

Curriculum Vitae

CHENG LI

Citizenship: U.S.A.

EDUCATION

1992 Ph.D. (Political Science) **Princeton University**
1989 M.A. (Political Science) **Princeton University**
1987 M.A. (Asian Studies) **University of California, Berkeley**
1985 B.A. (English Literature) **East China Normal University, Shanghai**

CURRENT POSITIONS

2014-present **Director**, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings
Institution, Washington, D.C.
2007-present **Senior Fellow**, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings
Institution, Washington, D.C.

WORK EXPERIENCE

2009-2014 **Director of Research**, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings
Institution, Washington, D.C.
2003-2009 **William R. Kenan Professor of Government**, Hamilton College, Clinton NY
2006-2007 **Visiting Fellow**, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings
Institution, Washington, D.C.
2005-2006 **Nonresident Senior Fellow**, **The Brookings Institution**, Washington, D.C.
2004-2006 **Chair**, Asian Studies Program, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY
2002-2003 **Fellow**, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC
2001-2002 **Acting Chair**, Department of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY
1999-2003 **Professor**, Department of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY
1997-1999 **Associate Professor**, Dept. of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY
1992-1997 **Assistant Professor**, Dept. of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY
1993-1995 **Fellow**, Institute of Current World Affairs, Hanover, NH
1991-1992 **Instructor**, Department of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS

2019-present **Director**, the Board of Directors of the National Committee on U.S.-China
Relations
2019-present **Member**, the Visiting Committee to the Social Science Research Council
(SSRC) in the United States

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS (continued)

- 2018-present **Distinguished Fellow**, Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, University of Toronto
- 2018-present **Non-Resident Affiliated Fellow**, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale University
- 2016-present **Adviser**, SupChina Advisory Board (A New York-based media company dedicated to covering all the news about China)
- 2014-present **Member**, the Issues Committee, Committee of 100
- 2013-present **Editorial Board Member**, *The China Report* (India)
- 2012-present **Member**, the Nomination Committee of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations
- 2010-present **Member**, Council on Foreign Relations
- 2010-present **Editorial Board Member**, *21st Century International Review*
- 2006-present **Member**, Committee of 100, New York
- 2002-present **Member**, National Committee on United States-China Relations
- 1995-present **Member**, Institute of Current World Affairs, Washington DC
- 2010-2019 **Editorial Board Member**, *Asia Policy*
- 2012-2018 **Director**, the Board of Directors of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations
- 2012-2018 **Member**, the Executive Committee of National Committee on U.S.-China Relations
- 2014-2016 **Co-Chair**, the Issues Committee, Committee of 100
- 2012-2015 **Trustee**, Institute of Current World Affairs, Washington D.C.
- 2012-2013 **Chair** of Nomination Committee, Institute of Current World Affairs, Washington D.C.
- 2012-2013 **Senior Adviser**, Teneo.
- 2011-2015 **Co-Chair**, Advisory Committee, China's Rising Leaders Project, the National Bureau of Asian Research
- 2010-2015 **Adviser**, Center on U.S.-China Relations, Asia Society
- 2008-2013 **Director**, Committee of 100, New York
- 2005-2015 **Adviser**, the Academic Advisory Group of the U.S.-China Working Group (USCWG), the United States Congress
- 2005-2015 **Editorial Board Member**, *Journal of Public Management*
- 2001-2016 **Adviser and Commentator**, Hoover Institution's "China Leadership Project," Stanford University, CA
- 2009-2012 **Adviser**, World Bank (Independent Evaluation Group's External Advisory Board)
- 2009-2011 **Vice Chair**, Committee of 100
- 2008-2011 **Member**, the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the National Committee on United States-China Relations
- 2007-2009 **Member**, the Issues Committee, Committee of 100
- 2007-2008 **Co-Chair**, the Public Opinion Survey Research Project, Committee of 100
- 2005-2011 **Director**, the Board of Directors of the National Committee on United States-China Relations
- 2005-2008 **Adviser**, the Public Intellectual Program Advisory Committee of The National Committee on United States-China Relations

BOARD MEMBERSHIPS AND OTHER AFFILIATIONS (continued)

- 2005-2008 **Adviser**, the Advisory Committee for the China Future Initiative, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Institute for International Economics (IIE)
- 2005-2008 **Adviser**, International Media Division, World Security Institute, Washington, D.C.
- 2005-2008 **Guest Professor**, the School of Management, Harbin Institute of Technology, Harbin, China
- 2005-2007 **Member**, Task Force on U.S. Policy toward China, Council on Foreign Relations
- 2004-2010 **Board Member**, *Washington Observer*, Washington D.C.
- 2004-2010 **Member**, the Advisory Board of *China Vitae*, Washington D.C.
- 2003-2010 **Trustee**, Institute of Current World Affairs, Hanover, NH
- 2003-2004 **Secretary**, Institute of Current World Affairs, Hanover, NH
- 2002-2008 **Member**, The U.S. National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.
- 2002-2008 **Council Member**, Institute for International Research, The Hopkins-Nanjing Center
- 2001-2004 **Adviser**, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University, Shanghai

