CHINA PROGRAM AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Celebrating the First Ten Years
MISSION

The China Program is a university-wide initiative to facilitate multidisciplinary, social science-oriented research on contemporary China, with a dual emphasis on basic and policy-relevant research. The program recognizes the singular importance of training new generations of Stanford students for broader and deeper interactions with China.

The China Program spearheaded the creation of the Stanford Center at Peking University (SCPKU), a unique platform in China for all of Stanford’s seven schools. As a core program at SCPKU, the China Program thereby leverages new opportunities toward its goal to establish Stanford as the leading U.S. center for the study of contemporary China.
The China Program was established in 2007 to spearhead Stanford’s new China Initiative. The goals of the university were to strengthen its contemporary China offerings on campus and expand its research and educational opportunities in China. Stanford wanted to be the leader in the study of contemporary China. The China Program was tasked with building at Stanford and with leading the establishment of what would later become the Stanford Center at Peking University (SCPKU), where all Stanford faculty and students across the seven schools could convene, teach or learn, and do research in China. The China Program, drawing on resources at Stanford and using SCPKU as Stanford’s “bridge across the Pacific” — offers faculty and students unparalleled opportunities on the home campus and in China.

I was honored but daunted when asked to head the China Program and to build a Stanford presence in China. While I had a vision for the China Program and what we could accomplish in China, my vision would never have been realized without the steady support of Chip Blacker, then head of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI), and Ann Arvin, Stanford’s Dean of Research. We owe them an immense debt of gratitude for allowing us to push our China agenda. I also want to thank James Chen for his generous support that has allowed us to develop programming for the China Program. Thanks also goes to the David Chan family whose support has enabled the China Program to undertake joint conferences with Peking University on a diverse range of topics.

The China Program’s mission is to facilitate multidisciplinary, social science-oriented research on contemporary China, with a dual emphasis on basic and policy-relevant research and teaching. Our faculty, which includes some of the most prominent authorities in their fields, are heavily involved in research and in training the next generation of scholars. Our faculty work closely with their students to impart skills that will allow them to become leaders within their own disciplines while ensuring that they have in-depth knowledge of China. Using the unrivaled opportunities and resources anchored at SCPKU, we teach our students research methods in-country, including archival work, and train them in interview skills during fieldwork. China Program faculty can teach classes in real time, with half the students and co-faculty on either side of the Pacific. SCPKU also makes the China Program a natural partner for Peking University and other institutions in China for joint research and programming. China Program faculty take part in unique opportunities, including the “People to People Forum” when Secretary of State John Kerry visited China in 2016.

Our superb faculty includes leading academics, prominent policymakers and others who have served in key diplomatic and governmental positions around the world. This unique combination creates an ideal environment where research and policy unite to provide complex and rich perspectives on world affairs, especially as it relates to China and Asia more broadly.

The accomplishments of the China Program in its first ten years are sizeable but much more can and needs to be done. The mission of the China Program is all the more important in the current political context where there are increasing tensions in U.S.-China relations, especially when nationalism appears ascendent in a popular backlash against globalization. In these fractious times of increasing uncertainty in international relations, unpredictability in politics, and a “new normal” in economics, we must continue to produce the highest quality research on China. We must further share that knowledge with the broader community, including, especially, with policymakers and our students, as a powerful means to foster better understanding among the two most consequential countries in the 21st century. We look forward to your participation and support as we strive to achieve these important goals.

Jean C. Oi
William Haas Professor of Chinese Politics
Director, China Program
China’s rapid development has captured the world’s attention. When Deng Xiaoping’s opening and reform began in 1978, China’s GDP was less than US$150 billion. After a decade of successful economic reforms, China became the third largest economy by 1992; and by 2011, China had overtaken Japan to become the world’s second largest economy. Its GDP as of 2015 was US$11 trillion.

As China increasingly took center stage in the world arena, the importance of developing a multidisciplinary, policy-oriented program devoted to the study of contemporary China grew in importance. The Stanford China Program — later to be renamed the China Program — was formally established within Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) in 2007. The China Program rapidly became an integral part of the Center, establishing its reputation as a premier research program on present-day China.

Stanford University was one of the first to realize the importance of also developing a stronger presence in China to allow its faculty and students the opportunity to gain hands-on, real-time knowledge of China. The China Program’s director, Jean Oi, with the help of Andrew Walder and strong support from the then-FSI director Chip Blacker and Dean of Research Ann Arvin, led the initiative to also create Stanford’s first university-wide center in Beijing, SCPKU, even while making significant strides in building the China Program at Shorenstein APARC.

Shorenstein APARC is a core program at SCPKU, with a dedicated office, and the China Program regularly collaborates with SCPKU to hold international conferences and meetings. Ever cognizant of its academic mission, the China Program is proud to have played a key role in creating a home away from home for Stanford students to gain a hands-on understanding of China — the kind of training you cannot get from reading a book.

With a “bridge across the Pacific” the China Program examines current political, economic, and social transformations and explores the implications of China’s rise for the global community through workshops, conferences, and jointly taught classes that take place in real time at Stanford and SCPKU. Unlike programs that operate within a single social science discipline or an exclusive national-area focus, the China Program promotes interdisciplinary research. At Stanford and in China, the China Program organizes: cutting-edge conferences, intellectual exchanges with Chinese scholars, public events highlighting Greater China, in situ educational opportunities for Stanford students, and educational programs for government officials and top-tier professionals.
People define the unique character of China Program’s research, publishing, and outreach activities. Interdisciplinary from the very beginning, the Program began with a small, dedicated nucleus of China scholars that has now grown into a larger team of faculty and experts who hold joint appointments and affiliations with departments and schools across the university, including sociology, anthropology, political science and economics, and many who have taken part at the highest levels of policymaking in Washington, D.C.

**Director**

Jean C. Oi, the William Haas Professor of Chinese Politics, a faculty in the Political Science Department and former director of Stanford’s Center for East Asian Studies (1998-2005), was appointed a senior fellow of FSI in 2006. She became the founding director of the China Program in 2007 and in 2012 became the founding Lee Shau Kee Director of SCPKU. Her research focuses on China’s political economy and the process of reform in transitional systems, including the politics of corporate restructuring, fiscal politics and local governance in China. Most recently, Oi has been studying challenges in China’s rapid urbanization, including the re-organization of rural communities and the provision of public goods, especially affordable housing. In that work as well as others she continues her focus on fiscal politics, including the growth of local government debt.

