

Curriculum Vitae

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University Professor and Professor of Public Policy, University of Virginia

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Major positions

University of Virginia:

University Professor and Professor of Public Policy, 2014-

Senior Fellow, Miller Center of Public Affairs, 2017-

Dean, Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy and Professor
of Public Policy and Politics, 2009-14

Hong Kong University of Science and Technology:

Visiting Professor of Social Science and Senior Advisor, Institute
of Public Policy, 2015-17

University of Hong Kong:

Visiting Professor, Department of Politics and Public
Administration, January-June, 2018

National Chengchi University (Taipei)

Adjunct Chair Professor, College of Social Science, August 2018-

Eurasia Group:

Counselor, Member of Advisory Board, 2007-
Chair, China Task Force, 2005-8
Director, Research and Analysis, 2005-07

George Washington University:

Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs and Professor of
International Affairs and Political Science, 1995-2005

University Professor of International Affairs, 2005-09

Brookings Institution:

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program, 1983-94

Stanford University:

Associate Professor of Political Science, 1979-83

Assistant Professor of Political Science, 1973-79

Acting Assistant Professor of Political Science,
1971-73

Swarthmore College:

Instructor of Political Science, 1970-71

Additional positions:

Visiting Professor of Politics and Public Administration,
The University of Hong Kong, January-May 2009, January-May 2018

Visiting Scholar, United States Studies Centre, University
of Sydney, November-December 2008.

Visiting Fellow, Center for U.S.-China Relations, The Asia
Society, 2007-09

Distinguished Visiting Scholar, United College, Chinese
University of Hong Kong, March 1999.

Adjunct Professor of History, Georgetown University,
1992-93.

Distinguished Visiting Professor, Gaston Sigur Center for
East Asian Studies, Elliott School of International Affairs,
George Washington University, Spring 1994.

Henry M. Jackson Visiting Professor of Modern Chinese
Studies, University of Washington, April 1988.

Coordinator and Founding Secretary of the East Asia Program (now the Asia Program), Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1979-80

National Fellow, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1977-78

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California at Berkeley, Spring 1977

Consultant, The Rand Corporation, 1969-85

Education:

A.B. (summa cum laude), Princeton, 1967, in public and international affairs

M.A., Stanford, 1969, in political science

Ph.D., Stanford, 1974, in political science

Honors:

Phi Beta Kappa, 1967

Walter J. Gores Award for Excellence in Teaching, Stanford University, 1975

Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize, awarded by the Ohira Memorial Foundation to *Organizing China* as an outstanding book on a subject concerning the Pacific Rim, 1986

Outstanding Academic Book Award, awarded to *A Fragile Relationship* by *Choice* magazine, 1992

Honorable Mention, Best Government and Political Science Books, awarded to ^ by the Association of American Publishers, 1992.

Distinguished Public Service Award, presented by the U.S. Department of State, 2002.

Yushan Scholarship, awarded by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan

Member, Council on Foreign Relations

Member, Cosmos Club

Member, Foreign Correspondents Club of Hong Kong

Books:

Organizing China: The Problem of Bureaucracy, 1949-1976 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981).

China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). Editor.

China's Second Revolution: Reform After Mao (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1987).

Sino-American Relations, 1945-1955: A Joint Reassessment of a Critical Decade (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1989). Co-edited with Yuan Ming. The Chinese edition appeared as Yuan Ming and Harry Harding (eds.), Zhongmei guanxi shishang chenzhongde yiye [A critical page in the history of Sino-American relations] (Peking: Peking University Press, 1989).

A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China Since 1972 (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992). A Chinese edition appeared as Cuiruode guanxi: 1972-nianyilaide meiguo he zhongguo (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1993).

The India-China Relationship: What the United States Needs to Know (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). Co-edited with Francine R. Frankel.

Chugoku -- 21 no risku: Kanousei to inpakuto [China - 21 Risks: Probability and Impact] (Tokyo: Japan External Trade Organization, 2007). Project leader for Eurasia Group.

Monographs:

China: The Uncertain Future, Headline Series No. 223 (New York: Foreign Policy Association, December 1974).

China and the U.S.: Normalization and Beyond (New York: The China Council of the Asia Society and the Foreign Policy Association, January 1979).

Economic Relations in the Asian-Pacific Region: Report of a Conference
Cosponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Brookings
Institution, June 1985 (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1987. Co-
edited with Bruce Dickson.

