

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### **Kenneth Lieberthal**

Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies  
The Brookings Institution  
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Current as of December 2008

#### **Personal Data**

Born September 9, 1943, Asheville, North Carolina  
Married, two children

#### **Education**

B.A. with Distinction, Dartmouth College, 1965  
M.A. and East Asian Institute Certificate, Columbia University, 1968  
Ph. D. Political Science (Comparative Politics), Columbia University, 1972.  
Dissertation Title: *Reconstruction and Revolution in a Chinese  
City: The Case of Tientsin, 1949 - 1953.*

#### **Employment**

##### The Brookings Institution

Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, September 2008 – June 2009  
Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, September 2005-2008  
Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, November – December 2000,  
September 2004 – June 2005

##### The White House (August 1998-October 2000)

Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Senior Director for Asia, National Security Council

## University of Michigan

Professor of Political Science, Fall 1983-present  
Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Political Science, 1995-present  
William Davidson Professor of Business Administration, Ross School of Business, 1995-present  
Distinguished Fellow and Director for China of the William Davidson Institute, 2001-present  
Faculty Associate, Center for Chinese Studies, Fall 1983-present (Center Director, June 1986-December 1989)  
Faculty Associate, William Davidson Institute, 1996-2001  
Faculty Advisory Committee, Michigan Journalism Fellows Program, 1995-1998  
Director, Degree Programs on Chinese Business, 1995-1998  
Director, University of Michigan Program on the Republic of China on Taiwan's Development Experience, 1993-1996  
Faculty Associate, Russian and East European Center, 1984-1997  
Faculty, Global Leadership Program, School of Business Administration, 1990-1996  
Member, Executive Committee, Political Science Department, 1985-86; 1992-94  
Member, Executive Committee, Center for Chinese Studies, 1984-86; 1992-1998; 2001-2004  
Chair, Fund Raising Committee, Center for Chinese Studies, 1990-1998  
Chair, East Asian Challenge Fund Raising Committee, 1991-94  
Member, Strategic Missions Advisory Committee, Davidson Institute on Transitional Economies, School of Business Administration, 1992-93  
Member, Steering Committee, East Asia Business Program, 1986-1991  
Member, Steering Committee on International Studies, 1988-1990  
Member, International Studies Advisory Council, 1989-90  
Chair, Seminar on East Asia and Corporate Strategy, 1986-1988  
Member, Asian Studies Program Committee, 1986-1989  
Visiting Professor of Political Science, Spring 1983  
Post-Doctoral Scholar, Center for Chinese Studies, June-August, 1974, January-June 1975, June-December, 1980  
Visiting Associate Research Scientist, Center for Chinese Studies, June-July 1977

## Swarthmore College

Political Science Department: Instructor, January-August 1972; Assistant Professor, 1972-1975; Associate Professor, 1976-1982. Professor, 1982-1983.  
Chair, Social Science Division, 1982-1983

## Arête Associates, Consultant, 2001-2007

United Nations Association, Consultant, 2002-2003, 2005-2007.  
Department of State, Consultant, 1978-91  
The Kettering Foundation, Consultant, 1989-1998  
Aspen Institute, Consultant, Congressional China Project, 1997-1998  
The Rand Corporation

Social Scientist, September 1975-August 1976  
Consultant, May-August 1975, 1976-1982

The China Group, Consultant, 1982-1985  
China Advisory Group of the Government Research Corporation, Consultant, 1980-1981

## **Languages**

Mandarin Chinese; Russian

## **Fellowships, Grants, and Honors**

Rufus Choate Scholar, 1964-1965  
National Defense Foreign Language Fellowship (Chinese), 1966-1967  
Herbert H. Lehman Graduate Fellowship, 1967-1969  
Reynolds Scholarship, 1969-1970  
NDEA-Related Fulbright Hays Fellowship, 1970  
Contemporary China Studies Committee (of ACLS and SSRC) Grants, 1970-1971, 1973, 1980-1981  
Foreign Area Fellowship, 1971, Summer 1972  
Swarthmore College Faculty Research Grants, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1978, 1980, 1982  
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, 1979  
Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China, 1981  
Mellon Foundation, 1981  
Department of Commerce Grant (\$225,000) on Decision Making in China's Energy Sector, 1984-1986  
Trade Development Program Grant (\$500,000) for a "U.S.-China Automotive Industry Cooperation Project," 1987-1989.  
School of Business Administration (\$20,000) grant for a project on "Multinational Corporate Competition in China," with C.K. Prahalad, 1988.  
Henry Luce Foundation (\$240,000) grant for project on county and sub-county political reform in China (with others), 1988-1998.