**Associate Director**

Jennifer Choo joined the Program as its Associate Director in 2016. Prior to taking this position, she served as the Director of Programs at Asia Society Northern California in San Francisco. Choo graduated with a Ph.D. from U.C. Berkeley’s Sociology Department where her dissertation focused on the emergence of the real estate sector in post-1978 reform China. She also holds a Juris Doctor from Stanford Law School. Prior to beginning her doctorate, she worked at The China Law Center (now the Paul Tsai China Center) of Yale Law School helping to collaborate on rule of law issues with various Chinese institutions. She also received a Ford Foundation individual grant to work on various rule of law initiatives. Prior to this, she worked briefly as an attorney in the corporate department of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton in its Hong Kong office and in its New York headquarters. Choo is the recipient of the National Science Foundation Fellowship and the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program. She graduated with a Bachelor of Arts from Harvard University.

**Program Coordinator**

Patrick Laboon, an M.A. in Asian Studies whose research focused on the history of Maoist internationalism and Sino-African relations, recently joined the Program to support its activities as its Program Coordinator. He previously worked in administration for the University of California.

**Core Faculty and Affiliates**

Karen Eggleston joined Shorenstein APARC in the summer of 2007 to lead the Center’s Asia Health Policy Program. She is also the deputy director of Shorenstein APARC; a fellow at Stanford’s Center for Health Policy/Primary Care and Outcomes Research; and a Faculty Research Fellow of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Her research focuses on comparative healthcare systems and health reform in Asia, especially China; government and market roles in the health sector; payment incentives; healthcare productivity; and economics of the demographic transition. Eggleston teaches through Stanford’s East Asian studies program and is also affiliated with Stanford’s public policy program. Her (continued next page)
articles have appeared in journals such as *The Lancet Infectious Diseases*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *Journal of Health Economics*, *Journal of Institutional Economics*. Eggleston’s most recent edited volumes also include *Challenges in the Process of China’s Urbanization*, with Jean Oi and Yiming Wang (2017); *Policy Challenges from Demographic Change in China and India* (2016); *Aging Asia: Economic and Social Implications of Rapid Demographic Change in China, Japan, and South Korea*, with Shripad Tuljapurkar (2011); and *Prescribing Cultures and Pharmaceutical Policy in the Asia-Pacific* (2009). She is also the author with János Kornai of the book *Welfare, Choice and Solidarity in Transition: Reforming the Health Sector in Eastern Europe* (2001).

**Karl Eikenberry** is the Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow and director of the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative at Shorenstein APARC, and a Stanford University Professor of Practice. He served as the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan from May 2009 until July 2011 and had a 35-year career in the United States Army, retiring with the rank of lieutenant general. His military assignments included postings with mechanized, light, airborne, and ranger infantry units in the continental United States, Hawaii, Korea, Italy, and Afghanistan as the Commander of the American-led Coalition forces from 2005–2007. Ambassador Eikenberry is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and is also a board member of The Asia Foundation and council member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. His articles and essays on U.S. and international security issues have appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Quarterly*, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, *American Interest*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Financial Times*.

**Thomas Fingar** is a Shorenstein APARC Fellow and was the inaugural Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow at FSI. He was the Payne Distinguished Lecturer at Stanford during January to December 2009. From May 2005 through December 2008, he served as the first deputy director of national intelligence for analysis and, concurrently, as chairman of the National Intelligence Council. He served previously as assistant secretary of the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research (2004–2005), principal deputy assistant

Matthew Kohrman joined the Stanford faculty in 1999 and is associate professor of anthropology at Stanford University and senior fellow, by courtesy, at FSI. His research and writing bring multiple methods to bear on the ways health, culture, and politics are interrelated. Focusing on the People’s Republic of China, he engages various intellectual terrains such as governmentality, gender theory, political economy, critical science studies, and embodiment. His first monograph, Bodies of Difference: Experiences of Disability and Institutional Advocacy in the Making of Modern China, examines links between the emergence of a state-sponsored disability-advocacy organization and the lives of Chinese men who have trouble walking.

In recent years, Kohrman has been conducting research projects aimed at analyzing and intervening in the biopolitics of cigarette smoking and production. These projects expand upon analytical themes of Kohrman’s disability research and engage in novel ways the techniques of public health, political philosophy, and spatial history.

Scott Rozelle is the Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow and the co-director of the Rural Education Action Program at FSI. Previously, Rozelle was a professor at the University of California, Davis and an assistant professor in Stanford’s Food Research Institute and department of economics. His research focuses almost exclusively on China and is concerned with: agricultural policy; the emergence and evolution of markets and other economic institutions in the transition process; and the economics of poverty and inequality, with an emphasis on rural education, health and nutrition. Rozelle’s papers have been published in top academic journals, including Science, Nature, American Economic Review, and the Journal of Economic Literature. He is the chair of the International Advisory Board of the Center for Chinese Agricultural Policy; a co-director of the University of California’s Agricultural Issues Center; and a member of Stanford’s Center on Food Security and the Environment. In recognition of his outstanding achievements, Rozelle has received numerous honors and awards, including the Friendship Award in 2008, the highest award given to a non-Chinese by the Premier of the P.R.C.; and the National Science and Technology Collaboration Award in 2009 for scientific achievement in collaborative research.

Andrew G. Walder, is the Denise O’Leary and Kent Thiry Professor in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University. He joined Stanford in 1997 as a senior fellow in FSI with a joint appointment in the Department of Sociology. Soon thereafter, he became chair of the Sociology Department (1999-2002; 2010-2012) as well as director of Shorenstein APARC (2000-2005). He has previously taught at Columbia, Harvard, and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. Walder has published widely on political economy, social structure, inequality, social mobility, and political conflict under state socialism and afterwards, with a special emphasis on contemporary China. He has also long focused on Mao era politics and post-Mao organization of Chinese society and economy. Walder is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, former fellow of the Center for

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Advanced Study in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, and a past recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship. His most recent books are *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* (2009), and *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed* (2015). He currently heads the publication series “Studies of the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center” for Shorenstein APARC with the Stanford University Press.

