

Toward Xi's third term: China's 20th Party Congress and beyond

Participant Biographies



Ryan Hass, Michael H. Armacost Chair and Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution

Ryan Hass is a senior fellow and the Michael H. Armacost Chair at Brookings, where he holds a joint appointment to the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for East Asia Policy Studies. He is also the Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. His current research focuses on enhancing policy development on the pressing political, economic, and security challenges facing the United States in East Asia. He is the author of *Stronger: Adapting America's China Strategy in an Age of Competitive Interdependence* (2020) and a coeditor of *Global China: Assessing China's Growing Role in the World* (2020). From 2013 to 2017, Hass served as the director for China, Taiwan and Mongolia at the National Security Council (NSC) staff. Prior to joining NSC, Hass served as a Foreign Service Officer in U.S. Embassy Beijing. He graduated from the University of Washington and attended the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



Susan V. Lawrence, Specialist in Asian Affairs, Congressional Research Service

Susan Lawrence is a Specialist in Asian Affairs at the Congressional Research Service (CRS), a unit of the Library of Congress that provides the U.S. Congress with authoritative, non-partisan research and analysis. Her CRS reports include, "China's Political System in Charts: A Snapshot Before the 20th Party Congress." For the first half of 2022, she is a staff fellow at the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress. Earlier in her career, Ms. Lawrence covered the 14th (1992) and 16th (2002) Party Congresses as a Beijing-based journalist. She was also a member of a team that conducted four in-depth interviews with then-Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin over a six-year period in the 1990s. Ms. Lawrence earned an AB magna cum laude in East Asian Studies from Harvard College and an AM in Regional Studies – East Asia from Harvard University. She spent two undergraduate years studying modern Chinese history at Peking University as a Harvard-Yenching Institute Scholar.



Deborah Lehr, Vice Chairman and Executive Director, Paulson Institute

Deborah Lehr is the Vice Chairman and Executive Director of the Paulson Institute, where she advises the Chairman on U.S.–China relations as well as oversees the development and implementation of Paulson Institute programs and initiatives. In addition, Ms. Lehr manages the Green Finance Center for the Paulson Institute. She advised Mr. Paulson when he was the CEO and Chairman of Goldman Sachs and helped then-Treasury Secretary Paulson to create and launch the U.S.–China Strategic Economic Dialogue. In addition, she served as senior advisor to the Chairman and CEO of Merrill Lynch and was a senior managing director at the New York Stock Exchange. Ms. Lehr has built her own consulting firm, Basilinna, which is focused on China and the Middle East. Ms. Lehr also served as a Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for China, where she was a lead negotiator for China's accession to the World Trade Organization, for two intellectual property rights negotiations, and on the team for the 1992 Market Access Agreement. Also, Ms. Lehr was one of the youngest Directors of Asian Affairs at the National Security Council.



Cheng Li, Director and Senior Fellow, John L. Thornton China Center, The Brookings Institution

Cheng Li is director and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's John L. Thornton China Center. Dr. Li is also a director of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, a distinguished fellow at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Li's research areas include the transformation of the Chinese leadership, generational change and technological development in China, public health, and the Chinese middle class. He is the author and editor of 18 books, including the new book

Middle Class Shanghai: Reshaping U.S.-China Engagement (May 2021) and the forthcoming book *Xi Jinping's Protégés: Rising Elite Groups in the Chinese Leadership*. He is the principal editor of the Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series published by the Brookings Institution Press. Li received an M.A. in Asian studies from the University of California at Berkeley and a Ph.D. in political science from Princeton University.



Yawei Liu, Senior Advisor for China, The Carter Center

Yawei Liu is the senior advisor for China at The Carter Center and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is also associate director of the China Research Center in Atlanta and an adjunct professor of political science at Emory University. He is the founding editor of www.chinaelections.org, which went online in 2002. He launched the U.S.-China Perception Monitor websites [www.uscnpm.org (English) and cn3.uscnpm.org (Chinese)] in 2014. Yawei earned his B.A. in English literature from Xian Foreign Languages Institute, M.A. in recent Chinese history from the University of Hawaii, and Ph.D. in American history from Emory University.



Suzanne Maloney, Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy program, The Brookings Institution

Suzanne Maloney is the vice president and director of the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, where her research focuses on Iran and Persian Gulf energy. She previously served as deputy director of Foreign Policy for five years. At Brookings, she is a leading voice on U.S. policy toward Iran and the broader Middle East, testifying before Congress, briefing policymakers, and engaging with government, non-profit organizations and corporations. Maloney has advised both

Democratic and Republican administrations on Iran policy, including as an external advisor to senior State Department officials during the Obama administration and as a member of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's policy planning staff. She has authored or edited three books on Iran: "The Iranian Revolution at 40" (2020); "Iran's Political Economy since the Revolution" (2015); and "Iran's Long Reach" (2008). Maloney received a doctorate from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and studied in Tehran as part of the first academic exchanges between the United States and Iran since the 1979 revolution.



