

Minxin Pei

(As of October 31, 2024)

Tom and Margot Pritzker '72 Professor of Government
George R. Roberts Fellow
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Education

Ph.D. (Political Science), Harvard University, 1991
M.A. (Political Science), Harvard University, 1989
Master of Fine Arts (Creative Writing), University of Pittsburgh, 1986
B.A. (English), the Shanghai International Studies University (formerly the Shanghai Institute of Foreign Languages), 1982

Employment

Tom and Margot Pritzker Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College, July 2009 – present
Non-resident Senior Fellow, German Marshall Fund, July 2012 – present
Adjunct Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2009-June 2011
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, January 1999 – June 2009
Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Princeton University, 1992-1998
MacArthur Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina, 1991-1992
Instructor, English Department, the Shanghai International Studies University, 1981-1984

Administrative & Leadership Experience

Editor-in-Chief, *China Leadership Monitor*, September 1, 2018 –
Chair, Government Department, Claremont McKenna College, July 1, 2019 – June 2022
Director, the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, Claremont McKenna College, July 2009 – June 2019
Director, the China Program, Carnegie Endowment, April 2004 – March 2008
Co-Director, the China Program, Carnegie Endowment, January 2002 -- March 2004

Honors, Awards and Fellowships

Presidential Award for Merit, Claremont McKenna College, 2022
Delivered the 2020 Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World, National Endowment for Democracy.

Library of Congress Chair in U.S.-China Relations, January 1 – August 31, 2019
Excellence in Opinion Writing, awarded by Society of Publishers in Asia (SOPA), 2016
The Olin Faculty Fellowship, Olin Foundation, 1997-1998
LaPorte Preceptorship, Princeton University, 1995-1998
The Robert McNamara Fellowship, the World Bank, 1994-1995
Edward Teller National Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1994-1995
Edward Chase Prize for the Best Dissertation in a field of political science, Harvard University, 1992

Major Grants

Smith Richardson Foundation, \$84,092, for a project examining how post-Mao reforms ended in neo-Stalinism and a new cold war
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$117,180, for a project on regime security in China (Feb. 1, 2016 – August 31, 2021)
John D. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation, \$100,000, for a project on possible pathways to democracy in China (Jan. 2014- April 30, 2016)
Carnegie Corp. of New York, \$50,000, for a project on the prospects of regime transition in China (Sept. 2013- May 2014)
Smith Richard Foundation, \$99,895, for a project on the prospects of regime transition in China (Jan. 2013- Sept. 2014)
Luce Foundation, \$330,000, for a project on energy security and climate change in China (2007-10)
General Motors, \$80,000, for Carnegie Endowment's work in China (2004-08)
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$100,000, for a research project on assessing medium-term risks in China (2006-2008)
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$200,000, for a research project on diverging governance in Chinese provinces (2005-2006)
James Kimsey Foundation, \$100,000, for operating costs of the China Program's office in Beijing (2002-2004)
Henry Luce Foundation, \$300,000, for a research project on legal reform in Shanghai (2002-04)
Smith Richardson Foundation, \$375,000, for a research project on political reform in China (2001-2003)
Unsolicited Grant, the United States Institute of Peace, \$35,000 (1994-1995)

Board Membership

Board member, National Endowment for Democracy, since 2021
Board member, the Pacific Basin Institute at Pomona College, 2005-2008
Editorial board, *Journal of Democracy*, since 2001
Editorial board, *Asia Policy*, since 2012
Editorial board, *The China Journal*, since 2023
Advisory board, *East Asia: International Quarterly*, since 2007

Columnist

Bloomberg Opinion (since 2021)

L'espresso, a major Italian newsweekly (2007-2014)
Indian Express, a leading Indian national newspaper (2011-2015)
Project Syndicate (2018-2022)

Editorial Leadership

Editor of China Leadership Monitor, since September 2018

Publications

1. Books:

Broken Dreams: How China's Reform Era Ended in Neo-Stalinist Rule and a New Cold War (forthcoming, Princeton University Press)

The Sentinel State: Surveillance and the Survival of Dictatorship in China (Harvard University Press, 2024), 336 pp.

Reviewed in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal; Japanese, Chinese and Arabic translations to be released.

