

Bates Gill  
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## Biography

Dr Bates Gill has a 30-year career as a scholar, policy advisor and author, focusing on Asia-Pacific politics, foreign policy and security, with a particular focus on China and U.S.-China relations. He has held leadership, research and academic positions with some of the world's leading institutions and universities, including the Brookings Institution, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Johns Hopkins University, the University of Sydney, and the Australian National University.

He has published eight books and over 150 other publications, including most recently *China Matters: Getting it Right for Australia* (Black Inc/LaTrobe University Press, 2017)(with Linda Jakobson). His current research projects include a focus on China's foreign policy under Xi Jinping to be published as a major book with Oxford University Press in 2022.

## Current and recent positions

### Honorary Professor

Professor  
Department of Security Studies and Criminology  
Macquarie University  
3 Jan 2023 → present

### Inaugural Scholar in Residence

Asia Society Australia  
Australia  
1 Oct 2020 → 1 Dec 2021

### Chair, Board of Directors

China Policy Centre  
1 Jan 2020 → present

### Senior Associate Fellow

Royal United Services Institute (RUSI, London)  
United Kingdom  
1 Jan 2020 → present

### Associate Fellow

Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House)  
1 Jan 2014 → 1 Jan 2019

### Editorial Board member

China Quarterly  
1 Jan 2012 → present

### Member, International Advisory Board

Shanghai Institutes of International Studies  
1 Dec 2010 → present

### Editorial Board member

Security Challenges  
1 Jan 2010 → present

### **Governing Board member**

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), NTU  
Singapore  
1 Jan 2009 → present

### **Member**

Council on Foreign Relations  
United States  
1 Jan 2000 → present

### **Editorial Board member**

Journal of Contemporary China  
1 Jan 1998 → present

## **Selected research outputs**

### **Key trends and drivers in military modernization in the Indo-Pacific: implications for Australia and responses**

Gill, B., Lim, Y-H., Levesque, A., Lockyer, A., Smith, F., Roy-Chaudhury, R., Solanki, V. & Tan, A. T. H., Sept 2022, Macquarie University. 111 p.

### **Daring to struggle: China's global ambitions under Xi Jinping**

Gill, B., 3 Jun 2022, New York: Oxford University Press. 320 p.

### **The Party and external relations**

Gill, B., 2022, (Accepted/In press) *The Party leads all: the evolving role of the Chinese Communist Party*. deLisle, J. & Yang, G. (eds.). Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press

### **The regional security environment**

Gill, B., 2022, (Accepted/In press) *The international relations of Asia*. Shambaugh, D. (ed.). 3rd ed. Lanham, Maryland, USA: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers

### **Exploring post-INF arms control in the Asia-Pacific: China's role in the challenges ahead**

Gill, B., Jun 2021, London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies. 9 p.

### **Organization of China's strategic forces**

Gill, B., 2021, *China's strategic arsenal: worldview, doctrine and systems*. Smith, J. M. & Bolt, P. J. (eds.). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, p. 159-193 35 p.

### **The common interests that bind the United States and Australia**

Gill, B., 2021, *The future of the United States-Australia alliance : evolving security strategy in the Indo-Pacific*. McDonald, S. D. & Tan, A. T. H. (eds.). London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 83-102 20 p. (Europa Regional Perspectives).

### **China in the COVID world: continuing challenges for a rising power**

Gill, B., Nov 2020, Rome: NATO Defense College. 4 p. (NDC Policy Reports; no. 20)

### **China's plans to dominate Taiwan will intensify**

Gill, B., 1 Oct 2020, The Australian Financial Review.

### **The ambitious reform plans of the People's Liberation Army: progress, prospects and implications for Australia**

Gill, B., Ni, A. & Blasko, D., 21 Aug 2020, In: Australian Journal of Defence and Strategic Studies. 2, 1, p. 5-26 22 p.

**Assessing the ambitious reforms of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: progress, problems and prospects**  
Gill, B., Jun 2020, United Service, 71, 2, p. 9-12 4 p.

**China's global influence: post-COVID prospects for soft power**  
Gill, B., Jun 2020, In: Washington Quarterly. 43, 2, p. 97-115 19 p.