China and Northeast Asia: The Political Dimension, Asian Agenda Report No. 12
(Lanham, Maryland and New York: University Press of America and the Asia
Society, 1987).

Articles, chapters, and essays:

Chinese domestic affairs:

"Four Chinese Communist Insurgency Strategies, 1922-1937," WN-7488-
ARPA (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, June 1971).

"Modernization and Mao: The Logic of the Cultural Revolution and the
1970s," P-4442 (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, August 1970).

"China: Toward Revolutionary Pragmatism," Asian Survey, vol. 11, no. 1
(January 1971), pp. 51-67.

Maoist Theories of Policy-Making and Organization, R-487-PR (Santa
Monica: The Rand Corporation, September 1969). Reprinted in Thomas
W. Robinson (ed.), The Cultural Revolution in China (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1971), pp. 113-64.

"China: The Fragmentation of Power," Asian Survey, vol. 12, no. 1
(January 1972), pp. 1-15.

"Political Trends in China Since the Cultural Revolution," The Annals of
the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 402 (July
1972), pp. 67-82.

"Leadership Succession in the People's Republic of China," in
Perspectives on National Leadership Succession, Report S-2 (Bethesda:
Analytic Support Center, Mathematica, Inc., June 1975), pp. 82-86.

"The Organizational Issue in Chinese Politics, 1949-1975," in Proceedings
of the Fifth Sino-American Conference on Mainland China (Taipei:
Institute of International Relations, 1976), pp. 122-56.

"China After Mao," Problems of Communism, vol. 26, no. 2 (March-April
1977), pp. 1-18.

"The First Year Without Mao" (New York: The China Council of the Asia Society, 1977). Reprinted in Contemporary China, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter 1978), pp. 81-98.

"A Political Scientist's Perspective," in Wm. Theodore de Bary et al., China's Future and Its Implications for U.S.-China Relations, Occasional Paper No. 2 (Washington, D.C.: East Asia Program, The Wilson Center, 1980), pp. 21-31.

"The Transformation of China," The Brookings Review, vol. 2, no. 3 (Spring 1984), pp. 3-7.

[unpublished paper: "The Reform of the Chinese Communist Party," presented at the conference on "To Reform the Chinese Political Order," sponsored by the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies, Harwichport, Massachusetts, June 1984.]

"Reform in China: A Mid-Course Assessment," Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 3-26. Translated as "Zhongguo gaigede huigu yu zhanwang," in Zhishifenzi [The Chinese intellectual] (New York), vol. 1, no. 3 (April 1985), pp. 15-21.

"Huigu yu zhanwang" [Retrospect and prospect], Zhishi fenzi [The Chinese intellectual] (New York), vol. 1, no. 4 (July 1985), pp. 28-32.

"Political Development in Post-Mao China," in A. Doak Barnett and Ralph Clough (eds.), Modernizing China: Post-Mao Reform (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), pp. 13-37.

"Political Stability and Succession," in U.S. 99th Congress, 2nd Session, Joint Economic Committee, China's Economy Looks Toward the Year 2000, vol. 1: The Four Modernizations (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986), pp. 49-71.

"The Role of the Military in Chinese Politics," in Victor C. Falkenheim (ed.), Citizens and Groups in Contemporary China, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, vol. 56 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987), pp. 213-56.

"Lijing shinian gaigede zhongguo: yige meiguorende guancha" [China after a decade of reform: an American perspective], Gaige [Reform] (Peking), no. 3 (May 1988), pp. 43-48.

"China's Political Reforms," in Charles E. Morrison and Robert F. Dernberger (eds.), Asia-Pacific Report, 1989 (Focus: China in the Reform Era) (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1989), pp. 43-51.[unpublished paper: "The Dilemmas of Reform in Contemporary China," presented at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April 1989.]

"The Evolution of Chinese Politics: 1949-1989," in Ramon H. Myers (ed.), Two Societies in Opposition: The Republic of China and the People's Republic of China after Forty Years (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1991), pp. 316-40.

[unpublished paper: "Prospects for Chinese Politics and Political Reform," presented at the Conference on China, sponsored by the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo, Japan, March 1990, and at the Conference on the Political Economy of the Asia-Pacific, sponsored by the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Hakone, Japan, March 1990.]

