

Curriculum Vitae (Abridged)

[This abridged cv includes only major appointments and major publications. It does not include lesser appointments and publications or unpublished talks and presentations]

HARRY HARDING

University Professor and Professor of Public Policy, University of Virginia

Principal positions

University of Virginia:

University Professor and Professor of Public Policy, 2014-

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

National Chengchi University (Taipei):

Yushan Scholar and Adjunct Chair Professor of Social Science,
2018-

Eurasia Group:

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

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

Visiting and adjunct positions:

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

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 of the East 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

Books

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

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

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

Sino-American Relations, 1945-1955: A Joint Reassessment of a Critical Decade (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 University Press, 1989).

A Fragile Relationship: The United States and China Since 1972 (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 (Columbia University Press, 2004). Co-edited with Francine R. Frankel.

Monographs

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).

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

Articles, chapters, and essays

Chinese domestic affairs:

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

"Maoist Theories of Policy-making and Organization," 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.

"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], Zhishifenzi [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 observation], 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.

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

"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.

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. Chufirin (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.

"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.

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

"China: What Could Go Wrong?" (Washington: The Atlantic Council, January 27, 2006).

"Think Again: China," Foreign Policy, March-April 2007, pp. 26-32.

"Forty Years of Reform and Opening: From the 'Economic Miracle' to the Middle Income Trap," Issues and Studies 56:1 (January 2020)

Chinese foreign policy, military policy, and foreign economic relations:

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

"China and the Third World: From Revolution to Containment," in Richard H. Solomon (ed.), The China Factor (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981), pp. 257-95.

"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.

"Foreword" to Lillian Craig Harris, China's Foreign Policy toward the Third World (The Washington Papers, vol. 12, no. 112) (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1985), pp. v-xi.

"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.

"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.

"Comments," in Susan L. Shirk, How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 91-110.

"China: Invest or Avoid?," Inaugural ACAS Address (Sydney, Australia: Australian Centre for American Studies, September 1995).

"A Primer on China's Foreign Relations," in Dick Clark (ed.), U.S. China Relations: First Conference, April 13-17, 1998 (Congressional Program, vol. 13, no. 2) (Washington, D.C.: The Aspen Institute, 1998), pp. 13-17.

"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.

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.

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

"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, et al., (eds.), Comparative Defense Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 216-32.

"The Domestic Politics of China's Global Posture, 1973-1978," in Thomas Fingar and the Stanford Journal of International Studies (eds.), China's Quest for Independence: Policy Evolution in the 1970s (Boulder: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 93-146.

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

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:

"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.

"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.

"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.

"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.

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

"Beyond the President's Decision on MFN: The Need for a Comprehensive Policy Toward China," in Richard J. Ellings and Marie T. Pielage (eds.), MFN Status, Human Rights, and U.S.-China Relations (NBR Analysis, vol. 5, no. 1) (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, July 1994), pp. 39-46.

"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.

"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.

"The Debate Over America's Policy Toward China, 1989-97," in Wang Gungwu and John Wong (eds.), China's Political Economy (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1998), pp. 277-90.

"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.

"American China Policy under the Bush Administration: Change and Continuity," in Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum (ed.), U.S.-China Relations and the Bush Administration: A New Paradigm or Continuing Modalities, Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies Monograph no. 15

(Claremont, CA: Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, Claremont McKenna College, 2002), pp. 57-80.

"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.

"China Policy for the Next Administration," in America's Role in Asia: Asian and American Views (San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2008), pp. 183-94.

"Has U.S. China Policy Failed?," The Washington Quarterly, 38:3 (Fall 2015), pp. 95-122.

"The United States and China from Partners to Competitors," prepared for a volume edited by Evan Medeiros, to be submitted to Georgetown University Press.

"The US, China, and a Cold War 2.0," *The Diplomat*(October 21, 2020).

"For China, Spades Are Trumps," *The Diplomat* (January 9, 2021).

Hong Kong, Taiwan, and "Greater China":

"The Future of Hong Kong," China Business Review, vol. 12, no. 5 (September-October 1985), pp. 30-37.

"The Future of Taiwan and Its Implications for American Policy," in Kevin Crim, Andrew C. Hsieh, and H. Wayne Moyer (eds.), The Reunification of China: Issues and Perspectives (Grinnell, IA: Grinnell College, 1992), pp. 35-42.