Andrew Mertha, George and Sadie Hyman Professor of China Studies; Director, China Studies Program; and Director, SAIS China Global Research Center, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Andrew Mertha is the George and Sadie Hyman Professor of China Studies, director of the China Studies Program, and director of the SAIS China Global Research Center at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. From 2019 to 2021, Mertha served as the vice dean for Faculty Affairs and International Research Cooperation at SAIS. He is formerly a

professor of government at Cornell University and an assistant professor of political science at Washington University in St. Louis. Mertha specializes in Chinese bureaucratic politics, political institutions, and the domestic and foreign policy process. More recently, he has extended his research interests to include Cambodia. Mertha's most recent book is *Brothers in Arms: Chinese Aid to the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979* (2014). Mertha is on the Editorial Committee for the *Journal of Comparative Politics*, *The China Quarterly*, and *Asian Survey*. He is vice president of the Center for Khmer Studies (CKS), a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and an alumnus of the NCUSCR Public Intellectuals Program. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.



Alice Miller, Research Fellow, Hoover Institution; Lecturer in East Asian Studies, Stanford University

Alice Lyman Miller is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and lecturer in East Asian studies at Stanford. Miller first joined the Hoover Institution in 1999 as a visiting fellow. She also served as a senior lecturer at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California from 1999-2014. Miller taught at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. from 1980-2000. From 1974 to 1990, Miller worked in the Central Intelligence Agency as a senior analyst in Chinese foreign policy and domestic politics and as a branch and division chief, supervising analysis on China, North Korea, Indochina, and Soviet policy in East Asia. Miller's research focuses on Chinese foreign policy and domestic politics and on the international relations of Asia. She is also working on a new book, tentatively entitled *The Evolution of Chinese Grand Strategy, 1550–Present*. Miller graduated from Princeton University in 1966, receiving a B.A. in Oriental studies. She earned an M.A. and a Ph.D. in history from George Washington University in 1969 and 1974.



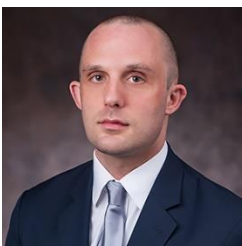
Anthony Saich, Daewoo Professor of International Affairs and Director, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School

Anthony Saich is the director of the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation and Daewoo Professor of International Affairs. Saich is a trustee member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, chair of the China Medical Board, and the U.S. Secretary-General of the China United States Strategic Philanthropy. He serves as the Harvard representative of the Kennedy Memorial Trust and previously was the representative for the Ford Foundation's China Office from 1994 to 1999. His current research focuses on politics and governance in post-Mao China, China's urbanization and rural-urban inequality in China, and the interplay between state and society in Asia and the respective roles they play in the provision of public goods and services at the local level. His most recent books include *Governance and Politics of China* (2015) and *Chinese Village, Global Market* (2012). He holds a Ph.D. from the Faculty of Letters, University of Leiden, the Netherlands. He received his master's degree in politics with special reference to China from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, and his bachelor's degree in politics and geography from the University of Newcastle, UK.



David Shambaugh, Gaston Sigur Professor of Asian Studies, Political Science & International Affairs; Director, China Policy Program, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University

David Shambaugh is the Gaston Sigur Professor of Asian Studies, Political Science & International Affairs, and the founding director of the China Policy Program in the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. From 1996-2015 he was also a nonresident senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. Professor Shambaugh was previously reader in Chinese Politics at the University of London's School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS) from 1987-1996, where he also served as editor of *The China Quarterly* (1991-1996). He has served on the board of directors of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, advisory board of the National Bureau of Asian Research, and is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He has been selected for numerous awards and grants, serves on numerous editorial boards, and has been a consultant to governments, research institutions, foundations, universities, corporations, banks, and investment funds. Professor Shambaugh has published more than 200 articles/chapters and 32 books, including most recently *China's Leaders: From Mao to Now* (2021); *Where Great Powers Meet: America & China in Southeast Asia* (2021); and *China & the World* (2020).



Joseph Torigian, Assistant Professor, School of International Service, American University

Joseph Torigian is an assistant professor at the School of International Service at American University in Washington and a Global Fellow at the Wilson Center's History and Public Policy Program. Previously, he was a Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, Postdoctoral Fellow at Princeton-Harvard's China and the World Program, a Postdoctoral (and Predoctoral) Fellow at Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation, a Predoctoral Fellow at George Washington University's Institute for Security and

Conflict Studies, an IREX scholar affiliated with the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, and a Fulbright Scholar at Fudan University in Shanghai. He studies elite politics and foreign relations in China and Russia. His book *Prestige, Manipulation and Coercion: Elite Power Struggles in the Soviet Union and China after Stalin and Mao* will be released by Yale University Press in Spring 2022. He is also working on a biography of Xi Jinping's father Xi Zhongxun.