China in the 1990s: Prospects for Internal Change (NBR Analysis, vol. 1, no. 1) (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research: September 1990). This article also appears in slightly different form in Robert A. Scalapino and Gennady I. Chufrin (eds.), Asia in the 1990s: American and Soviet Perspectives, Research Papers and Policy Studies, No. 36 (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1991), pp. 94-111.

"The Problematic Future of China's Economic Reforms," in U.S. 102d Congress, 1st Session, Joint Economic Committee, China's Economic Dilemmas in the 1990s: The Problems of Reform, Modernization, and Interdependence (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 1991), vol. 1, pp. 78-88.

"Crises in Communist Reform: Lessons from Tiananmen," The Brookings Review, vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 47-51.

"The Chinese State in Crisis," in Roderick MacFarquhar and John K. Fairbank (eds.), The Cambridge History of China, vol. 15: The People's Republic, Part 2: Revolutions within the Chinese Revolution, 1966-1982 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 107-217. Reprinted in Roderick MacFarquhar (ed.), The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 148-247.

"China at the Crossroads: Conservatism, Reform, or Decay?", in Asia's International Role in the Post-Cold War Era, Part I, Adelphi Paper No. 275 (London: Brassey's for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, March 1993), pp. 36-48.

[unpublished paper: "The Implications of Regional Economic Inequalities in China," presented to the 26th International General Meeting of the Pacific Basin Economic Council, Seoul, Korea, May 1993.]

"On the Four Great Relationships': The Prospects for China," Survival, 36:2 (Summer 1994), pp. 22-42.

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Chinese foreign policy and foreign economic relations:

[unpublished paper: "Linkages Between Chinese Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy," presented at the Workshop on Chinese Foreign Policy, organized by the Joint Committee on Contemporary China, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 1976.]

"Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Era" (New York: The China Council of the Asia Society, December 1978).

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[unpublished paper: "The Sino-Soviet Dispute: Reassessment and Prospects," presented at the International Symposium on International Relations of the 1980s: Theory and Policy, sponsored by the Korean Association of International Relations, Seoul, Korea, November 1981.]

"Continuity and Change in Chinese Foreign Policy," Problems of Communism, vol. 32, no. 2 (March-April 1983), pp. 1-19. An expanded version of this article appeared as "China's Changing Roles in the Contemporary World," in Harry Harding (ed.), China's Foreign Relations in the 1980s (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 177-223.

"China and the World/The World and China" (New York: The China Council of the Asia Society, September 1983). Co-authored with Jonathan Kaufman.

[unpublished paper: "North Korea and the People's Republic of China," presented at the Conference on Northeast Asia in the 1980s, sponsored by the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security and the Pacific Forum, Seoul, Korea, November 1983.]

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[unpublished paper: "China's Role in the Pacific-Asian Region," presented at the U.S.-Mongolian Conference on Pacific-Asian Issues, sponsored by the Institute of East Asian Studies of the University of California and the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic, Berkeley, California, December 1986.]

[unpublished paper: "Patterns of Cooperation in the Foreign Relations of Modern China," analytical summary of the Conference on "Patterns of Cooperation in the Foreign Relations of Modern China," sponsored by the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, Wintergreen, Virginia, August 1987.]

"The Investment Climate in China," The Brookings Review, vol. 5, no. 2 (Spring 1987), pp. 37-42. An expanded version appeared in a special issue of Business Journal (1987), pp. 5-9.

[unpublished paper: "Recent Developments in Chinese Foreign Policy," presented at the Second Mongol-American Bilateral Conference, sponsored by the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Institute of East Asian Studies of the University of California at Berkeley, Ulaan Bataar, Mongolia, June 1988, and at the Eighth Soviet-American Conference on Asia, sponsored by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Institute of East Asian Studies of the University of California at Berkeley, Moscow, USSR, June 1988.]

"The Impact of Tiananmen on China's Foreign Policy," in China's Foreign Relations After Tiananmen: Challenges for the U.S. (NBR Analysis, vol. 1, no. 3) (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research, December 1990), pp. 5-17.

"China's Cooperative Behavior," in Thomas W. Robinson and David L. Shambaugh (eds.), Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 375-400.

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[unpublished paper: "China's Future Role in International Affairs," presented to the Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, January 1995.]

"A Chinese Colossus?", The Journal of Strategic Studies, 18:3 (September 1995), pp. 104-22.

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[unpublished paper: "Scenarios for China, 1997-2015," prepared for the Project on the Security of Asia, sponsored by the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, January 1997.]

