

# Isaac B. Kardon

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## EMPLOYMENT

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- 2023 – Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, DC)  
Senior Fellow for China Studies, Asia Program
- 2016 – 2022 United States Naval War College (NWC) (Newport, RI)  
Assistant Professor (AD-03), Center for Naval Warfare Studies (CNWS)  
Research Faculty, China Maritime Studies Institute (CMSI)  
Producer/Host, *Sea Power* podcast

## OTHER ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS & AFFILIATIONS

- 2023 – Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (Washington, DC)  
Adjunct Professor
- 2017 – Harvard Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies (nonresident)  
Associate in Research
- 2016 – 2017 Princeton University (Princeton, NJ)  
Post-Doctoral Fellow, Princeton-Harvard China & the World Program
- 2013 – 2016 New York University Law School (New York, NY)  
Visiting Scholar, US-Asia Law Institute (2015)
- 2015 Academia Sinica (中央研究院) (Taipei)  
Visiting Scholar, Institute of European and American Studies (欧美研究所)
- 2014 National Institute for South China Sea Studies (国家南海研究院) (Haikou, PRC)  
Visiting Scholar, Fulbright-Hayes Doctoral Research Award (US Dept. of Education)
- 2014 Tsinghua University School of Law (清华大学) (Beijing, PRC)  
Lecturer on UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (Winter 2014-15)
- 2010 – 2015 National Defense University (Washington, DC)  
Research Analyst, Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs (2010-2011)  
Adjunct Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies (2011-2015)

## EDUCATION

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- 2011 – 2016 Cornell University (Ithaca, NY)  
Ph.D. in Government (IR)  
*Dissertation*: “Rising Power, Creeping Jurisdiction: China’s Law of the Sea” (Chair: Katzenstein)

# Isaac B. Kardon

- 2007 – 2009 University of Oxford (Oxford, UK)  
M.Phil in Modern Chinese Studies (St. Antony's College)  
*Thesis*: "China's Tibet" in the Global War on Terror" (with Distinction)
- 2001 – 2005 Dartmouth College (Hanover, NH)  
B.A. in History

## PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

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### BOOKS

- 2024 *Geostrategic Competition and Overseas Military Bases: U.S., Chinese, and Russian Force Posture in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, editor [with Andrew Yeo] Rowman & Littlefield (forthcoming)
- 2023 [\*China's Law of the Sea: The New Rules of Maritime Order\*](#). Yale University Press (March 28).  
- Reviewed in [\*The Economist\*](#), [\*Foreign Affairs\*](#), [\*Foreign Policy\*](#)

### PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL & LAW REVIEW ARTICLES

- 2022 "[China's Global Maritime Access: Alternatives to Basing in the Twenty-First Century](#)." *Security Studies* 31, no. 4, pp. 885-916.
- 2022 "[Pier Competitor: China's Power Position in Global Ports](#)," *International Security* 46, no. 4 (Spring) with Wendy Leutert, pp. 9-47.
- 2021 "[Pier Competitor: Testimony on China's Global Ports](#)." *Naval War College Review* 74, no. 1 (Winter), pp. 128-152.
- 2018 "[China Can Say 'No': Analyzing China's Rejection of the South China Sea Arbitration](#)." *Asian Law Review* 13, no. 2 (Spring), pp. 1-46.

