

September 2017

CURRICULUM VITAE

Andrew J. Nathan

OFFICE: *East Asian Institute*
Columbia University
New York, N.Y. 10027
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EMPLOYMENT:

Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science, since 2001
Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1982-2001
Associate Professor, Columbia University, 1975-82
Assistant Professor, Columbia University, 1971-75
Lecturer in History, University of Michigan, 1971
Teaching Fellow in Government, Harvard University, 1966

EDUCATION:

Ph.D. in Political Science, Harvard University, 1971
M.A. in East Asian Regional Studies, Harvard University, 1965
B.A., *summa cum laude*, Harvard University, 1963

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS:

Invited lecturer, Giri Deshingkar Memorial Lecture, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, India, 2016
Invited lecturer, Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World, 2015
Berlin Prize (American Academy in Berlin), 2013
Open Society Foundations Ideas Initiative Fellow, 2011
Mark Van Doren Teaching Award, Columbia College, 2008
Smith Richardson Foundation writing grant, with Andrew Scobell, for *China's Search for Security*, 2007-2008
Visiting Professor, Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), May-June 2007
Visiting Professor, Center for Contemporary China, National Tsinghua University, Taiwan, May 2006
NEH Summer Seminar Director, 2005, "Human Rights in the Age of Globalization"
NEH-Dodge Humanities Scholar in Residence, James Caldwell High School, West Caldwell, New Jersey, 2000
NEH Summer Seminar Director, 1999, "Cultural Difference and Values: Human Rights and the Challenge of Relativism"
The Great Wall and The Empty Fortress awarded a Choice Award for an Outstanding Political

Science Book in International Relations, 1998
NEH Summer Seminar Director, 1997, "The Asian Values Debate: Human Rights and The Study of Culture"
Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Senior Scholar Research Grant, 1995-1996
Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Research Project Grant, "Parliamentary Elections in Modern Chinese History" (with Chang P'eng-yuan), 1995-1997
National Science Foundation grant number SES-9224257 for research on "Political Participation and Political Culture in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong: A Comparative Survey" with Yun-han Chu, Fu Hu, Tianjian Shi, and James Tong), 1993-96
Luce Foundation project grant, "Constitutionalism in China" (with R. Randle Edwards, Louis Henkin, and Paul Martin), 1992-1995
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, 1992-93
Luce Foundation United States-China Cooperative Research Program grant for "Political Culture and Political Participation in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong," (with Yun-han Chu, Fu Hu, Tianjian Shi, and James Tong), 1991-1993
Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation grant for planning workshop for "Political Culture and Political Participation in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong," 1992 (with Yun-han Chu, Fu Hu, Tianjian Shi, and James Tong)
China Times Foundation research grants for "The Maoist Regime," 1991-1992, 1992-1993
China's Crisis selected as a 1990-1991 Choice Outstanding Academic Book
United Daily News Cultural Foundation Research Grant for "Political Culture and Political Participation in Mainland China," (with Yun-han Chu, Fu Hu, Tianjian Shi), 1990-1991
National Science Foundation grant INT-88-14199 for research on "Political Participation in China" (with Tianjian Shi), 1989, postponed to 1991-1993
Research grant for "Maoism in History," Henry Luce Foundation, 1986-89
Levenson Prize (best book on 20th century China published in 1985), for *Chinese Democracy*, 1987
National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship, 1986-87
NEH Summer Seminar Director, 1986 and 1988, "Maoism"
Luce Fund for Asian Studies grant (for *Human Rights in Contemporary China*, with Louis Henkin and R. Randle Edwards), 1979-82
Fellowship of the Joint Committee on Contemporary China, ACLS-SSRC, 1977-78
Guggenheim Fellowship, 1973-74
Research Associateship, Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, fall 1970

SELECTED UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES:

CURRENT: Director of Undergraduate Studies, Political Science Department, 2012-13, 2015-16; Director of Undergraduate Studies, Institute for the Study of Human Rights, 2011-13, 2015-16; Member, Executive Committee, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2014-2016; Chair, Morningside Institutional Review Board, 2008- , member since 2003; Chair, Administrative Committee, Institute for the Study of Human Rights (formerly Center for the Study of Human Rights), 2007-, member since 1998 and vice-chair, 2001-2007; Chair, GSAS Interdepartmental Committee on Human Rights, since 2007; Member, Faculty Promotion Review Committee,

School of Professional Studies, 2016-2017; Faculty Fellow, Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, since 1999.

