

# Joseph Torigian

[torigian@american.edu](mailto:torigian@american.edu) (August 26, 2024)

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## EDUCATION

Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
PhD in International Relations Theory and Comparative Politics  
Dissertation: “Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles and the Fate of Three Revolutions”  
Committee: Richard Samuels, Kathleen Thelen, Taylor Fravel, Barry Posen  
Defended August 2016

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI (Highest Distinction)  
Major in Political Science (04/2006) and Minor in Asian Studies (04/2006)  
William Jennings Bryan Prize (Departmental Political Science Award for graduating seniors)

## RESEARCH

Authoritarian regimes, grand strategy, qualitative methods, Chinese and Russian politics and history

## EXPERIENCE

American University  
School of International Service August 2018–Present  
Assistant and Associate Professor (May 2024)

Stanford University  
Hoover Institution Fall 2023–Present  
Research Fellow

University of Michigan  
Lieberthal Rogel Center for Chinese Studies March 2023–Present  
Center Associate

Wilson Center  
History and Public Policy Program October 2018–Present  
Global Fellow

Australian National University  
China in the World Program May 2022–July 2022  
Visiting Fellow

Council on Foreign Relations  
David Rockefeller Studies Program September 2019–August 2020  
Stanton Fellow

Princeton and Harvard University  
China and the World Program September 2017–June 2018  
Conducted research and participated in CWP events

Stanford University  
CISAC Visiting Scholar October 2015–June 2017  
Conducted research and participated in CISAC events as Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Fellow

George Washington University  
Institute for Security and Conflict Studies Predoctoral Fellow September 2014–June 2015  
Conducted dissertation research and participated in ISCS events

Higher School of Economics, Moscow  
IREX Scholar November 2013–July 2014  
Conducted dissertation research in Soviet archives

Fudan University, Shanghai  
Fulbright Scholar September 2008–June 2009

Conducted research on Chinese foreign policy norms and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization  
Audited and participated in graduate-level Chinese language courses on Sino-American relations  
Presented research findings to other scholars

Council on Foreign Relations

Research Associate

December 2006–June 2008

Assisted Senior Fellow Adam Segal in research by writing over 100 memos  
Prepared more than \$250,000 budget for Dr. Segal’s programs and planned roundtables  
Conducted conference for peers and presented paper on Chinese and Russian foreign policy

**LANGUAGES**

Chinese: Fluent reading and speaking

Russian: Fluent reading and speaking

*Critical Language Scholarship* (US State Department)

June 2010–July 2010

Spent two months studying Russian in Ufa, Russia

*Rep. of China Chinese Language Fellowship (FLAS)*

September 2004–August 2005

Spent full year studying Chinese at ICLP at National Taiwan University

**BOOKS**

*Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles after Stalin and Mao*, Yale University Press, 2022

Reviewed in H-Diplo Forum, *China Journal*, *Global Asia*, *The Wire*, H-Soz-Kult, *New York Review of Books*, *Andrew Batson’s Blog*, *Engelsberg Ideas*, *Russian Review*, *Slavonic and East European Review*, *Slavic Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, and *Los Angeles Review of Books*. Named 2022 Book of the Year by ChinaTalk, *Engelsberg Ideas*, and CNAS Staff. *New York Times* Ezra Klein Show Book Recommendation.

*The Party’s Interests Come First: The Life of Xi Zhongxun* (forthcoming with Stanford University Press in June 2025)

**PEER REV. ART.**

“Echoes of June 1941 in March 1969: Intelligence and Escalation on the (Far) Eastern Front” (forthcoming at *Journal of Cold War Studies*)

“You Don’t Know Khrushchev Well?: The Ouster of the Soviet Leader as a Challenge to Recent Scholarship on Authoritarian Politics,” in *Journal of Cold War Studies* (2022) 24 (1): 78–115.

“A New Case for the Study of Individual Events in Political Science,” in *Global Studies Quarterly*, Volume 1, Issue 4, December 2021

“Historical Legacies and Leaders’ Worldviews: Communist Party History and Xi’s Learned (and Unlearned) Lessons,” in *China Perspectives*, 2018/1–2

**OTHER PUBS.**

“Xi Jinping’s Russian Lessons,” in *Foreign Affairs*, June 24, 2024

“What Beijing’s Muted Response to Wagner Mutiny Tells us about China-Russia Relations—and What it Doesn’t,” in *The Conversation*, June 30, 2023

“Xi Jinping and Ideology,” in *Essays on China and US Policy*, Wilson Center, 2021–2022 China Fellowship

“China’s Balancing Act on Russian Invasion of Ukraine Explained,” in *The Conversation*, March 10, 2022

“A Squabble About History Almost Killed Xi Jinping’s Father,” in *Foreign Policy*, November 25, 2021

Review of “The War Scare That Wasn’t: Able Archer 83 and the Myths of the Second Cold War” by Simon Miles in H-Diplo, March 2021

“China’s Nuclear Program Baffled Soviet Intelligence,” in *Foreign Policy*, October 21, 2020

“Xi Jinping’s Tiananmen Family Lessons,” in *Foreign Policy*, June 4, 2020

Review of *Russian Nuclear Orthodoxy: Religion, Politics, and Strategy* by Dmitry Adamsky in H-Diplo, April 2020

“What Xi Jinping Learned—And Didn’t Learn—From His Father About Xinjiang,” in *The Diplomat*, November 26, 2019

“Chinese Society amid Mao’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: The Roots and Nature of the Tragedy: Commentary by Joseph Toriglian,” in *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Spring 2019), 21 (2): 177–88

“Elite Politics and Foreign Policy in China from Mao to Xi,” in *Revolution or Evolution? Xi Jinping and the Future of China’s Foreign Policy*, Brookings Institution, January 22, 2019.