**Xueguang Zhou** is the Kwoh-Ting Li Professor in Economic Development, a professor of sociology, and a senior fellow at FSI. His main area of research is on institutional changes in contemporary Chinese society, focusing on Chinese organizations and management, social inequality, and state-society relationships. One of Zhou’s current research projects is a study of the rise of the bureaucratic state in China. He also studies patterns of career mobility and personnel flow among different government offices to understand intra-organizational relationships in the Chinese bureaucracy. His recent publications examine the role of bureaucracy in public goods provision in rural China (*Modern China*, 2011); interactions among peasants, markets, and capital (*China Quarterly*, 2011); access to financial resources in Chinese enterprises (*Chinese Sociological Review*, 2011, with Lulu Li); multiple logics in village elections (*Social Sciences in China*, 2010, with Ai Yun); and collusion among local governments in policy implementation (*Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 2011, with Ai Yun and Lian Hong; and *Modern China*, 2010). Before joining Stanford in 2006, Zhou taught at Cornell University, Duke University, and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He is a guest professor at Peking University, Tsinghua University, and the People’s University of China.
Academic Offerings

Bringing together both research and teaching, the China Program convenes the China Social Science Workshop, which has become an in-house forum for faculty and their doctoral students, as well as invited outside scholars, to present their works-in-progress. Scholars and students have come together to provide critical analysis and feedback essential to turn research into cutting-edge publications. In addition, faculty take students to China to teach them how to do research. Jean Oi took her doctoral students to Zouping County in 2011 to give them a first hand taste of a Chinese county and to teach them how to do interviews. In 2014, Jean Oi and Xueguang Zhou teamed up to do a special summer seminar on “Conducting Fieldwork Research in China,” that included students from Stanford as well as Peking University. Andrew Walder is teaching graduate students how to use archival materials in a special 2017 summer seminar at SCPKU entitled “Methods of Historical Social Science” with a former visiting scholar at Shorenstein APARC, Yan Fei, who is now a professor at Tsinghua University.

Teaching Across the Pacific

Karl Eikenberry co-teaches a course with Peking University Professor Fan Shiming on “The United States, China, and Global Security.” Organized under the auspices of U.S.-Asia Security Initiative, which Eikenberry leads at Shorenstain APARC, Stanford and Peking University jointly teach and bring together students and scholars in China and the United States for face-to-face interactions, using high-definition video teleconference facilities — known as Highly Immersive Classrooms — located on the Stanford University campus and at SCPKU in Beijing. Participants at Stanford and in Beijing jointly listen, critique and raise questions in real time of eminent experts who lead discussions around security challenges involving China.

Visiting Scholars

The China Program attracts an impressive array of scholars, government officials and professionals from such premier institutions in China as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; National Development and Reform Commission (Academy of Macro-Economic Research); Peking University; State Council of the P.R.C. (Development Research Center); and Tsinghua University, among others. Visiting scholars have conducted research on such topics as U.S.-China relations; public finance and tax; sustainable business tactics of Chinese businesses; local governance; Chinese Communist Party adaptation and elite training; environmental regulation; higher education and fiscal reform.
China Program faculty have done cutting-edge research on a wide range of issues facing China: fiscal shortfalls and local governance, property rights reform and corporate restructuring, social inequality and mobility, food security, markets, education and poverty alleviation, environmental pollution and public health, and political participation and popular protests. Research is a vital part of the China Program, and has resulted in several acclaimed books, journal articles and edited volumes. The Program has also played an integral role in bringing top-tier visiting scholars from around the world to Stanford for a valuable cross-pollination of research and knowledge on China.

Maoist Era Historical Research

Faculty at the China Program have also pursued rigorous historical research that is relevant for helping us understand how events under Mao still impact current society. Andrew Walder, Denise O’Leary & Kent Thiry Professor and FSI senior fellow, has analyzed afresh the leadership of Mao Zedong in China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed, published by Harvard University Press in 2015. Walder argues that Mao maintained a simplistic understanding of Stalinist ideology and moved through a series of crises throughout his tenure, causing upheavals with ripple effects that still exist within social structures and mobility patterns today. Walder’s work has attracted considerable media attention, including a Q&A in The New York Times with Ian Johnson. Walder has also authored Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movements (Harvard University Press, 2009) about student radicalism during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–68. The book traced the origins and motivations for the factional struggles within the Red
Guard movement and challenges mainstream social science models of collective action which assume groups with previously formed identities and interests that capitalize on political opportunities.

Collaborations with China’s National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC)

The China Program has actively pursued research collaborations with leading organizations in China. The Program has, for example, engaged in multiyear collaborative projects with the Academy of Macro-Economic Research (AMR) of China’s National Development and Reform Commission, formerly China’s State Planning Commission, that included fieldwork in China and in the United States as well as annual workshops at Stanford or in Beijing on such varied topics as the challenges of urbanization; the global economic crisis of 2008 and its aftermath; as well as climate change and governance reforms. The workshop held in Beijing at SCPKU examining China’s rapid urbanization, organized in partnership with Eggelston’s Asia Health Policy Program, has resulted in a joint volume edited by Stanford’s Karen Eggelston and Jean Oi and the former head of AMR at the NDRC, Wang Yiming. The volume includes articles by Stanford and NDRC scholars and is entitled Challenges in the Process of China’s Urbanization (Brookings Institution Press, 2017).

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China and the World

Examining China’s regional and international policy, Thomas Fingar, Shorenstein APARC Fellow and core member of the China Program, led a major research project entitled “China and the World,” which looked sequentially and systematically at China’s interactions with countries in various regions and across many issue areas. The project sought to clarify China’s objectives and the policies it pursues to achieve them. But it also looked at China through the lens of its neighbors, trying to understand how they see the opportunities and perils that come with China’s greater activism on the world stage. The first project phase examined China’s engagement with Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. The second phase focused on China’s interactions with its Southeast Asian neighbors; and the third phase analyzed China’s increasing intersection with its South and Central Asian neighbors. A series of publications have resulted from this multiyear project, including Uneasy Partnerships: China’s Engagement with Japan, the Koreas, and Russia in the Era of Reform (Stanford University Press, 2017); and The New Great Game: China and South and Central Asia in the Era of Reform (Stanford University Press, 2016).