PAST: Member, Executive Committee of School of Continuing Education, 2000-2015; Chair, Department of Political Science, 2003-2006; Chair, Executive Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2002-2003; Member, Executive Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2002-2005; Member, SIPA Executive Committee, 2003-2005; Member, Columbia College Board of Visitors, 2002-2003; member and co-chair, Faculty Budget Group, 2002-2003; Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science Department, 1997-2002; Member, CC Steering Committee, 1999-2002; Director, East Asian Institute, 1991-1995; Co-Director, Project on China and Constitutionalism, 1992-1995; Member of Steering Committee, China-International Business Relations Project, since 1978. Also, at various times: College and G.S. Departmental Representative; Chair of China Research Committee and Publications Committee, East Asian Institute; Chair, Modern China Seminar; Director, East Asian National Resource Center; Director, Taiwan Area Studies Program; Member, Member of the Board, Columbia Community Service; Senator, University Senate; Chair, Dissertation Proposal Review Committee, Political Science Department; Member, Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, Member, Academic Quality Committee.

SELECTED NON-UNIVERSITY PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

CURRENT: Chair, Editorial Committee, Global Barometers Series, Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2012-; Member, Board of Directors, National Endowment for Democracy, 2010- ; Regular Asia & Pacific book reviewer, *Foreign Affairs*, October 2008- ; Board and Executive Committee, Human Rights in China, since 1989, co-chair of the board, 2006-2012, chair of the board 2012-2013; Board of Scholars, University of Southern California U.S.-China Institute, 2006-; Member, International Advisory Board, Center for Contemporary China, National Tsinghua University of Taiwan, since 2003; Core Partner, Asian Barometer Survey, since 2001 (formerly East Asia Barometer Survey); Member, Advisory Committee, Human Rights Watch, Asia, since 1995 (chair, 1995-2000); Research Council, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, since 1994; National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, since 1987.

PAST: Member, Board of Directors, Freedom House, 2004-2015; Member, Board of Directors, and chair, Asia Advisory Committee, Human Rights Watch, 1995-2000; Consultant, China Coordination Group, Amnesty USA, 1984-1994; Columnist, *China Times*, Taiwan, 1990-1992; Associate Editor, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1987-1990; *Bibliography of Asian Studies* Advisory Committee, Association for Asian Studies, 1985-1990; Columnist, *United Daily News*, Taiwan, 1987-1990; Columnist, *China Times*, Taiwan, 1991-1992; Chair, Board of Advisers, *Zhishifenzi (The Chinese Intellectual)* magazine, 1984-1989; Associate External Examiner, City University of Hong Kong, 1995-1999; Chair, Board of Directors, China Labor Watch, 2003-2007; Adjunct Professor (academic advisor), City University of Hong Kong, 2003-2008; Visiting Examiner in the B.S.Sc. in Government and Public

Administration and External Examiner in the M.S.Sc. in Law and Public Affairs,
Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005-2008.

Editorial/advisory boards:

Problems of Post-Communism (since 2017); *Hong Kong Journal of Social Sciences* (since 2009); *The Journal of Chinese Political Science* (since 2003); *Journal of East Asian Studies* (since 2003); *Issues and Studies* (since 2000); *Political Science Quarterly* (since 2000); *Journal of Democracy*, since 2000; *Journal of Human Rights* (formerly *Human Rights Review*), since 1999; *China Perspectives* (Hong Kong), since 1998; *China Review International*, since 1993; *The Journal of Contemporary China*, since 1992; *China Information* (Leiden), since 1992; *Chinese Studies in History*, since 1989; *The China Quarterly*, 1992-2012; *Beijing zhi chun* (Beijing Spring), 1995-2010.

Have reviewed manuscripts and proposals for University of California Press, Columbia University Press, Princeton University Press, Harvard University Press, Stanford University Press, Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Prentice-Hall, Random House, W.W. Norton, PublicAffairs; *Political Science Quarterly*, *American Political Science Review*, *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *World Politics*, *Asian Survey*, *Political Studies*, *Security Studies*; National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Committee on Scholarly Communication with China, National Science Council (Taiwan), University Projects and Grants Council (Hong Kong); and others.