“Don’t Count on China to Rein in North Korea. Here’s Why,” in *Washington Post’s Monkey Cage*, February 17, 2017

“The Shadow of Deng Xiaoping on Chinese Elite Politics,” in *War on the Rocks*, January 30, 2017

“Khrushchev’s Fate and China’s Future,” in *The Diplomat*, November 24, 2016

“Mass Atrocity Monday: Tiananmen Square,” in *Justice in Conflict* blog, June 6, 2016

## CONFERENCES

Canadian Association for Security Intelligence Studies 2024      November 2024  
Panelist on “Future of Geopolitics”

*Hoover History Lab Symposium on China and Russia* (Stanford)      June 2024  
Organizer, moderator, and panelist

*2024 SCCEI China Conference* (Stanford)      May 2024  
Panelist on “Historical Insights and Lessons for China from the Soviet Union”

*Hoover Institution History Working Group Symposium* (Stanford)      May 2024  
Presented “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests”

*Cling Conference 2024* (Georgetown)      April 2024  
Panelist on “Domestic Sources of Chinese Policymaking”

*Bicoastal China Fellows UnConference* (Stanford)      August 2024  
Panelist on “The Preservation Profession”

International Studies Association      March 2024  
Presented “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests”  
“The 1969 Crisis: Confusion, Contingency, and China” (presented by David Logan)

*Global Trends* (Stanford)      January 2024  
Discussant on Chinese power; presenter on Chinese “soft” power

*Dabrendorf Conference* (Stanford)      August 2023  
Panelist on “War in Ukraine”

International Studies Association      March 2023  
Discussant on “Contested Peripheries: High-Stakes International Politics in Frontier Domains”

Princeton University Center for International Security Studies      February 2023  
Panelist on “Lessons from the War in Ukraine”

University of Michigan Weiser Center for Emerging Democr.      October 2022  
Panelist on “Flashpoint: 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party”

*Hoover Institution Summer Workshop on Modern China and Taiwan*      August 2022  
Presented “Succession Politics and the Xi Family in the 1980s: The ‘Three Types of People,’ ‘Princelings,’ and Center-Provincial Relations in Hebei and Fujian”

<i>University of California San Diego China Forum</i> Presented on panel on Sino-Russian relations	July 2022
<i>Emerging Scholars on Emerging Technologies</i> Discussant for paper Presented on panel “The Content of Teaching Emerging Technologies”	April 2022
<i>China-Russia Relations: Peers, Allies, Competitors?</i> (Georgetown) Panelist	March 2022
<i>The Wilson China Fellowship Conference</i> Presented “Xi Jinping and Ideology”	February 2022
<i>Colloquium on Thirty Years of Tibet-China Dialogue Engagement</i> (GW) Discussant	April 2022
<i>Toward Xi’s Third Term: China’s 20th Party Congress and Beyond</i> Panelist	January 2022
International Studies Association Presented “Echoes of June 1941 in March 1969: Intelligence and Escalation on the (Far) Eastern Front”	April 2021
Association for Asian Studies Presented “Echoes of June 1941 in March 1969: Intelligence and Escalation on the (Far) Eastern Front”	March 2021
<i>Chinese Archives in Crisis</i> (Stanford) Presented “The Writing of ‘Biography of Xi Zhongxun’”	December 2020
Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Presented “Echoes of June 1941 in March 1969: Intelligence and Escalation on the (Far) Eastern Front”	November 2020
Penn Center for the Study of Contemporary China Commentator on panel at (virtual) Conference on the Party at 100	September 2020
<i>China and the World: The Road Ahead</i> (Global Insights) Panelist	September 2020
Summer Institute on Conducting Archival Research (SICAR) Participated in panel on doing research overseas	August 2020
<i>Hong Kong and Elsewhere Symposium</i> ( <i>Hong Kong Studies Journal</i> ) Presented “Fathers and Sons—Hong Kong and Xi Jinping’s Father Xi Zhongxun”	July 2020
CSIS Delegation to Taiwan following January 2020 elections	January 2020
Stanton Foundation Presented “The 1969 Sino-Soviet Nuclear Crisis”	October 2019
International Studies Association Presented “A State of Fever: The Civil-Military Relations of the Nuclear (and Rocket) Revolution in the USSR”	March 2019
Princeton-Humboldt Presented on post-Stalin and Mao transitions at Conference “Comparing Dictatorships in Transition”	March 2019
Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at American University Presented “China with a Special Focus on the Xi Family”	March 2019