National Endowment for the Humanities grant for project on the Formation of the People's Republic of China, 1991-1996  
Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network grant to create a computerized GIS for China (project title: China in Time and Space---"CITAS")  
AMOCO Award for Distinguished University Teaching, 1986  
LS&A Excellence in Education Award, 1991, 1992, 1993  
Joint Committee on Chinese Studies (of ACLS and SSRC) Award for project on the Formation of the People's Republic of China, 1994-95.  
Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University, 1998-99 (declined).  
Runner Up, McKenzie Prize (for best article of the year published in the Harvard Business Review), 1998  
Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution, Nov. – Dec. 2000  
Fellow, Beijing University Political Development and Government Management Research Institute, 2004-2006  
University of Michigan Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award, 2004  
The Bailey Morris-Eck Lecture, Salzburg, Austria, December 8, 2006  
The Rosenfield Lecture, Grinnell College, February 13, 2007  
U.S.-China Exchange Foundation (\$200,000) for “Exploring Opportunities for U.S.-China Cooperation on Climate Change,” Co-PI (with David Sandalow), 2008.  
Core Group, “Initiative for U.S.-China Cooperation on Energy and Climate,” Asia Society, Council on Foreign Relations, and Brookings Institution. \$1,000,000 grant, 2008.  
Appointed Honorary Senior Fellow, Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science, 2008.

### **Current Memberships**

Board of Directors, National Committee on US-China Relations (also on the Board's Program and Executive Committees)  
Board of Directors, US-China Policy Foundation  
Board of Directors, William Davidson Institute  
Senior Director, Stonebridge International, LLC  
Editorial Board, *Asia Policy*  
Editorial Board, *China: An International Journal*  
Editorial Board, *China Economic Review*  
Editorial Board, *China Quarterly*  
Editorial Board, *Foreign Policy Bulletin*  
Editorial Board, *Journal of Contemporary China*  
Editorial Board, *Journal of International Business Education*

International Advisory Board of the East Asian Institute of National University of Singapore, 2003-present  
International Advisory Board, The East West Center (2008-2011)  
World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on the Future of China (2008 – present)  
Board of Advisors, CSIS-IIE China Futures Initiative  
Board of Advisors, Research Center for Contemporary China at Peking University  
Board of Advisors, Center for China in the World Economy, Tsinghua University  
Board of Advisors, National Bureau of Asian Research  
Academic Advisory Group of The US-China Working Group in the U.S. House of Representatives  
Counselor Group, The Pyle Center  
Council on Foreign Relations  
China Advisory Panel, Rio Tinto Corporation, 2004 – present  
Charter Member, United States Asia Pacific Council, 2004-present  
International Institute of Strategic Studies, 2004-present  
Cosmos Club (Washington, D.C.)  
Economic Dinner Group, University of Michigan, 1993-present

### **Selected Past Memberships**

Harvard Overseers' Committee to Visit Asian Studies, 2003-2006  
Fellow of the Beijing University Political Development and Government Management Research Institute, 2003-2005  
Department of Defense Joint Strategy Review Senior Review Panel, 2004-2007  
Editorial Board, *Asian Survey* (1997-2003)  
Board of Advisors, China Vitae Web Site ([www.chinavitae.com](http://www.chinavitae.com)), 2003-2007

### **Publications**

#### Books, Monographs, and Edited Works

*China's Search For Energy Security and Implications for US Policy* (with Mikkal Herberg) (Washington: NBR, April 2006).

*Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, second revised edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004). First edition published in 1995.

*Constructing China: The Interaction of Culture and Economics*, Co-editor (with Shuen-fu Lin and Ernest Young) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies Monograph Series, vol. no. 78, 1997).

*Bureaucracy, Politics and Policy Making in Post-Mao China*, Co-editor (with David M. Lampton) and contributor (Berkeley: U.C. Berkeley Press, 1991).

*Perspectives on Modern China: Four Anniversaries*, Co-editor and contributor (New York: Myron E. Sharpe, 1991).

*Research Guide to Central Party and Government Meetings in China, 1949-1986* (with Bruce Dixon). Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1989.