### BOOK & SPECIAL ISSUE CHAPTERS

- 2022 "[China's Ports in Africa](#)." In *In(Roads) and Outposts: Critical Infrastructure in China's Africa Strategy*, edited by Nadège Rolland. *NBR Special Report*, no. 98 (Washington, DC: NBR Press).
- 2021 "China's 'New Era' of Influence in Pakistan: Counterterrorism and the Limits of the 'All-Weather' Partnership." In *Wilson China Fellows: Essays on the Rise of China and its Implications*, edited by Abraham Denmark and Lucas Myer (Washington, DC: Wilson Center Press).
- 2021 "China's Overseas Base, Places, and Far Seas Logistics." In [\*The PLA Beyond Borders: Military Activities Outside the PRC\*](#), edited by Phillip C. Saunders, et al. (Washington, DC: NDU Press).
- 2020 "China-US Flashpoints in Maritime East Asia in the New Era." In [\*China-US-Europe Relations in a New Era\*](#), edited by Robert Ross and Øystein Tunjso (London: Routledge).
- 2015 "Domesticating Public International Maritime Law: China and Global Maritime Norms and Practices." In [\*China's Socialist Rule of Law: Deepening Reforms, International Implications\*](#), edited by John Garrick and Yan Bennett (London: Routledge).

# Isaac B. Kardon

- 2015 “[Reconsidering the People’s Liberation Army as an Interest Group](#)” [with Phillip C. Saunders]. In *The PLA Role in Chinese National Security Policy*, edited by Phillip C. Saunders and Andrew Scobell (Stanford University Press).
- 2013 “[Oil for the Lamps of China: Managing Uncertainty and Vulnerability in World Energy Markets](#).” *Journal of Global Policy and Governance* 2, no. 2.

## POLICY & OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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### REPORTS, ESSAYS & SPECIALIZED WRITING

- 2024 “[China is Trying to Have It Both Ways in the Middle East](#)” with Jennifer Kavanagh. *New York Times* (26 January 2024).
- 2023 “[Why China, Not the U.S., Is Making the Rules for Deep Sea Mining](#).” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (December 19).
- 2023 “[China’s Port Power](#)” with Wendy Leutert. *Foreign Affairs* (May 2022); winner of [Perry World House Foreign Affairs Prize](#).
- 2023 “[Geostrategic Competition for Military Basing in the Indian Ocean Region](#).” *Brookings Institution* (February).
- 2020 “[Gwadar: China’s Potential Strategic Strongpoint in Pakistan](#).” *CMSI China Maritime Report*, no. 7 (August) with Peter Dutton and Conor Kennedy.
- 2020 “[Djibouti: China’s First Overseas Strategic Strongpoint](#).” *CMSI China Maritime Report*, no. 6 (April) with Peter Dutton and Conor Kennedy.
- 2018 “[Defusing the South China Sea Disputes: A Regional Blueprint](#)” [with CSIS Expert Working Group on the South China Sea]. *CSIS Report* (October).
- 2018 “[Continuing to Confront China: Trump’s Approach to Maritime Security in East Asia](#)” [with Peter Dutton]. *Global Asia* 12, no. 4.
- 2017 “[Forget the FONOPs – Just Fly, Sail, and Operate Wherever International Law Allows](#)” [with Peter Dutton]. *Lamfare* (June 10).
- 2015 “[The Other Gulf of Tonkin Incident: China’s Forgotten Maritime Compromise](#).” *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative (AMTI) Analysis* (October 21).
- 2015 “[The Enabling Role of UNCLOS III in PRC Maritime Policy](#).” *AMTI Analysis* (September 11).
- 2015 “[Maritime Rights and Interests](#).” *AMTI Analysis* (July 16).
- 2014 “[Hainan Revises Fishing Regulations in the South China Sea: New Language, Old Ambiguities](#).” *Jamestown Foundation China Brief* 14, no. 2 (January 17).
- 2013 “[How Great is ‘Great’? A Perspective on the ‘New Type of Great Power Relations’ Between China and the United States](#).” *Journal of East Asia & International Law* 6, no. 2 [with Zhang Xinjun].

# Isaac B. Kardon

- 2011 “[China and Pakistan: Emerging Strains in the Entente Cordiale](#).” *Project 2049 Institute* (March).
- 2011 “[China’s Out of Area Naval Operations](#)” [with Chris Yung, Ross Rustici, and Joshua Wiseman]. *China Strategic Perspectives*, No. 3 (NDU Press)
- 2010 “[China’s Emerging Debate on Military Transparency](#).” *Jamestown Foundation China Brief* vol. X, no. 18 (September 10).

## CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

- 2023 “[Rule by Law: China’s Increasingly Global Legal Reach](#),” Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (May).
- 2023 “[China’s Military Diplomacy and Overseas Security Activities](#),” Statement for the Record before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (January).
- 2020 “[China’s Military Power Projection and US National Interests](#),” Hearing in US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Testimony on “Panel II: Building an Expeditionary Force: Hardware, Logistics, and Bases,” February 20, Rayburn House Office Building, US Capitol.
- 2019 “[A ‘World-Class’ Military: Assessing China’s Global Military Ambitions](#),” Hearing in US-China Economic and Security Review Commission. Testimony on “Panel III: Building a World-Class Military: Missions, Modernization, and Bases.” June 20, Rayburn Office Building, US Capitol.

## PODCASTS & BOOK REVIEWS

- 2022 – [Sea Power](#) podcast. NWC Center for Naval Warfare Studies. *Producer and host of new series showcasing scholars and practitioners of maritime and naval strategy and operations.*
- 2024 “Gregory Poling, *On Dangerous Ground: America’s Century in the South China Sea*.” *Naval War College Review* 76, no. 1 (January/February).
- 2022 “William Hurst, *Ruling Before the Law: The Politics of Legal Regimes in China and Indonesia*.” *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 27, no. 3 (September).

## TEACHING

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- 2023 – “China’s Maritime Power and Asian Maritime Order” seminar, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (Washington, DC)
- 2023 – Johns Hopkins Institute for Rising Leaders (seminar lecturer)
- 2023 – Department of State, Foreign Studies Institute, Transportation Course (seminar lecturer)
- 2023 – George Washington University, Foreign Area Officer Regional Skill Sustainment Course (lecturer)
- 2023 – General officer pre-deployment acculturation course (**GOPAC**), U.S. Air Force (briefer)

# Isaac B. Kardon

- 2016 – 2022 “Governing China: The Chinese Party-State and PRC Foreign Policy” seminar, U.S. Naval War College (Newport, RI)
- 2016 – 2022 Lectured on PRC national security, maritime affairs, cross-Strait relations, Chinese Communist Party organization and strategy, and other China/Asia international security subjects to students and faculty in NWC programs, incl. Maritime Advanced Warfighting School seminars, Office of Naval Intelligence, International Programs (Germany, Ghana, Mexico, Peru, Bahrain), and various professional military education (PME) course components
- 2016 – Brief Navy, DOD, Joint, and interagency leadership on PRC maritime strategy
- 2016 – 2018 Visiting Lecturer, “Chinese Attitudes Toward International Law,” NYU School of Law
- 2014 – 2015 Visiting Lecturer, “The International Law of the Sea,” Tsinghua Law School
- 2013 Chinese Foreign Policy (TA for Allen Carlson), Cornell University
- 2012 – 2013 Advanced International Political Economy (TA for Peter Katzenstein), Cornell University

## **INTENSIVE CHINESE LANGUAGE TRAINING**

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- 2014 Advanced Mandarin-language research study, Hainan University
- 2012 Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies, Tsinghua University
- 2009 National Taiwan Normal University, Language Certificate
- 2008 Peking University, Language Certificate
- 2007 – 2009 Oxford University, Center for Chinese Studies

## **AWARDS, SCHOLARSHIPS & FELLOWSHIPS**

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- 2022 Perry World House Foreign Affairs Emerging Scholars Global Policy Prize, U. Pennsylvania
- 2022 Civilian Service Achievement Award, United States Department of the Navy
- 2020 – 2021 Wilson China Fellow (non-resident), Wilson Center for International Scholars
- 2019 – 2021 Public Intellectuals Program Fellow (VI), National Committee on US-China Relations
- 2019 National Asia Research Program Fellow, National Bureau of Asian Research
- 2015 – 2016 Sage Fellowship, Cornell University
- 2014 – 2015 New Generation China Scholarship, University of Chicago
- 2014 – 2015 Jeffrey S. Lehman Fund for Scholarly Exchange With China, Cornell University
- 2013 – 2014 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award, US Department of Education
- 2013 Lee Teng-Hui Fellowship in World Affairs, Cornell University
- 2013 Reppy Institute Graduate Fellowship, Cornell University
- 2013 Lam Family Travel Grant, Cornell University
- 2012 Foreign Languages and Area Studies Fellowship, United States Department of Education