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

- 2021 ***Middle Class Shanghai: Reshaping U.S.-China Engagement*** (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press).
- 2017 ***The Power of Ideas: The Rising Influence of Thinkers and Think Tanks in China*** (Singapore: World Scientific Press).
- 2016 ***Chinese Politics in the Xi Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership*** (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press).
- 2014 ***China's Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives*** (co-edited). (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press).
- 2013 ***Zhongguo yancao de zhengzhi bantu: Yancao hangye yu kongyan yundong boyi (China's Tobacco Industry and Anti-smoking Campaign: Politics and Policies)***. (New York: The Mirror Books)
- 2012 ***The Political Mapping of China's Tobacco Industry and Anti-Smoking Campaign*** (Washington D.C.: John L. Thornton China Center Monograph Series)
- 2012 ***Tongwang Zhongnanhai zhilu – Zhonggong shibada zhiqian gaoceng lingdao qunti (The Road to Zhongnanhai: High-Level Leadership Groups on the Eve of the 18th Party Congress)***. (New York: The Mirror Books)

BOOKS (continued)

- 2010 ***China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation*** (ed.)
(Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press).
- 2008 ***China's Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy*** (ed.)
(Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press).
- 2005 ***Bridging Minds across the Pacific: U.S.-China Educational Exchanges
1978-2003*** (ed.) (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books).
- 2001 ***China's Leaders: The New Generation*** (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman &
Littlefield Publishers).
- 1997 ***Rediscovering China: Dynamics and Dilemmas of Reform*** (Lanham,
Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers).

WORK IN PROGRESS (Book Projects)

Xi Jinping's Protégés: Rising Elite Groups in the Chinese Leadership (book manuscript,
to be completed by October 2021).

China's Youth: Increasing Diversity amid Lasting Inequality. By Li Chunling, the
Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series, Vol. 5 (Washington D.C.: Brookings
Institution Press, to be published in September 2021, as editor of the volume. In
addition, I contribute a long introduction).

BOOK CHAPTERS

- 2021 "Intra-Party Elite Politics: Reign and Resilience in the Xi Jinping Era." In
Jacques deLisle and Yang Guobin (eds.), ***The Chinese Communist Party at
100: Assessing Its Roles***. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania
Press, forthcoming).
- 2021 "Biden's China Strategy: Coalition-driven Competition or Cold-War-style
Confrontation?" In Mohammed Al-Ali and Ahmad Al-Astad (eds), ***The
First 100 Days of the Biden Presidency***. (Abu Dhabi, UAE: Trends
Publications, forthcoming).
- 2021 "Xi Jinping's 'Progress': Domestic Moves toward a Global China." In
Tarun Chhabra, Rush Doshi, Ryan Hass, and Emilie Kimball (eds), ***The
Global China: Assessing China's Growing Role in the World***
(Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming).
- 2020 "Avoiding Three Traps in Confronting China's Party-State." In Ryan
Hass, Ryan McElveen, and Robert Williams (eds), ***The Future U.S.
Policy toward China: Recommendations for the Biden Administration***.
(Monograph jointly published by John L. Thornton China Center and
Yale Law School Paul Tsai China Center), pp. 8-14.

BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- 2020 “Lessons from China’s Economic Reopening.” In John R. Allen and Darrell M. West (eds), *Reopening the World: How to Save Lives and Livelihood*. (Brookings Institution e-book), pp. 53-58, (joint article, primary author).
- 2019 “Xi Jinping’s Power and Political Risks.” in William A. Joseph (ed.), *Politics in China* (New York: Oxford University Press), 3rd and enlarged edition, 201-236.
- 2018 “Tobacco Governance: Elite Politics, Subnational Stakeholders, and Historical Contexts,” in Mathew Kohrman, ed. *Poisonous Pandas: Chinese Cigarettee Manufacturing in Cirtcal Historical Perspectives*. (Palo Alto, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2018), pp. 179-204.
- 2017 “Political Elites in China: A Dynamic Balance between Integration and Differentiation,” in Heinrich Best and John Higley, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Political Elites*. (London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmilan), pp. 295-314.
- 2015 “Introduction: Bringing Ethics Back into Chinese Discourse” In He Huaihong, *Moral Decay or Ethical Awakening? Social Ethics in a Changing China*. (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, xv-xl).
- 2015 “China’s Domestic Dynamics: Implications for India and the United States.” *The Second Modi-Obama Summit: Building the India-U.S. Partnership*, Strobe Talbott (ed.). *Brookings*, pp. 19-21.
- 2015 “China’s Future Challenges.” *Global Prospects for 2018-23*. (Tokyo: Hitachi Research Institute Publication), pp. 21-24.
- 2014 “China’s Robust Scholarship in Political Science and the Dilemma of Political Reform (Preface,” in Kenneth Lieberthal and Cheng Li (eds), *China’s Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, joint article), pp. ix-xiii.
- 2014 “The Local Factor in China’s Intra-Party Democracy,” in Kate Xiao Zhou, Shelley Rigger, and Lynn T. White III (eds.) *Democratization in China, Korea, and Southeast Asia? Local and National Perspectives*. (London: Routledge), pp. 87-109.
- 2014 “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power.” in William A. Joseph (ed.), *Politics in China* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2nd and enlarged edition, pp. 192-223.
- 2013 “Zhongguo zhengzhi xuejie de huoli he zhengzhi gaige de kunjing” (The vitality of Chinese political science versus the predicament of China’s political reform), in Yu Keping, Kenneth Lieberthal, and others (eds.), *Zhongguo de zhengzhi fazhan: Zhongmei xuezhe de shijiao* (China’s political development: From the View of American and Chinese Scholars), joint article, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, pp. 31-38 (joint article).
- 2013 “*Ping Jing Yuejin’s lunwen*” (Commentary on Jing Yuejin’s chapter) in Yu Keping, Kenneth Lieberthal, and others (eds.), *Zhongguo de zhengzhi fazhan” Zhongmei xuezhe de shijiao* (China’s political development: From the View of American and Chinese Scholars). Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, pp. 339-346.

BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- 2013 “Top-Level Reform or Bottom-Up Revolution?” in Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, (eds.), *Will China Democratize?* Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, pp. 51-58.
- 2013 “China in Revolution and War,” in Martin Indyk, Tanvi Madan, and Thomas Wright, (eds.), *A Presidential Briefing Book: Policy Recommendation for President Obama’s Second Term* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2013).
- 2012 “Fighting for a Constitutional China: Public Enlightenment and Legal Professionalism.” In He Weifang, *In the Name of Justice: Striving for the Rule of Law in China* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press, xvii-xlix).
- 2012 “Interest Group Politics in China: A Paradox of Fear and Hope.” In Kenneth Lieberthal and Cheng Li, (eds), *China’s Political Development: Chinese and American Perspectives* (Washington DC: The Brookings Press, forthcoming).
- 2012 “China’s Team of Rivals,” (reprint) in Zhiqun Zhu (ed.), 14th edition, *Global Studies: China* (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education), pp. 121-124.
- 2011 “Shaping China’s Foreign Policy: The Paradoxical Role of Foreign-Educated Returnees,” in Allen Carlson and Ren Xiao (eds), *The New Frontiers of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books), pp. 41-62.
- 2011 “The China Paradox and American Misperceptions” in Douglas G. Spelman, ed., *The United States and China: Mutual Public Perceptions*. (Washington DC: The Wilson Center Publication), pp. 26-37.
- 2011 “Introduction: A Champion of Chinese Optimism and Exceptionalism.” In Hu Angang, *China in 2020: A New Type of Superpower* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press), pp. xv-xl.
- 2010 “How China Choose its Top Leaders: The Dual Succession of Xi and Li in 2012,” in Sangchul You (ed), *China Trend 2010-2011* (Seoul: Institute of China Studies), pp. 76-86.
- 2010 “Liuxue guiguo xuezhe zai Zhongguo gaodeng jiaoyu de zuoyong fenxi,” (An analysis of foreign-educated returnees in China’s higher education), in Wang Huiyao (ed), *Jianyan Zhongguo: Haiwai gaocengci liuxue rencai kan Zhongguo* (Suggestions for China by Overseas Educated Scholars). (Beijing: Dongfang Press), pp. 86-110.
- 2010 “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power,” in William A. Joseph (ed), *Politics in China* (New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 165-191.
- 2009 “Leadership: Future Scenarios” in Linsun Cheng (ed.) *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China: Modern and Historic Views of the World's Newest and Oldest Global Power* (Gt Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing), pp. 1282-1285.

BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- 2009 "Leadership: Ethnic Minority" in Linsun Cheng (ed.) *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China: Modern and Historic Views of the World's Newest and Oldest Global Power* (Gt Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing), pp. 1279-1281.
- 2009 "China's Political Trajectory: Internal Contradictions and Inner-Party Democracy." In Eva Paus, Jon Western, and Penelope Prime, (eds) *The Global Giant: Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 51-71.
- 2009 "Introduction: Making Democracy Safe for China" in Yu Keping, *Democracy Is a Good Thing: Essays on Politics, Society and Culture in Contemporary China* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution Press), pp. xvii-xxxi.
- 2009 "Rang minzhu zaofu Zhongguo – Ping Yu Keping de minzhu sixiang" (Making democracy safe for China: Comments on Yu Keping's democratic ideas), in Yan Jian (comp.), *Rang minzhu zaofu Zhongguo: Yu Keping fangtanlu* (Making Democracy Benefit China: Dialogue with Professor Yu Keping). (Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press), pp. 209-225.
- 2008 "China's Fifth Generation" in Kenneth B. Pyle (ed), *Emerging Leaders in East Asia: The Next Generation of Political Leadership in China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan* (Seattle, Wa.: National Bureau of Asian Research Press), pp. 15-53.
- 2008 "China's Telecom Industry on the Move: Domestic Competition, Global Ambition, and Leadership Transition," in Amit Singh Sisodiya and N. Janardhan Rao, (eds) *Global Telecommunications* (Icfai's Professional Reference Book). (India: Icfai University Press), pp. 58-88.
- 2007 "After Hu, Who? The Rising Stars of China's Fifth Generation Leaders," in W. John Hoffmann and Michael Enright (eds), *China in the Future* (New York: John Wiley & Son), pp. 213-65.
- 2007 "The New Military Elite: Generational Profile and Contradictory Trends," in David M. Finkelstein and Kristen Gunness (eds), *Swimming in a New Sea: Civil-Military Issues in Today's China* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe), pp. 48-73.
- 2006 "The Sixteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Emerging Patterns of Power-Sharing," in Lowell Dittmer and Guoli Liu, eds. *China's Deep Reform: Domestic Politics in Transition*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield), joint article, primary author, pp. 81-118.
- 2006 "Deciphering Hu's Leadership and Defining China's New Elite Politics," in John Wong and Hongyi Lai, eds. *China Into the Hu-Wen Era: Policy Initiatives and Challenges*. (Singapore: University of Singapore Press and World Scientific Press), pp. 61-90.
- 2005 "The 'New Deal:' Politics and Policies of the Hu Administration," in T. Y. Wang, ed. *China After the 16th Party Congress: Prospects and Challenges*. (Willowdale, Ontario, Canada: de Sitter Publications), pp. 7-24.

BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- 2004 "Political Localism Versus Institutional Restraints: Elite Recruitment in the Jiang Era," in Barry Naughton and Dali L. Yang, eds. ***Holding China Together: Diversity and National Integration in the Post Deng Era***, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 29-69.
- 2003 "The New Political Elite and the New Trend in Factional Politics," in François Godement, ed., ***China's New Politics***, Les cahiers d'Asie No. 3, (Paris: Centre Asie ifri/IFRI), pp. 55-89.
- 2002 "Poised to Take the Helm: Rising Stars and the Transition to the Fourth Generation," in David M. Finkelstein and Maryanne Kivlehan (eds), ***China's Leadership Transition: Prospects and Implications*** (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe), pp. 21-44.
- 2002 "Zhonggong di shiliujie zhongyang weiyuanhui renshi goucheng jiqi quanli junheng," (The Sixteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Paths to membership and balance of power), in Ding Shufan, ed. ***Hu Jintao shidai de tiaozhan (Challenges for the Hu Jintao Era)***, (Taipei: Xinxinwen Publishing House), pp. 16-52.
- 2001 "Diversification of Chinese Entrepreneurs and Cultural Pluralism in the Reform Era," in Shiping Hua, ed., ***Chinese Political Culture 1989-2000*** (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe), pp. 219-245.
- 2001 "Promises and Pitfalls of Reform: New Thinking in Post-Deng China," in Tyrene White, ed. ***China Briefing: A Century of Transformation*** (New York: M.E. Sharpe), pp. 123-157.
- 1999 "'Credentialism' versus 'Entrepreneurism': The Interplay and Tensions between Technocrats and Entrepreneurs in the Reform Era," in Chan Kwok Bun, ed. ***Chinese Business Networks: State, Economy and Culture*** (New York: Prentice Hall), pp. 86-111.
- 1999 "Fourth Generation Leadership in the PRC: Collective Characteristics and Intra-Generational Diversities," in Robert G. Sutter, ed. ***China's Future: Implications for United States Interests*** (Washington, DC: The Federal Research Division, Library of Congress), pp. 13-36.
- 1999 "200 Million Mouths Too Many: China's Surplus Rural Labor," in Orville Schell and David Shambaugh, eds. ***The China Reader: The Reform Era*** (New York: Vintage Books), pp. 362-373.
- 1998 "Politics and Government," in Brian Hook, ed. ***Shanghai and the Yangtze Delta: A City Reborn*** (Cambridge, England: Oxford University Press), pp. 30-73 (joint article, secondary author).
- 1998 "Internal Migration in China: Current Status and Future Prospects," in Borge Bakken, ed. ***Migration in China*** (Copenhagen, Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press), pp. 17-65.
- 1997 "Problems of State-Owned Enterprises in China," in ***Spotlight on China: Governance, Humanity, and Values*** (New York: The American Forum for Global Education Publication).
- 1994 "Sharing the Burden of Government: Reducing Borders Between Government, Business and NGOs," in ***Governing in an Environment of Increased Regional Economic Cooperation*** (Ontario, Canada: Institute on Governance), pp. 29-41.

BOOK CHAPTERS (continued)

- 1993 "China Coast Identities: Regional, National, and Global," in Samuel Kim and Lowell Dittmer, eds. *China's Quest for National Identities* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press), pp. 154-193 (joint article, secondary author).
- 1990 "Diversification Among Mainland Chinese Intellectuals," in King-yuh Chang, ed. *Mainland China After the Thirteenth Party Congress* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press), pp. 447-73.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

- 2020 "Will China's E-commerce Reshape a Reopening World?" *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, No. 34 (June 10), (joint article, primary author).
- 2019 "Rule of the Rigid Compromiser." *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, No. 33 (Spring, 2019): 127-137, (joint article, primary author).
- 2015 "China Rebalancing: A Debate." The Evolution of China's Capital Market Special Issue. *The Journal* (Vol. 3): 11-29.
- 2015 "Tobacco Epidemic: China's Emerging Health, Economic, and Political Crises." *World Journal of Tobacco or Health*, Vol. 1, No. 2.
- 2014 "A New Type of Major Power Relationship?" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 15, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2014), (featured interview), pp. 156-162.
- 2013 "The Future Role of the Chinese Middle Class." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2013), pp. 51-59, (joint article, primary author).
- 2013 "Huhuan xianzheng Zhongguo: Gongzhong de qimeng yu falü zhiyehua" (Calling for a Constitutional China: Public Enlightenment and Legal Professionalism). *Lingdao zhe* (Leaders), No. 50 (March 2013): 166-180.
- 2013 "Top-Level Reform or Bottom-Up Revolution?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, No. 1: (January): 41-48.
- 2013 "Rule of the Princelings." *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, No. 8 (Winter, 2013): 34-47.
- 2012 "The End of the CCP's Resilient Authoritarianism? A Tripartite Assessment of Shifting Power in China." *The China Quarterly*, No. 211 (September): 595-623.
- 2012 "Leadership Transition in the CPC: Promising Progress and Potential Problems." *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (August): 23-33.
- 2011 "'Zhongguo qianjing leguanlun' he 'Zhongguo jueqi liwailun'" ("Chinese Optimism" and "Chinese Exceptionalism"). *Xueshu jie (Academics in China)*. No. 155 (April): 5-19.
- 2010 "Shaping China's Foreign Policy: The Paradoxical Role of Foreign-Educated Returnees." *Asia Policy*, No. 10 (July): 65-85.
- 2009 "The Chinese Communist Party: Recruiting and Controlling the New Elites." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 3: 13-33.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS (continued)