Growing Pains

The launch of the China Program in 2007 was appropriately heralded with an international conference, jointly sponsored with Stanford’s Center for East Asian Studies, which resulted in an acclaimed edited volume titled Growing Pains: Tensions and Opportunities in China’s Transformation (Shorenstein APARC, 2010). The conference examined a series of problems that challenged China’s internal stability and future development in the mid-2000’s. The proceedings were published as part of Shorenstein APARC’s joint series with the Brookings Institution Press.

Zouping County

Research conducted in Zouping County, Shandong Province, has yielded many publications over the past two decades on the development of rural China, encompassing works by political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, and those in many other fields. In 2008, with generous funding from the Smith Richardson Foundation, the China Program convened a workshop titled “Zouping Past and Present: The Next Generation of Research.” The workshop continued a collaborative research effort in tribute to the late Michel Oksenberg – long-time faculty member of Shorenstein APARC and senior fellow at FSI – who established a pioneering rural research site for American scholars in Zouping County in the early 1980’s. Andrew Walder brought together the first phase of Zouping research in an edited volume, Zouping in Transition: The Process of Reform in Rural North China (Harvard University Press, 1998). Jean Oi, who was Oksenberg’s student at University of Michigan, and later, his colleague at Stanford, along with Steven Goldstein — long-time friend of Michel Oksenberg, noted China scholar, and visitor to Shorenstein APARC — have edited the most recent iteration of research on Zouping in a forthcoming volume from Stanford University Press, entitled, Zouping Revisited: Adaptive Governance in a Chinese County.
China Program’s research efforts are complemented by public lectures, seminars, and panel discussions featuring global leaders, policymakers and noted scholars, which enable the Stanford community and the general public to partake in the rich intellectual environment nurtured by the China Program both on the Stanford home campus and in China. Events are offered free and give those who attend the opportunity to hear, firsthand, today’s thought-leaders offering perspectives on key China-related issues.

For instance, in 2016, Fu Ying, Chairperson of China’s Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People’s Congress and former P.R.C. Ambassador to the Philippines, Australia and the U.K., engaged in a lively discussion with Thomas Fingar of the China Program regarding the geopolitical implications of China’s rise. The Program also co-sponsored with Shorenstein APARC’s U.S.-Asia Security Initiative a talk by the former Ambassador of the P.R.C. He Yafei on U.S.-China bilateral relations and global security.

In addition to individual presentations and seminar series, the Program organizes two longstanding annual speaker series – the Oksenberg Lecture series, which the China Program co-sponsors with Shorenstein APARC, and the Winter Colloquia series.

**Oksenberg Lecture / Panel**

The China Program annually partners with Shorenstein APARC to organize the Oksenberg Lecture, held annually since 2002 to honor the legacy of Professor Michel Oksenberg (1938-2001). A senior fellow at Shorenstein APARC and FSI, a pioneering scholar in Chinese politics, and a key member of the National Security Council when the United States normalized relations with China, Oksenberg consistently urged that the United States engage with Asia in a more considered manner. In tribute, the Oksenberg Lecture recognizes distinguished individuals who have helped to advance understanding between the United States and the nations of the Asia-Pacific. Oksenberg Lectures have illuminated key issues, such as the modernization of China’s military, constraints on China’s foreign policy, and areas of friction in U.S.-China relations. Past speakers invited to give the Oksenberg Lecture have included luminaries as former president Jimmy Carter, former secretary of state George Shultz, former national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, and former national security advisor Brent Scowcroft. Since the China Program was established in 2007, the honor has been given to the following individuals: James Steinberg, former deputy secretary of state (2016); Kenneth Lieberthal, The Brookings Institution (2014); Thomas Fingar, Stanford University (2013); Karl Eikenberry, Stanford University (2012); Thomas Christensen, former deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia and Pacific Affairs (2011); Jeffrey Bader, special assistant to the President and senior director for East Asian Affairs at the National Security Council (2010); and David M. Lampton, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (2008).

In 2009, the China Program and Shorenstein APARC commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the PRC by co-hosting a special Oksenberg workshop titled “China’s New Role in a Turbulent World.” Leading experts in the academic, business, and policy worlds — including Barry Naughton, Carl Walter, Lyric Hughes Hale, David Hale, Susan Shirk, Tom Christensen, and

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Ambassador Stapleton Roy — came together for the event.

**Winter Colloquia**

The China Program regularly organizes an array of seminar series, conferences, and workshops to foster discussion of domestic or regional challenges involving China. Of these, the Winter Colloquia is an annual, quarter-long series that brings together leading scholars and policymakers to provide their perspectives on a timely topic related to China.

In 2016, for instance, China Program’s headline colloquium titled “China: Going Global” brought leading experts to explore the drivers and motivators of China’s international trade, investment and finance initiatives — in particular, the “One Belt, One Road” initiative — as well as the implications of China’s increasing activism on the world stage.

Since China’s President Xi Jinping’s accession in 2012, the China Program has invited leading scholars to shed insights into Beijing’s new leadership in colloquia series such as “China’s New Normal” (2016); “China’s Conflicting Policy Direction” (2015); “China Under Xi Jinping” (2014); and “China Under New Management” (2013). Leading thinkers have spoken incisively about behind-the-scenes elite politics, progress and challenges and consequences of the various initiatives that Xi Jinping has undertaken in both the domestic and international arenas.

In 2010, in partnership with Stanford University’s Center for East Asian Studies, the China Program also hosted a series of seminars to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China. Ezra Vogel assessed Deng Xiaoping’s legacy as defined by his policy of reform and opening. Mary Gallagher examined the political and economic impact of foreign investments in China. Bruce Dickson analyzed the growth of the private sector in China over the past thirty years. David Shambaugh concluded the series by examining how and why the Chinese Communist Party has managed to remain in and even grow in power through these remarkable decades of reform and opening.
As a university-wide initiative established to facilitate multidisciplinary research on contemporary China, the China Program occupies a unique position among its peers in the U.S. In addition to a rich array of programming on the home campus, the China Program, using facilities at SCPKU, has organized dynamic conferences, high-level public events and intellectual exchanges with its counterparts in China.

