# JOSEPH FEWSMITH

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# **EXPERIENCE**:

2014-present	Professor, Pardee School of Global Studies and Department of Political Science, Boston University. Director of Undergraduate Studies, Pardee School.
2013-2014	Professor, Departments of International Relations and Political Science, Boston University.
2010-2012	Professor, Departments of International Relations and Political Science, Boston University, and Director of the BU Center for the Study of Asia.
20022010	Professor and Director of the East Asia Interdisciplinary Studies Program, Departments of International Relations and Political Science, Boston University.
2000-2002	Professor and Director of the East Asia Interdisciplinary Studies Program, Department of International Relations, Boston University.
1997-2000	Associate Professor and Director of the East Asia Interdisciplinary Studies Program, Department of International Relations, Boston University.
1995-1997	Associate Professor, Associate Chairman for Undergraduate Studies, and Director of the East Asia Interdisciplinary Studies Program, Department of International Relations, Boston University.
1991-1995	Associate Professor and Director of the East Asia Interdisciplinary Studies Program, Department of International Relations, Boston University.
1989-1991	Senior Analyst, Foreign Broadcast Information Service

1989-1991	Professorial Lecturer, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University.
1987-1991	Chief, China Branch, Foreign Broadcast Information Service.
1983-1987	Analyst, Foreign Broadcast Information Service.
1982-1983	Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Kent State University.
Spring 1980	Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Connecticut.

## **EDUCATION**:

1980-1981	Post-doctoral Fellow, Center for Chinese Studies, University of California-Berkeley.
1980	Ph.D., Political Science, University of Chicago.
1978-1979	Fulbright-Hays Fellow, Taipei, Taiwan.
1974-1976	Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Study, Taipei, Taiwan.
1973	M.A., Political Science, University of Chicago.
1971	B.A., Northwestern University.

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:**

Series Editor

Series on Contemporary China, World Scientific Publishers, Singapore

Member, Editorial Board, of the following journals:

The China Quarterly

The Journal of Contemporary China.

Journal of Chinese Political Science.

Journal of Asian Studies

China Aktuell

China: An International Journal.

Foreign Policy Bulletin

Associate of the John King Fairbank Center, Harvard University

Associate of the Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer Range Future, Boston University

Co-Coordinator of the Workshop on China's Domestic and Foreign Policy, Fairbank Center, Harvard University (2009-present).

Co-Coordinator, Current Events Workshop, Fairbank Center, Harvard University (1991-2004).

Member, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

Member, Association of Asian Studies

President of the Council of Inner Asia and China (CIAC) of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), 2005-2006.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

### **BOOKS:**

<u>The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China</u>. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<u>China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society,</u> ed. (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, 2010)

<u>China Since Tiananmen: From Deng Xiaoping to Hu Jintao, Second Edition</u> (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<u>China's Opening Society: The Non-State Sector and Governance</u>, co-edited with Zheng Yongnian (London: Routledge, 2008).

<u>China Since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition</u> (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Elite Politics in Contemporary China (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001).

<u>The Dilemmas of Reform in China: Political Conflict and Economic Debate</u>. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and

Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

## **ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS:**

"Local Governance in China: Incentives & Tensions" (With Xiang GAO). *Daedalus*, Spring 2014), pp. 170-181.

"China in 2007," Asian Survey, January 2007.

"The Sixteenth National Party Congress: The Succession that Didn't Happen," *The China Quarterly*, no. 173 (March 2003): 1-16.

"The Social and Political Implications of China's Accession to the WTO," in *The China Quarterly*, no. 167 (September 2001):573-591.

"China in 1998: Tacking to Stay the Course." *Asian Survey*, 39, no. 1 (January/February 1999):99-113.

"Institutions, Informal Politics, and Political Transition in China." *Asian Survey*, 36, no. 3 (March 1996):230-245.

"Neoconservatism and the End of the Dengist Era." *Asian Survey*, 35, no. 7 (July 1995):635-651.

"Notes on the First Session of the Eighth National People's Congress." *The Journal of Contemporary China*, 3 (Summer 1993):81-86.

"China's Thirteenth Party Congress: Explicating the Theoretical Bases of Reform." *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, 7, no. 2 (Summer 1988):41-63.

"The P.R.C.'s Internal Political Dynamics." *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, 6, no. 1 (Spring 1987):3-25.

"In Search of the Shanghai Connection." *Modern China*, 11, no. 1 (January 1985):111-144.

"From Guild to Interest Group: The Transformation of Public and Private in Late Qing China." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 25, no. 4 (October 1983): 617-640.

### **BOOK CHAPTERS:**

"Governance in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective." In Sujian Guo, *State-Society Relations and Governance in China* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 117-126.

"The Elusive Search for Effective Sub-County Governance." In Elizabeth J. Perry and Sebastian Heilmann, eds., *Mao's Invisible Hand: The Political Foundations of Adaptive Governance in China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

"Elite Politics: The Struggle for Normality." In Joseph Fewsmith, ed., *China Today, China Tomorrow: Domestic Politics, Economy, and Society* (Lanham, MD: Roman & Littlefield, 2010), pp. 149-164.