**Assessing the ambitious reform plans of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: progress and challenges**  
Blasko, D., Gill, B., Ni, A. & Schreer, B., 31 Mar 2020, 117 p.

**Assessing the ambitious reforms of the People's Liberation Army: progress, problems, and prospects**  
Gill, B., Ni, A., Schreer, B. & Blasko, D., Mar 2020, 117 p.

**Bounded engagement: charting a new era in Australia-China relations**  
Gill, B., Dec 2019, In: Disruptive Asia. 3, p. 3-6 4 p.

**First salvo: missile tests mark intensified US-China competition**  
Gill, B., 5 Jul 2019, The Interpreter.

**Xi Jinping's grip on power is absolute, but there are new threats to his 'Chinese dream'**  
Gill, B., 28 Jun 2019, The Conversation. Academic rigour, journalistic flair.

**The People's Liberation Army Strategic Support Force: update 2019**  
Ni, A. & Gill, B., 29 May 2019, China Brief, 19, 10 13 p.

**Bounded engagement: charting a new course in Australia-China relations**  
Gill, B., 14 Mar 2019, In: Australian Financial Review.

**Tokyo may be happy about Hanoi, but has a lot more to worry about**  
Gill, B., 12 Mar 2019, The Interpreter.

**President Trump: in talks with Kim, don't abandon Japan**  
Gill, B., 25 Feb 2019, PacNet Commentary, 15 2 p.

**China's sweeping military reforms: implications for Australia**  
Gill, B. & Ni, A., 2019, In: Security challenges. 15, 1, p. 33-45 13 p.

**The People's Liberation Army Rocket Force: reshaping China's approach to strategic deterrence**  
Gill, B. & Ni, A., 2019, In: Australian Journal of International Affairs. 73, 2, p. 160-180 21 p.

**After APEC, Australia remains caught between the US and China**  
Gill, B., 23 Nov 2018, Chatham House Expert Comment.

**China's New Missile Force: New Ambitions, New Challenges (Part 2)**  
Gill, B. & Ni, A., 19 Sept 2018, In: China Brief. 18, 15, 4 p.

**Australia's political division at home undermines its leadership abroad**  
Gill, B., 3 Sept 2018, Chatham House Expert Comment.

**Why did Australia block Huawei, ZTE from 5G rollout?**  
Gill, B. & Wyeth, G., 28 Aug 2018, The Diplomat.

**China's New Missile Force: New Ambitions, New Challenges (Part 1)**

Ni, A. & Gill, B., 10 Aug 2018, In: China Brief. 18, 14, 4 p.

**Countering China's "united front"**

Gill, B. & Schreer, B., 6 Jul 2018, In: Washington Quarterly. 41, 2, p. 155-170 16 p.

**The global dimension of China's influence operations**

Gill, B. & Schreer, B., 11 Apr 2018, The Strategist.

**The questions of Chinese influence at the heart of Australia's security reforms**

Gill, B., 6 Feb 2018, In: World politics review.

**US allies aren't buying its new strategies to confront China**

Gill, B., 5 Feb 2018, The Diplomat.

**Expect a shakeup of China's military elite at the 19th Party Congress**

Gill, B. & Ni, A., 16 Oct 2017, The Conversation. Academic rigour, journalistic flair.

**Strategic opportunity lost? Where is the White House on Southeast Asia?**

Gill, B., 27 Sept 2017, PacNet Commentary, 69 2 p.

**Is there a problem with... Chinese International Students?**

Gill, B. & Jakobson, L., 21 Sept 2017, China Matters Ltd. 4 p. (China Matters recommends)

**China's "new strategic forces": motivations, missions, and implications of the PLA Rocket Force and PLA Strategic Support Force**

Gill, B., Jun 2017, 100 p.

**Pivotal days: US Asia-Pacific alliances in the early months of the Trump administration**

Gill, B., Jun 2017, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House). 25 p.

**Review: 'By More Than Providence', by Michael Green**

Gill, B., 23 May 2017, In: The Interpreter.