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2011 – 2012	Sage Fellowship, Cornell University
2009	MTC Scholarship, National Taiwan Normal University
2009	M.Sc Modern Chinese Studies Research Award, University of Oxford
2008 – 2009	Carr & Stahl Funds, University of Oxford
2004	Richter Memorial Research Grant, Dartmouth College

## OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE & AFFILIATIONS

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2017 – 2023	Term Member, Council on Foreign Relations
2015 –	Member, National Committee on US-China Relations
2013	Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS)
2013 –	Track 2 Participant, Maritime Disputes Dialogue, National Committee on US-China Relations
2012 – 2014	Track 1.5 Rapporteur, US-China Maritime Security Dialogue, Stanford University

## ACADEMIC SERVICE

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Peer Reviewer: *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *World Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Studies Review*, *Naval War College Review*, *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*, *Journal of Chinese Political Science*

Advisory Board Member: CSIS *Interpret: China* (2021 –)

Review Board Member: *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, Air War College (2018 –)

## LANGUAGES

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Mandarin: Advanced reading (professional proficiency in research); intermediate speaking and writing

Italian: Advanced reading; intermediate speaking and writing

Spanish: Advanced reading; intermediate speaking and writing

## MEDIA APPEARANCES

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### VIDEO

“[How the U.S. is Trying to Block China’s Control of Ports Around the Globe](#),” *Wall Street Journal* (11 May 2023)

“[US vs. China: Military Bases Reveal Strategies to Extend Global Reach](#),” *Wall Street Journal* (20 October 2022)

### PODCAST

“[China’s Law of the Sea](#),” *China in the World Podcast*, Carnegie China (October 2023)

# Isaac B. Kardon

- [“China’s Law of the Sea,”](#) *Horns of a Dilemma*, University of Texas at Austin (October 2023)
- [“China’s Law of the Sea: The New Rules of Maritime Order,”](#) National Committee on US-China Relations podcast, with Bonnie Glaser (host) (May 2023)
- “Raport o stanie świata” [State of the World Report], Polish foreign affairs podcast (November 2022)
- [“China’s Power Position in Global Ports,”](#) guest on *Pekingology* podcast, CSIS, 19 May 2022
- [“China’s Investment in Global Ports and PRC Strategy with Dr. Isaac Kardon,”](#) guest on *China Global Podcast*, German Marshall Fund, 20 July 2021
- [“String of Pearls, Djibouti & Gwadar Part II,”](#) guest on *Dragon Road* podcast, Tabad Lab, 4 July 2021
- [“China’s Strategic Strongpoints Part I,”](#) guest on *Dragon Road* podcast, Tabad Lab, 24 June 2021

## PRESS CLIPS

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[to update]

- Niharika Mandhana, [“China’s Global Port Investments Give Rise to Security Worries,”](#) 13 November 2022
- Friederike Böge, [“Tollerort als ‘warnendes Beispiel,’”](#) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 October 2022
- Deirdre Kirsten Tatlow, [“China’s Stake in World Ports Sharpens Attention on Political Influence,”](#) *Newsweek*, 9 October 2022
- Phelim Kline, [“China’s median line violations suggest Taiwan ‘decapitation’ rehearsal,”](#) *Politico*, 1 September 2022
- Kathrin Hille, [“China denies building naval bases but fear of its military reach grows,”](#) *Financial Times*, 19 June 2022
- Eliot Chen, [“China’s Africa Assets,”](#) *The Wire: China*, 22 May 2022
- [“Ace of Bases: China is on a path to becoming a global military power; that path goes through Africa,”](#) *The Economist*, 20 May 2022
- [“China wants to increase its military presence abroad,”](#) *The Economist*, 5 May 2022
- Dan Michaels, [“China’s Growing Access to Global Shipping Data Worries US,”](#) *Wall Street Journal*, 20 December 2021
- [“America worries about China’s military ambitions in Africa: China’s navy is eyeing the use of ports abroad, including on the Atlantic,”](#) *The Economist*, 9 December 2021