Thwarted Ambitions: The Rise and Decline of China in the Xi Jinping Era (under contract, Polity Books)

China's Crony Capitalism: The Dynamics of Regime Decay (Harvard University Press, 2016), 376 pp.

Named one of the "Best Books of 2016" by The Economist and FT; Chinese translation published in 2017; Vietnamese translation published in 2018

China's Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy (Harvard University Press, 2006), 308 pp.

Korean translation published in 2011

From Reform to Revolution: The Demise of Communism in China and the Soviet Union (Harvard University Press, 1994), 264 pp.

2. Refereed Journal Articles and Book Chapters:

"The Rise and Fall of the China Model, in Asle Toje, ed., *Will China's Rise be Peaceful? The Rise of a Great Power in Theory, History, Politics and the Future* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018): 163-184.

"The Doomed Transitional Moment of 1989," in Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013): 378-399.

"Authoritarianism or Democracy," co-authored with Christer Pursianinen in Pursianinen ed., *At the Crossroads of Post-Communist Modernisation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 114-180.

“Mixed Signals: China’s response to the global economic crisis,” in Nancy Birdsall and Frank Fukuyama eds., *New Thinking in Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011): 111-132.

“A Survey of Commercial Litigation in Shanghai Courts,” (co-authored with Zhang Guoyan, Pei Fei, and Chen Lixin) in Randall Peernboom, ed., *Judicial Independence in China: Lessons for Global Rule of Law Promotion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 221-233.

“China’s Hedged Acquiescence: Coping with US Hegemony,” in Byung-Kook Im and Anthony Jones, eds., *Power and Security in Northeast Asia: Shifting Strategies* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007), pp. 99-126.

“Building Nations: Lessons from the American Experience,” (co-authored with Samia Amin and Seth Garz), in *The Politics and Lessons of Nation-Building*, ed., Francis Fukuyama (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): 64-85.

“Rotten From Within: Decentralized Predation and Incapacitated State,” in *The Nation State in Question*, eds. T. V. Paul, John Ikenberry, and John Hall (Princeton University Press, 2003): 321-349.

“Legal Reform and Secure Commercial Transactions: Evidence from China,” in *Assessing the Value of Law in Transition Economies* ed. Peter Murrell, (University of Michigan Press, 2001): 180-210.

“Civic Associations in China: An Empirical Analysis,” *Modern China* 24 (3) (July 1998): 285-318.

“The Political Economy of Banking Reform in China, 1993-97,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 7:18 (July 1998): 321-350.

“Citizens v. Mandarins: Administrative Litigation in China,” *China Quarterly* 152 (December 1997): 832-862.

“Constructing the Political Foundations for Rapid Economic Growth,” in Henry Rowen, ed. *Behind East Asia’s Growth: The Political and Social Foundations of an Economic Miracle* (London: Routledge, 1997): 39-59.

“The Microfoundations of State-Socialism and Patterns of Economic Transition” in *Post-Communist Studies* 29 (2) (July 1996): 131-146.

3. Non-refereed Articles and Book Chapters:

“Why China can’t Export its Model of Surveillance,” *Foreign Affairs*, February 5, 2024.

“Xi Jinping and the Paradox of Power,” *Foreign Affairs*, November 20, 2022.

