

THOMAS FINGAR

Shorenstein APARC 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

2015-	Shorenstein APARC Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University
2010-2014	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, US 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

Books and Monographs

- From Mandate to Blueprint: Lessons from Intelligence Reform* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2021)
- Fateful Decisions: Choices that will Shape China's Future* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020 (co-editor with Jean Oi and contributor).
- Uneasy Partnerships: China and Japan, the Koreans, and Russia in the Era of Reform* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017) (Editor and contributor).
- The New Great Game: China and South and Central Asia in the Era of Reform* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016) (Editor and contributor).
- 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

- “The Wisdom and Efficacy of Engagement: Objectives, Assumptions, and Impacts,” *Engaging China*, Anne F. Thurston, ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming)
- “Human Rights and Foreign Policy: Puzzles, Priorities, and Political Power,” *North Korea: Human Rights and Nuclear Security*, Robert R. King and Gi-Wook Shin, eds. (Stanford, CA: Shorenstein APARC, forthcoming).
- “2007 Iran Nuclear NIE: More of the Story,” *Intelligence and National Security*, 36:2 (2021), 211-216.
- “China’s Challenges: Now It Gets Much Harder,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 43:1 (Spring 2020), 1-18 (with Jean C. Oi).
- “Forty Years of Formal—But not yet Normal—Relations,” *China International Strategic Review* 1, 11-20.
- “New Missions, New Challenges, 2005-2008,” *Truth to Power: A History of the National Intelligence Council*, Robert Hutchings and Gregory F. Treverton, eds. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2019), chapter 6.
- “American Foreign Policy in Transition: From Cold War Consensus to Controversy and Confusion,” *Contemporary American Studies Review* 2018 No. 1, pp. 70-83 (in Chinese; English text available at <https://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/publication/american-foreign-policy-transition-cold-war-consensus-controversy-and-confusion>).
- “The Role of Intelligence in Countering Illicit Nuclear-related Procurement,” Matthew Bunn, Martin B. Malin, William C. Potter, and Leonard S. Spector, eds., *Preventing Black Market Trade in Nuclear Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 48-78.
- “Flies and Barriers”: On the China-US Relationship,” *IPP Review*, December 20, 2018, <https://ippreview.com/index.php/Blog/single/id/859.html>.
- “Office of the Director of National Intelligence: From Pariah and Piñata to Managing Partner,” Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, Editors, *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth, Second Edition* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), pp. 185-203.
- “A Silk Road for the Twenty-First Century?: A Good Idea Blown Out of Proportion,” *Reconnecting Asia*, November 1, 2016, <https://reconasia.csis.org/analysis/entries/silk-road-twenty-first-century/>.
- “Security Challenges in a Turbulent World: Fewer Enemies, More Challenges, and Greater Anxiety,” *International and Strategic Studies Report*, May 15, 2015, Issue 21.
- “National Security in the Global Era,” <http://www.wm.edu/offices/revescenter/internationalization/papers%20and%20presentations/Thomas%20Fingar%20National%20Security%20in%20the%20Global%20Era.pdf>.
- “Building a Community of Analysts,” Roger Z. George and James B. Bruce, Editors,

Analyzing Intelligence: National Security Practitioners' Perspectives, Second Edition (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014), pp. 287-301.

- “Ties that Bind: Strategic Stability in the U.S. China Relationship,” *The Washington Quarterly*, 36:4 (Fall 2013), pp. 125-138 (with Fan Jishe).
- “China’s Growing Presence in the DPRK: Origins, Objectives, and Implications,” Choe Sang-Hun, Gi-Wook Shinn, and David Straub, Editors, *Troubled Transition: North Korea’s Politics, Economy, and External Relations* (Stanford, CA: Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2013), pp. 187-205.
- “A Chance to Defuse North Korea,” *International Herald Tribune* June 5, 2013 (with Gi-Wook Shin and David Straub).
- “It’s Complicated,” *The American Interest*, Summer (May/June) 2013, pp. 31-35.
- “The North Korea Problem and the Necessity for South Korean Leadership,” Policy Report, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, March 4, 2013 (with Gi-Wook Shin, Karl Eikenberry, Daniel C. Sneider, and David Straub).
- “US-China Relations and Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula,” *Northeast Asia Under New Leadership*, Yonhap, February 5, 2013, pp. 29-32.
- “China’s Vision of World Order,” in Ashley J. Tellis and Travis Tanner, Editors, *Strategic Asia 2012-13: China’s Military Challenge* (Seattle, WA: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2012), pp. 343-373.
- “All-Source Intelligence,” *The Intelligencer*, Winter/Spring 2012, pp. 63-66 at http://www.afio.com/publications/Fingar_All_Source_Analysis_in_AFIO_INTEL_WinterSprg2012.pdf.
- “Intelligence as a Service Industry,” *The American Interest*, Spring (March/April) 2012, pp. 80-84 at http://cisac.stanford.edu/publications/intelligence_as_a_service_industry/.
- “Global Implications of China’s Challenges,” *YaleGlobal*, January 16, 2012 at <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/global-implications-china’s-challenges---part-i>.
- “Intelligence and Grand Strategy,” *Orbis* Winter 2012, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 118-13 at <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0030438711000883>.
- “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/webedition/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,”

- 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, 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.
- “Desafios y alternativas: factores y decisiones que determinaran 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, Ed., *China Briefing, 1982* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982), pp. 49-67. 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 and Comment

- “Flies and Barriers: On the China-US Relationship,” *IPP Review*, December 20, 2018; Chinese version in *Dunjiaodu.com*, December 19, 2018.
- “The World is Counting on the U.S. and China,” *USNews.com*, September 18, 2013 at <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/09/18/the-us-and-china-must-work-together-to-ensure-global-peace-and-prosperity> (With Banning Garrett).
- “Communicating Uncertainty,” *Issues in Science and Technology*, Forum (Fall 2012) at www.issues.org/29.1/forum.html.
- “China’s Rise: Contingency, Constraints, and Concerns,” *Survival*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (February-March 2012), pp. 195-204.
- 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 *Shenzhen: 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

- “The United States and China: Same Bed, Different Dreams, Shared Destiny,” The Third Annual Nancy Bernkopf Tucker Memorial Lecture, The Wilson Center, Washington, DC, April 20, 2015 at http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/samebed_differentdreams.pdf.
- “Security Challenges in a Turbulent World: Fewer Enemies, More Challenges, and Greater Anxiety,” University of Oklahoma, February 26, 2015 at http://www.ou.edu/content/cis/news_and_events/annual-ias-symposium.html.
- “China’s Rise and the Global System,” Keynote at Columbia University Chinese Students and Scholars Association Conference on China’s Prospects, October 8, 2011 at http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMzI4MjYxNTYw.html.
- “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%20Fingar%2010Oct10.mp3>.
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- “Intelligence Analysis and Dissemination,” Miller Center of Public Affairs, Charlottesville, VA, November 3, 2008 at <http://millercenter.org/scripps/archive/forum/detail/4067>.
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