Harvard University Weatherhead Center Participant in Harvard International Security Cluster	November 2018
<i>China Since the Cultural Revolution</i> (Wilson Center) Presented on Xi Zhongxun at Conference	October 2018
APSA Presented “The Civil-Military Relations of Tiananmen Square”	August 2018
The Society of Historians for American Foreign Relations Presented “Khrushchev and the Bomb”	June 2018
Tianwen lianhe xuehui wenge bowuguan chouwei hui (Tianwen Lianhe Society Cultural Revolution Museum Preparatory Committee) Presented “Did the Gang of Four Have Their Own Ideology?” (In Chinese)	June 2018
Association for Asian Studies Presented “Problems with Factions in Chinese Politics: The Case of Chen Yun”	March 2018
Brookings-Carnegie-Tobin Presented at Workshop on Policy Implications of New Research in Politics and International History	January 2018
Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Participated in panel “New Opportunities in the Russian Archives”	November 2017
<i>Stanford Dialogue</i> Note-taker for meetings between American, Chinese, and Russian retired military officers on strategic stability	August 2016–December 2019
<i>Tobin Project</i> Participated in Tobin Project on Nuclear Threat Assessment	March 2017–September 2018
<i>Hoover Institution Workshop on Authoritarian Regimes</i> “Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles and the Fate of Three Revolutions”	July 2016
<i>Stanford Nuclear Youth Forum with MEPhI</i> Participated in conference in Moscow with Russian nuclear experts	May 2016
Clements Center, UT Austin Participant in Summer Seminar in History and Statecraft	July 2015
International Studies Association Presented “Scientific Realism and Qualitative Methods”	March 2015
SICAR Spent one week at seminar on archives at George Washington University	Summer 2012
International Studies Association Presented “Chinese Civil-Military Relations and the Roots of Political Change”	March 2012
International Studies Association Chaired panel: “Reassessing Power Transitions” Presented “The Rhetoric of Rise”	March 2011
<i>New Era Foreign Policy Conference</i> Participated in two day workshop for young scholars interested in policy issues	March 2010
<b>INVITED TALKS</b> University College Dublin Book chapter on “Princeling Politics” from <i>The Party’s Interests Come First</i>	October 2024

Global Conference on New Sinology (Delhi) Keynote: Xi Jinping's Leadership Psychology	September 2024
Political Economy Series (National University of Singapore, Hong Kong Baptist University, National Taiwan University, and the China Europe International Business School) Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	September 2024
Osaka School of International Public Policy The "New" and "Old" in Xi Jinping as Chinese Leader	July 2024
Kyoto University Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	July 2024
YCAPS Community Conversation Series (Sasebo) "The Putin-Xi Partnership: Historical Context and Implications for the International Community"	June 2024
Keio University Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	June 2024
National Institute for Defense Studies (Tokyo) "The formation of Xi Jinping" "Xi Jinping in historic context"	June 2024
CISAC (Stanford) "The 1969 Crisis: Confusion, Contingency, and China" (with David Logan)	March 2024
Illinois Global Institute (Univ. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign) Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	March 2024
Emory University "Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests"	March 2024
FACES (Stanford) "Chinese elite politics and ideology"	February 2024
Social Science Affinity Group (Princeton) "Accessing Information from Countries with Authoritarian Regimes"	February 2024
Foreign Correspondents' Club of China "Decoding Chinese Politics"	November 2023
Stanford China Social Science Workshop "Xi Zhongxun and June 4"	October 2023
Asia Society (San Francisco) "Drawing Back the Curtain: An Executive Roundtable on the Complexities of Chinese Politics"	October 2023
Council on Foreign Relations Study Group "China-Russia Relations"	October 2023
State Department Foreign Service Institute "History of Chinese Elite Politics"	September 2023
State Department Consultant on Sino-Russian Relations	September 2023
Centre for Contemporary China Studies (Indian Foreign Min.)	July 2023

“Sino-Russian relations”

Tibet Policy Institute (Dharamsala) “Chinese Politics under Xi Jinping”	May 2023
Carnegie India “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests”	
Centre for Social and Economic Progress (Delhi) “The ‘New’ and ‘Old’ in Xi Jinping as a Chinese Leader”	May 2023
Great Decisions (Vermont) “US-China Relations”	May 2023
Wilson Center Asia Program, Kissinger Institute, and HAPP Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	April 2023
US-China Commission Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	April 2023
Harvard University Fairbank Center “Succession Politics and the Xi Family in the 1980s: The ‘Three Types of People,’ ‘Princelings,’ and Center-Provincial Relations in Hebei and Fujian”	March 2023
George Washington University USCSSO Spring Conference Featured speaker on Xi Jinping and Chinese politics	March 2023
US Consulate in Shanghai Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	February 2023
Rutgers University Center for Chinese Studies Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	February 2023
Philadelphia World Trade Center Briefing on Chinese politics	December 2022
King’s College London Centre for Grand Strategy Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	November 2022
University of San Francisco Center for Asia Pacific Studies “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests”	October 2022
Clements Center, UT Austin Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	October 2022
Council on Foreign Relations Virtual Roundtable: “The Past as a Prelude to Xi Jinping’s Next Five Years in Power” (with Victor Shih)	October 2022
Profs and Pints “Understanding China’s Leader”	October 2022
Yale MacMillan Center and International Security Studies Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	September 2022
Duke Sanford School Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	September 2022
US State Department	September 2022