Book reviews published in *New York Times*, *New York Times Sunday Book Review*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post Book World*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly*, *The New Republic*, *Economist*, *China Quarterly*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *American Historical Review*, *International Affairs*, *Journal of Oriental History*, *American Asian Review*, *Library Journal*, *Modern Chinese Literature*, *Chicago Tribune*, *London Review of Books*, *Slate* (online), and others.

Consultancies, testimony, and project participation for White House, State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, House Foreign Affairs Committee, UBS Warburg, Security Pacific National Bank, Charles of the Ritz, Brown University, University of Iowa, Ambrica Productions ("China in Revolution," 1989, "The Mao Years," 1993, "China Under Deng," 1997, "China in the Red," 2003), Asia Watch (Japan Mission 1993), China Symposium '89, "The Gate of Heavenly Peace" (documentary film, Long Bow Films, 1996), Commission on Broadcasting to the People's Republic of China, Levi-Strauss & Co., National Endowment for Democracy, Pfizer International, Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs ("Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era," December 1993), Immigration and Naturalization Service (asylum officer training program, December 1994), Radio Free Asia, "Tug of War: The Story of Taiwan" (WGBH Boston, 1998), World Bank (East Asia and Pacific Region Special Operational Review 2000), National Endowment for Democracy, United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Up to the Mountain, Down to the Village" (made-for-TV documentary made by Chris Billings, 2004), and others.

Published or broadcast interviews (partial listing) (**TV:**) CBS “Sixty Minutes,” PBS “NewsHour with Jim Lehrer,” ABC-TV (“The World Tonight”), CBS Evening News with Dan Rather, NBC Nightly News, Cable News Network (various shows), “Frontline” (PBS), “Asian America” (PBS), History Channel 20th Century with Mike Wallace (“Tiananmen Square” show, “China After Mao” show), History Channel “Declassified” series (“Declassified: Tiananmen Square”), Monitor Television (“China: After Tiananmen Square”), Canadian Broadcasting Company including “Canada A.M.” and others, Australian Broadcasting Company (“Lateline”), Wall Street Journal Report, China Television (Taiwan), TVBS (TV, Taiwan), Asia Television (Hong Kong), Chinese Television Network (Hong Kong), TVB Super Channel (Hong Kong), Wharf Cable TV (Hong Kong), Asia Business News (Hong Kong), Sino Television (New York, half-hour interview show called “In the Spotlight” with anchor Qin Li), CNBC, “7 Dagen” (Holland). C-SPAN; PTS (Public television, Taiwan), “Scully: The World” (WLIV and others), Munhwa Broadcasting Corp (MBC, Korea, documentary on new leadership in China), France24 cable news network, Lou Dobbs (CNN); Academia Historica (Taiwan) documentary film, “Yijiusijiunian de Zhonghua minguo” (A year of crisis: The Republic of China in 1949). (**RADIO:**) CBS Radio, Pacifica News Service, “America and the World” (NPR), “Marketplace” (NPR), “Fresh Air” (WHYY, Philadelphia), “Common Ground” (PRI), “Talk of the City” (KPCC, Los Angeles), BBC Radio “The World,” BBC “The World Today,” Salon.com Radio, Worldview (WBEZ Chicago), “Bloomberg Forum” (Bloomberg News), Don Miller News Hour (WQXI, Atlanta), KPSK Los Angeles, Voice of America English and Chinese Services, BBC World Service, BBC Chinese Service, Radio Liberty, Austrian State Radio, Australian Broadcasting Corp., Radio Free Asia, “The Breakfast Club” (Jamaica), “Talking History” (PBS); “Morning Edition” (NPR); Wisconsin Public Radio (NPR), Radio France International, “The World” (BBC International) (**INTERNET:**) online Q+A through *The Hill* newspaper in Washington; (**PRINT:**) *New York Times*, *Time*, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Newsweek*, *Business Week*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Die Tageszeitung*, *Asia Week*, *Eastern Express*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Forbes*, *Orlando Sentinel*, *Corriere Della Sera*, *Lingua Franca*, *South China Morning Post*, *The Australian*, *Shih-pao chou-k'an*, *Shih-chieh jih-pao*, *Chung-kuo shih-pao*, *Tzu-li wan-pao*, *Jiushi niandai*, *Xinbao*, *Kaifang*, *Yomiuri shimbun*, *Asahi shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*, *Hankook ilbo*, Associated Press, Agence France Press, *Publico* (Lisbon), *Corriere della serra*, *La Vanguardia* (Barcelona), and others; essays and interviews in other media reprinted in *Cankao xiaoxi* and other classified media (China).