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[unpublished paper: "The Impact of Domestic Reform on China's International Relationships," presented to the Conference on "PRC Reforms at Twenty: Retrospect and Prospects," sponsored by the Sun Yat-sen Graduate Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, National Chengchi University, Taiwan, April 1999.]

[unpublished paper: "China and the International Order," presented to the Secretary's Open Forum, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, April 2002.]

"Chuogoku jigyo risku mikiwamete" [Judging enterprise risk in China], Nihon Keizai Shimbun, July 27, 2006, p. 22.

"China Goes Global: Implications for the United States," National Interest (September-October 2006), pp. 57-58.

"Blazing a New Trail" [on the "Chinese model" of development], China Security, 4:2 (Spring 2008), pp. 7-8.

"China's Views of International Norms and Institutions," in David Shambaugh and Gudrun Wacker (eds.), American and European Relations with China: Advancing Common Agendas (Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, June 2008), pp. 109-22.

"How the Past Shapes the Present: Five Ways in Which History Affects China's Contemporary Foreign Relations," Journal of American-East Asian Relations, 16:1-2 (Spring-Summer 2009), pp. 119-34.

Chinese military policy:

The Purge of Lo Jui-ch'ing: The Politics of Chinese Strategic Planning, R-548-PR (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, February 1971). Co-authored with Melvin Gurtov. Reprinted as "Vietnam, 1965," in Melvin Gurtov and Byong-Moo Hwang, China Under Threat: The Politics of Strategy and Diplomacy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 153-86.

"The Making of Military Policy in China," in William W. Whitson (ed.), The Military and Political Power in China in the 1970s (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 361-85. A revised version of this article appeared as "The Evolution of Military Policy in China," in Frank B. Horton, III, among others (eds.), Comparative Defense Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 216-32.

Social science in China:

"Social Science" and "Political Science," in Leo A. Orleans (ed.), Science in Contemporary China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), pp. 475-89 and 518-29.

"International Studies in China, Part One: Overview," China Exchange News, vol. 20, no. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 1992), pp. 2-6; "Part Two: The American Agenda," China Exchange News, vol. 21, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 26-31.

"Discussion of 'International Political Economy from a Chinese Angle,'" Journal of Contemporary China, vol. 10, no. 26 (March 2001), pp. 55-60.

U.S.-China relations:

[unpublished paper: "The Sale of Military-Related Technology to China," presented at the Third General Conference of the Stanford University Project on U.S.-Japan Relations, Hakone, Japan, July 1978.]

"Managing U.S.-China Relations," in Franklin D. Margiotta (ed.), Evolving Strategic Realities: Implications for U.S. Policymakers (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1980), pp. 39-58.

[unpublished paper: "U.S.-People's Republic of China International Relations Since Normalization," presented at the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, California, March 1983.]

"Viewpoints of America's Friends and Allies," in U. Alexis Johnson, George Packard, and Alfred D. Wilhelm, Jr. (eds.), China Policy for the Next Decade (Cambridge: Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain, 1984), pp. 85-110.

[unpublished paper: "Growing Pains: Sino-American Relations Ten Years After Normalization," presented at the SAIS China Forum, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C., October 1988.]

"Socialist Reforms and the World Economy," in John D. Steinbruner (ed.), Restructuring American Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1988), pp. 158-84. Co-authored with Ed A. Hewett.

"The Pacific-Asian Region: Major Power Relations, Regional Concerns, and Sino-American Issues," summary of a Pacific Forum conference with the Shanghai Institute of International Studies, in Summaries of Three Bilateral Conferences Held in Beijing and Shanghai, The People's Republic of China, October 15-30, 1986 (Honolulu: The Pacific Forum, 1988), pp. 43-58.

[unpublished paper: "The Challenge of a New Relationship: The United States and China in the 1990s," Seventh Annual John Fisher Zeidman Memorial Lecture, The Sidwell Friends School, Washington, D.C., March 1989.]

"The Legacy of the Decade for Later Years: An American Perspective," in Harry Harding and Yuan Ming (eds.), Sino-American Relations, 1945-1955: A Joint Reassessment of a Critical Decade (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1989), pp. 311-29. Translated as "Shinian liuxiade yichan: meiguorendi guandian," in Yuan Ming and Harry Harding (eds.), Zhongmei guanxi shishang chenzhongde yiye [A critical page in the history of Sino-American relations] (Peking: Peking University Press, 1989), pp. 413-39.