**Donald Trump's big Syria disruption was a much-needed diversion for a summit with no substance**

Gill, B., 9 Apr 2017, Sydney Morning Herald.

**The United States and Asia in 2016: challenges in the region and on the home front**

Gill, B., Feb 2017, In: Asian Survey. 57, 1, p. 10-20 11 p.

**Challenges to US leadership—abroad and at home—portend greater uncertainty for the Asia-Pacific**

Gill, B., 2017, *CSCAP regional security outlook 2017*. Huisken, R. (ed.). Canberra, Australia: Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, p. 7-9 3 p.

**China matters: getting it right for Australia : what we need to know - for today and tomorrow**

Gill, B. & Jakobson, L., 2017, Collingwood: La Trobe University Press. 214 p.

**China's future under Xi Jinping: challenges ahead**

Gill, B., 2017, In: Political Science. 69, 1, p. 1-15 15 p.

The pivot, past and future  
Gill, B., 1 Dec 2016, *The Diplomat*, 25.

The dynamics of US-China-Southeast Asia relations  
Gill, B., Goh, E. & Huang, C., Jun 2016, Sydney, NSW: United States Studies Centre. 49 p.

The United States and Asia in 2015: across the region, US-China competition intensifies  
Gill, B., Feb 2016, In: *Asian Survey*. 56, 1, p. 8-18 11 p.

The TPA victory: America's place in the Pacific century secured?  
Gill, B. & Switzer, T., 26 Jun 2015, *National Interest*.

The new special relationship: the U.S.-Australia alliance deepens  
Gill, B. & Switzer, T., Feb 2015, In: *Foreign Affairs*.

Admiration, ambivalence, antipathy: the past and future for US-China relations  
Gill, B., 2015, *Handbook of the politics of China*. Goodman, D. S. G. (ed.). Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing, p. 413-425 13 p.

The U.S.-Australia alliance: a deepening partnership in emerging Asia  
Gill, B., 2014, *U.S. alliances and partners at the center of global power*. Tellis, A. J., Denmark, A. M. & Chaffin, G. (eds.). Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, p. 86-116 31 p. (Strategic Asia; vol. 2014-15).

Untapped trilateralism: common economic and security interests of the European Union, the United States and China  
Gill, B. & Small, A., 2014, *China and the EU in context: insights for business and investors*. Brown, K. (ed.). Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 214-250 37 p.

巨龍: 中國新の外交戰略  
Gill, B., 2014, Tokyo: Kashiwashobo. 338 p.

Alliances under austerity: what does America want?  
Gill, B., Sept 2013, Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre. 12 p. (Centre of Gravity; no. 10)

The People's Republic of China  
Gill, B. & Huang, C-H., 2013, *Providing peacekeepers: the politics, challenges, and future of United Nations peacekeeping contributions*. Bellamy, A. J. & Williams, P. D. (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 139-157 19 p.

Trade versus security: how countries balance technology transfers to China  
Cheung, T. M. & Gill, B., 2013, In: *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 13, 3, p. 443-456 14 p.

Introduction: international security, armaments and disarmament  
Gill, B., 2012, *SIPRI yearbook 2012: armaments, disarmament and international security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 3-13 11 p. (SIPRI Yearbook series; vol. 2012).

Diffuse threats, frail institutions: managing security in the new era  
Gill, B., Nov 2010, In: *Current History*. 109, 730, p. 329-335 7 p.

China as an emergent center of global power  
Gill, B., 2010, *Great powers and strategic stability in the 21st century: competing visions of world order*. Herd, G. P. (ed.). London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 137-153 17 p. (Routledge Global Security Studies; no. 16).

Governing the bomb: civilian control and democratic accountability of nuclear weapons  
Born, H. (ed.), Gill, B. (ed.) & Hänggi, H. (ed.), 2010, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 249 p.

Managing tensions and promoting cooperation: US-Europe approaches on security issues with China  
Gill, B., 2010, *US-China-EU relations: managing the new world order*. Ross, R., Tunsjø, Ø. & Tuosheng, Z. (eds.). London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 259-282 24 p. (Asian Security Studies).