- “China: Totalitarianism’s Dark Shadow,” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (2) (April 2021): 5-21.
- “China’s Coming Upheaval: Competition, the Coronavirus, and the Weakness of Xi Jinping,” *Foreign Affairs* 99 (3) (May/June 2020): 82-95.
- “From Tiananmen to Neo-Stalinism,” *Journal of Democracy* 31 (1) (January 2020): 148-157.
- “How not to fight corruption: lessons from China,” *Daedalus* 147 (3) (Summer 2018): 216-230.
- “A Play for Global Leadership,” *Journal of Democracy* 29 (2) (April 2018): 37-51
- “China in 2017,” *Asian Survey*, 58 (1) (January/February 2018): 21-32.
- “China’s Return to Strongman Rule,” *Foreign Affairs*, November 1, 2017
- “A Transition in China? More Likely Than You Think,” *Journal of Democracy* 27 (4) (October 2016): 5-19
- “The Beginning of the End,” *The Washington Quarterly* (Fall, 2016): 131-142
- “Twilight of the CCP?” *The American Interest* 11 (4) (2015): 26-35.
- “The Chinese Political Order: Resilience or Decay,” *Modern China Studies* (1) (2014): 1-20.
- “Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient,” *Journal of Democracy* (January 2012): 27-41.
- “The Hype about Asia’s Rise,” *Foreign Policy* (July/August, 2009): 33-36.
- “Will the Chinese Communist Party Survive the Crisis?” *Foreign Affairs.com* (March 2009)
- “Looming Stagnation,” *The National Interest*, (March/April 2009): 13-19.
- “How China is Ruled,” *The American Interest*, (March/April 2008): 46-51.
- “Fighting Corruption: A Difficult Challenge for Chinese Leaders,” in Cheng Li ed., *China’s Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008): 229-50.
- “How Will China Democratize,” *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3) (July 2007): 53-57.
- “China: Can Economic Growth Continue without Political Reform,” in *Strategic Asia 2006*, eds., Ashley Tellis and Michael Willis (Seattle, Bureau for Asian Research 2006), pp. 302-331.
- “The Dark Side of China’s Rise,” *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2006).

- “Domestic Changes in China and Implications for American Policy,” in *U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-first Century: Policies, Prospects, and Possibilities*, eds., Christopher Marsh and June Dreyer (Lexington Books 2003): 43-62.
- “The Paradoxes of American Nationalism,” *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2003): 31-37.
- “Contradictory trends and confusing signals,” *Journal of Democracy* 14 (1) (January 2003): 73-81.
- “China’s Governance Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2002): 96-109.
- “Implementing the Institutions of Democracy,” *International Journal on World Peace* 16 (4) (December 2002): 3-31.
- “Bullish on Democracy: Research Notes on Multinationals and the Third Wave” *The National Interest*, (70) (Winter/2002-03) (co-authored with Merritt Lyon): 79-86.
- “Self-Administration and Local Autonomy: Reconciling Conflicting Interests in China,” in *The Self-Determination of Peoples* ed. by Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2001): 315-334.
- “Political Institutions, Democracy, and Development,” in *Democracy, Market Economics and Development: An Asian Perspective*, eds., Farruch Iqbal and Jong-Il You (Washington DC: The World Bank 2001): 25-48.
- “China’s Evolution Toward Soft-Authoritarianism,” in Barret McCormick, ed., *What If China Does Not Democratize* (M.E. Sharpe, 2000): 74-98.
- “Political Change in Post-Mao China: Progress and Challenges,” in Ted Galen Carpenter and James A. Dorn, eds., *China’s Future: Constructive Partner or Emerging Threat?* (Cato Institute Press, 2000): 291-316.
- “Why Recessions Don’t Start Revolutions,” *Foreign Policy* (Spring 2000), (co-authored with David Adesnik): 138-151.
- “Rights and Resistance: The Changing Context of the Dissident Movement in China,” in Elizabeth Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2000): 20-40.
- “Will China Become Another Indonesia?” *Foreign Policy* (Fall 1999): 94-109.
- “The Fall and Rise of Democracy in East Asia,” in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds., *Democracy in East Asia* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998): 57-78.
- “Democratization in the Greater China Region,” *Access Asia* (July 1998): 5-40.
- “Is China Democratizing?” *Foreign Affairs* 77 (1) (January-February 1998): 68-82.

“Racing Against Time: Institutional Decay and Renewal in China,” in William Joseph, ed. *China Briefing 1996* (M.E. Sharpe, 1997): 11-49.

“Creeping Democratization in China,” *Journal of Democracy* 6 (4) (October 1995): 65-79.

“The Puzzle of East Asian Exceptionalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 5 (4) (October 1994): 90-103.

“Societal Take-Over in China and the USSR,” *Journal of Democracy* 3 (1) (January 1992): 108-118.

5. Book Reviews:

Review of Yasheng Huang, *The Rise and Fall of the EAST: How Exams, Autocracy, Stability, and Technology Brought China Success, and Why They Might Lead to Its Decline* (Yale, 2023), in *China Quarterly* (June 2024): 562-564.