*Paths to Sino-American Cooperation in the Automotive Sector* (with Michael Flynn, et al.). Washington: United States Trade Development Program, 1989.

*Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes* (with Michel Oksenberg). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

*Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Energy Development* (with Michel Oksenberg). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1986, 400 pp.

Editor and contributor, "China" entry, *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1986), 250 pp.

*Chen Yun's Strategy for China's Development: A Non-Maoist Alternative*. Contributing co-editor with Nicholas Lardy. New York: Myron E. Sharpe, 1982.

*Revolution and Tradition in Tientsin, 1949-52*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.

*The Strategic Triangle: Can the US Play the 'China Card'?* Cologne: Berichte des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien, 1979.

*The Politics of Modernization: Central Committee Documents of the Mid-1970's* which appeared as the Spring - Summer 1979 issue of *Chinese Law and Government*. Editor and contributor,

Editor and contributor (with Edwin Winckler), of the "Domestic Politics" issue of *Contemporary China*, Spring 1979.

*Sino-Soviet Conflict in the 1970's: Its Evolution and Implications for the Strategic Triangle*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1978. Translated into Korean and published in Seoul in 1978.

*Central Documents and Politburo Politics in China*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1978.

*Research Guide to Central Party and Government Meetings in China, 1949-1976.*  
New York: International Arts and Sciences Press (jointly published with The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies), 1976. Serialized in the *International Journal of Politics*, Summer and Fall, 1975.

Co-editor (with Edwin Winckler) of the "China and the Soviet Union" issue of *Contemporary China*, Dec. 1976.

### Book Reviews in the Following Journals

*American Political Science Review*  
*Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*  
*The Business History Review (Harvard)*  
*China Economic Review*  
*China Quarterly*  
*China Review International*  
*Current History*  
*International Affairs*  
*International Studies Review*  
*Journal of Asian and African Studies*  
*Journal of Asian Studies*  
*Journal of Economic Literature*  
*Journal of Politics*  
*The New York Times Book Review*  
*Problems of Communism*  
*Times Literary Supplement*

### Periodical Articles and Chapters in Books

“How Domestic Forces Shape the PRC’s Grand Strategy and Domestic Impact,” in Ashley Tellis and Michael Wills, *Strategic Asia 2007-08* (Seattle and Washington, DC: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2007), pp. 29-68.

“Scorched Earth: Will Environmental Risks in China Overwhelm its Opportunities?” (with Elizabeth Economy) *Harvard Business Review* (June 2007), pp. 88-96.

“Smooth Sailing: The Myths and Realities of Sea Lane Security” (with Dennis Blair) *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2007), pp. 1-6.

"China's Strategies and Goals toward Northeast Asia," *Asia Policy* 3 (January 2007), pp. 65-70.

“Completing WTO Reforms,” *China Business Review* (September – October 2006), pp. 50-56.

“Why the US Malaise Over China?” YaleGlobal Online (January 19, 2006): <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=6842>

“Bridging the Gap,” *Asia Policy* 1 (January 2006), pp. 7-15.



“中美关系：无近忧，有远虑” (US-China relations: long-term over near term concerns), *财经* (*Caijing* – Finance and Economics) (December 2005).

“Preventing a War Over Taiwan,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, No. 2 (March-April 2005), pp. 53-63.

“The Coming Crisis Over Intellectual Property Rights,” *Harvard Business Review* (February 2005), pp. 44-47.

“US-China Relations in the Wake of the 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and Tenth National People’s Congress,” in Chu, Lo, and Myers (eds), *The New Chinese Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities after the 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 180-197.

“China Tomorrow: The Great Transition,” (with Geoffrey Lieberthal), *Harvard Business Review* (October 2003), pp. 70-81.

“负责任的公民” (Responsible citizenship), *美国研究季刊* (American Studies Quarterly) vol. 7 (Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Summer 2003).

“China in 2033,” *China Business Review* (March-April 2003), 42-49. Reprinted in *China Review* 25 (Summer 2003).

“Progress on the Korean Peninsula: What Are the Prospects?” in E. Kwan Choi, E. Han Kim, and Yesook Merrill (eds.), *North Korea in the World Economy* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 2-5.

"The Challenges of Reform in China," *Daxiyangguo- Portuguese Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Lisbon: Instituto do Oriente, November 2002), pp. 35-43.

“The US in Asia: Changing Agendas,” *Asian Survey* (January-February 2002), 1-13.