"Political Creativity and Political Reform in China?" in Brantly Womack, ed., *China's Rise in Historical Perspective* (Lanham, MD: Roman& Littlefield, 2010), pp. 227-246.

"Staying in Power: What Does the Chinese Communist Party Have to Do? In Cheng Li, ed., China's Changing Landscape: Prospects for Democracy (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2007).

"Chambers of Commerce in Wenzhou: Toward Civil Society?" in Joseph Fewsmith and Yongnian Zheng, eds., *China's Opening Society: The non-State Sector and Governance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

"The Politics of Economic Liberalization: Are There Limits?" in William W. Keller and Thomas G. Rawski, eds., *China's Rise and the Balance of Influence in Asia* (Pittsburg, PA: The University of Pittsburg Press, 2007), pp. 74-94.

"The Political Economy of Cross-Strait Relations: Economic Interdependence, the WTO, and Security" in Julian Chang and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., *Economic Reform and Cross-Strait Relations: Taiwan and China in the WTO* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007).

"Political Succession: Changing Guards and Changing Rules," in Tun-jen Cheng, Jacques deLisle, and Deborah Brown, eds., *China Under Hu Jintao* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2006), pp. 27-46.

"Hu Jintao's Approach to Governance," in John Wong and Lai Hongyi, eds., *China into the Hu-Wen Era* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2006), pp. 91-118.

"China's Defense Budget: Is There Impending Friction between Defense and Civilian Needs?" in David M. Finelstein and Kristen Gunness, eds., Civil-Military Relations in Today's China (Armonk, NK: ME Sharpe, 2006), pp. 202-213.

- "China," Countries at the Crossroads (New York: Freedom House, 2005).
- "Elite Responses to Social Change and Globalization," in Jude Howell, ed., *Governance in China* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), pp. 19-36.
- "China's Ruling Elite: The Politburo and Central Committee," in Andrew Scobell and Larry Wortzel, eds., *Civil-Military Change in China: Elite Institutions and Ideas after the 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004), pp. 77-94.
- "Does Economic Engagement Change China Politically?" In Kent H. Butts and Edward L. Hughes, eds., *Economics and National Security: The Case of China*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2002.
- "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From? The Party School, Key Think Tanks, and the Intellectuals," in David Finkelstein and Maryanne Kivlehan, eds., *China's Leadership in the Twenty-First Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).
- "China's Government." Chapter 8 in Michael Curtis, ed., *Comparative Politics*, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition.
- "The Evolving Shape of Elite Politics," in Jonathan Unger, ed., *The Nature of Chinese Politics: From Mao to Jiang* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), pp. 258-273.
- "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter? In David M. Lampton, ed., <u>The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy</u>, 1978-2000 (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).
- "Historical Echoes and Chinese Politics: Can China Leave the Twentieth Century Behind?" In Tyrenne White, ed., <u>China Briefing 2000: The Continuing Transformation</u> (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2000), pp. 11-48.
- "Formal Structures, Informal Politics, and Political Change in China." In Lowell Dittmer, Haruhiro Fukui, and Peter N.S. Lee, eds., <u>Informal Politics in East Asia</u>, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp.141-164.
- "Institution Building and Democratization in China." In Howard Handelman and Mark Tessler, eds., <u>Democratization and Its Limits</u> (University of Notre Dame Press, 2000).
- "Elite Politics." In Merle Goldman and Roderick MacFarquhar, eds., <u>The</u> Paradoxes of Reform, Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 47-75.
- "Chinese Politics on the Eve of the Fifteenth Party Congress." China Review,

- 1997 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1997).
- "Plan Versus Market." In Chris Hudson, ed., <u>Regional Handbooks of Economic and Political Development: Prospects into the 21st Century</u>, Volume 1: China (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997).
- "Reaction, Resurgence, and Succession: Chinese Politics Since Tiananmen." In <u>Chinese Politics: The Deng and Mao Eras</u>, edited by Roderick MacFarquhar (2nd edition), pp. 472-531. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- "The Government of China." In <u>Introduction to Comparative Government</u>, edited by Michael Curtis (4th edition), pp. 397-448. New York: HarperCollins, 1997.
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- "American Policy Toward Asia, 1994" (in Japanese). In <u>From Washington: The World Will Be Like This in 1994</u>, edited by Yoshiki Hidaka, 180-202. Tokyo: Kakyushu Kenkyusha, 1994.
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196-214. Tokyo: Kakyushu Kenkyusha, 1993.

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"Chinese Economic Reform: Intellectual Approaches and Political Conflict." In <u>Two Chinese States and Their Societies After Forty Years: Modernization in the People's Republic of China and in the Republic of China</u>, edited by Ramon Myers, 198-228. Stanford: The Hoover Institution, 1990.

"China Among the Three Worlds." <u>East-West Rivalry in the Third World</u>, edited by Robert W. Clawson, 315-334. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1986.

### CHINA LEADERSHIP MONITOR

*China Leadership Monitor* is an e-journal established in 2001 with support of the Smith Richardson Foundation. Based at the Hoover Institution, it is published quarterly. It is available at <a href="www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org">www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org</a>. I have responsibility for the "reform" portfolio, and have contributed the following articles:

"Mao's Shadow." China Leadership Monitor, No. 43 (Winter 2013).