China's expanding role in peacekeeping: prospects and policy implications  
Gill, B. & Huang, C., Nov 2009, Solna, Sweden: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). 52 p. (SIPRI Policy Paper; no. 25)

China's evolving approach to multilateralism and global governance: implications for the European union  
Gill, B., 2009, *The Role of the European Union in Asia: China and India as strategic partners*. Gaens, B., Jokela, J. & Limnell, E. (eds.). Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, p. 139-154 16 p.

The United States and the China-Europe relationship  
Gill, B., 2008, *China-Europe relations: perceptions, policies and prospects*. Shambaugh, D., Sandschneider, E. & Hong, Z. (eds.). London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 270-286 17 p.

The tenuous hold of China Inc. in Africa  
Gill, B. & Reilly, J., Jun 2007, In: *Washington Quarterly*. 30, 3, p. 37-52 16 p.

China and HIV - a window of opportunity  
Gill, B. & Okie, S., 3 May 2007, In: *New England Journal of Medicine*. 356, 18, p. 1801-1805 5 p.

China's space odyssey: what the antisatellite test reveals about decision-making in Beijing  
Gill, B. & Kleiber, M., May 2007, In: *Foreign Affairs*. 86, 3, p. 2-6 5 p.

Rising star: China's new security diplomacy  
Gill, B., 2007, Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press. 267 p.

Sources and limits of Chinese 'soft power'  
Gill, B. & Huang, Y., 2006, In: *Survival*. 48, 2, p. 17-36 20 p.

China's evolving regional security strategy  
Gill, B., 2005, *Power shift: China and Asia's new dynamics*. Shambaugh, D. (ed.). Berkeley ; Los Angeles ; London: University of California Press, p. 247-265 19 p.

China as a regional military power  
Gill, B., 2004, *Does China matter? A reassessment: essays in memory of Gerald Segal*. Buzan, B. & Foot, R. (eds.). London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, p. 124-142 19 p.

Chinese military-related think tanks and research institutions  
Gill, B. & Mulvenon, J., Sept 2002, In: *China Quarterly*. 171, p. 617-624 8 p.

China's HIV crisis  
Gill, B., Chang, J. & Palmer, S., 2002, In: *Foreign Affairs*. 81, 2, p. 96-100 5 p.

Twenty years of Chinese reform: the case of non-proliferation policy  
Gill, B., 2001, *Remaking the Chinese state: strategies, society, and security*. Chien-min, C. & Dickson, B. J. (eds.). London ; New York: Routledge, p. 190-203 14 p.

Foreign and domestic influences on China's arms control and nonproliferation policies  
Gill, B. & Medeiros, E. S., Mar 2000, In: *China Quarterly*. 161, p. 67-93 27 p.

Sovereignty, intervention and peacekeeping: the view from Beijing  
Gill, B. & Reilly, J., 2000, In: Survival. 42, 3, p. 41-59 19 p.

Chinese arms exports to Iran  
Gill, B., 1998, In: China Report. 34, 3-4, p. 355-379 25 p.

Current and future challenges facing Chinese defence industries  
Frankenstein, J. & Gill, B., Jun 1996, In: China Quarterly. 146, p. 394-427 34 p.

Japan's export control initiatives: meeting new nonproliferation challenges  
Gill, B., Ebata, K. & Stephenson, M., 1996, In: Nonproliferation Review. 4, 1, p. 30-42 13 p.

Determinants and directions for Chinese weapons imports  
Gill, B., 1995, In: Pacific Review. 8, 2, p. 359-382 24 p.

China looks to Thailand: exporting arms, exporting influence  
Gill, R. B., Jun 1991, In: Asian Survey. 31, 6, p. 526-539 14 p.

## **Recent grants**

### **Honors and fellowships**

#### **Royal Order of the Commander of the Polar Star**

Gill, Bates (Recipient), Apr 2013

#### **Scholar-in-Residence**

Gill, Bates (Recipient), Oct 2020

#### **Senior Associate Fellow, Royal United Services Institute**

Gill, Bates (Recipient), Jan 2020

#### **Sir Howard Kippenberger Chair in Strategic Studies**

Gill, Bates (Recipient), Aug 2016