"China's American Dilemma," The Annals, vol. 519 (January 1992), pp. 13-26.

"Neither Friend Nor Foe: A China Policy for the Nineties," Brookings Review, vol.10, no. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 6-11.

[unpublished paper: "The Sino-American Relationship Today," prepared for the project, "At A Crossroads in American Policy Toward China: Rebuilding a Consensus," sponsored by the Atlantic Council and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, December 1992.]

"Redesigning U.S.-China Relations," The Inaugural Clarence T.C. Ching Lecture (Honolulu: The East-West Center, March 1992).

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[unpublished paper: "The Rise of China and America's Response," presented to the Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC, November 1995.]

[unpublished paper: "The Uncertain Prospects for U.S.-China Relations," presented to the Twenty-First Century Forum, sponsored by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Beijing, September 1996.]

"Relations with the Great Powers: China," The Brookings Review, 15:2 (Spring 1997), pp. 14-15.

"Breaking the Impasse Over Human Rights," in Ezra F. Vogel (ed.), Living with China: U.S./China Relations in the Twenty-First Century (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), pp. 165-84.

"US-China Relations, 1995-97: From Crisis to Hope to Uncertainty," in Y.Y. Kueh (ed.), The Political Economy of Sino-American Relations: A Greater China Perspective (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), pp. 9-27.

[unpublished paper: "China's Policy Making Environment Between the Two Summits," presented to the Conference on The China-U.S. Relationship: Between The Summits, sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and The Asia Foundation, Beijing, November 1997.]

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"The Clinton-Jiang Summits: An American Perspective," in Peter Koehn and Joseph Y.S. Cheng (eds.), U.S.-China Relations Following the 1997-1998 Summits: Chinese and American Perspectives on Security, Trade, and Cultural Exchange (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1999), pp. 29-48. Translated as "Cong meiguo jiaodu kan Ke-Jiang fenghui," in Joseph Y.S. Cheng and Peter Koehn (eds.), 1997-1998 fenghui hou zhongmei guanxizhi fazhan [The development of Sino-American relations after the 1997-98 summits] (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1999), pp. 29-48.

[unpublished paper: "U.S.-China Relations: Can the 'Strategic Partnership' Survive?," presented to the American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong, June 1999.]

"The Uncertain Future of U.S.-China Relations," Asia-Pacific Review, 6:1 (Spring-Summer 1999), pp. 7-24. Reprinted in Guoli Liu (ed.), Chinese Foreign Policy in Transition (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2004), pp. 179-96.

"Bei-chu kankei: Daini no reisen ni wa naranai?" [U.S.-China Relationship: Will It Not Become the Second Cold War?], Gaiko Forum (Tokyo), no. 134 (October 1999), pp. 38-42.

"China's Proliferation Policies and the United States," in Michael Barletta (ed.), WMD Threats 2001: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration (Monterey, CA: Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, May 2001), pp. 17-20.

[unpublished paper: "Debating China Policy," presented to the Star Island Annual Affairs Conference, Gosport, NH, July 2002.]

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"U.S.-China Relations: Better Now, But Will It Last?," in K. Santhanam and Srikanth Kondapalli (eds.), Asian Security and China, 2000-2010 (New Delhi: Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses and Shipra Publications, 2004), pp. 415-27.

[unpublished paper: "Trends in American Public Opinion Toward China, 1989-2005," presented to the 20th Anniversary Symposium of the Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, May 2005.]

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Hong Kong, Taiwan, and "Greater China":

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"Taiwan and Greater China," in Robert G. Sutter and William R. Johnson (eds.), Taiwan and World Affairs (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 235-65.

The Evolution of Greater China and What It Means for America, Policy Series No. 10 (New York: National Committee on U.S-China Relations, December 1994).

"Taiwan and East Asia," in George T. Yu (ed.), Asia's New World Order (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 134-60.

"Bei-chu kankei ga honkon no shorai o kimeru" [The U.S.-China Relationship Will Determine Hong Kong's Future], This is Yomiuri, August 1997, pp. 108-16.

[unpublished paper: "An Introduction to Greater China," presented to the Chief Executives Organization, Hong Kong, March 1998.]

"Toward a Modus Vivendi," in Jaw-Ling Joanne Chang and William W. Boyer (eds.), United States-Taiwan Relations: Twenty Years After the Taiwan Relations Act, Maryland Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, no. 1-2000 (156) (Baltimore: School of Law, University of Maryland, 2000), pp. 293-98.