"Debating Constitutional Government." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 42 (Fall 2013).

"Xi Jinping's Fast Start." China Leadership Monitor, No. 41 (Spring 2013).

"The 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: Testing the Limits of Institutionalization." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 40 (Winter 2013).

"De Tocqueville in Beijing." China Leadership Monitor, No. 39 (Fall, 2012).

"Bo Xilai and Reform: What Will Be the Impact of His Removal?" *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 38 (Summer 2012).

"Guangdong Leads Calls to Breakup "Vested Interests" and Revive Reform,"

- China Leadership Monitor, No. 37 (Spring 2012).
- "Social Management' as a Way of Coping with Heightened Social Tensions." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 36 (Winter 2012).
- "Debating 'The China Model'," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 35 (Summer 2011).
- "Political Reform Was Never on the Agenda." *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 34 (Winter 2011).
- "Institutional Reforms in Xian'an," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 33 (Summer 2010).
- "Bo Xilai Takes on Organized Crime" *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 32 (Spring 2010).
- "Inner-Party Democracy: Development and Limitations" *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 31 (Winter 2010).
- "What Zhao Ziyang Tells Us about Elite Politics in the 1980s," in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 30 (Fall 2009).
- "Participatory Budgeting: Development and Limitations," in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 29 (Summer 2009).
- "Social Order in the Wake of Economic Crisis," in *China Leadership Monitor*," No. 28 (Spring 2009).
- "Tackling the Land Issue Carefully," in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 27 (Winter 2009).
- "An 'Anger-Venting' Mass Incident Catches the Attention of China's Leadership," in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Fall 2008).
- "What Happened in Maliu Township?" in *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 25 (Summer 2008).
- "A New Upsurge in Reform? Maybe." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 24 (Spring 2008).
- "The 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: Informal Politics and Formal Institutions." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 23 (Winter 2008).
- "Democracy Is a Good Thing." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22 (Fall 2007).

- "The Political Implications of China's Growing Middle Class." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 21 (Summer 2007).
- "Assessing Social Stability on the Eve of the 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 20 (Winter 2007).
- "Exercising the Power of the Purse?" *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 19 (Fall 2006).
- "Institutional Innovation at the Grassroots Level: Two Case Studies." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 18 (Spring 2006).
- "Promotion of Qiu He Raises Questions about Direction of Reform." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 17 (Winter 2006).
- "Chambers of Commerce in Wenzhou Show Potential ad Limits of 'Civil Society' in China." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 16 (Fall 2005).
- "Taizhou Area Explores Ways to Improve Local Governance." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 15 (Summer 2005).
- "China Under Hu Jintao." China Leadership Monitor, No. 14 (Spring 2005).
- "CCP Launches Campaign to Maintain the Advanced Nature of Party Members." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 13 (Winter 2005).
- "Pressures for Expanding Local-Level Democracy." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 12 (Fall 2004).
- "Promoting the Social Development Concept." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 11 (Summer 2004).
- "Continuing Pressures on Social Order." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 10 (Spring 2004).
- "The Third Plenary Session of the 16<sup>th</sup> Central Committee." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 9 (Winter 2004).
- "Studying the Three Represents." China Leadership Monitor, No. 8 (Fall 2003).
- "China's Response to SARS." China Leadership Monitor, No. 7 (Summer 2003).
- "China's Domestic Agenda: Social Pressures and Public Opinion." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 6 (Spring 2003).
- "The 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: Implications for Understanding Chinese Politics."

China Leadership Monitor, No. 5 (Winter 2003).

"The 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: A Preview." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 4 (Fall 2002).

"Social Issues Move to Center Stage." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 3 (Summer 2002).

"Rethinking the Role of the CCP: Explicating Jiang Zemin's Party Anniversary Speech." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 2 (Spring 2002).

"Is Political Reform Ahead? Beijing Confronts Problems Facing Society – and the CCP." *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 1 (Winter 2002).

### **OTHER JOURNAL ARTICES:**

"The 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: What's at Stake?" *Current History*, vol. 111, No. 746 (September 2012): 203-208.

"The Political Economy of China's Transition," Policy Brief in Randall Peerenboom, ed., *Is China Trapped in Transition: Implications for Future Reforms* (Oxford: Foundation for Law, Justice and Society, 2007).

"China's New Leadership: A One-Year Assessment," *Orbis*, vol. 48, no. 2 (Spring 2004).

"China and the Politics of SARS." *Current History*, vol. 102, no. 665 (September 2003), pp. 250-255.

"President Hu Jintao: Riding the Tiger of Politics and Public Health." In *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 50, no. 5, September 2003:14-21.

"Il Capitalismo Communista" (Communist Capitalism), in *Aspenia*, no. 23 (2003): 34-41.

"Generational Transition in China," *The Washington Quarterly*, v. 25, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 23-35.

