sharpe, 1993, pp. 176-195.
- “Teng An Mong Jiken Gono Chugoku” (China After the Tiananmen Incident), in Asia Research Council, Editor. *Chugoku O Yomu* (Interpreting China). Tokyo: Planet Books, 1990.
- “Implementing Energy Policy: The Rise and Demise of the State Energy Commission,” in David M. Lampton, Editor. *Policy Implementation in Post-Mao China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 190-224.
- “Technology Transfer and US-China Relations,” in John Lewis and Zheng Weizhi, Editors. *Prospects for Peace and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region*. Stanford, CA: Northeast Asia-United States Forum, 1986.
- “Energy in China: An Overview,” in US Congress, Joint Economic Committee. *China’s Economy Looks Toward the Year 2000, Volume 2*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986.
- “Colorectal Cancer in Chinese and Chinese-Americans,” National Cancer Institute Monograph, 69:43-46, 1985 (With AS Whittemore, S Zheng, A Wu, ML Wu, DA Jiao, CD Ling, JL Bao, BE Henderson, and RS Paffenbarger, Jr.).
- “Science and Technology in China,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 40:8 (October 1984), Special Supplement. (With Denis Simon, Richard Suttmeier, and Leo Orleans).
- “Energy in China: Paradoxes, Policies, and Prospects,” in Richard Bush, Editor. *China Briefing, 1982*. Reprinted in Daniel H. Bays, Editor. *US-China Trade Relations, 1983: Six Essays*. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1983. Japanese translation in *Chugoku Keizai* (China’s Economy), No. 213 (September 1983).
- “US-China Scientific and Technical Cooperation: The Chinese Perspective,” in *China’s Scientific and Technological Modernization: Domestic and International Implications*. Washington, DC: The Wilson Center East Asia Program, Occasional Paper No. 11, 1982.
- “Energy and Development: China’s Strategy for the 1980s,” in Peter Auer, Editor. *Energy and the Developing Nations*. New York: Pergamon, 1981, pp. 418-445. Japanese translation in *Chugoku Keizai Kenkyu Geppo* (China Economic Studies Monthly), No. 192 (December 1981).
- “China’s Quest for Technology: Implications for Arms Control II,” in John Barton and Ryukichi Imai, Editors. *Arms Control II*. Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, 1981, pp. 239-271.
- “Recent Trends in Industrial Science and Technology Policy: An Overview,” in Richard Baum, Editor. *China’s Four Modernizations: The New Technological Revolution*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980, pp. 61-101.
- “The Social Science of Development and the Development of Social Science.” *Contemporary China* 3:4 (Winter 1979). (With Genevieve Dean).

“Negotiating Scholarly Exchanges: The Stanford Experience.” *Contemporary China* 3:4 (Winter 1979).

“Developments in PRC Science and Technology Policy, October 1976-June 1977.” *Contemporary China* 1:8. (With Genevieve Dean).

Developments in PRC Science and Technology Policy. Stanford, CA: US-China Relations Program. (Published quarterly between January 1977 and July 1979; some issues with Genevieve Dean).

Reviews

Review of *Managing Science Policy and Technology Acquisition: Strategies for China and a Changing World*. *Journal of Asian Studies* XLIV:4 (August 1985).

Review of *Shenfen: The Continuing Revolution in a Chinese Village*. *Asia*, September-October 1983.

Review of *Technology, Defense, and External Relations in China*. *Journal of Asian Studies* XL:2 (February 1981).

Review of *Technology and Communist Culture: The Socio-Cultural Impact of Technology Under Socialism*. *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXVIII:2 (February 1979).

Review of *China and the Major Powers in East Asia*. *Political Science Quarterly* 93:3 (Fall 1978).

“Mass Campaigns, Past and Present.” *Problems of Communism* XXV:4 (July-August 1976).

Congressional Testimony (Unclassified Statements for the Record)

National Intelligence Assessment on the National Security Implications of Global Climate Change to 2030. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and House Select Committee on Energy Independence and Global Warming, June 25, 2008 at www.dni.gov/testimonies/20080625_testimony.pdf.

Annual Threat Assessment of the Intelligence Community. House Armed Services Committee, February 13, 2008 at www.dni.gov/testimonies/20080213_testimony.pdf

Global Security Assessment. House Armed Services Committee, July 11, 2007 at http://www.dni.gov/testimonies/20070711_testimony.pdf.

Hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Annual Threat Assessment, February 27, 2007 at http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2007_hr/022707transcript.pdf.

Security Threats to the United States. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, February 16, 2005 at http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2005_hr/021605fingar.pdf.

Current and Projected National Security Threats to the United States. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, February 7, 2001 at http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2001_hr/s010207f.html.

“Transferring Technology to China: Patterns, Prospects, and Policy Implications.” US Congress, House Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittees on Science, Research, and Technology, and on Investigations and Oversight, Hearings, November 13-15, 1979.

Selected Addresses

- “Anticipating and Preparing for Future Challenges,” World Affairs Council of Hilton Head, SC, October 1, 2010 at <http://www.wachh.org/accelsite/media/1603/Tom%Fingar%2010oct10.mp3>.
- “China on the World Stage,” Claremont College, October 25, 2010 at http://www.claremontmckenna.edu/mmca/cur_fall_10.php.
- “Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council,” The Henry L. Stimson Center, Washington, DC, November 21, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20081121_speech.pdf.
- “Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council at The Atlantic Council, Washington, DC, November 20, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20081120_speech.pdf.
- Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, DC, November 18, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20081118_speech.pdf.
- “Intelligence Analysis and Dissemination,” Miller Center of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, VA, November 3, 2008 at <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/forum/detail/4067>.
- “Keynote Address on Global Trends,” 2008 Intelligence and National Security Alliance Analytic Transformation Conference, Orlando, Florida, September 4, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20080904_speech.pdf, pp. 18-32.
- “Keynote Address on Analytic Transformation,” 2008 Intelligence and National Security Alliance Analytic Transformation Conference, Orlando, Florida, September 4, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20080904_speech.pdf.
- “National Intelligence Estimates,” New America Foundation, Washington, DC, June 4, 2008 at http://www.newamerica.net/events/2008/national_intelligence_estimates.
- “China’s New Leadership: The Outlook for Politics and Policy,” Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, April 7, 2008 at http://www.brookings.edu/events/2008/0407_china.aspx.
- “Intelligence Analysis: Continuity and Change,” Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY, March 18, 2008 at http://dni.gov/speeches/20080318_speech.pdf.
- “Intelligence Reform and the Iran NIE,” Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, CA, February 25, 2008 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20080214_speech.pdf.
- “Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council,” 2007 Analytic Transformation Symposium, Chicago, IL, September 5, 2007 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20070905_speech.pdf, pp. 4-17.
- “Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council,” ODNI Open Source Conference, Washington, DC, July 17, 2007 at http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20070717_speech_3.pdf.
- “Remarks and Q&A by the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis & Chairman, National Intelligence Council,” The DNI’s Information Sharing Conference & Technology Exposition--Intelink and Beyond: Dare to Share,

Denver, CO, August 21, 2006 at

http://www.dni.gov/speeches/20060821_2_speech.pdf.

“Keynote Address,” Conference on “Building a ‘Harmonious Society’ in China: Non-Governmental and Faith-Based Organizations as Agents of Social Change and Stability,” Center for Strategic and International Studies in cooperation with the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington, DC, September 26, 2005 at http://www.csis.org/media/csis/events/050926_tomfingarremarks.pdf.

August 2011