Lectures (selected and recent): University of Hawaii at Manoa (Florence Liu Macaulay Distinguished Lecturer in Asian and Pacific Studies, 1993), Presbyterian College (Newton G. Hardy Memorial Lecture, 1993), Dickinson College (Donald W. Flaherty Lectureship, 1994), Emory and Henry College (Distinguished Lecturer 1998), Sidwell Friends School (John Fisher Zeidman Memorial Lecturer 1998), School of Oriental and African Studies (Sir Joseph Hotung Lecture in Chinese Studies, June 2001), Frank Tannenbaum Memorial Lecture (Columbia University Seminars, Apr. 2002), E.N. Thompson Lecture (University of Nebraska, April 2002); Pacific Council on International Policy, Seattle and San Francisco, June 2002; East Asian Institute, National

University of Singapore (August 2002); Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore (August 2002); Gillespie Forum (Marist, Vassar, Bard, Dutchess Community Colleges, and SUNY-New Paltz (April 2003); Instituto do Oriente, Lisbon (July 2003); Cecil and Ida Green Honors Professor, Texas Christian University (October 31-November 1, 2005); two-week lecture series at Center for Contemporary China of National Tsinghua University, National Taiwan University, Institute of Modern History of the Academia Sinica, Institute of Political Science of the Academia Sinica, all in Taiwan (June 2006), Middlebury College (October 2006), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (October 2006); University of North Carolina (November 2006); Dallas Committee on Foreign Relations (November 2006); co-taught a one-week workshop on comparative politics for the Faculty of International Relations, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ho Chi Minh National University, Vietnam (December 18-22, 2006), Finnish Institute of International Affairs (January 19, 2007), Council on Foreign Relations/NYU Law School (February 6, 2007); two lectures for Institut d'études politiques de Paris (May and June, 2007); Paul and Mary Ho Distinguished Lecture in China Studies, University of Texas, October 2008); lectures on *How East Asians View Democracy* at Carnegie Council on Ethics in International Affairs, Council on Foreign Relations, Asia Society, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, World Bank, National Endowment for Democracy – all November 2008; Overseas Press Club of America, New York, November 2008; U.S. Military Academy (March 2009, March 2010); Princeton University (April 2009); Gustavus Adolphus College (April 2009); Aspen Institute Congressional Breakfast Series (May 2009); National War College (March 2010); Speer Lecturer for President's Lecture Series, University of Montana (April 2010; <http://www.umt.edu/president/lectures/2009-2010/nathan0910.aspx>); Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies (May 2010); lectures in Barcelona (Casa Asia), Brussels (Brussels Institute of Contemporary China Studies), Paris (Asia Centre), the Hague (Netherlands Institute of International Relations) in May 2010; University of North Carolina, Greensboro, April 2011; Tianjian Shi Memorial Lecture, Duke University, April 2011; Calvin and Helen Lang Asian Studies Annual Symposium, University of Louisville, April 2011; Magasin 3 (Stockholm), March 2012; Council on Foreign Relations John J. McCloy Roundtable Series on Setting the National Security Agenda (May 2012); National Endowment for Democracy/Journal of Democracy, (February, 2013; Carnegie Council, New York, February, 2013; Brookings Institution, March 2013; University of Stockholm May 2013; Institute for Defence Studies, Norwegian Ministry of Defence, Oslo, May, 2013; National Taiwan University and Academia Sinica, Taipei, June, 2013; Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, June, 2013; Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin, July, 2013; Literaturhaus, Stuttgart, September, 2013; Mercator Private Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin, October, 2013; Friei Universität, Berlin, November, 2013; Transparency International, Berlin, November, 2013; American Academy in Berlin, Berlin, November, 2013 (<http://www.americanacademy.de/home/media/videos>); Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP), Berlin, December 2013 (<https://dgap.org/en/node/24599>); Heidelberg Center for American Studies, November, 2013; Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, November, 2013; Edward H. Hume Memorial Lecture, Yale University, February 6, 2014.; Janet T. Siler International Affairs Forum lecture, Drew University,