The below images capture some of the highlights from China Program’s collaborations with other institutions in China and SCPKU. In conjunction with the Seventh China-U.S. High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange, for instance, Peking University and Stanford University organized a joint forum in 2016 on “A Changing Global and Political Order” during which Vice Premier Liu Yandong of China and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry met with the Forum participants. In addition, at the joint Peking University-Stanford Forum on “Building World-Class Universities” leading scholars joined together to explore the institutional elements of building leading research universities.

2016 / (clockwise, from left) Tom Fingar, Jean Oi and other China experts, Robert Ross (Boston College), Cheng Li (Brookings Institution), and Evan Feigenbaum (Paulson Institute), speak with former NBA star Yao Ming (far right) at the National Museum of Chinese History during the Seventh Annual U.S.-China High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange co-chaired by former Secretary of State John Kerry and Vice Premier Liu Yandong. Credit: courtesy of Peking University

2016 / Panel discussion with scholars and former policymakers during jointly organized forum with Peking University on “A Changing Global and Political Order.” Credit: courtesy of Peking University.

2016 / Leaders in education from around the world in co-hosted forum with Peking University on “Building World Class Universities.” Credit: courtesy of Peking University.

2016 / Michael McFaul, former Ambassador to Russia and current director of FSI, in conversation with the late Ambassador Wu Jianmin of the PRC at co-organized forum with School of International Relations, Peking University. Credit: courtesy of Peking University.
Key publications undertaken by the China Program’s faculty and affiliates are distributed through Stanford University Press, the Brookings Institution Press, peer-reviewed journals, and other university presses. Scholars, researchers and collaborators affiliated with the China Program have delved into wide-ranging issues confronting China, including China’s rapid urbanization process; its geopolitical and global economic strategies; reform conundrums; ideology of China’s past leader Mao Zedong and Red Guard factionalism during China’s Cultural Revolution. The list below features just the highlights of China Program’s many scholarly outputs.

**Zouping Revisited: Adaptive Governance in a Chinese County**
Jean C. Oi and Steven Goldstein, eds.
Stanford University Press, forthcoming, 2017

**Challenges in the Process of China’s Urbanization**
Karen Eggleston, Jean C. Oi, Yiming Wang, eds.
Brookings Institution Press, 2017

**Uneasy Partnerships: China’s Engagement with Japan, the Koreas, and Russia in the Era of Reform**
Thomas Fingar, ed.
Stanford University Press, 2017

**The New Great Game: China and South and Central Asia in the Era of Reform**
Thomas Fingar, ed.
Stanford University Press, 2016

**Policy Challenges from Demographic Change in China and India**
Karen Eggleston, ed.
Brookings Institution Press, 2016
“Growing Pains: Tensions and Opportunity in China’s Transformation”
Jean C. Oi, Scott Rozelle, Xueguang Zhou, eds.
Shorenstein APARC, 2010

“Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement”
Andrew Walder
Harvard University Press, 2009

“China Under Mao: Revolution Derailed”
Andrew Walder
Harvard University Press, 2015

“Aging Asia: The Economic and Social Implications of Rapid Demographic Change in China, Japan, and South Korea”
Karen Eggleston and Shripad Tuljapurkar, eds.
Brookings Institution Press, 2011

“Going Private in China: The Politics of Corporate Restructuring and Reform”
Jean C. Oi, ed.
Shorenstein APARC, 2011

“Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence Analysis and National Security”
Thomas Fingar
Stanford University Press, 2011

“Growing Pains: Tensions and Opportunity in China’s Transformation”
Jean C. Oi, Scott Rozelle, Xueguang Zhou, eds.
Shorenstein APARC, 2010

“Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement”
Andrew Walder
Harvard University Press, 2009
CHINA PROGRAM TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
May 11: Oksenberg Lecture

VENUE
Black Community Services Center
Stanford University
418 Santa Teresa Street
Stanford, CA 94305

3:00-3:10 pm  WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
Gi-Wook Shin (Stanford University)
Michael McFaul (Stanford University)

3:10-3:50 pm  KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Ambassador Max Sieben Baucus
“On U.S.-China Relations: Avoiding the Trap”

3:50-4:30 pm  PANEL DISCUSSION
Jean Oi (Stanford University) (Chair)
Michael Armacost (Stanford University)
Kathleen Stephens (Stanford University)
Daniel Russel (Asia Society Policy Institute)
Ambassador Max Baucus

4:30-5:00 pm  Q&A
VENUE
Bechtel Conference Center
Encina Hall
Stanford University
616 Serra Street
Stanford, CA 94305

9:00-9:15 am  WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
Jean Oi (Stanford University)

9:15-10:45 am  PANEL I: CHINA’S ECONOMIC FUTURE
Andrew Walder (Stanford University) (Chair)
Barry Naughton (U.C. San Diego)
Karen Eggleston (Stanford University)
Hongbin Li (Stanford University)
Mary Gallagher (University of Michigan)

10:45-11:00 am  TEA BREAK

11:00-12:30 pm  PANEL II: CHINA’S POLITICAL FUTURE
Thomas Fingar (Stanford University) (Chair)
Alice Miller (Stanford University)
Andrew Wedeman (Georgia State University)
Jean Oi (Stanford University)
Xueguang Zhou (Stanford University)

1:45-3:15 pm  PANEL III: CHINA’S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENTS
Karl Eikenberry (Stanford University) (Chair)
Thomas Fingar (Stanford University)
M. Taylor Fravel (MIT)
Ho-Fung Hung (Johns Hopkins University)
David M. Lampton (Johns Hopkins University)

3:15-3:30 pm  TEA BREAK

3:30-5:00 pm  PANEL IV: CHINA’S FUTURE: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Kathryn Stoner (Stanford University) (Chair)
Ambassador Max Sieben Baucus
Takeo Hoshi (Stanford University)
Gi-Wook Shin (Stanford University)
Andrew Walder (Stanford University)
Michael H. Armacost is Shorenstein APARC Fellow at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, where he has been since 2002. In the interval between 1995 and 2002, Armacost served as president of Washington, D.C.’s Brookings Institution. Previously, during his twenty-four year government career, Armacost served, among other positions, as undersecretary of state for political affairs and as Ambassador to Japan and the Philippines. From 1982 to 1984, when he served as U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, Armacost was a key force in helping the country undergo a nonviolent transition to democracy. In 1989, President George Bush tapped him to become Ambassador to Japan, considered one of the most important and sensitive U.S. diplomatic posts abroad. Armacost is the author of three books, the most recent of which, Friends or Rivals?, was published in 1996 and draws on his tenure as Ambassador. He also co-edited, with Daniel Okimoto, the Future of America’s Alliances in Northeast Asia, published in 2004 by Shorenstein APARC. Armacost has received the President’s Distinguished Service Award, the Defense Department’s Distinguished Civilian Service Award, the Secretary of State’s Distinguished Services Award, and the Japanese government’s Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun.