"The US and Greater China," China Business Review, vol. 19, no. 3 (May-June 1992), pp. 18-22.

"The Emergence of Greater China," The American Enterprise, vol. 3, no. 3 (May-June 1992), pp. 46-55.

"The Economics of Greater China," The Ernest Sturc Memorial Lecture (Washington, DC: Paul M. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, November 1993).

"The Concept of 'Greater China': Themes, Variations, and Reservations," China Quarterly, no. 136 (December 1993), pp. 660-686.

"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.

"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.

"[Hong Kong]: A View from the United States," The Asan Forum, September 3, 2019.

"Change and Continuity in American Policy toward Taiwan," in Mariah Thornton, Robert Ash, and Dafydd Fell (eds.), Taiwan's Economic and Diplomatic Challenges and Opportunities (Routledge, 2021).

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.

"The American Strategy in the Far East," in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (ed.), East Asian Security and Foreign Policy in the 1980s (Copenhagen Papers in East and Southeast Asian Studies, no. 2 [1988]) (Copenhagen: Center

for East and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen, 1988), pp. 81-97.

"The East Asian Laboratory," in John D. Steinbruner (ed.), Restructuring American Foreign Policy (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1988), pp. 185-220. Co-authored with Edward J. Lincoln.

"American Security Policy in the Pacific Rim," in John J. Weltman, Michael Nacht, and George Quester (eds.), Challenges to American National Security in the 1990s (New York: Plenum Press, 1991), pp. 131-52.

"Yataiqiyudi xin shidai: zong liangji dao duozhongxin" [The new era in the Asia-Pacific region: from bipolarity to multinodality], in Yuan Ming (ed.), Kua shijidi tiaozhan: zhongguo guoji guanxi xuekedi fazhan [Facing the challenge of a new century: the development of international relations studies in China] (Chongqing: Chongqing Publishing House, 1993), pp. 145-68.

"Rivals or Partners?: Prospects for U.S.-Japan Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region," Brookings Review, vol. 11, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 6-11. Co-authored with Edward J. Lincoln.

"A Security Agenda for APEC," in Richard J. Ellings (ed.), Americans Speak to APEC: Building a New Order with Asia (NBR Analysis, vol. 4, no. 4) (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, November 1993), pp. 94-95.

"Cooperative Security in the Asia-Pacific Region," in Janne E. Nolan (ed.), Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 419-46. An abridged version of this chapter also appears as "Prospects for Cooperative Security Arrangements" in Barbara K. Bundy, Stephen D. Burns, and Kimberly V. Weichel (eds.), The Future of Regional Cooperation in the Pacific Rim (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), pp. 138-55.

"Asia Policy to the Brink," Foreign Policy, no. 96 (Fall 1994), pp. 57-74.

"Prospects for Cooperative Security Arrangements in the Asia-Pacific Region," Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, XIII:3 (Fall 1994), pp. 31-41.

"International Order and Organization in the Asia-Pacific Region," in Robert S. Ross (ed.), East Asia In Transition: Toward a New Regional Order (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 325-55.

"The New Regime in North Korea and its Future: Principal Scenarios," in The Future of North Korea: Implications for the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia (Seoul: Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, 1995), pp. 21-37.

"The Asian Challenge," Li and Fung Public Lecture on Commerce and Industry (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, September 1995).

"Promoting Human Rights in Asia: American and Australian Approaches," in Roger Bell, Tim McDonald, and Alan Tidwell (eds.), Negotiating the Pacific Century: The 'New' Asia, the United States and Australia (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1996), pp. 268-94.

"The Role of the United States," in Hanns Maull, Gerald Segal, and Jusuf Wanandi (eds.), Europe and the Asia Pacific (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 134-49. Translated as "Die zukunfft der USA als Tabilitätsmacht in Asien/Pazifik," in Hanns W. Maull, Gerald Segal, and Jusuf Wanandi (eds.), Europa und Asien-Pazifik (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999), pp. 177-92.

"Final Thoughts," in Alexei T. Kral (ed.), Two Years of Asian Financial Crisis: What Next? (Washington, DC: Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, December 1999), pp. 56-58.

"Contending American Views of the Asian Security Order," in International Order of the 21st Century and the Security of East Asia, Proceedings of the NIDS International Symposium on Security Affairs (Tokyo: National Institute for Defense Studies, September 2001), pp. 81-97.