## SELECTED PUBLIC TALKS

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*China’s Law of the Sea* book talks: Cornell University (February 2023), Columbia University (March 2023), Brown University (March 2023), University of Pennsylvania (March 2023), Princeton University (March 2023), Moses Brown Middle School (April 2023), Harvard University (April 2023), University of Texas at Austin (April 2023), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (May 2023), NYU School of Law (May 2023), Office of Naval Intelligence (June 2023), Lawrence Livermore National Lab (July 2023), Naval

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Postgraduate School (September 2023), University of Maryland (September 2023), Johns Hopkins SAIS (October 2023), University of Virginia (February 2024)

US Dept. of State, Embassy New Delhi, “US Speaker Program” talks at University of Goa, University of Madras, Mumbai University, and Center for China Studies (November – December 2022)

Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, *5<sup>th</sup> India Forum on China* (November 2022)

National Defence College, Abu Dhabi, “China’s Ports in the Indian Ocean Region” (September 2022)

National Bureau of Asian Research, “Into Africa: China’s Emerging Strategy” (September 2022)

US Dept. of State, Regional China Officers program, “China’s Ports in Europe and the Middle East” (June 2022)

US Dept. of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, “China’s Global Port Strategy” (March 2022)

Georgetown University International Theory and Research Seminar, “China’s Power Position in Global Ports” [with Wendy Leutert] (February 2022)

Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, “China and Israel under Great Power Competition” (November 2021)

University of Haifa, Maritime Strategy and Policy Research Center “Pier Competitor: China’s Power Position in Global Ports” (November 2021)

National Defence College, Abu Dhabi, “China’s Shifting Sands in the Middle East” (November 2021)

Boston University, Assessing China’s Belt and Road Initiative lecture series, “Economic and Security Aspects of China’s Global Port Development” (October 2021)

National Committee on US-China Relations, “High Stakes on the High Seas: The South China Sea Under President Biden” [with Yan Yan and Richard Heydarian] (July 2021)

Wilson Center China Fellowship Conference, “China’s ‘New Era’ of Influence in Pakistan” (March 2021)

NYU School of Law, Chinese Attitudes Toward International Law, lecture on “China and the UNCLOS Negotiations” (February 2021)

NWC Foundation, Newport Lecture Series, “Pier Competitor: China’s Overseas Port Expansion” (January 2021)

Catholic University, Comparative Great Power Basing Workshop, “China’s Global Maritime Access: National and International Drivers for Basing” (December 2020)

American Political Science Association, Panel on Globalizing China: Drivers and Consequences of Authoritarian Power Projection, International Political Economy Division, “Power Projection and China’s Growing Global Port-Folio” (September 2020)

Indo-Pacific Command, China Strategic Focus Group, “China’s Expeditionary Logistics Capabilities from Commercial Ports Overseas” (April 2020)

US-China Economic & Security Review Commission, Hearing on “China’s Military Power Projection and US National Interests,” Testimony for Building an Expeditionary Force panel (February 2020)



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National Committee on US-China Relations, Young China Professionals, “Port Authority: China’s Ambition in the Indo-Pacific” (February 2020)

“PLA Beyond Borders,” RAND Corporation, National Defense University, Council of Advanced Policy Studies (Taiwan) Annual PLA Conference, “China’s Overseas Base, Places, and Far Seas Logistics” (November 2019)

Harvard University, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, “Pier Competitor: China’s Global Port Expansion,” Critical Issues Confronting China Series (September 2019)