"Hu Jintao and Political Succession in the PRC." In John Tkacik, Joseph Fewsmith, and Maryan Kivlehan, *Hu's Hu? Assessing China's Heir Apparent, Hu Jintao* (Heritage Foundation: Heritage Lectures, no. 736 [April 19, 2002]).

"The Politics of China's Accession to WTO," <u>Current History</u>, vol. 99, no. 638 (September 2000):268-273.

- "The Impact of WTO/PNTR on Chinese Politics," <u>NBR Analysis</u>, vol. 11, no 2 (July 2000).
- "China and the WTO: The Politics Behind the Agreement," <u>NBR Analysis</u>, Vol. 10, no. 5 (December 1999).
- "The Impact of the Kosovo Conflict on China's Political Leaders and Prospects for WTO Accession," <u>NBR Briefing</u>, National Bureau of Asian Research, July 1999.
- "Jiang Zemin Takes Command," in Current History (September 1998):250-256.
- "China's Domestic Politics and Hong Kong," National Bureau of Asian Research, Analysis, vol. 8, no. 3 (June 1997), <u>The Hong Kong Transition and U.S.-China Relations</u>, pp. 27-37.
- "Chinese Elite Politics in Historical Perspective: Issues of Continuity and Discontinuity," in <u>Structural Change in Contemporary China</u>, no. 3 (March 1997):
- "Jockeying for Position in the Post-Deng Era." <u>Current History</u>, 94, no. 593 (September 1995):252-258.
- "China's Response to the 'Asianization' of Asia." <u>In Depth</u>, 4, no. 3 (Fall 1994):105-119.
- "America and China: Back From the Brink." <u>Current History</u>, 93, no. 584 (September 1994):250-255.
- "Economic Reform in China and Its Implications for United States' Policy." In Depth, 3, no. 3 (Fall 1993).
- "China After the Collapse of the CPSU." <u>Strategic Review</u>, 20, no. 1 (Winter 1992):76-80.
- "Agricultural Crisis in China." <u>Problems of Communism</u>, 37, no. 6 (November-December 1988):78-92.
- "Special Economic Zones in the PRC." <u>Problems of Communism</u>, 35, no. 6 (November-December 1986):78-85.
- "Rural Reform in China: Stage Two." <u>Problems of Communism</u>, 34, no. 4 (July-August 1985):48-55.
- "Response to Eastman." Republican China, 9, no. 2 (February 1984):19-27.

### **BOOK REVIEWS:**

Will China Democratize? If So, When and How?" (Review of Bruce Gilley, *China's Democratic Future: How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead*), in Taiwan Journal of Democracy, v. 1, n. 2 (December 2005): 151-154.

Review of <u>Unstately Power</u>, <u>Vol. I: Local Causes of China's Economic Reforms</u>, and <u>Vol. II: Local Causes of China's Intellectual, Legal, and Governmental Reforms</u>, by Lynn T. White, III (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1998). In <u>American Political Science Review</u>, vol. 94, no. 2 (June 2000):499-500.

Review of <u>Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China</u>, by Yongnian Zheng (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). In <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>, vol. 115, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 306-308.

Review of <u>Proletarian Power: Shanghai in the Clutural Revolution</u>, by Elizabeth J. Perry and Li Xun (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997). In <u>Journal of Politics</u>, vol. 60, no. 2 (1998):569-571.

Review of <u>China's Quest for Modenization: A Historical Perspective</u>, ed. by Frederick Wakeman and Wang Xi (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997). In The China Quarterly

Review of *Jiaofeng: Sanci Sixiang Jiefang Shilu* (Crossed Swords: A True Account of the Three Periods of Ideological Liberation) by Ma Licheng and Ling Zhijun (Beijing: Jinri Zhongguo Chubansh, 1998), 426 pp. In *Foreign Policy*, No. 113 (Winter 1998-99), pp. 107-110.

Review of <u>Burying Mao</u>, by Richard Baum (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Monumenta Serica, 44 (1996), pp. 544-546.

Review of <u>China Awakenings</u>, by James and Ann Tyson (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995) and <u>China Pop</u>, by Jianying Zha (New York: The New Press, 1995), <u>The Christian Science Monitor</u>, September 6, 1995, p. 13.

Review of <u>Ershi shiji Zhongguo zhengzhi: Cong hongguan lishi yu weiguan xingdong jiaodu kan</u> (Twentieth Century Chinese Politics: Viewed from the Perspective of Macro History and Micro Action), by Zou Dang [Tang Tsou] (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994). <u>The Journal of Contemporary China</u>, no. 8 (Spring 1995):106-112.

Review of <u>China Review</u>, 1993, edited by Joseph Yu-shek and Maurice Brosseau (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1993). <u>The China</u>

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Review of <u>Disanzhi yanjing kan Zhongguo</u> (Looking at China Through a Third Eye), by Luo yi ning ge er [pseud.], translated by Wang Shan (Taiyuan: Shanxi Publishing House, 1994). <u>The Journal of Contemporary China</u>, no. 7 (Fall 1994):100-104.

Review of <u>Riding the Tiger: The Politics of Economic Reform in Post-Mao</u> China, by Gordon White (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994):279-282.