Consultant on Russia/Ukraine conflict

University of Michigan Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	August 2022
Lowy Institute The Rise and Rise of Xi Jinping	July 2022
University of Melbourne Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	July 2022
Australian DFAT China Seminar Series “What Makes Xi Jinping Tick?”	July 2022
University of Sydney Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	June 2022
Australian National University Seminar Series with four talks: Book talk on <i>Prestige Manipulation and Coercion</i> , “Researching Elite Politics in China,” “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency and Interests,” and “The ‘New’ and ‘Old’ in Xi Jinping as a Chinese Leader”	June 2022
Asia Society (Sydney) “Holding the Party Line: Xi Jinping and the Limits of Power” (executive briefing)	June 2022
National Foundation for Australia-China Relations “Xi Jinping and Elite Politics in China”	June 2022
Foreign Correspondent’s Club of China Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	April 2022
Bush School, Texas A&M Book talk on <i>Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion</i>	April 2022
American Chamber of Commerce in the PRC Panelist on “As Far as the Eye Can See: Looking Ahead to Xi’s Third Term” (China Business Conference)	March 2022
State University of New York at Albany Presented “Sino-Russian Relations in Historic Context: Ideology, Agency, and Interests”	March 2022
Wilson Center Commentator for talk by Jeremy Brown on his new book <i>June Fourth: The Tiananmen Protests and Beijing Massacre of 1989</i>	June 2021
Global Affairs Canada Presented on hundredth anniversary of Chinese Communist Party on panel with Professor Timothy Cheek	February 2021
Paul Tsai China Center, Yale University Presented “Elite Politics in the Chinese Communist Party: Deng Xiaoping, the Xi Family, and the Limits of Collective Leadership”	November 2020
<i>SIS Continuity Workshop</i> (American University) Presented on use of digital archives in COVID era	October 2020
<i>CSIS China Policy Workshop Series</i> Presented on how to analyze Chinese elite politics	August 2020
Faculty of Social Science, Oslo University	December 2019



- “The Scholar as Detective”  
 “State of Fever: The Civil-Military Relations of the Nuclear Revolution in the USSR”  
 Center for Security Studies, ETH, Zurich December 2019  
 “State of Fever: The Civil-Military Relations of the Nuclear Revolution in the USSR”
- SIS Historical International Studies Faculty Research Cluster October 2019  
 “Xi Jinping’s Father Xi Zhongxun and Chinese Communist Party Policies in Tibet and Xinjiang in the 1980s”
- East China Normal University, Shanghai May 2019  
 Two talks (in Chinese): “Hua Guofeng” and “Chen Yun in the 1980s”
- Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at AU March 2019  
 “China with a Special Focus on the Xi Family”
- Comm. of the 30<sup>th</sup> Parinirvana Ann. of 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Rinpoche* January 2019  
 “The Relationship between the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama and Xi Zhongxun”
- AU Center for Asian Studies and Complex Gov. Cluster October 2018  
 “Xi Jinping’s Father and the Chinese Revolution”
- Asia-Pacific Nuclear History Institute (Wilson Center) March 2018  
 “Khrushchev and the Bomb”
- USC Center for International Studies February 2018  
 “Explaining North Korean Regime Resiliency: Kim Il-sung and the Partisan Legacy”
- Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program November 2017  
 “China’s History of Failed Interventions in North Korean Elite Politics”
- Stanford Russian History Kruzok March 2016  
 “Elite Power Struggles in the Soviet Union: The Cases of Beria and the Anti-Party Group”
- CISAC (Stanford) February 2016  
 “Communist Coups: Authoritarianism and the Fate of Three Revolutions”
- SICAR May 2015  
 “How to Conduct Archival Research”
- George Washington University ISCS March 2015  
 “Cleaning Up the Revolution: The Rise of Deng Xiaoping 1977–1981”

## **MEDIA**

- Quoted in “Diaries of Mao's Secretary at the Center of a Legal Battle Over the History of Modern China,” *NBC News*, August 25, 2024
- Quoted in “The Diary Beijing Doesn’t Want the Public to Read,” *The World* (radio), August 20, 2024
- Quoted in “‘Monument to History’ Battle Between US and China Over Future of Mao’s Secretary’s Diary,” *The Guardian*, August 18, 2024
- Quoted in “China’s Vanished Foreign Minister Casts a Long Shadow,” *Politico*, June 20, 2024
- Quoted in “35 Years after Tiananmen, China’s Conduct Again Triggers Alarm,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 2024
- Quoted in “Putin Concludes a Trip to China by Emphasizing Its Strategic and Personal Ties to Russia,” AP, May 17, 2024
- Interviewed on BBC World Service (radio) on Sino-Russian relations, May 16, 2024

Quoted in “Putin Is Putting His Bromance with Xi on Full Display—But China Has Reason to Be Wary,” *Business Insider*, May 16, 2024

Quoted in “How China’s Political Clans Might Determine Its Future,” *The Economist*, April 4, 2024

Quoted in “Xi’s One-Man Rule Over China’s Economy Is Spurring Unrest,” Bloomberg, February 29, 2024

Interviewed on *Prestige, Manipulation, and Coercion*, published in Center for Advanced China Research, November 14, 2023

Quoted in “China’s Xi, in Need of a Win, Appears Ready to Engage with Biden,” *Washington Post*, November 14, 2023

Quoted in “Xi’s Graft Crackdown Is Set to Snare Record Number of Top Officials,” Bloomberg, November 13, 2023

Quoted in “Behind Public Assurances, Xi Jinping Has Spread Grim Views on U.S.,” *New York Times*, November 13, 2023

Quoted in “Reactions to Death of Chinese Ex-Premier Li Keqiang,” Reuters, October 27, 2023