- 2008 “Rang minzhu zaofu Zhongguo – Ping Yu Keping de minzhu sixiang” (Making democracy safe for China: Comments on Yu Keping’s democratic ideas). *Xueshujie (Academics in China)*. No. 133 (November/December): 212-220.
- 2008 “China’s Fifth Generation: Is Diversity a Source of Strength or Weakness?” *Asia Policy*, No. 6 (July): 53-93.
- 2007 “China’s New Military Elite.” *China Security*. Vol. 3, No. 4 (Autumn): 62-89 (joint article, primary author).
- 2007 “China in the Year 2020: Three Political Scenarios.” *Asia Policy*, No. 4 (July): 17-29.
- 2006 “Foreign-Educated Returnees in the PRC: Increasing Political Influence with Limited Official Power.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. Vol.7, No. 4 (Fall): 493-516.
- 2005 “The New Bipartisanship within the Chinese Communist Party.” *Orbis*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Summer): 387-400.
- 2003 “The ‘New Deal:’ Politics and Policies of the Hu Administration,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 38, Nos. 4-5 (December): 329-346.
- 2003 “Guiguo renyuan zai gaodeng jiaoyu lingyu de diwei ji bianqian,” (The Status and mobility of foreign-educated returnees in China’s higher education). *Fudan jiaoyu (Fudan University Journal of Education)* Vol. 2, No. 1 (December): 26-38.
- 2003 “Growth and Regional Inequality in China during the Reform Era,” *China Economic Review* Vol. 14, pp. 186-200, (joint article).
- 2003 “The Sixteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Hu Gets What?” *Asian Survey* Vol. 43, No. 4 (July/August), pp. 553-597 (joint article, primary author).
- 2003 “Dialogue with the West: The Political Message of Avant-Garde Artists in Shanghai” *Critical Asian Studies* Vol. 35, No. 1 (March), pp. 59-98 (joint article, primary author).
- 2002 *Zhongguo shengji lingdao de xinggou: guojiazhenghe yu difangzizhu*,” (Formation of China’s provincial leaders: National integration and regional autonomy) *Zhongguo shehui kexue pinglun (Chinese Social Sciences Review)* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall), pp. 313-326.
- 2001 “China in 2000: A Year of Strategic Rethinking,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (January/February), pp. 71-90.
- 2000 “Jiang Zemin’s Successors: The Rise of the Fourth Generation of Leaders in the PRC,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 161 (March), pp. 1-40.
- 2000 “China in 1999: Seeking Common Ground at a Time of Tension and Conflict,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (January/February), pp. 112-129.
- 1998 “The Fifteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Full-Fledged Technocratic Leadership with Partial Control by Jiang Zemin,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (March), pp. 231-264, (joint article, primary author).
- 1997 “City Monsoon: The Cultural Spirit of Beijing and Shanghai,” *Journal of Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Guest editor).

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS (continued)

- 1996 “Surplus Rural Laborers in China: Current Status and Future Prospects,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 11 (November), pp. 1122-1145.
- 1996 “Rediscovering Urban Subcultures: Contrast between Shanghai and Beijing,” *The China Journal*, No. 36 (July), pp. 139-153.
- 1994 “University Networks and the Rise of Qinghua Graduates in China’s Leadership,” *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, No. 32 (July), pp. 1-32.
- 1993 “The Army in the Succession to Deng Xiaoping: Familiar Fealties and Technocratic Trends,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8 (August), pp. 757-786 (joint article, primary author).
- 1991 “China’s Technocratic Movement and the World Economic Herald,” *Modern China*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (July), pp. 342-388 (joint article, primary author).
- 1990 “Elite Transformation and Modern Change in Mainland China and Taiwan: Empirical Data and the Theory of Technocracy,” *The China Quarterly*, No. 121 (March), pp. 1-35 (joint article, primary author).
- 1989 “Localism, Elitism and Immobilism: Elite Formation and Social Change in Post-Mao China,” *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (October), pp. 64-94 (joint article, primary author).
- 1988 “Diversification among Chinese Intellectuals,” *Issues & Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 9, (September), pp. 50-77 (joint article, secondary author).
- 1988 The Thirteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: From Mobilizers to Managers,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (April), pp. 371-399 (joint article, primary author).