Review of <u>Schoolhouse Politicians</u>: <u>Locality and State During the Chinese Republic</u>, by Helen R. Chauncey (Honoloulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), <u>American Historical Review</u>, 99, no. 1 (February 1994):284-285.

Review of <u>China: From Revolution to Reform</u>, by Sheng Hua, Xuejun Zhang, and Xiaopeng Luo (London: Macmillan, 1993). <u>Journal of Asian Studies</u>, 52, no. 4 (November 1993):979-980.

Review of <u>Research in Asian Economic Studies</u>, Vol. 3, edited by M. Dutta and Zhang Zhongji (Greenwich, Connecticut and London: JAI Press Inc., 1991). <u>The China Quarterly</u>, 136 (December 1993):1007.

Review of <u>The Chinese State in the Era of Economic Reform</u>, edited by Gordon White (London: Macmillan, 1991). <u>The China Quarterly</u>, 131 (September 1992):823-824.

### **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

"Feedback Without Pushback? Innovations in Local Governance," Statement to the Congressional Executive Commission on China Roundtable on "Political Change in China? Public Participation and Local Governance Reforms," Washington, D.C., May 15, 2006

"Statement to the Congressional Executive Commission on China," Washington, D.C., July 24, 2003

"Statement to the House Subcommittee on East Asia and the Pacific," Washington, D.C., April 25, 2001

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### **NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINEARTICLES:**

"Now for the Hard Part: Into the Next Decade," in Global Asia, Vol. 5, no. 2

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"Hu Jintao: Hopes and Dilemmas." Written for Forbes.com (URL: forbes.com/2007/10/20/china -congress-leaders-oped-cxjfs1022leasders.html)

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### **EDITED TRANSLATIONS:**

<u>Threats to Social Stability in China</u>, *The Chinese Economy*, vol. 36, no. 5 (September-October 2003).

<u>Hangzhou Symposium on Modernization, Globalization, and China's Path, Part IV</u>, *The Chinese Economy*, vo.36, no. 4 (July-August 2003).

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<u>Reflections on the Economic Reform Process</u> (II) *Chinese Economic Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (March-April 1996)

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<u>Agricultural Reform: Excerpts from Xiangxia sanshi nian</u>, Chinese Economic Studies, 28, no. 5 (September-October 1995).

Wang Shaoguang Proposal (II) by Wang Shaoguang and Hu Angang. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 28, no. 4 (July-August 1995).

Wang Shaoguang Proposal (I) by Wang Shaoguang and Hu Angang. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 28, no. 3 (May-June 1995).

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Neoconservatism in China, Chinese Economic Studies, M.E. Sharpe, 28, no. 2 (May-June 1994).

<u>Gao Xiaomeng on China's Grain Situation</u>. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 27, no. 3 (May-June 1994).

<u>China: Going to the Market</u>, by Lin Zili. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 27, nos. 1-2 (Jan-Feb,/Mar-Apr. 1994).

<u>The Emergence of Greater China</u>. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 26, no. 6 (Winter 1993).

<u>Lin Ling on Sichuan's Economic Reform</u>. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 26, no. 4 (Summer 1993).

<u>Criticism of Reform, 1981-1982</u>. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M. E. Sharpe, 26, no. 3 (Spring 1993).

<u>Deficits in Chinese Industrial Enterprises</u> (II). *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 26, no. 2 (Spring 1993).

<u>Deficits in Chinese Industrial Enterprises (I)</u>. *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 26, no. 1 (Fall 1992).

<u>China's Coastal Development</u> (II). *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 25, no. 3 (Spring 1992) (with Gary Zou).

<u>China's Coastal Development</u> (I). *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 25, no. 1 (Fall 1991 (with Gary Zou).

China's Midterm Economic Structural Reform, 1988-1995. Chinese Law and Government, M.E. Sharpe, 22, no. 4 (Winter 1989-90).

<u>The Debate on China's Macroeconomic Situation</u> (II). *Chinese Economic Studies*, M.E. Sharpe, 23, no. 3 (Spring 1990).

### SELECTED LIST OF PRESENTATIONS

### 1991

Association of Asian Studies: Organized and chaired panel on "New Authoritarianism." (March).

Conference on "The State Council and Economic Development," sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Relations. Paper presented: "The Chinese 'Power Float:' Where Decisions are Made and Why." I organized this three-day symposium and chaired all three days. (October).

#### 1992

Smith College: "The Political-Economy of Post-Tiananmen China" (March).

New England China Seminar, Harvard University: "From Reform to Retrenchment: The

Politics of Economic Reform in China, 1979-1981" (May).

University of California, San Diego. Participant and discussant in Workshop on "Leaders, Institutions and Politics in the People's Republic of China" (August).

### 1993

Association for Asian Studies: "Neo-Conservatism in China" (March).

American Political Science Association: "Neo-conservatism" (August).

### <u>1994</u>

Association for Asian Studies: "Political Conflict in the Deng Xiaoping Era: Exploring the Structural Dimensions" (March).

Workshop on East Asia: Politics, Economy, and Society at the University of Chicago:

"Political Conflict in China Under Reform" (April).