Quoted in “Xi Faces ‘Delicate Political Moment’ in Handling Grief Over Li,” Bloomberg, October 27, 2023

Quoted in “Former Chinese Premier Dies Aged 68 from Heart Attack,” *The Times*, October 27, 2023

Quoted in “Li Keqiang, Chinese Premier Eclipsed by Xi Jinping, Dies at 68,” *New York Times*, October 26, 2023

Quoted in “Li Keqiang, China’s Former Premier, Dies Suddenly at 68,” *Financial Times*, October 26, 2023

Quoted in “China Removes Li Shangfu as Defense Minister, Who Was Out of Public Eye for 2 Months,” NPR, October 23, 2023

Interviewed on *Democracy Podcast*, September 5, 2023

Quoted in “Xi Rebuilt the Military to His Liking. Now a Shake-Up Threatens Its Image,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2023

Quoted in “After Ousting a Top Official, China Erases Him and Evades Questions,” *New York Times*, July 27, 2023

Interviewed in “One Good Text,” *Semafor*, July 26, 2023

Quoted in “A Familiar Face for the US as China’s Wang Returns as Foreign Minister,” Reuters, July 25, 2023

Quoted in “China Replaces Missing Foreign Minister Qin Gang,” *Financial Times*, July 25, 2023

Quoted in “China Replaces Foreign Minister after Mysterious Absence,” Bloomberg, July 25, 2023

Interviewed in “Three Minutes With,” *Politico*, July 6, 2023

Quoted in “A Glimpse of a Different Russia,” *Financial Times*, July 1, 2023

Quoted in “The Paralysis of Power,” *The New Statesman*, June 28, 2023

Quoted in “China’s ‘No-Limits’ Partnership with Russia Shaken by Mutiny,” *Christian Science Monitor*, June 27, 2023

Quoted in “Putin Sent Xi Birthday Greetings. Here Was the Real Message,” *New York Times*, June 15, 2023

Interviewed on StratNews Global (television)

Quoted in “China and Russia Have Promised to Boost Trade. Can They?,” *Washington Post*, May 26, 2023

Research referenced in “Xi Jinping’s Succession Problem—and China’s,” *Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 2023

Interviewed in “China Will Want to Make India’s U.S. Ties Costly, Says Joseph Torigian,” *The Hindu*, May 6, 2023

Quoted in “O que está por trás da aliança entre China e Rússia,” BBC Brasil, March 23, 2023

Quoted in “China and Russia: Explaining a Long, Complicated Friendship,” AP, March 22, 2023

Quoted on “The World” with Daniel Ofman, March 20, 2023

Quoted in “Putin and Xi Call Each Other a ‘Dear Friend.’ But Their Main Common Cause Is the U.S.,” *LA Times*, March 21, 2023

Quoted in “Putin and Xi’s Big Moscow Meeting, Briefly Explained,” *Vox*, March 20, 2023

Interviewed on BBC Newsday (television), March 20, 2023

Quoted in “Xi Jinping Meeting Vladimir Putin in Boost for Isolated Russia Leader,” AP, March 20, 2023

Quoted in “Xi’s Embrace of Putin Dents His Chances of Playing Peacemaker on Ukraine,” Bloomberg, March 19, 2023

Quoted in “Xi to Visit Russia for First Time Since Putin’s Invasion of Ukraine,” Bloomberg, March 17, 2023

Quoted in “China Has Weapons to Give Russia an Edge in Ukraine—Why Hasn’t It?,” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 15, 2023

Interviewed on BBC Newshour (radio), February 24, 2023

Interviewed on NBC, February 23, 2023

Interviewed on NRD (German public radio), February 23, 2023

Interviewed on Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (television), February 23, 2023

Interviewed on *Drum Tower* podcast (*The Economist*), February 27, 2023

Quoted in “China’s Palace Politics: Xi Jinping Loyalists Compete for Power,” *Financial Times*, January 24, 2023

Quoted in “Waiting for Xie Feng: Decoding China’s New Ambassador,” *Politico*, January 19, 2023

Interviewed on *Bu mingbai boke* podcast, January 14, 2023

Interviewed on SiriusXM Business Radio *Wharton Business Daily*, December 12, 2022

Contribution included in “Jiang Zemin, 1926–2022”: A *ChinaFile* Conversation, December 2, 2022

Interviewed in “Joseph Torigian on Making Sense of Chinese Politics,” *The Wire*, November 20, 2022

Quoted in “China Affirms Ties with Russia But Signals That It’s Becoming More Guarded About the War,” *New York Times*, November 16, 2022

Interviewed on *All Things Policy* podcast, November 7, 2022

Interviewed on *DW News* (on 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress), October 31, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping Has Surrounded Himself with Loyalists,” *The Economist*, October 27, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping’s New Leadership Line-Up Spells Trouble for Bilateral Ties,” *Politico*, October 27, 2022

Interviewed on “Episode 23: What China’s National Party Congress Means for the World,” *What China Wants* podcast, October 27, 2022

Quoted in “‘Un país fuerte debe tener un ejército fuerte’: 3 lecciones que sacó Xi Jinping del colapso de la URSS (y cómo marcan su gobierno en China),” BBC News, October 23, 2022

Quoted in “Olaf Scholz Won’t Dump China. Will Europe Ever Learn?,” *Politico*, October 23, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping’s Historic Bid at the Communist Party Congress,” *New Yorker*, October 23, 2022

