

**Cristina L. Garafola**  
**Policy Researcher, RAND Corporation**



**Cristina Garafola** is a policy researcher at RAND Corporation. Her research focuses on China's global status, China's defense issues, China's influence on regional actors, and implications for the United States. Ms. Garafola served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 2017 to 2019, where she focused on National Defense Strategy and Indo-Pacific strategy implementation. She has also worked at the Department of the Treasury, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Department of State. She is the co-author of the book *70 Years of the People's Liberation Army Air Force* (2021), published by the China Aerospace Studies Institute. Her work has been published by RAND, the China Maritime Studies Institute, and in *Asian Security*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *War on the Rocks*, and the Jamestown Foundation's *China Brief*.

Ms. Garafola holds an M.A. in China studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), a graduate certificate from the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies, and a B.A. in international relations and Chinese from Hamilton College. She speaks Chinese.

*Ms. Garafola has not previously testified before the Commission.*