Research Course in Modern Chinese History and Society, Bergen, Norway: "Approaches to the Study of Republican China" and "China's Policy-Making Process" (June).

Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China: "China's Reform and Opening Up and Sino-U.S. Relations" (August).

Conference on Sino-U.S. Relations, Beijing: "China's Response to the 'Asianization' of Asia" (August).

### 1995

Shorenstein symposium on "East Asian Development Strategies and International Conflict: Issues for the 21st Century, co-sponsored by the Shorenstein Foundation and the Center for Chinese Studies, University of California Berkeley in Berkeley, California: "Institutions, Informal Politics, and Regime Transformation" (March).

Southern California Regional China Seminar, held at the University of California, Los Angeles: "Neoconservatism and the End of the Dengist Era" (March).

Association for Asian Studies, "Institutions, Informal Politics, and Regime Transformation" (April).

Conference on "Shifting Relations Among the World's Major Powers" at National Defense University: "China's Domestic Politics and the International Situation" (November).

### 1996

- Conference on the "Noneconomic Impact of Economic Reform in China," John King Fairbank Center, Harvard University: "The Impact of Reform on Elite Politics" (September).
- Seminar on International Relations of the Asia-Pacific at Shizuoka University: "China After Deng: Will It Be Stable?" (November)
- Conference on "Contemporary China Through Its History -- Continuity and Discontinuity," Tokyo: "Chinese Elite Politics in Historical Perspective: Issues of Continuity and Discontinuity" (November).
- Institute for Infrastructure Finance, Metropolitan Club, New York City: "Inside China" (December).

### 1997

- Association for Asian Studies: "The Social Legacy of Reform: How Fertile Is the Ground for Neoconservatism?" (March).
- Conference on "Democracy and Its Limits" at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee: "The Problem of Democracy in China" (May).

Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, VA.: "The Political Transition in China." (May)

- Conference on "The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform" (Washington, D.C.): "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" (February).
- Conference on "Policy-Making in Contemporary China" sponsored by the UCLA Center for Chinese Studies and the Center for Pacific Rim Studies, Los Angeles: "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" (April).
- Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark: "The Impact of Reform on Elite Politics" (April).

- Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University, Lund, Sweden: "The Impact of Reform on Elite Politics" (April).
- Foreign Policy Association, Lund University, Lund, Sweden: "China: A new Rising Threat for the U.S.?" (April).
- Tamjiang University, Taipei, Taiwan: "Chinese Domestic Politics" (July).

  "Jiang Zemin's Road to Power: The Political Dynamic of Post-Tiananmen China," Presented to the Conference on China in Transition, Utah State University, September 11-13.
- Conference on "Federalism in Russia: Is It Working?" organized by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the U.S. Department of State and the National Intelligence Council: "Federalism' in China" (December).

## <u>1999</u>

- Conference on "The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform" (Washington, D.C.): "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does 'Public Opinion' Matter?" (February).
- Conference on "After Two Decades of Reform: China in Asia and Beyond," at St. Anthony's College, Oxford: "Jiang Zemin's Road to Power." (February).

### 2000

Member, Carter Center Delegation to inspect village elections in China (January)

- "The Political Leadership of Jiang Zemin," Amreican Political Science Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2.
- "The Political Implications of the WTO Agreement on Agriculture." Paper presented to the OECD workshop on "China's Integration into the International Trading System: Issues for, and Impacts on, Agriculture," Paris, France, November 16-17.

- "Power Transition, Interest Readjustment, and Political Institutionalization in China." Paper presented at the annul conference of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2.
- "Elite Responses to WTO, Globalization, and Political Reform." Paper presented to the Forum on Governance in China," September 11-13, Institute of Development

- Studies, University of Sussex, Sussex, England.
- "The Enlightenment Tradition Under Challenge." Paper presented to the conference on China's Intellectuals and Social Power in the Twenty-First Century," Colorado College, October 26-28.
- "CCP's Path for Renewal: Will the Upcoming Leaders Make a Difference?" Talk at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies "China Forum" November 14.
- "Does Economic Engagement Change China Politically?" Paper presented at the conference on "Economics and National Security: The Case of China," U.S. Army War College, Carlisle, PA, November 27-28.
- "Informing the Leadership: The Party School and Key Think Tanks." Paper presented at the "China's Leadership Transition Prospects and Implications," Center for Naval Analysis, Washington, D.C. Dec. 2-4.
- "The Evolving Shape of Elite Politics." Paper Presented to the China Forum, Columbia University, Dec. 13.

- "Hu Jintao and Political Succession in China." Presented at a Heritage Foundation forum on "Who's Hu?" in Washington, D.C., February 27.
- "The Role of Public Opinion." Presentation at forum on "China's Changing Foreign Policy: Public Opinion, WTO, and Taiwan," sponsored by The National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and the China Research Center, Georgia Institute of Technology, March 20.
- "Is Political Reform on the PRC Agenda?" Presentation at the Executive Briefing, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, March 28.
- "The Impact of Leadership Changes." Presentation at United States Institute of Peace and CPSIS Seminar, Washington, D.C., March 29.
- "Political and Social Trends in China" and "China's Foreign and Security Policies." Panel participation at Council of World Affairs symposium on "China: A Twenty-First Superpower?" in Cincinnati, April 22.