March 19, 2014; Naples, FL, Council on World Affairs, January 5, 2015; Yonsei University, Asan Institute, Korea Institute for National Unification, Korea National Diplomatic Academy, Sejong Institute, East Asia Institute, Seoul (March 2015); University of Texas Austin (February 2016); Samuel C. Chu Memorial Lecture, Ohio State University, September 15, 2016; Keynote address, International Conference on Youth Politics in the Greater China Region, American University, September 30, 2016; Claremont McKenna College, October 7, 2016; U.S. Military Academy, October 13, 2016;

Member of American Political Science Association, Association for Asian Studies (1967-2014), Council on Foreign Relations (1996-2008); listed in *Who's Who in America*, *Who's Who in the East*.

SELECTED COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

Chair, Zoning Board of Appeal, Village of Grand View-on-Hudson, N.Y., 1985-1993; Zoning Administrator and Deputy Zoning Administrator, Village of Grand View-on-Hudson, 1978-1985; Member, Board of Directors, Community Playgroup, Piermont, N.Y., 1984-1988.

PUBLICATIONS

1963-1969

Twenty-eight articles in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (list available on request).

1964

"China's Work Point System," *Current Scene* (Hong Kong) 11:31 (April 15), pp. 151-152; reprinted in William T. Liu, ed., *Chinese Society Under Communism: A Reader* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), pp. 306-319.

1965

A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission (Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 17; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).

1968

"Taiwan: What Money Can't Buy," *Economist* (April 6), pp. 42,45.

1970

"Factionalism in Early Republican China: The Politics of the Peking Government, 1918-1920," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, Harvard University.

1971

"The Last of Warlords," *Orientations* (February), pp. 49-55.

1972

"Models of Conflict in Chinese Politics," *Problems of Communism* XXI: 3(May-June), pp. 80-83.

"Sixty Good Books on China" (with Charles W. Hayford), *Library Journal* (July), pp. 2341-2347.

"The Effects of Imperialism in China," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* IV: 4 (December), pp. 3-8.

1973

Modern China, 1840-1972: An Introduction to Sources and Research Aids (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan Center for Chinese Studies).

"A Factionalism Model for CCP Politics," *The China Quarterly* 53 (January-March), pp. 34-66; reprinted in Steffen Schmidt, et al., *Friends, Followers, and Factions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 382-401; as "An Analysis of Factionalism of Chinese Communist Party Politics," in Frank P. Belloni and Dennis C. Beller, eds., *Faction Politics: Political Parties and Factionalism in Comparative Perspective* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio Press, 1978), pp. 387-414; in Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, ed., *Critical Readings on the Communist Party of China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

1976

Peking Politics, 1918-1923: Factionalism and the Failure of Constitutionalism (Berkeley: University of California Press); reprinted Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998.

"China Research, 1895-1949" (review article on G. William Skinner et al., *Modern Chinese Society: An Analytical Bibliography*) (with Dan Yakir), *Journal of Asian Studies* XXXV, No. 2 (February), pp. 288-292.

"Andrew J. Nathan Replies" (to Tang Tsou's "Prolegomenon to the Study of Informal Groups in CCP Politics"), *The China Quarterly* 65 (January), pp. 114-117.

"Oscillations in the PRC: A Critique," *The China Quarterly* 68 (December), pp. 720-733.

"Could Normalization Influence the Evolution of Chinese Policy?" *Contemporary China* 1:1 (October), pp. 31-32.

"Prospects for Collective Leadership," *Contemporary China* 1:2 (November), pp. 35-36.

1978

(translation of) "Political Participation and Political Elites in Early Republican China: The Election and Composition of the Parliament of 1913-1914," by Chang P'eng-yuan, *The Journal of Asian Studies* XXXVII: 2 (February), pp.193-313.