OTHER JOURNAL/ONLINE MAGAZINE ARTICLES

- 2021 “How Coronavirus Scientists Offer a Formula for Better US-China Relations.” *South China Morning Post*, March 18, 2021, <https://www.scmp.com/comment/opinion/article/3125779/how-coronavirus-scientists-offer-formula-better-us-china-relations> (joint article, primary author).
- 2021 “Ten Reasons the U.S. and China Should Cooperate Now to Stop the Pandemic.” *China-US Focus*, March 2, (joint article, primary author).
- 2021 “Why Subnational Interests Matter.” *China-US Focus*, Vol. 28 (January 25), pp. 51-56, (joint article, primary author).
- 2020 “Hopes and Doubts in Beijing: Resetting U.S.-Chinese Relations Won’t Be Easy.” *Foreign Affairs*, November 13, 2020.
- 2020 “The Deception and Detriment of Decoupling.” *China-US Focus*. Vol. 27 (October 22), pp. 44-49, (joint article, primary author).
- 2020 “The U.S. Cooperated with the Soviets on Smallpox – It should do the same with China on COVID-19 Vaccine Distribution.” *The Hill*, <https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/511947-the-us-cooperated-with-the-soviets-on-smallpox-it-should>. August 13, 2020, (joint article, primary author).

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- 2003 "Growth and Regional Inequality in China During the Reform Era," *The William Davidson Institute Working Paper Series*, No. 561 (May). (joint article).
- 2003 "Educational and Professional Backgrounds of Current Provincial Leaders," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 8 (Fall): 1-19.
- 2003 "China's Next Phase: Hu's New Deal?" *China Business Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (May-June): 48-52.
- 2003 "Analysis of Current Provincial Leaders," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 7 (Summer): 1-13.
- 2003 "The New Political Elite and the New Trend in Factional Politics," (*China's New Political Trends*, les cahiers d'asie, series edited by F. Godement, the French Institute of International Relations).
- 2003 "Emergence of the Fifth Generation in the Provincial Leadership," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 6 (Spring): 75-90.
- 2004 "A Landslide Victory for Provincial Leaders," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 5 (Winter): 69-83.
- 2003 "China's New Leadership: Paradoxes, Characteristics and Implications," *The Aspen Institute Report on U.S.-China Relations*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (January), pp. 9-16.
- 2002 "Mishu Phenomenon: Patron-Client Ties and Coalition-Building Tactics," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 4 (Winter): 1-13.
- 2002 "Jiang's Game and Hu's Advantages." *Foreign Policy in Focus* (November).
- 2003 "Hu's Followers: Provincial Leaders with Backgrounds in the Youth League," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 3 (Summer): 1-19.

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- 2002 “Emerging Patterns of Power Sharing: Inland Hu vs. Coastal Zeng?” *Asia Program Report* (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), No. 105 (September): 28-34.
- 2002 “La cuarta generacion de dirigentes,” *Vanguardia Dossier*, No. 2 (July-September): 46-50.
- 2002 “Shanghai Gang: Force for Stability or Fuse for Conflict?” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 2 (Winter): 1-18.
- 2002 “China’s Road Ahead: Will the New Generation of Leaders Make a Difference?” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring), pp. 335-345.
- 2002 “After Hu, Who? China's Provincial Leaders Await Promotion,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 1 (Winter): 1-20.
- 2001 “Political Misperceptions Abound,” *China Review*, No. 19 (Summer): 4-8.
- 2001 “Demystifying China's New Leaders,” *China Source*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer): 7-13.
- 2001 “China's Political Succession: Four Myths in the U.S.,” *Foreign Policy in Focus* (May): 1-4.
- 2001 “From Red to Green? The Chinese Communist Party at 80,” *Project Syndicate* (July). (Also translated into Russian, French, Spanish and other foreign languages.)
- 2001 “China’s Political Succession,” *Asia Program Report* (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), No. 96 (June): 17-23.
- 2000 “Entrepreneurs in the PRC: Formation, Classification and Implications,” *Mainland China Studies*, No. 40 (September).
- 1999 “The End of China’s ‘Strategic Partnership’ with the U.S.,” *The Changing United Nations* (May/June): 7-12.

BLOG POSTS

- 2020 “Beijing Wonders how America will Promote Human Rights and Ethnic Minority Rights in China while Confronting Systemic Racism at Home.” The Brookings Institution Blog, November 13, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/11/13/what-foreign-leaders-will-want-to-ask-of-the-next-administration/> (joint article).
- 2020 “Restore the Peace Corps and Fulbright Programs in China.” The Brookings Institution Blog, October 27, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/10/27/a-list-of-specific-actionable-foreign-policy-ideas-for-the-next-president/> (joint article).
- 2019 “Xi Jiping’s ‘Progress’: Domestic Moves toward a Global China.” The Brookings Institution Blog, September 30, 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/xi-jinpings-progress-domestic-moves-toward-a-global-china/>.