Review of Weijian Shan, *Out of the Gobi: My Story of China and America* (Wiley, 2019) and Karoline Kan, *Under Red Skies: Three Generations of Life, Loss, and Hope in China*, (Hachette Books, 2019), in Project Syndicate (February 2019).

Review of Stephen R. Platt’s *Imperial Twilight: The Opium War and the End of China’s Last Golden Age* (New York, Knopf, 2018) in *Project Syndicate* (August 2018)

Review of Evan Osnos, *The Age of Ambition* in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (May 2014)

Review of Geoff Dyer’s *The Contest of the Century* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (February 2014)

“How China and America See Each Other,” review of *Debating China*, ed. Nina Hachigan (Oxford University Press 2014) in *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2014, 143-147.

Review of Orville Schell and John Delury’s *Wealth and Power* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 2013)

Review of Liao Yiwu’s *For a Song and a Hundred Songs* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (July 2013)

Review of Alexander Pantsov and Steven Levine’s *Mao: The Real Story* in *The San Francisco Chronicle* (December 28, 2012)

Review of Gerald Lemos’ *The End of the Chinese Dream* in *The Asian Wall Street Journal* (July 30, 2012)

Review of Andrew Wedeman’s *Double Paradox: Rapid Growth and Rising Corruption in China* in *The Asian Wall Street Journal* (June 11, 2012)

Review of Teresa Wright’s *Accepting Authoritarianism* in *The China Journal* (July 2011)

Review of Henry Kissinger's *On China* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 13, 2011)

Review of Philip Pan's *Out of Mao's Shadow* in *Slate*, August 2008

Review of Kellee Tsai's *Capitalism without Democracy* in *The China Journal*, No. 60 (July 2008), pp. 187-189.

Review of *Chinese Intellectuals Between State and Market*, eds. Merle Goldman and Edward Gu, in *The China Journal*, January 2005, pp. 187-189.

Review of Andrew Nathan's *China's Transition*, in *Political Science Quarterly* (spring 1999): 152-153

6. Opinion Pieces Published (over eight hundred since 1992):

The Economist, *The New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Fortune.com*, *Project Syndicate*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *Bloomberg Opinion*, *The South China Morning Post*, *The Strait Times*, *The Diplomat*, *The National Interest*, *Indian Express*, *l'espresso*, *Newsweek* and *Newsweek Japan*.

Invited Talks, Seminar Presentations, and Speaking Engagements

Harvard University, Stanford University, Princeton University, Yale University Law School, MIT, UCLA, Dartmouth College, Cornell University, Duke University, University of Chicago, Georgetown University, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University Law School, UC Berkeley, University of California, San Diego, University of Washington, the World Economic Forum, Stockholm China Forum, Sun Valley Conference, the Israeli Presidential Conference, Oxford University, Cambridge University, Australian National University, University of Sydney, University of Melbourne, University of Toronto, McGill University, University of Victoria, Bar-ilan University (Tel Aviv), Tsinghua University, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the East Asian Institute at Singapore National University, the East Asian Institute (South Korea), University of Munich, University of Helsinki, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the University of Hong Kong, the University of Tokyo, the Nobel Research Institute, Institut francais des relations internationales (*Ifri*), the British Academy, the European Council on Foreign Relations, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institution, AEI, Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Cato Institute, the Asia Society, the Wilson Center, the National Bureau for Asian Research, the East-West Center in Hawaii, the Center for American Progress, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, the MacArthur Foundation, the Bertelsmann Foundation, the Berlin Foreign Policy Forum, Instituto Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Sao Paulo), the Brussels Forum, Chatham House (London), Casa Asia (Barcelona), the Engelsberg Seminar (Sweden), the Trilateral Commission, the Center for European Reform (London), the World Affairs Councils (Northern California and Dallas), and the Pacific Council on International Studies.

Media Appearances and Interviews

PBS Newshour, CNN, CBS, BBC, National Public Radio, *the New York Times*, *The Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Economist*.

Reviewer of Manuscripts for

World Politics, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *The China Journal*, *Modern China*, *The China Quarterly*, *The Journal of Contemporary China*, *Perspectives on Politics, Governance*, Cambridge University Press, Yale University Press, Harvard University Press, Stanford University Press, Princeton University Press, and Cornell University Press.