"Again on Interim Arrangements in the Taiwan Strait," in Gerrit W. Gong (ed.), Taiwan Strait Dilemmas (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies Press, 2000), pp. 3-19.

[unpublished paper: "What Problem Will a Solution Solve?," presented to the conference on "The Volatile Taiwan Strait: Can Peace Be Achieved?," sponsored by the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki, May 2004.]

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The Asia-Pacific region:

"America in Search of an Asia Policy," in Williamsburg Conference XII, 1982 (New York and Washington: The Asia Society, 1983), pp. 12-21. Reprinted as "Reflections on the Role of the U.S. in Asia," Asian Wall Street Journal, December 20, 1982, p. 4; December 21, 1982, p. 6; and December 22, 1982, p. 6.

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Opinion essays:

Brief opinion essays have been published in the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the International Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Daily News (New York), the Los Angeles Times, The International Economy; as well as in the Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo), the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Tokyo), the Lien-ho-pao (Taipei), the Dong-a Ilbo (Seoul), the Joong-ang Daily News (Seoul), the Business Times (Singapore), the Bangkok Post, and the Jakarta Post.

Major professional and public service

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Member, Committee on International Security Studies, 2000-14)

The Asia Foundation (Member, Board of Trustees, 1992-14; Chairman, Program Committee; Member, Executive Committee, 2000-05; 2009-14; Vice-Chairman, 2009-14)

The Asia Society (Member, 1975- ; Co-Chairman, China Council, 1983-87; Chairman, China Council, 1987-91;)

Asian Development Bank (Member, Senior Advisory Panel on the Long Term Strategic Framework, 2000-01)

Association of Asian Studies (Member, 1967- ; Member, Presidential Commission, 1987-88)

Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (Member, Council of Deans, 1995-2005; Secretary-Treasurer, 1996; President, 1996-97; Immediate Past President, 1998)

Council on Foreign Relations (Member, 1980- ; Member, Committee on Membership, 1986-91)

Financial Services Volunteer Corps (Co-Principal Investigator, Project on "Expanding Policy Connections: Strengthening Ties among the United States, Russia, and China," funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2008-)

Finnish Institute of International Affairs (Member, Scientific Advisory Board, 2009-13)

Los Alamos National Laboratory (Member, Advisory Committee, Center for National Security Studies, 1990-95)

National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (Member, 1974- ; Director, 1983-93, 1994-98, 2001-7, 2009-2014; Member, Executive Committee, 1986-93; Chairman, Presidential Search Committee, 1985-86)

Program for International Studies in Asia (formerly the Committee on International Relations Studies with the People's Republic of China) (Member, Executive Committee, 1989- ; Chairman, 1991-98)

U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (Director, 1994-)

U.S. Defense Policy Board (Member, 1998-2001)

U.S.-PRC Joint Commission on Scientific and Technological Cooperation (Member, 1981-83)

World Affairs Council of Northern California (Member, Board of Trustees, 1978-83)

World Economic Forum (Forum Fellow, 1993-98)

Committee on Scholarly Communication with the China (formerly the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China) (Member, 1982-96; Member, Committee on Advanced Study in China, 1982-84)

Joint Committee on Contemporary China, American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council (Member)
Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) (Member, Board of Governors, 2008-14)

Other professional memberships, professional service, and public service:

The Asia Foundation in Taiwan (Member, Board of Trustees, 1996-2006)

The Atlantic Council of the United States (Member, Board of Directors, 1996-2005; Member, Executive Committee, 1999-2005)

Fudan University, Collaborative Innovation Center for New Model of China-US Major Country Relations, Adjunct Senior Fellow, 2016-

China Quarterly (Member, Editorial Board, 1995-2009)

Asia Policy (Member, Editorial Board, 2006-)

Institute of International Education (Member, Selection Committee, Fund for PRC Scholars' Research in Law, Economics, and International Relations, 1989-90)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (Member, 1993-)

National Bureau of Asian Research (Member, Board of Advisors, 1989-)
National University of Singapore, Department of Political Science (Member, Visiting Committee, 2001)

University of Hong Kong, Master's Program in International Public Affairs
(Member, Review Committee, 2018)

United States-China Business Council (Director, China Business Forum, 1994-97)

Fudan University, Collaborative Innovation Center for a New Model of China-U.S. Major Country Relations, Fudan University (Adjunct Senior Fellow, 2016-)

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