Quoted in “The Omnipotence of China’s Xi Jinping,” *Der Spiegel*, October 20, 2022

Quoted in “New Title for Xi Stokes Concern of a Mao-Style Personality Cult,” Bloomberg, October 19, 2022

Quoted in “What a Third Term for Xi Jinping Could Mean for China and the World,” NPR, October 19, 2022

Quoted in “The Pomp, Pageantry and Paranoia of China’s Communist Party Congress,” *Washington Post*, October 19, 2022

Quoted in “US-China Ties Hit New Low, Thaw in Now Frozen Ties Unlikely in Near Future,” AFP, August 6, 2022

Quoted in “How to Build a Democratic Dictatorship,” *The Telegraph*, October 17, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Xi Doubles Down in Triumphalist Congress Speech,” AFP, October 17, 2022

Quoted in “Up First,” NPR, October 17, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Xi Jinping Stakes Out Ambitions, with Himself at the Center,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 17, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping’s Quest for Control Over China Targets Even Old Friends,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 16, 2022

Quoted in “China is Holding the Most Important Meeting in Its Political Calendar. Here’s What You Need to Know,” *NBC News*, October 16, 2022

Quoted in “How Xi Jinping Transformed from Privileged Child to Fierce Supporter of the Communist Party,” CNN (video), October 16, 2022

Quoted in “China Party Congress: Tracing Xi’s Rise to Power as He Looks to a Third Term,” *Hindustan Times*, October 15, 2022

Interviewed on “Xi Jinping Opens Chinese Communist Party Congress,” BBC Newshour (radio), October 16, 2022

Quoted in “A Sense of Crisis Has Defined Xi’s Rule. It Will Shape China Well into the Future,” CNN, October 14, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Xi Looks to 3rd 5-Year Term as Communist Party Meets,” AP, October 14, 2022

Quoted in “Chinese Museum Celebrates History of Communist Party Founding,” *The World*, October 13, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Xi Jinping Problem,” *Financial Times*, October 12, 2022

Quoted in “Analysis: How China’s Xi Accumulated Power, and Why It Matters in a Third Term,” Reuters, October 11, 2022

Quoted in “Who Is China’s President Xi Jinping?,” *RFI*, October 7, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping’s Quest for Total Control of China Is Just Getting Started,” *Washington Post*, October 5, 2022

Interviewed on *Mingjing* (Chinese language internet television), October 1, 2022

Quoted throughout “The Prince,” *The Economist* podcast series, September 28, 2022

Quoted in “The Unravelling of Vladimir Putin,” *New Statesman*, September 28, 2022

Quoted in “Chinese Politics Has Become Even More of a Black Box under Xi Jinping,” *Globe and Mail*, September 26, 2022

Quoted in “United Front: Understanding China and Russia’s Deepening Alliance,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 20, 2022

Interview on *Departures* podcast, September 19, 2022

Quoted in “Xi and Putin Meet and Pledge to ‘Inject Stability’ in the World,” *Washington Post*, September 15, 2022

Quoted in “When Putin and Xi Meet, It Is Beijing Coming Out on Top,” *NBC News*, September 15, 2022

Quoted in “Challenges for Russia and China Test a ‘No-Limits’ Friendship,” *New York Times*, September 13, 2022

Quoted in “China-Russia Bond Tightens As Moscow Sees Ukraine Setbacks,” AFP, September 13, 2022

Quoted in “Xi’s Next Power Play May Be Age Limits for Everyone But Himself,” Bloomberg, September 12, 2022

Interviewed on *New Books Network* podcast, September 7, 2022

Quoted in “Chinese React to Gorbachev’s Death, Accuse Him of Selling Out to Russia,” *Washington Post*, August 31, 2022

Teaching mentioned in “Xi Jinping’s Radical Secrecy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, August 21, 2022

Quoted in “US-China Ties Hit New Low, Thaw in Now Frozen Ties Unlikely in Near Future,” AFP, August 6, 2022

Interviewed on “Elite Power Struggles in the CCP and USSR,” *ChinaTalk* podcast, July 22, 2022

Interviewed on “Elite Power Struggles after Stalin and Mao,” *The Diplomat*, July 18, 2022

Quoted in “China and Russia: Exploring Ties Between Two Authoritarian Powers,” CFR Backgrounder, June 14, 2022

Quoted in “Is China Slowly Turning Its Back to Russia?,” *Newsweek*, June 9, 2022

Quoted in “Beijing Sticks to Xi’s Covid-19 Stance While Endorsing Premier as Economic Fixer,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 2022

Quoted in “‘All the Power Is in His Hands’: Why Xi Jinping Remains Supreme,” *Financial Times*, June 2, 2022

Interviewed on “How to Win a Power Struggle,” *Historically Thinking* podcast, May 23, 2022

Quoted in “In Xi’s Big Year, Political Price of China’s Pandemic Policy Climbs,” AFP, May 22, 2022

Quoted in “Political Stakes High as Beijing Responds to Virus Outbreak,” AP, April 29, 2022

Interviewed on “Elite Purges in Marxist-Leninist Regimes,” *Pekingology* podcast, CSIS, April 2022

Quoted in “Warum China als Friedensmakler ausfällt,” *Der Spiegel*, April 14, 2022