“China’s WTO Entry: The Challenge of Transformation,” *Global Perspectives* (Winter 2002), 2-11.

“US Policy Toward China,” Brookings Policy Brief #72 (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, March 2001).

“The End of Corporate Imperialism” (with C.K. Prahalad), *Harvard Business Review* (July-August 1998), pp. 68-79. Reprinted, *inter alia*, in *HBR* (August-September 2003).

“The Ties That Bind,” *The China Business Review* (May-June 1998), pp. 10-16.

“China’s Governing System and Its Impact on Environmental Policy Implementation,” China Environmental Series (Washington, D.C.: The Woodrow Wilson Center, 1997).

“Domestic Forces and Sino-U.S. Relations,” in Ezra Vogel (ed.), *Living With China: U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 254-276.

“WTO, MFN and US-China Relations,” in *NBR Analysis*, vol. 8, No. 4 (*Promoting U.S. Interests in China: Alternatives to the Annual MFN Review*) (Seattle: July 1997), 23-37.

“The Hong Kong Factor in Sino-U.S. Relations,” in *Hong Kong’s Transition* (New York: The Asia Society, April 1997), pp. 25-36.

“Post-July 1997 Challenges,” in Warren I. Cohen & Li Zhao (eds.), *Hong Kong Under Chinese Rule: The Economic and Political Implications of Reversion*. NY & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997, pp. 229-244.

“Politics and Economics in China,” in *China’s Economic Future: Challenges to U.S. Policy* (Washington, D.C., Joint Economic Committee, 1996).

"A New China Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* (November 1995), pp. 2-15--reprinted in *Agenda 1996: Critical Issues in Foreign Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996) and in *The New Shape of World Politics: Contending Paradigms in International Relations* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1997).

"The Future of U.S.-China Relations: A Proposal for a Sustainable, Bipartisan Policy," New York: Council on Foreign Relations, May 1994.

"China: The Three Gorges Dam Project," in Guy Olivier Faure and Jeffrey Rubin (eds.) *Culture and Negotiation*, (Sage Publications, 1993), pp. 176-195.

"The Collapse of the Communist World and Mainland China's Foreign Affairs," in Bih-jaw Lin (ed.), *Contemporary China and the Changing International Community* (Taipei: Institute of International Relations 1993), pp. 279-296. Also in: *Issues and Studies*, 28:9 (September 1992), 1-21.

"Hong Kong Scenarios," *China Business Review* (August-September 1992).

- "The Future of Hong Kong," *Asian Survey* (July 1992), pp. 666-682.
- "China In the Year 2000: Politics and International Security," *The Future of China* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 1992), pp. 13-22.
- "The Fragmented Authoritarianism Model and Its Limitations," in K. Lieberthal and David M. Lampton (eds.), *Bureaucracy, Politics, and Decision Making in Post-Mao China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 1-30.
- "China's Political System in the 1990's," *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, X:1 (Spring 1991), pp. 71-78.
- "The Dynamics of Internal Policies," in *China's Dilemmas in the 1990's: The Problems of Reforms, Modernization, and Interdependence* (Washington: U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, 1991), pp. 15-28.
- "1989: A Year of Great Significance," in Anthony Kane (ed.), *1990 China Briefing* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), pp. 9-24.
- "Multinational Corporate Investment in China" (with C.K. Prahalad), *China Business Review* (March-April 1989).
- "Implications of China's Political Situation for ASEAN," in Joyce Kallgren (ed.), *ASEAN and China: An Evolving Relationship* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1988), pp. 3-21
- "The Great Leap Forward and the Split in the Yenan Leadership," in John K. Fairbank and Roderick MacFarquhar (eds.), *Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 293-359. Reprinted in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed. *The Politics of China, 1949-1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, second edition 1997).
- (With Michel Oksenberg), "Understanding China's Bureaucracy: The First Step to a Better Corporate Strategy," *China Business Review*, (Nov.-Dec. 1986).
- (With Michel Oksenberg), "Forecasting China's Future," *The National Interest* (Fall 1986).
- (With Michel Oksenberg), "Waiting for the Three Gorges Dam?" *China Business Review*, (September-October 1986).
- "The Elite and Social Bases for Reform: Are They Eroding?" *AEI Foreign Policy and Defense Review* (1986), pp. 3-10.

"Cultural Revolution," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (International Edition), 1986.

"China Since Mao," *World Book (Encyclopaedia) Year Book*, 1986.