"Change and Continuity in Chinese Policy," China Council Briefing Packet, Asia Society (February); reprinted in *Contemporary China* II:1 (Spring), pp. 99-115.

"Prospects for Sino-American Relations and the Effects on Korea," *Korean Journal of*

International Affairs IX: 3 (June), pp. 3-10; reprinted in *Contemporary China* II: 3 (Winter), pp.14-22.

"Current Chinese Communist Views on Human Rights," *Proceedings of the General Education Seminar*, Vol. VI, No. 2, part II (Spring), pp. 114-119.

Photographs contributed to filmstrip, "Huadong: A Chinese People's Commune," by Gordon Bennett, et al., New York: China Council and Austin, Texas: Texas China Council.

1979

"The Visit of Vice Premier Teng: Note of Caution in Carter's China Policy is Right on Key," *Atlanta Constitution*, February 2, p. 10-A.

"CIA Publications on China" (review article), *Contemporary China*.

"China's Business Climate: How Much Political Risk for Foreign Business?" *D&B Reports* (Nov.-Dec.), pp. 9-13.

1981

"Political Risk in the People's Republic of China," *China-International Business* I:2, pp. 143-195.

"Life's a Prison of Bitter and Constant Blue," *Los Angeles Times* (October 11), Part V, p. 5.

"Jindai Zhongguo yulun zhi xingqi," *Zhongguo xiandai shi zhuanti yanjiu baogao*, Vol. X (Taipei: Zhonghua minguo shiliao yanjiu zhongxin), pp. 137-170.

"The Late Ch'ing Press: Role, Audience, and Impact," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology* (Taipei, Taiwan: Academia Sinica), *Section on History and Archaeology*, III: 1281-1308.

1983

"Shivering Expatriate Works Toward a China Spring," *Los Angeles Times* (January 18), Part II, p. 5.

"A Constitutional Republic: The Peking Government, 1916-28," *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 12, Part I, John K. Fairbank, ed. (Cambridge University Press), pp. 259-283.

"The Soviet Union, China and Korea" (with Thomas P. Bernstein), in Gerald L. Curtis and Sung joo Han, eds., *The U.S.-South Korean Alliance: Evolving Patterns in Security Relations* (Lexington, MA.: Lexington Books), pp. 89-127.

1985

Popular Culture in Late Imperial China, co-edited with David Johnson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press); Paperback edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

"The Beginnings of Mass Culture: Journalism and Fiction in the Late Ch'ing and Beyond" (with Leo Ou-fan Lee), in Johnson, Nathan and Rawski, eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, pp. 362-397.

Chinese Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.); Paperback edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); British edition (London: I.B. Tauris, 1986); "Cong siwu yundong dao minzhu yundong" (abridged translation by Oscar Chiang of Chapter 1), *Shibao zhoukan*, No. 59 (April 13-19, 1986), 19, pp. 40-43; Chinese edition, *Zhongguo de minzhu*, trans. Chiang Ching-k'uan (Taipei: Wunan chubanshe, 1994)

"Meiguo dui Zhongguo de taidu," *Zhishifenzi* 1:3 (March), pp. 10-14.

"Renquan, jieban zhengzhi, baoshou wenhua he weixie yongwu," *Xin duli pinglun*, July 29, p.2; reprinted in Chinese and English in Lu Keng, ed., *Hu Yaobang fangwen ji* (New York: Sino Daily Express), pp. 59-63, 212-217.

Contributor to Haruhiro Fukui, ed., *Political Parties of Asia and the Pacific* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press), entries on "Anfu Club," "Communications Clique," "Constitution Research Society," "Yiyushe."

"Deng Xiaoping zhengzhi gaige yu Zhongguo dalu zhengzhi de fazhan," *Shijie ribao*, October 28, p. 10.

1986

Human Rights in Contemporary China (with R. Randle Edwards and Louis Henkin) (New York: Columbia University Press); Paperback edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Japanese translation, *Chūgoku no jinken*, trans. Yasuhiko Saito and Ichiro Korogi (Tokyo: Yushindo, 1990), with a new preface; Chinese translation of Ch. 3, "Sources of Chinese Rights Thinking," in *Gongfa* ("Public Law Review in China"), Vol. 1, 1999, pp. 55-80.