"Asia in American Grand Strategy: The Quadrennial Defense Review and the National Security Strategy," in Robert M. Hathaway and Wilson Lee (eds.), George W. Bush and Asia: A Midterm Assessment (Washington, DC: Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2003), pp. 43-56.

"An American Perspective," in Harry Harding et al., Political and Security Outlook 2004: Asian Geostrategic Trends, Trends in Southeast Asia Series no. 4 (2004) (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2004), n.p.

"Change and Continuity in the Bush Administration's Asia Policy," in Robert M. Hathaway and Wilson Lee (eds.), George W. Bush and Asia: A

First Term Assessment (Washington, DC: Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2005), pp. 31-44.

"U.S. Views," in Asian Views on America's Role in Asia: The Future of the Rebalance (San Francisco, The Asia Foundation, 2016), pp. 39-60 (Co-authored with Ellen Laipson).

International education

"Creating Curiosity About International Affairs," The State Education Standard, March 2005, pp. 8-11.

Review essays

[Numerous short book reviews in scholarly journals and on-line journals are not included in this list.]

"Reappraising the Cultural Revolution," The Wilson Quarterly, vol. 4, no. 4 (Autumn 1980), pp. 132-41.

"From China, With Disdain: New Trends in the Study of China," Asian Survey, vol. 22, no. 10 (October 1982), pp. 934-58. A preliminary version of this article appeared in Issues and Studies, vol. 18, no. 7 (July 1982). Translated as "Fang-hua wen-chang-ti ts'ung je tao leng" in Ch'i-shih nien-tai [The seventies] (Hong Kong), no. 11 (1982), pp. 26-31; and no. 12 (1982), pp. 92-98.

"The Study of Chinese Politics: Toward a Third Generation of Scholarship," World Politics, vol. 36, no. 2 (January 1984), pp. 284-307.

"Competing Models of the Chinese Policy Process: Toward a Sorting and Evaluation," in King-yuh Chang (ed.), Perspectives on Development in Mainland China (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 61-84. The same article also appeared in Issues and Studies, vol. 20, no. 2 (February 1984), pp. 13-36.

"Marx, Mao, and Markets," The New Republic, October 7, 1985, pp. 32-41.

"Journalists, Scholars, and Officials: The Case of Sino-American Relations," in Chin-Chuan Lee (ed.), Voices of China (New York: Guilford Press, 1990), pp. 165-79.

"The Evolution of American Scholarship on Contemporary China," in David L. Shambaugh (ed.), American Studies of Contemporary China, (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 14-40.

"The Contemporary Study of Chinese Politics: An Introduction," China Quarterly, no. 139 (September 1994), pp. 699-703.

Congressional and other government testimony

"China Reassesses Detente: The Politics of Chinese Foreign Policy" and "Recent Developments in the People's Republic of China: A Preliminary Analysis," in U.S. 94th Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Special Subcommittee on Investigations, United States-China Relations: The Process of Normalization of Relations (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 7-17 and 188-92.

"The Prospects for Political Stability in China," prepared for the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, September 25, 1980.

"American Arms Sales to China and Taiwan: The Case for Caution," in U.S. 97th Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, The New Era in East Asia (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), pp. 285-300.

"Political Development in Post-Mao China," in U.S. 99th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittees on Human Rights and International Organizations and Asian and Pacific Affairs, Political Developments and Human Rights in the People's Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986), pp. 1-100.

"Testimony of Harry Harding," in U.S. 100th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, Technology Transfer to China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), pp. 8-23.

"Recent Political and Economic Developments in China," in U.S. 101st Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, The Wave of Protest in the People's Republic of China (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), pp. 30-41.

"Prepared Statement" [on U.S. policy toward Hong Kong], presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, April 2, 1992.

"Setting a New Benchmark for U.S.-China Relations," in U.S. 103rd Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, The Future

of U.S. Foreign Policy (Part I): Regional Issues (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), pp. 360-72.

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"China, the WTO, and the United States," presented to the U.S. Trade Deficit Review Commission, February 24, 2000.

"Testimony of Harry Harding" [on whether China is a "responsible stakeholder" in the international system,] presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, May 2008.]

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.

Government service

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

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

Major professional and public service

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

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

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- 2014; 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-)

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)

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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

Awards and 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 A Fragile Relationship 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, Republic of China (Taiwan), 2019-

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