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- 2019 “2019 Trend of U.S.-China Relations to Watch.” The Brookings Institution Blog, January 14, 2019, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/2019-trends-to-watch/#policyissues>.
- 2018 “China’s Constitutional Conundrum.” The Brookings Institution Blog, February 28, 2018, (co-authored), <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/02/28/chinas-constitutional-conundrum/>.
- 2017 “The Trump-Xi Summit: Why Personal Relationships Matter.” The Brookings Institution Blog, April 3, 2017. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/04/03/the-trump-xi-summit-why-personal-relationships-matter/>
- 2017 “Dui zhongmei guanxi yaoyou xiangxiangli [One must have an imagination in dealing with U.S.-China relations].” *Center for China & Globalization Blog*. February 07, 2017. <http://www.ccg.org.cn/Expert/View.aspx?Id=5814>.
- 2017 “Telangpu xinzheng he zhongmei guanxi zhanwang” [The new Trump administration and the outlook of China-US relations]. *Wenhua hongguan* [On Macro Outlook]. January 14, 2017. http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI1OTU0MDM1Nw==&mid=2247483776&idx=3&sn=535202798ef20a3fe414b7a61d92eb12&chksm=e a76156add019c7c42a7eb4fbaaea08184f3535a4e9c9bca46229cc1d9000821d5dbbc7c7588&mpshare=1&scene=1&srcid=0114eaupcvk00tlWD Pg6EciX##.
- 2016 “Tan Meiguo daxuan” [Comments on US presidential election]. Part 2, November 18, 2016. *Quanqiuyan* [Global watch]. <http://www.ihuawen.com/hw/article/30492.html>.
- 2016 “Tan Meiguo daxuan” [Comments on US presidential election]. Part 1, November 11, 2016. *Quanqiuyan* [Global watch]. <http://www.ihuawen.com/hw/article/30472.html>.
- 2016 “The End of Collective Leadership in China? Not Really.” *The Brookings Institution Blog*. October 28, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/10/28/the-end-of-collective-leadership-in-china-not-really/>.
- 2016 “How Will China’s Success at the G-20 Summit be Measured?” *The Brookings Institution Blog*. August 29, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/08/29/how-will-chinas-success-at-the-g-20-summit-be-measured/>.
- 2016 “Yu Zhongmei ge jiu fen” [Calling on China and the United States to shelve disputes]. *Zhongguo pinglun xinwenwang* [China Commentary News]. July 11, 2017. <http://bj.crntt.com/doc/1042/9/8/7/104298754.html?coluid=1&kindid=0&docid=104298754&mdate=0711000919>.
- 2015 “Understanding Xi’s contradictions.” *Brookings Order from Chaos Blog*, September 17, 2015, <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2015/09/17-president-xi-chinese-leadership-li>.

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- 2014 “Obama Should Share The American Experience to Deepen Mutual Understanding.” Brookings Institution Blog. November 4, 2014, <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2014/11/04-obama-xi-jinping-apec-summit>.
- 2014 “Time to Emphasize Track Linkage and Market Opening.” Brookings Institution Blog. July 7, 2017, <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2014/07/07-us-china-strategic-economic-dialogue>.
- 2013 “NSA Revelations Have Irreparably Hurt U.S. Corporations in China.” *Lawfare*, December 8, 2013. <http://www.lawfareblog.com/2013/12/the-foreign-policy-essay-cheng-li-and-ryan-mcelveen-on-nsa-revelations-have-irreparably-hurt-u-s-corporations-in-china/> (joint article).

RESEARCH AREAS

Political Leaders in China
Political Economy of China
The Middle Class and Democracy
Comparative Bureaucracy (with an emphasis on technocracy)
Elite Studies (with an emphasis on generational changes of elites)
China’s Domestic and Foreign Policy Decision-Making
Globalization, National Identity and Urban Cultural Studies (with a focus on Shanghai)
Politics of Avant-Garde Art
International Political Economy (with a focus on the Asia-Pacific region)
The Chinese S&T Policy and Telecommunication Industry in China
Public Health and the Tobacco Industry in China
Shanghai as an International Financial and Shipping Center
China’s Flagship Companies and “Go Global Strategy”
The Role of the Chinese Think Tanks

COURSES TAUGHT

Politics in China
China’s Cultural Revolution
International Relations
International Political Economy
Theory of International Relations
East Asia and the United States
East Asian International Relations
U.S.-China Relations
China’s Foreign Policy
Political Economy of China in the Reform Era
Comparative Bureaucracy
Technocracy and Techno-Nationalism

HONORS & GRANTS

- 2019 “The 40 Most Accomplished People in Foreign Studies in the Reform Era (1978-2018)” selected by the Oriental Media Group and the Center of China and Globalization
- 2015 “Top Ten America’s China Hands” selected by University of Foreign Affairs, China
- 2011-2014 Book Grant, ACE Foundation
- 2011-2014 Book Grant, The Smith Richardson Foundation
- 2011-2013 China Medical Board
- 2006-2007 Visiting Fellowship, the Brookings Institution
- 2005 Summer Faculty-Student Research Grant (The Arthur Levitt Public Affairs Center)
- 2004-2005 Long-Term Research Grant in Asian Studies (The Freeman Foundation)
- 2002-2005 Grant, Hong Kong Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Hong Kong University
- 2002-2003 Residential Fellowship (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC)
- 2002-2003 Grant (United States Institute of Peace, USIP-048-01F)
- 2002-2003 Grant for Professors (The Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange).
- 2003 Summer Faculty-Student Research Grant (The Henry Luce Foundation and the Freeman Foundation)
- 2002 Summer Faculty-Student Research Grant (The Arthur Levitt Public Affairs Center)
- 1999-2000 Post-Doctoral Fellowship (The Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange).
- 1999 The Class of 1963 Faculty Fellowship (This award is presented annually to one senior faculty member at Hamilton College for summer research.)
- 1998 Emerson Summer Research Grant (Emerson Foundation).
- 1993-1995 The Institute of Current World Affairs Fellowship (This fellowship financed full-time study in China to conduct field research and write about political and socio-economic changes in the coastal areas, especially Shanghai.)
- 1993 The Class of 1963 Excellence in Teaching Award (This award is presented annually to one junior faculty member at Hamilton College who has demonstrated extraordinary commitment to and ability in teaching undergraduates.)
- 1990-1991 Charlotte E. Proctor Honorific Fellowship (This fellowship is offered annually by the Princeton University Graduate School in recognition of outstanding performance and professional promise.)
- 1990 Dissertation Research Grant (Peter Lewis Foundation & Center of International Studies, Princeton University).
- 1987 -1991 University Fellowship (Princeton University).
- 1987 Class Valedictorian (Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley).