### 2003

"The New Politburo and Central Committee." Paper presented to the conference, "After the 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress: The Civil and the Military." U.S. Army War

- College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, 19-21 September.
- "Elite Change and Prospects for Political Reform," Presented at the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, conference on "The Future of Political Reform in China," January 29.
- "Hu Jintao After One Year," presented at the New England China Seminar, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, February 3.

- "Intellectual Trends in China in the 1990s." Presented at the First Senior Scholars Seminar hosted by the Institute of China Contemporary Studies. Beijing, September 27-29.
- "What Kind of Party Is This?" Presented at POSRI International Forum on China's Development: Key Challenges for China's Sustained Growth," Seoul, Korea, November 10-11.
- "What Kind of Party Is This?" Presented at Case Western Reserve University, November 13.

#### 2005

- "Changing Methodology of Beijingology." Presented at seminar on "Behind the Bamboo Curtain: Chinese Leadership, Politics, and Policy," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., November 2.
- "Hu Jintao's Approach to Governance." Presented at National University of Singapore, August 15.
- "What Kind of Party Is This?" Presented at the University of Michigan, October 21.
- "The Washington Consensus." Talk given at conference on "The Washington Consensus and the Beijing Consensus." Tianjin Normal University, August 10.

- "What Kind of Party Is This?" Paper presented to the Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, April 7, 2006.
- "Two-Level Games as Reflected in PRC Policy Toward Taiwan," presentation to Harvard seminar on two-level games, April 23.
- "Religion and the Rule of Law in China." Presentation to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and the National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D.C., April 12, 2006.
- "Feedback without Pushback? Institutional Innovation in Local Governance,"

- Testimony to the Congressional Executive Commission on China, May 15, 2006.
- "Chambers of Commerce in Wenzhou," Presentation at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, May 15, 2006.
- "Institutional Innovation and Reform of the CCP," Presentation to the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Washington, D.C., May 16, 2006.

- "The Political Economy of China's Trapped transition." Presented at conference on "China's Trapped Transition?" Oxford University, March 15-16, 2007.
- "Staying in Power: What Does the Chinese Communist Party have to Do?" Presented at the Brookings Institution's conference on "Changes in China's Political Landscape: The 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and Beyond, April 12-13, 2007.
- "Local Conflict and Institution Building in China." Presented at conference on "Civil Society and Local Governance in China," Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China, May 23, 2007.
- "The Problem of Governance in China." Presented to the conference on "Adaptive Authoritarianism: China's Party-State Resilience in Historical Perspective" at Trier University, Germany.
- "The Seventeenth Party Congress: Outcome and Implications." Presented at Chatham House, London, England, November 16, 2007.

- "Political Challenges over the Next Five Years." Presentation to the U.S.-China Business Council, Washington, D.C., January 31, 2008.
- "China: Is Political Reform Possible?" Presentation at Middlebury College, March 3, 2008.
- "Who's Afraid of a Rising China?" Hamilton Hall lecture, Salem, MA, March 13, 2008.
- "Institutionalization and Its Limits." Presentation to the conference on "China's New Leadership: The Outlook for Politics and Policy," at the John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., April 7, 2008.
- "The Question of Institutionalization." Keynote address to the "Workshop on Political Change," University of Toronto, April 4, 2008.

- "Is Political Reform Sustainable?" Paper presented at Miller Center, University of Virginia, April 24, 2009.
- "Social Stability and Economic Crisis." Presentation to the National Committee on US-China Relations, New York, May 14, 2009.
- "Innovation and Institutionalization in Local Government in China." Presentation to the Zhejiang Provincial Party School, Hangzhou, China, July 27, 2009.
- "Participatory Budgeting; Development and Limitations." Presentation at conference on "*Economic Society Development and Democratic Political Building*," cosponsored by the Institute of Political Studies of CASS and the Zhejiang Provincial Party School, Hangzhou, China, October 25, 2009.
- "What Does Zhao Ziyang Tell Us about Chinese Politics." Presentation at New England China Seminar, Fairbank Center, Harvard University, December 2, 2009.
- "Institutions, Institutionalization, and Governance." Keynote address the conference on Zhejiang's Developmental Experience and China's Development Model," Zhejiang University, Hangzhou, China, December 5, 2009.

- "China's Political Economy," Presented at *China: Still the Land of Opportunity*, February 25, 2010.
- "Institutions, Institutionalization, and Governance in China." Presented at Harvard-Yenching Institute, March 3, 2010.
- "China in the 2000s: Reshaping the Party." Presented at Stanford University, May 6, 2010.
  - "The Logic and Limits of Inner-Party Democracy." Presented at conference on Governance and Legitimacy at Fudan University, July 4, 2010.
- "Local Budgets in Wenling and New England." Presented at conference on Local Government and Governance, July 6, 2010.
- "Where Do Institutions Come From?" Presented at Zhejiang University, July 9, 2010.

"Institutions, Institutionalization, and Governance", presented at "2010 Advanced Summer Seminar in Social Sciences" at Fudan University, July 13, 2010.