"China and Political Science," *PS* (Winter 1986), pp. 48-54.

"Political Implications of Central Document No. 1," *China Quarterly*, No. 102 (June 1985).

"China's Political Reforms: A Net Assessment," in Marvin Wolfgang (ed.), *China in Transition* (November 1984 edition, *The Annals*), pp. 19-33.

"The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy," in Harry Harding (ed.), *China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s*, Yale University Press, 1984, pp. 43-70.

"Political Reforms in China: A Net Assessment," *China Business Review* (November-December 1983).

"Communication From the Party Center: The Transmission Process for Central Committee Documents," in Francis Hsu and Godwin Chu (eds.), *China's New Social Fabric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1983), pp. 89-118.

"China in 1982: A Middling Course for the Middle Kingdom," *Asian Survey* (January 1983), pp. 26-37.

"China and the Soviet Union: The Background in Chinese Politics," in Herbert Ellison (ed.), *The Sino-Soviet Conflict: A Global Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1982), pp. 3-28.

"Beijing's Consumer Market," *China Business Review* (September-October 1981).

"China's Perilous Leap Into the 80's," *Asia* (November-December 1980).

"The China Connection," in Joseph Pechman (ed.), *Agenda For the Nation* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1980).

"The Politics Behind the New Economics." *Fortune* (December 31, 1979), pp. 44-50.

"Modernization and Succession Politics in China," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 2, (Fall-Winter 1978), pp. 239-254.

"A 'Second Revolution' Begins in China," *Fortune* (October 23, 1978), pp. 94-108.

"The Politics of Modernization in the PRC," *Problems of Communism* (May-June 1978), pp. 1-17. Translated into Indonesian and published in Jakarta in 1979. Also, published in Chinese in *Ming Pao* in Hong Kong.

"China Faces the Fundamental Revolution," *Asia* (May-June 1978), pp. 2-9.

"The Foreign Policy Debate in Peking as Seen Through the Allegorical Articles, 1973-1976," *China Quarterly*, No. 71 (September 1977), pp. 528-554.

"Strategies of Conflict in China During 1975-1976," *Contemporary China* (December 1976).

"China in 1975: The Internal Political Scene," *Problems of Communism* (May-June 1975), pp. 1-11. Reprinted in *Pacific Defense Reporter* (October-December 1975).

"Social Stratification: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," *Problems of Communism* (September-October 1974).

"The Post-Liberation Suppression of Secret Societies in Tientsin," *China Quarterly*, No. 54 (April-June 1973), pp. 240-266.

"Mao Versus Liu? Policy Towards Industry and Commerce, 1946-1949," *China Quarterly*, No. 47 (July-September 1971), pp. 494-520.

"The Impact on the U.S.S.R. of Chinese Disarmament Policies, 1964-67", in Thomas B. Larsen (ed.), *Disarmament and Soviet Policy: 1964-68* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. 261-274.

"Soviet Social Hygiene," in *Letnii Studenscheskii Seminar 1963*. (Munich: Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1964.)

### Newspaper Articles

With Richard Bush, "From Georgia to Taiwan," *Asian Wall Street Journal*, September 16, 2008.

“Building a Constructive Future Relationship between China and the US” (塑造面向未来的建设性中美关系), *People’s Daily* (overseas Edition), September 15, 2006, p. 1.

“The Folly of Forcing Regime Change,” *Financial Times* (London), March 11, 2005.

With David M. Lampton, “Heading Off The Next War,” *Washington Post*, April 12, 2004, A-19.

“Dire Straits: The Risks on Taiwan,” *Washington Post* (January 8, 2004), A-23.

“China Inc. Is Now Open For Business,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 2002.

“Has China Become an Ally?” *New York Times* O-Ed Page, October 25, 2002, reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune*, Op-Ed Page, October 26-27, 2002.

“Jiang’s Texas Visit Reflects New Tone,” *South China Morning Post* (October 14, 2002).

“Chinas dramatische Zukunft,” *Die Zeit* (April 5, 2001), p. 13.

“Cong sanzeng mian pinggu Ke-Jiang fenghui” (Evaluating the Clinton-Jiang Summit From Three Sides), *Wenhuibao* (Hong Kong: October 23, 1997), p. A7.

"The Battle to Succeed Mao Begins," *Chicago Tribune*, 2 March 1975.

"China's Hua on the Move," *New York Daily News*, 2 January 1977.