Quoted in “Bristling Against the West, China Rallies Domestic Sympathy for Russia,” *New York Times*, April 4, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Ukraine Calculus: Understanding China’s Position in the Ukraine War,” *The Wire*, March 27, 2022

Quoted in “Personal Ties That Bind: How Xi-Putin Relationship Has Evolved,” *Aljazeera*, March 18, 2022

Interview on *The Attitude with Arnie Arnesen*, April 29, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Risks Leaving China Isolated by Backing Putin to Counter US,” Bloomberg, March 21, 2022

Quoted in “La moderata ambiguità di Xi Jinping sulla Guerra,” *Il Manifesto*, March 16, 2022

Quoted in “China’s Goal with Putin Is to Resist U.S. Without Economic Pain,” Bloomberg, March 15, 2022

Quoted in “Xi Jinping Isn’t Siding with Putin over Ukraine,” *Business Insider*, March 10, 2022

Interview on KCBS Radio, March 9, 2022

Quoted in “The Battle for Ukraine Could Test the Limits of Closer Ties Between China and Russia,” NPR, March 4, 2022

Quoted in “Ukraine Invasion Tests the Ties That Bind Putin and Xi,” *New York Times*, February 28, 2022

Quoted in “Dilemmat: Hur länge vägar Kina stötta Putin?,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, February 27, 2022

Quoted in “Why China Hasn’t Picked a Side in the Ukraine-Russia Fight—Yet,” *The Grid*, February 24, 2022

Quoted in “Beijing Weighs How Far to Go in Backing Putin on Ukraine,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 16, 2022

Interviewed on “The History Behind Growing China-Russia Relations: A Conversation with Dr. Joseph Torigan,” *ChinaPower* podcast, CSIS, February 2022

Conducted interview of Chinese historian in “Lin Biao: What Really Happened?,” *ChinaTalk* podcast, February 10, 2022

Quoted in “The Memo: China’s Olympics Get Underway Beneath Shadow of Abuses,” *The Hill*, February 4, 2022

Quoted in “As Putin Heads to Beijing, Russia and China’s Stronger Ties Are a Headache for the U.S.,” *Washington Post*, February 1, 2022

Quoted in “Peu cultivé, arrogant et brutal: qui est vraiment Xi Jinping, le nouveau Mao qui tient la Chine sous sa coupe?,” *L’Obs*, January 29, 2022

Quoted in “How Collapse of the Soviet Union Still Weighs on Chinese Leaders’ Minds 30 Years On,” *South China Morning Post*, January 1, 2022

Research featured on Mingjing television (in Chinese), December 26, 2021

Interview published on SIS News, December 3, 2021 (on article “A New Case for the Study of Individual Events in Political Science”)

Research featured on Mingjing television (in Chinese), December 1, 2021

Quoted in “How Xi Jinping Is Rewriting China’s History to Put Himself at the Center,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 17, 2021

Quoted in “To Steer China’s Future, Xi Is Rewriting Its Past,” *New York Times*, November 7, 2021

Quoted in “The Diary Duel,” *The Wire: China*, September 26, 2021

Quoted in “Rescuing China’s Muzzled Past, One Footnote at a Time (There Are 2,421),” *New York Times*, July 26, 2021

Quoted in “Chinese Tourists Throng ‘Red Tourism’ Sites To Mark Communist Party Centennial,” NPR, July 21, 2021

Interview in *Il Manifesto* (Il Senso di Xi Jinping per la Predestinazione) for special issue on centenary of CCP, July 14, 2021

Interview on *Overnights* with Trevor Chappell, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, July 6, 2021

Quote included in “De Mao à Xi, la Chine Célèbre son Siècle de Parti Communiste,” *Le Devoir* (AFP), June 28, 2021

Quote included in “Tourist Mao: Chinese Flock to Communist Party Historic Sites as Country Prepares to Celebrate 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary,” *The Telegraph*, June 27, 2021

Quote included in “Xi Jinping’s Father and His Trip to Australia Had a Hand in the Birth of China’s Tech Giants,” Australian Broadcasting Corporation, June 23, 2021

Quote included in “Episode 3: Wolf Warrior,” *China Rising* podcast, Global News (Canada), June 11, 2021

Quote included in “China Brazenly Boasts of ‘Aborted’ Revolution to Mark 32 Years Since Tiananmen Square Massacre,” *US News and World Report*, June 4, 2021

Interview on June 4, 1989, Voice of America (in Chinese), June 3, 2021

Quote included on “Episode 1,” *China, If You’re Listening* podcast, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, May 31, 2021

Quote included in “Huawei Calls on an Old Friend, Russia, as U.S. Sanctions Bite Down,” *Washington Post*, May 28, 2021

Research referred to in “Ai Weiwei y Xi Jinping: cara y ceca de la China contemporánea,” *Libertad Digital*, March 19, 2021

Quote included in “Why Are There No Biographies of Xi Jinping?,” *The Atlantic*, January 30, 2021

Quote included in “The Red Capitalist,” *The Wire: China*, January 10, 2021

Quote included in “How the U.S. Misread China’s Xi: Hoping for a Globalist, It Got an Autocrat,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 23, 2020

Interview on “Xi Dada and Daddy: Power, the Party and the President,” *The Little Red Podcast*, November 1, 2020