- 1985 Title of “University Graduate, Summa Cum Laude, Shanghai” (This title is awarded annually to the highest ranking university graduate from all Shanghai universities.)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

- 1993-Present **Media Appearances:** frequent presentations on China for international and national media such as the BBC Today, BBC Channel Four, BBC World, CNN, CNN International, CNN Moneyline, ABC World News With Diane Sawyer, C-SPAN Washington Journal, Piers Morgan Tonight, Voice of America, ABC, NPR, CNBC, National Radio of Canada, CBC, Radio Deutsche Welle, Reuters News Service, AP, Agence France-Presse, National Public Radio, Diane Rehm Show, Charlie Rose Show, News Hour with Jim Lehrer, CNN International’s Christiane Amanpour, and “Foreign Exchange” with Fareed Zakaria and with Daljit Dhaliwal.
- 1993-Present **Consultant Work:** briefings given on China for U.S. government agencies, including the White House, the Office of the Vice President, the U.S. Department of State, the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the National Intelligence Council on Capitol Hill, the National Committee of Chinese Americans (Committee of 100), the U.S. National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, the Rand Corporation, US Trade Representative Office, and the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State, briefed James Sasser, former U.S. Ambassador to China (1995), Admiral Joseph Prueher, former U.S. Ambassador to China (1999), and Secretary Gary Locke, Ambassaor to China (2011). I served as a consultant for the World Bank (2009-2012) and Duquesne Family Office LLC. (2015-16). I currently serve as a consultant for Greenpoint Group.
- 1993-Present **Public Lectures:** frequently invited to give public speeches for distinguished organizations, such as the Bilderberg Conference, the Villa d’Este Forum, Washington National Cathedral, the Global ARC Singapore, the Delphi Economic Forum, the World Peace Forum, the China Development Forum, the National Committee of U.S.-China Relations in New York, the Ambassadors’ Roundtable in Stamford, Connecticut; the Union League Club and the Foreign Policy Research Institute, Pennsylvania, the Distinguished Speaker Series of the Council on World Affairs in Buffalo, New York; Council on Foreign Relations, New York; Chicago Council on Global Studies, Chicago; Chautauqua Institution, New York; Aspen Ideas Festival, Aspen Institute, Colorado; Asia Society, New York; China Institute, New York; the World Internet Conference, Wuzheng, China; the Williamsburg Conference, Wye River, Maryland; the East-West Center, and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Honolulu; Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney; the National Press Club; the Woodrow Wilson Center, the United States-China Business Council, the Center for Strategic and

- International Studies, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Heritage Foundation, the Cosmos Club and the Metropolitan Club in Washington, DC as well as educational institutions such as Columbia, Princeton, Harvard, Yale, University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, Chicago, Stanford, Rice, Duke, Toronto, UBC, Tsinghua University, Peking University, Renmin University, Tufts, Michigan, Brandeis, Syracuse, Cornell, George Washington University, Georgetown University, Northwestern University, University of Washington in St. Louis, Washington University at Seattle, University of Denver, American University, UBC, and University of Maryland.
- 1990-Present **Collaboration with Research Institutions in China:** worked in China as a Visiting Research Associate at major academic institutions such as the Shanghai Institute of International Affairs, the Department of Political Science and Center of American Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai, the Institute of Educational Research at Tsinghua University in Beijing, Nanjing University in Nanjing, the Harbin Institute of Technology in Harbin, the Chinese University in Hong Kong and the East China Normal University in China.
- 1990-Present **Grant and Manuscript Review:** regularly serve as a referee for the Committee on Scholarly Communication with China, American Council of Learned Societies, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, University of Michigan Press, University of California Press, Oxford University Press, Harvard Business School Press, *Comparative Politics*, *World Politics*, *American Political Science Review*, *The China Journal*, *The China Quarterly*, *Asian Survey*, *Journal of Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Issues & Studies*, and *China Information*.
- 1988-Present **Administrative Work:** served as a committee member or chair of several committees and councils: at Princeton University – the Committee of Governance, the Board of Trustees’ Committee on Honorary Degrees, and the Council of the Princeton University Community; at Brookings – Director of Research, John L. Thornton China Center; Hamilton College – the Asian Studies Committee, and the Alumni Council. Served as Acting Chair of the Department of Government at Hamilton College in 2001-2002 and served as Chair of Asian Studies Program at Hamilton College in 2004-2006.