"Chinese Politics in 1978--Modernization and the Ghost of Mao," press briefing packet distributed by the China Council of the Asia Society. My summary of this packet was carried as an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Minneapolis Tribune*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Bulletin* (Philadelphia), and other papers in late November--early December 1978.

"A Vote for Stability," *Newsweek International Edition*, 15 January 1979.

"Will China's Door Stay Open?" *Newsday* (Ideas Section), 28 January 1979. Reprinted in a number of other newspapers in late January--early February 1979.

"China: Deng's Steamroller Pushes On," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 January 1981.

"Dealing with China," *New York Times* Op-Ed Page, 22 January 1981.

"Arms Aid to Taiwan and Our Ties to China," *Newsday*, 5 August 1981.

"Will China's Bureaucrats Accept Deng's Reforms?" *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 21 August 1981.

"In China, Divisions," (with Professor Nicholas Lardy), *New York Times*, 27 September 1982.

"Continued Hostility Likely in Sino-Soviet Relations," *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 22 August 1983.

"Zhao Ziyang's American Visit: The Man and the Issues," press briefing packet distributed in December 1983 by the China Council of the Asia Society as background for Premier Zhao Ziyang's January 1984 visit to the United States.

"Reagan in China: The Regional Impact," *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, 23 April 1984, p. 15. Also published in *The Asian Wall Street Journal Daily*, 19 April 1984.

"Weak At Home and In the World," *Los Angeles Times*, Op-Ed Page, 6 June 1989.

"Protest From Abroad Not Best Alternative," *Ann Arbor News*, Op-Ed Page, 17 July 1989.

"Will China Split Up?" *Newsday* (Ideas Section), 6 September, 1992.

"Forget the Tiananmen Fixation," *The New York Times*, Op-Ed Page, 14 July, 1993.

"Bei-Chukan ni KiKen Yoso Kiezo" (Dangerous factors between the US and China not disappearing) in *Nihon Keisai Shimbun*, February 8, 1995 (summarized in English in *Nikkei Weekly*, February 1995).

"Beijing Fears There's Method in the Madness of Bill Clinton's Muddled China Policy," *Newsday* (June 4, 1995).

## Other Writing

"Mao Tse-tung's Perception of the Soviet Union as Communicated in the *Mao Tse-tung Ssu-hsiang Wan-sui!*" The Rand Corporation, P5728 (November 1976).

"Political Trends and Leadership Changes," in *Domestic Developments in China and the Future of US-China Relations* (Global Focus Series No. 17, Wisconsin Institute of World Affairs, 1977).

"Report of the Congressional Staff Delegation to the PRC," (New York: National Committee on US-China Relations, 1976).

"Sino-Soviet Relations" (Press briefing packet distributed by the China Council of the Asia Society, February 1977).

"Sino-Soviet Relations," in *Perceptions: Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union* (US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1979), pp. 199-203.

"The People's Republic of China's New Political Leaders and World Trade," *The January Briefing* (Houston: Rice University Office of Continuing Studies, 1979), pp. 22-29.

"China After Mao," a taped discussion with Michel Oksenberg, in *International Portfolio*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1983).

"Themes From Center for National Policy China Study Mission," *Center For National Policy* (Washington: December 1985), p. 8.

"PRC Domestic Politics, Social Developments, and Implications for the US and the PRC," background paper for: *At A Crossroads In American Policy Toward China: Rebuilding a Consensus*. Atlantic Council and National Committee on US-China Relations, 1993

Project Director, "Policy Impact Panel on U.S.-China Relations," Council on Foreign Relations, 1994

"Asia Update: Hong Kong and Sino-U.S. Relations"--press briefing paper for the Asia Society, April 1997.



## Congressional Testimony

Written and oral testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on drafting the Taiwan Relations Act, in *Taiwan* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 452-460, 510-545.

Written and oral testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on reconciling human rights and U.S. security interests in China, in *Reconciling Human Rights and U.S. Security Interests in Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), pp. 333-365.

Written and oral testimony before the House Subcommittees on Europe and the Middle East and on Asian and Pacific Affairs on the Soviet role in Asia in: *The Soviet Role in Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1983), pp. 365-427.

Written and oral testimony before the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Developments in China in *Developments in China* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987), pp. 27-39, 48-71.

Written and oral testimony before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs on Most Favored Nation Trade Status Renewal for China, May 22, 1997.