Max Sieben Baucus was U.S. Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China (2014-2017) and U.S. Senator from Montana (1978-2014). On January 7, 2014, U.S. President Barack Obama nominated Max Sieben Baucus to be Ambassador of the United States of America to the Peoples Republic of China. He served as Ambassador from February 21, 2014 until January 19, 2017. Baucus formerly served as the senior United States Senator from Montana. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1978 to 2014 and was Montana’s longest serving U.S. Senator as well as the third longest tenure among those serving in the U.S. Senate. Senator Baucus was Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Committee on Finance, Vice Chairman of the joint Committee on Taxation, member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, and a member of the Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction (Super committee). He was also a member of the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and chaired its Subcommittee on Transportation and Infrastructure where he managed numerous infrastructure legislative acts. Before his election to the U.S. Senate, he represented Montana in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1975 to 1978. He previously served in the Montana House of Representatives from 1973 to 1974.

Ambassador Baucus has extensive experience in international trade. As Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, he led the passage and enactment of the Free Trade Agreements with 11 countries: Australia, Bahrain, Jordan, Chile, Colombia, Morocco, Oman, Panama, Peru, Singapore and South Korea. He also was deeply involved in orchestrating the congressional approval of permanent normal trade relations with China in 2000 and in facilitating China’s entrance into the World Trade Organization in 2001. He was also the chief architect of the Affordable Health Care Act (ACA) which was signed by President Barack Obama into law on March 23, 2009. Ambassador Baucus earned a bachelor’s and law degree from Stanford University.

Karen Eggleston is Senior Fellow at FSI at Stanford University, Director of the Stanford Asia Health Policy Program, and Deputy Director of Shorenstein APARC. She is also a Fellow with the Stanford Center for Innovation in Global Health and a Faculty Research Fellow of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Eggleston earned her Ph.D. in public policy from Harvard University, studied in China for two years and was a Fulbright scholar in Korea. Her research focuses on comparative health systems and health reform in Asia, especially China; government and market roles in the health sector; supply-side incentives; healthcare productivity; and economic aspects of demographic change. Her articles have appeared in such journals as The Lancet Infectious Diseases, Journal of Asian Studies, Journal of Economic Perspectives, Journal of Health Economics, and Journal of Institutional Economics. Eggleston’s most recent edited volumes also include Challenges in the Process of China’s Urbanization, with Jean Oi and Yiming Wang (2017); Policy Challenges from Demographic Change in China and India (2016); Aging Asia: Economic and Social Implications

Karl Eikenberry is the Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow and Director of the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative at Shorenstein APARC, and a Stanford University Professor of Practice. He served as the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan from May 2009 until July 2011 and had a 35-year career in the United States Army, retiring with the rank of lieutenant general. His military assignments included serving in Afghanistan as the Commander of the American-led Coalition forces from 2005–2007. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, earned master’s degrees from Harvard University in East Asian Studies and Stanford University in Political Science, was awarded an Interpreter’s Certificate in Mandarin Chinese from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and has an advanced degree in Chinese History from Nanjing University. He is also the recipient of the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service and Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Centennial Medal. Eikenberry is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His articles and essays on U.S. and international security issues have appeared in Foreign Affairs, Washington Quarterly, American Foreign Policy Interests, American Interest, New York Times, Washington Post, Foreign Policy, and Financial Times.

Thomas Fingar is a Shorenstein APARC Fellow and was the inaugural Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow at FSI at Stanford University. He was the Payne Distinguished Lecturer at Stanford during January to December 2009. From May 2005 through December 2008, he served as the first deputy director of national intelligence for analysis and, concurrently, as chairman of the National Intelligence Council. He served previously as assistant secretary of the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research (2004–2005), principal deputy assistant secretary (2001–2003), deputy assistant secretary for analysis (1994–2000), director of the Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific (1989–1994), and chief of the China Division (1986–1989). Between 1975 and 1986 he held a number of positions at Stanford University, including senior research associate in the Center for International Security and Arms Control. His most recent books include Uneasy Partnerships: China’s Engagement with Japan, the Koreas, and Russia in the Era of Reform (Stanford University Press, 2017); The New Great Game: China and South and Central Asia in the Era of Reform (Stanford University Press, 2016); and Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence Analysis and National Security (Stanford University Press, 2011).

M. Taylor Fravel is Associate Professor of Political Science and member of the Security Studies Program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Taylor studies international relations, with a focus on international security, China, and East Asia. He is the author of Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China’s Territorial Disputes (Princeton University Press, 2008) and is currently completing a book-length study of China’s military strategy since 1949, entitled Active Defense: Explaining the Evolution of China’s Military Strategy. His other publications have appeared in International Security, Foreign Affairs, Security Studies, International Studies Review, The China Quarterly, The Washington Quarterly, Journal of Strategic Studies, Armed Forces & Society, Current History, Asian Survey, Asian Security, China Leadership Monitor, and Contemporary Southeast Asia. Taylor is a graduate of Middlebury College and Stanford University, where he received his Ph.D. He also has graduate degrees from the London School of Economics and Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. In 2016, he was named an Andrew Carnegie Fellow by the Carnegie Corporation. Taylor is a member of the board of directors of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and serves as the Principal Investigator for the Maritime Awareness Project.