US-China Economic & Security Review Commission, Hearing on “A World-Class Military: Assessing China’s Global Military Ambitions,” Testimony for Missions, Modernization and Bases panel (June 2019)

NBR Asia Policy Assembly, “China’s Strategic Strongpoints: Overseas Ports and Maritime Power” (June 2019)

Peking University, School of International Studies, China’s Foreign Policy and China-US Relations in a New Era workshop, “Security Flashpoints: Mitigating Conflicts and Sustaining Peace in East Asia” (June 2019)

China Maritime Studies Institute Annual Conference, “China’s Strategic Strongpoints: PRC-Invested and -Operated Ports, Places, and Base” (May 2019)

Johns-Hopkins SAIS, Asian Maritime Interests and Strategies, Prof. Michael Chase MA course, guest lecture on “Regional Responses to China’s Rise as a Maritime Power” (April 2019)

International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Foreign Policy Analysis roundtable, Peace Studies, “Events Data and the Study of Maritime and Territorial Disputes in the Asia-Pacific” (March 2019)

American Political Science Association, Panel on China’s Military Politics, International Security Division, “White Hulls in Gray Zones: Military Missions for China’s Civilian Coastguard” (September 2018)

Yale University, Yale NROTC Leadership Conference, Panel on South China Sea, “Maritime Disputes in East Asia” [with RDML Joey Dodgen, Deputy Commander USN Seventh Fleet] (April 2018)

Renmin University, School of International Studies, Department of Politics lecture, “Open and Closed Maritime Orders: Comparing the US and China in the East Asian Littoral” (March 2018)

Peking University, Center for International Security and Peace Studies, Workshop on Andrew Marshall, Net Assessment, and the US National Defense Strategy: Implications for China-US-Japan Relations and the Asia-Pacific Security, “Strategic Competence and the NDS and NSS of the Trump Administration” (March 2018)

NYU School of Law, 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Timothy A. Gelatt Memorial Dialogue, “The SCS Arbitration’s Continuing Consequences for East Asian Maritime Order” (November 2017)

Brown University, Watson Institute for Public and International Affairs, “Rising Power Creeping Jurisdiction: China’s Law of the Sea” (November 2017)

University of California-San Diego, Trump in Asia: A One-Year Retrospective Workshop, “Continuing to Confront China: Trump’s Approach to Maritime Security in East Asia” (October 2017)

## Isaac B. Kardon

Yale University, Institute for Strategic Studies seminar series, “Rising Power Creeping Jurisdiction: China’s Law of the Sea” (September 2017)

Center for Strategic and International Studies, 7<sup>th</sup> Annual South China Sea Conference (July 2017)

USS Lake Erie, Regional Security Education Program, “China’s Maritime Disputes in East Asia” (May 2017)

NYU Law, Chinese Attitudes Toward International Law Seminar, “China and Vietnam: Border Negotiations and Maritime Boundary and Fisheries Settlement” (April 2017)

Princeton University, China & the World Program Speaker Series, “Rising Power, Creeping Jurisdiction: China’s Law of the Sea” (March 2017)

University of Pennsylvania School of Law, Asian Law Review Symposium (February 2017)

Soochow University School of Law, International Conference on the South China Sea Disputes and International Law, “PRC Attitudes Toward the UNCLOS and International Law” (April 2016)

Center for Naval Analyses, China as a Maritime Power Conference, “China’s Maritime Rights and Interests: Organizing to Become a Maritime Power” (July 2015)

Tsinghua University School of Law, Public International Graduate Seminar, “Chinese and American Views on Maritime Law and Order: Not an Open and Shut Case” [in Chinese] (January 2015)

Peking University and Linyi University, China's Maritime Rights and the Peace and Stability of the South China Sea Symposium, “The 9-Dash Line and International Law” [in Chinese] (June 2012)

RAND Corporation, Center for Advanced Policy Studies, and National Defense University, Conference on the PLA Role in China’s National Security Policymaking, “Reconsidering the PLA as an Interest Group” (November 2011)