Quote included in “Zhongguo renyi jubu weixie ri zeng haiwai meiguogongmin fenfen huiguobixian,” Voice of America (in Chinese), October 23, 2020

Quote included in “Dreams of a Red Emperor: The Relentless Rise of Xi Jinping,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 2020

Quote included in “In City Where China Welcomed the World, Xi Prepares for a Colder One,” *New York Times*, October 14, 2020

Quote included in “China’s Xi Lays Out Plan to Build Shenzhen into Global Rival to Troubled Hong Kong,” *Washington Post*, October 14, 2020

Quote included in “China’s Mealtime Appeal Amid Food Supply Worries: Don’t Take More Than You Can Eat,” *Washington Post*, October 5, 2020

Interview on Hong Kong, Voice of America (in Chinese), July 2, 2020

Quote included in “In China-U.S. Showdown, Beijing’s Steely Propagandist Sharpens Her Attack,” *Washington Post*, May

21, 2020

Quote included in “In China’s Crisis, Xi Sees a Crucible to Strengthen His Rule,” *New York Times*, May 20, 2020

Quote included in “China Investigates Property Tycoon Who Criticised Government Over Coronavirus Outbreak,” *The Telegraph*, April 8, 2020

Quote included in “Chinese Mogul Faces Probe for Essay Critical of President Xi’s Coronavirus Handling,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 7, 2020

Interview on Xi Jinping’s father, Mingjing television (in Chinese), February 28, 2020

Interview on Deng Xiaoping, Mingjing television (in Chinese), February 27, 2020

Interview on Xi Jinping’s father and Xinjiang, Mingjing television (in Chinese), December 4, 2019

Quote included in “For China’s Xi, the Hong Kong Crisis Is Personal,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 27, 2019

Quote included in “Why Taiwan Is Unfinished Business for Xi Jinping,” *Financial Times*, September 22, 2019

Research referenced in “As Protests Rock Hong Kong, Xi Jinping’s View of History Shows He Will Dig In,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2019

Interviewed on *The Little Red Podcast*, June 2, 2019

Quote included in “Deng Xiaoping’s Son Urges China to ‘Know Its Place’ in Counterpoint to Xi’s Expansionist Foreign Policy,” *The Telegraph*, October 30, 2018

## AWARDS

University of Michigan August 2025  
Lieberthal-Rogel Center for Chinese Studies Subvention for Scholarly Work

American University May 2023  
School of International Service Outstanding Scholarship, Research, Creative Activity & Other Professional Contributions Award

American University April 2022  
Academic Achievement Awards for Outstanding Performance or Innovation in Online Teaching

APSIA November 2021  
APSIA Junior Faculty Grant

Wilson Center Asia Program March 2021 to March 2022  
China Fellow

American University March 2019  
Dean of Academic Affairs International Travel Award  
Spent one month in China collecting material and conducting interviews

Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation February–June 2016  
Fellow and winner of Goldsmith Research Award (April 2016)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology June and July 2013  
International Science and Technology Initiatives China Seed Fund  
Spent two months in Beijing and Hong Kong interviewing party historians and collecting dissertation material

Massachusetts Institute of Technology June 2012  
Center for International Studies Summer Study Grant  
Spent one month in Beijing interviewing party historians and collecting dissertation material



**TEACHING**

Advisor to masters student writing Substantial Research Paper    Fall 2021, Summer 2022

SIS “Teaching Triangle”    Spring 2021

Teaching featured in “How Graphic Novels Can Inform Military Readiness,” Kelly Gardner, School of International Service News, August 22, 2019

Teaching featured in “Sources Say,” Andrew Erickson, *American University Magazine*, March 2019

School of International Service, American University (as instructor)

- “The Revisionists: Chinese and Russian Politics and Foreign Policy” (juniors and seniors)
- “The Revisionists: Chinese and Russian Politics and Foreign Policy” (masters students)
- “The Scholar as Detective: How to Find and Analyze the Best Sources” (sophomore methods course)
- “Conflict and the Graphic Novel” (first year seminar)
- “Qualitative Methods” (PhD students)

Stanford University (as Hoover History Lab teaching assistant)    March 2024

Global Futures: History, Statecraft, Systems (Stephen Kotkin and Condoleezza Rice)

Massachusetts Institute of Technology    Fall 2012

Teaching assistant for “American Foreign Policy”

Massachusetts Institute of Technology    Spring 2013

Teaching assistant for “Graphic Novels and Political Violence”

**UNIV. SERVICE**

American University    Fall 2022

Search committee for two Changemaker postdocs

American University    Fall 2022 to present

PhD Committee

American University    October 2021 to present

Member of Coordinating Committee

American University    June 2021 to present

Member of Comparative and Regional Studies program

American University    October 2020 to present

Affiliate of Center for Security, Innovation, and New Technology

American University    September 2020 to Spring 2022

Head of Political Violence and Security Cluster

Massachusetts Institute of Technology    Fall 2011 and Fall 2012

Job Search Committee

Massachusetts Institute of Technology    Fall 2011 and Spring 2012

Graduate Student Working Group Coordinator

**PROF. SERVICE**

*Journal of Cold War Studies, International Security, Journal of Historical Sociology, China Review, Security Studies, Journal of Strategic Studies, History of Political Thought, Journal of Contemporary China, Diplomacy & Statecraft, Texas National Security Review, Problems of Post-Communism*

Reviewer