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Mary Gallagher is a professor of political science at the University of Michigan where she is also the director of the Kenneth G. Lieberthal and Richard H. Rogel Center for Chinese Studies. Gallagher received her Ph.D. in politics in 2001 from Princeton University and her B.A. from Smith College in 1991. She was a foreign student in China in 1989 at Nanjing University. She also taught at the Foreign Affairs College in Beijing from 1996-1997. She was a Fulbright Research Scholar from 2003 to 2004 at East China University of Politics and Law in Shanghai, China. In 2012-2013, she was a visiting professor at the Koguan School of Law at Shanghai Jiaotong University. Her forthcoming book, Authoritarian Legality in China: Law, Workers, and the State will be published by Cambridge University Press this year. She is also the author or editor of several other books, including Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China (Princeton 2005), Chinese Justice: Civil Dispute Resolution in Contemporary China (Cambridge 2011), From Iron Rice Bowl to Informalization: Markets, Workers, and the State in a Changing China (Cornell 2011), and Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies (Cambridge 2010).


David M. Lampton is Hyman Professor and Director of China Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), where he also heads SAIS China, the school’s overall presence in greater China. Chairman of the The Asia Foundation, former president of the National Committee on US-China Relations, and former Dean of Faculty at SAIS, he is the author of: Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1989-2000 (University of California Press, 2001); The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds (University of California Press, 2008); and The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy (editor; Stanford
University Press, 2001). He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Stanford University. Lampton has an honorary doctorate from the Russian Academy of Sciences’ Institute of Far Eastern Studies, is an Honorary Senior Fellow of the American Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, was winner of the Scalapino Prize in 2010, and is a Gilman Scholar at Johns Hopkins. His newest book, Following the Leader: Ruling China, from Deng Xiaoping to Xi Jinping, was published by U.C. Press in January 2014 and translated into Chinese by Yuan Liou Press in Taipei, Taiwan, the following year. His current field research and book-length project is: “Roads to Chinese Power: Railroad Infrastructure and Beijing’s Quest for Influence.”

Hongbin Li is a Research Scholar at the Stanford Center for International Development. He obtained a Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University in 2001 and joined the economics department at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, where he became a full professor in 2007. He taught at Tsinghua University in Beijing from 2007 to 2016 and was C.V. Starr Chair Professor of Economics in the School of Economics and Management. He also founded and served as the executive associate director of the China Data Center. Li’s research has been focused on China and is concerned with two general themes: (1) the behaviors of governments, firms and banks in the context of economic transition; and (2) human capital and labor markets in the context of economic development. Research results have been published in journals such as PNAS, Journal of Political Economy, American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings, Journal of Economic Perspectives, Economic Journal, Review of Economics and Statistics, Journal of Labor Economics, Journal of Development Economics, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Comparative Economics, Journal of International Economics, and Demography, among others. Li received the Changjiang Scholarship in 2009, the National Award for Distinguished Young Scientists in China in 2010, and the McKinsey Young Economist Research Paper Award in 2012.

Michael McFaul is Professor of Political Science, Director and Senior Fellow at FSI, and the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He joined the Stanford faculty in 1995. He also works as an analyst for NBC News. Ambassador McFaul served for five years in the Obama administration, first as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russian and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council at the White House (2009-2012), and then as U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation (2012-2014). He has authored several books, including Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should, How We Can; with Kathryn Stoner, Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective; with James Goldgeier, Power and Purpose: American Policy toward Russia after the Cold War; and Russia’s Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin. His current research interests include American foreign policy, great power relations, and the relationship between democracy and development.

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. Before coming to Stanford, Miller taught at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. Miller’s research focuses on Chinese foreign policy and domestic politics and on the international relations of Asia. Since 2001, she has served as general editor and regular contributor to the Hoover Institution’s China Leadership Monitor. She is also working on a new book, tentatively entitled The Evolution of Chinese Grand Strategy, 1550–Present. Miller has published extensively on policy issues dealing with China, including several in the Hoover Digest. Others include “The Foreign Policy Outlook of China’s Third-Generation Elite,” with Liu Xiaohong, in The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform (David M. Lampton, ed., University of California Press, 2001); “The

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**Jean C. Oi** is the William Haas Professor of Chinese Politics in the department of political science and a Senior Fellow at FSI at Stanford University. She is also the founding director of the China Program at Shorenstein APARC and the founding Lee Shau Kee Director of the Stanford Center at Peking University. Her research focuses on China’s political economy and the process of reform in transitional systems, including the politics of corporate restructuring, fiscal politics and local governance in China. Recent publications include “Rural Development,” in David S. Goodman, ed., *Handbook of the Politics of China* (2015); “Development Strategies and Poverty Reduction in China,” in Yusuf Bangura, ed., *The Developmental Road to Poverty Reduction* (2015); and “Creating Corporate Groups to Strengthen China’s State-Owned Enterprises,” with Zhang Xiaowen, in Kjeld Erik Brodsgard, ed., *Globalization and Public Sector Reform in China* (2014); and “Shifting Fiscal Control to Limit Cadre Power in China’s Towns and Villages,” with Kim Singer Babiarz, Linxiu Zhang, Renfu Luo and Scott Rozelle (*China Quarterly* 2012). Oi’s recent edited volumes include, *Going Private in China: The Politics of Corporate Restructuring and System Reform* (2011); and *Growing Pains: Tensions and Opportunity in China’s Transformation*, with Scott Rozelle and Xueguang Zhou, (2010). Most recently, Oi has been studying challenges in China’s rapid urbanization, including the re-organization of rural communities and the provision of public goods, especially affordable housing. In that work as well as others, she continues her focus on fiscal politics, including the growth of local government debt.