"Deng's China: How Much is New?" (review article), *Journal of International Affairs* 39:2 (Winter), pp. 149-156.

"China Watching," *Columbia* (February), pp. 19-21.

1987

"Democratizing Transition in Taiwan" (with Yangsun Chou), *Asian Survey* XXVII: 3 (March), 277-299; reprinted as Number 3-1987 (80) in Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, School of Law, University of Maryland.

"China's New Mandarins," *New York Newsday*, November 15, Ideas Section, pp. 1, 10.

"Dui Zhonggong 'shisan da' de ixie lunping" (Some views on the CCP 13th party congress), *Shih-pao chou-k'an*, No. 144 (Nov. 28-Dec. 4), pp. 56-57.

1988

Fourteen articles in Chinese in *Lien-he bao* (United Daily News, Taipei); list available on request.

"Flowering of China Spring Puts Beijing in a Dilemma," *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, Part II, p. 7.

"Now That Soviets Have a Card, The China Game Is Over," *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, Part II, p. 7.

1989

Eight articles in Chinese in *Lien-he bao* (United Daily News, Taipei); list available on request.

"The Problem of Individualism in Modern Chinese Culture," <http://tsquare.tv/film/Bolinas6nathan.html>, part of "On The Eve: China Symposium '89, Bolinas, California, 27-29 April, 1989," <http://www.tsquare.tv/film/Bolinas1.html>

"Politics: Reform at the Crossroad," in Anthony J. Kane, ed., *China Briefing 1990* (Boulder: Westview Press), pp. 7-25.

"The Road to Tiananmen Square," *The New Republic* (July 31), pp. 33-36.

"Scholars Must Keep Their Vision of China Unclouded by Politics," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 26, p. A36; translated into Chinese in *Cankao ziliao* (Reference materials, classified publication), No. 23105, August 1, pp. 72-76.

"Some Trends in the English-Language Historiography of Republican China," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Sinology: Ming-Ch'ing and Modern History Section* (Taipei: Academia Sinica), I:51-64; reprinted in *Republican China XVII:1* (November 1992), pp. 117-131.

"Chinese Democracy in 1989: Continuity and Change," *Problems of Communism* 38:5 (September-October), pp. 16-29; trans. as "1989 nian de Zhongguo minzhu: lianxu yu bianhua," *Zhishifenzi* 5:1 (October), pp. 3-8.

1990

China's Crisis (New York: Columbia University Press); Paperback edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Chinese-language edition, *Zhongguo weiwei de chulu* (Hong Kong: Mirror Post Enterprises, 1991); Ch. 11 abridged as "Is China Ready for Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 1:2 (Spring, 1990), pp. 50-61 and reprinted in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Chinese translation of Ch. 11, *Zhishifenzi* 5:2

(Winter 1990), 17-22; reprinted in Su Shaozhi, ed., *Lun zhidu xuanze* (Weilai Zhongguo xueshe, 1992), pp. 122-136.

"The Place of Values in Cross-Cultural Studies: The Example of Democracy and China," in Paul Cohen and Merle Goldman, eds., *Ideas Across Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies), pp. 293-314; Chinese translation, *Zhishifenzi* 6:2 (Winter 1991), pp. 72-81.

"Taiwan" (with Yangsun Chou), in Robert H. Taylor, ed., *Handbooks to the Modern World: Asia and the Pacific* (New York: Facts on File Publications), pp. 820-835.

"Epilogue" in *Children of the Dragon: The Story of Tiananmen Square*, Human Rights in China, comp. (New York: Collier Books), pp. 215-216.

"A Culture of Cruelty," *The New Republic* (July 30 and August 6), pp. 30-35.

1991

Six articles in Chinese in *Chung-kuo shih-pao* (China Times, Taipei) and *Shih-pao chou-k'an* (China Times Weekly, New York); list available on request.

"Will the Conception of Rights in China Necessarily Be the Same as the International Conception or Will It Be Substantially Different?" *Human Rights Tribune* II:2 (April), pp. 4-7; Chinese translation in *Guoji renquan biaojun yu Zhongguo renquan xianzhuang* (New York: Human Rights in China, 1992), pp. 3-6.

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