"The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China." Presented at the U. S. Naval War College, Newport, RI, September 14, 2010.

"The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China." Presented at Benedictine University, Lisle, Ilinois, September 22, 2010.

"The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China." Presented to the King's College, China Institute, Distinguished Lecture Series, London, November 5, 2010.

"China in the Contemporary World." Presentation to Wilton Park Conference, "Dialogue with China on Harmonious Society: Governance, Participation, and Social Cohesion," November 6, 2010.

"Institutions, Institutionalization, and Governance in China." Talk presented to the Ash Institute, Harvard University, December 8, 2010.

### 2011

"The Party and Corruption." Paper presented to conference on "Corruption in China: Current Trends and Future Prospects," hosted by CENTRA Technologies, Arlington, VA. March 23.

"The China Model: Path to the Future or Another Dead End?" Presented as keynote address to the 13<sup>th</sup> Young Overseas Chinese Forum Annual Conference, St. Lawrence University, Clinton, NY., May 14.

"Leadership Jockeying and Institutional Issues" and "Stability Issues." Presentations to INR/NIC Conference on "Leadership Transitions in China and Tibet,' Meridian House, Washington, DC., June 14.

"Political Institutionalization and Political Development." Presentation at Zhejiang University. August 16.

### 2012

"The Logic and Limits of Political Reform in China." Rawson Memorial Lecture, Tufts University. March 9.

"Toward the  $18^{\rm th}$  Party Congress." GIGA, Waterloo, Canada. March 19.

- "China and Political Science." Shanghai Forum. Shanghai, China. May 29.
- "Prospects for Political Reform." Department of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. June 25.
- "The 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington, D.C. October 18.
- "Leadership Transition and the Future of China." Georgia Tech, Atlanta. October 23.
- "Leadership Transition and the Future of China." Conversation, The Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia, October 24.
- "China's New Leadership and the Bo Xilai Scandal." Suffolk University, Boston, MA. October 30.
- "The 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and the Future of Political Reform in China." Presented to the Asia Research Center, Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen, Denmark, December 3.
- "The 18<sup>th</sup> Party Congress and the Future of China." Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, December 7.
- "China's New Leadership: Implications for Reform." Presented to the Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies, Brussels, Belgium.

### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE**

2010-2012	Director, BU Center for the Study of Asia
2007- 2010:	Member, President's Council on the Global University
1992-1993:	Acting Director of the East Asian Interdisciplinary Studies Program.
1993-2010:	Director of the East Asian Interdisciplinary Studies Program.
1995-1997:	Associate Chairman for Undergraduate Studies, Department of International Relations.
1993-1994:	Chair, Japan Search Committee, Department of International Relations. Resulted in the recruitment of one faculty member.
1995-1996:	Chair, Political Economy Search Committee, Department of

	International Relations. Resulted in the recruitment of two faculty members.
1996-1997:	Member, Japan History Search Committee. History Department. Resulted in recruitment of one faculty member.
1998-1999:	Member, Senior Faculty Search Committee, Department of International Relations. Resulted in recruitment of six faculty members.
Spring 1997:	Member, CAS Area Studies Committee.
1991-1992:	Member, University Presidential Scholarship Committee.
1992-1995:	Member, Case-Melville Scholarship Committee.
1992-1995:	Member, Social Science Curriculum Committee.
1996-1997:	Chair, Social Science Curriculum Committee.
1991-1995:	Member, Department of International Relations Graduate Admissions Committee.
Oct. 1993:	Participated in Boston University Open House.
Oct. 1994:	Participated in Boston University Open House.
Oct. 1995:	Participated in Boston University Open House.
Oct. 1996:	Participated in Boston University Open House.
1991-1995:	Faculty Advisor, International Relations Society.
1992-1994:	Faculty Advisor, Forum on East Asian Studies.
1992-1995:	Faculty Advisor, China Forum.

# **COURSES TAUGHT**

IR 271	Introduction to International Relations (Spring 1994)
IR 271 HP	Introduction to International Relations/Honors section (Spring 1994)
IR 275	The Pacific Challenge (Fall 1993-2007)
IR 370	Chinese Politics (Fall 1991-1992)
IR 370	China: Revolution to Reform (Reorganized from Chinese Politics)

	(Fall 1993-present)
IR 371	Political and Economic Problems of China (Fall 1991-1992)
HI 390	Modern Chinese History (Spring 1992)
IR 513/PO 546 Bureaucracy and Governance: A Comparative Inquiry (Spring 2009 and	
Spring 2011)	
IR 577	Foreign Policy of the PRC (Spring 1993-present)
IR 582	Taiwan: Politics and Transformation (Fall, 2009 and 2011)
IR 585	Problems and Issues in Post-Mao China (Spring 1992-present)
IR 764	Seminar on China in the Contemporary World (2008 and 2010)

# **GRANTS RECEIVED**

"Weighing Alternative Strategies for China's Transition: The Debates and the Debaters" (with Stanley Rosen of the University of Southern California). Funded in 1997 by the Smith Richardson Foundation for \$118,597.

Named Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, Fall 2005.