**Daniel Russel** joined the Asia Society Policy Institute as Diplomat in Residence and Senior Fellow in April 2017. A career member of the Senior Foreign Service at the U.S. Department of State, he most recently served as the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Prior to his appointment as Assistant Secretary on July 12, 2013, Russel served at the White House as Special Assistant to the President and National Security Council (NSC) Senior Director for Asian Affairs. During his tenure there, he helped formulate President Obama’s strategic rebalance to the Asia Pacific region, including efforts to strengthen alliances, deepen U.S. engagement with multilateral organizations, and expand cooperation with emerging powers in the region. Prior to joining the NSC in January of 2009, he served as Director of the Office of Japanese Affairs and had assignments as U.S. Consul General in Osaka-Kobe, Japan (2005-2008); Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in The Hague, Netherlands (2002-2005); Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus (1999-2002); Chief of Staff to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering (1997-99); Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1995-96); Political Section Unit Chief at U.S. Embassy Seoul, Republic of Korea (1992-95); Political Advisor to the Permanent Representative to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Ambassador Pickering (1989-92); Vice Consul in Osaka and
Branch Office Manager in Nagoya, Japan (1987-89); and Assistant to the Ambassador to Japan, former Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (1985-87). In 1996, Russel was awarded the State Department’s Una Chapman Cox Fellowship sabbatical and authored *America’s Place in the World*, a book published by Georgetown University. Russel was educated at Sarah Lawrence College and University College, University of London, UK.

**Gi-Wook Shin** is Professor of Sociology at Stanford University and Senior Fellow at FSI, where he is the Director of Shorenstein APARC. As a comparative and political sociologist, his research has concentrated on nationalism, development, and international relations. Shin is the author/editor of 20 books and over 50 articles, most recently *Divergent Memories: Opinion Leaders and the Asia-Pacific War* (Stanford University Press, 2016). Shin also coauthored a policy report on North Korea entitled “Tailored Engagement.” He writes monthly columns for *Dong-A Daily* (Korea) and *Nikkei Asian Review* (Japan). Shin is not only the recipient of numerous grants and fellowships, but also continues to actively raise funds for Korean/Asian studies at Stanford. He gives frequent lectures and seminars on topics ranging from Korean politics to North Korea and historical reconciliation in Northeast Asia. He serves on councils and advisory boards in the United States and South Korea and promotes policy dialogue between the two allies. Before coming to Stanford, Shin taught at the University of Iowa and the University of California, Los Angeles. After receiving his B.A. from Yonsei University in Korea, he was awarded his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Washington.

**Kathleen Stephens**, a former U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, is the William J. Perry Fellow in the Korea Program at Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University. She has four decades of experience in Korean affairs, first as a Peace Corps volunteer in rural Korea in the 1970s, and in ensuing decades as a diplomat and as U.S. Ambassador in Seoul. Stephens came to Stanford previously as the 2013-14 Koret Fellow after 35 years as a U.S. Foreign Service officer. Her time at Stanford, though, was cut short when she was recalled to the diplomatic service to lead the U.S. mission in India as charge d’affaires during the first seven months of the new Indian administration led by Narendra Modi. Stephens’ diplomatic career included serving as acting under secretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs in 2012; U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea from 2008 to 2011; principal deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs from 2005 to 2007; and deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs from 2003 to 2005. She also served in numerous positions in Asia, Europe and Washington, D.C., including as U.S. consul general in Belfast, Northern Ireland, from 1995 to 1998, during the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement, and as director for European affairs at the White House during the Clinton administration. Stephens’ awards include the Presidential Meritorious Service Award (2009), the Sejong Cultural Award, and Korea-America Friendship Association Award (2013).

**Kathryn Stoner** is a Senior Fellow at FSI and at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, as well as (since 2010) the Faculty Director of the Ford Dorsey Program in International Policy Studies at Stanford University. She teaches in the Department of Political Science at Stanford, and in the Program on International Relations, as well as in the Ford Dorsey Program. Prior to coming to Stanford in 2004, she was on the faculty at Princeton University for nine years, jointly appointed to the Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson School for International and Public Affairs. In addition to many articles and book chapters on contemporary Russia, she is the author or co-editor of five books, including: *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*, written and edited with Michael A. McFaul (Johns Hopkins 2013); *Autocracy and Democracy in the Post-Communist World*, co-edited with Valerie Bunce and Michael A. McFaul (Cambridge, 2010); and *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, 2006). She is currently finishing a book project entitled *Resurrected? The Domestic Determinants of Russia’s Return as a Global Power* that will be published by Oxford University Press in 2018.
Andrew G. Walder is the Denise O’Leary and Kent Thiry Professor in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University, where he is a member of the Department of Sociology and a Senior Fellow at FSI. He has previously taught at Columbia, Harvard, and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He has published widely on political economy, social structure, inequality, social mobility, and political conflict under state socialism and afterwards, with a special emphasis on contemporary China. He is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, former Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, and a past recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship. His most recent books are *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* (Harvard University Press, 2009), and *China Under Mao: A Revolution Derailed* (Harvard University Press, 2015).

Andrew Wedeman received his doctorate in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1994 and is a Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University, where he heads the China Studies Initiative. Prior to this appointment, he was a Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, where he also served as the Director of the Asian Studies Program and the Director of the International Studies Program. He has held posts as a visiting Research Professor at Beijing University, a Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins Nanjing University Center for Sino-American Studies, and a Fulbright Research Professor at Taiwan National University. He is currently a Fellow in the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. His publications include *Double Paradox: Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China* (Cornell University Press, 2012); *From Mao to Market: Rent Seeking, Local Protectionism, and Marketization in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); numerous articles in academic journals including *China Quarterly, Journal of Contemporary China; and China Review;* and chapters in numerous edited volumes.

Xueguang Zhou is the Kwoh-Ting Li Professor in Economic Development, a Professor of Sociology, and a Senior Fellow of FSI, all at Stanford University. His main area of research is on institutional changes in contemporary Chinese society, focusing on Chinese organizations and management, social inequality, and state-society relationships. One of Zhou’s current research projects is a study of the rise of the bureaucratic state in China. He studies patterns of career mobility and personnel flow among different government offices to understand intra-organizational relationships in the Chinese bureaucracy. His recent publications examine the role of bureaucracy in public goods provision in rural China (*Modern China*, 2011); interactions among peasants, markets, and capital (*China Quarterly*, 2011); access to financial resources in Chinese enterprises (*Chinese Sociological Review*, 2011, with Lulu Li); multiple logics in village elections (*Social Sciences in China*, 2010, with Ai Yun); and collusion among local governments in policy implementation (*Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 2011, with Ai Yun and Lian Hong; and *Modern China*, 2010). Before joining Stanford in 2006, Zhou taught at Cornell University, Duke University, and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. He is a guest professor at Peking University, Tsinghua University, and the People’s University of China.
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