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Mega-FTAs
and the
Global Political Economy

October 24-25, 2014
9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Oct. 24: 180 Doe Library,
UC Berkeley

Oct. 25: Institute of East Asian Studies,
1995 University Avenue, Berkeley, Suite 510

Sponsors:
Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley
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Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley
East-West Center, Hawaii
Mega-FTAs and the Global Political Economy

Agenda

Friday, October 24: 180 Doe Library

9:00 - 10:00 am
   Welcoming Remarks
       Vinod Aggarwal, Professor and Director, BASC, UC Berkeley

   Keynote Speech
       Yu-Shan Wu, Professor, Academia Sinica and NTU, Taiwan

10:00 - 10:15 am    Coffee Break

10:15 - Noon    Session 1:
       The Political Economy of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership: Origins and Evolution

   Chair: Mignonne Chan, National Cheng Chi University

   John Ravenhill, Balsillie School and University of Waterloo
   Paper Presenter

   Seung-Joo Lee, Chung-Ang University, Korea
   Paper Presenter

   Discussants: Seung-Youn Oh, Bryn Mawr
               Namson Ngo-Le, UC Berkeley

Noon - 1:15 pm    Lunch Break

1:15 - 3:00 pm    Session 2:
       The Trans-Pacific Partnership: Origins and Evolution

   Chair: Michael Plummer, Johns Hopkins SAIS

   Shujiro Urata, Waseda University, Japan
   Paper Presenter

   Deborah Elms, Asian Trade Centre, Singapore
   Paper Presenter

   Discussants: Erik Johnson, UC Berkeley
               Jay Varellas, UC Berkeley

3:00 - 3:15 pm           Coffee Break

3:15 - 5:00 pm   Session 3:
       Asia-Pacific FTAs: Implications beyond Asia

   Chair: Simon Evenett, St. Gallen University

   Michael Plummer, Johns Hopkins SAIS
   Paper Presenter

   Mignonne Chan, National Cheng Chi University
   Paper Presenter

   Discussants: Sandile Hlatshwayo, UC Berkeley
               Jieun Kim, UC Berkeley
Saturday, October 25: IEAS, 1995 University Ave, Berkeley

9:00 - 10:45 am  Session 4:

**The Security Implications of Mega-FTAs**

Chair: Seung-Joo Lee, Chung-Ang University, Korea

Penghong Cai, SIIS, Shanghai
Paper Presenter

To-Hai Liou, National Cheng Chi University, Taiwan
Paper Presenter

Discussants: Stephen Krasner, Stanford University
Charles Morrison, East-West Center, Honolulu

10:45 - 11:00 am  Coffee Break

11:00 am - 1:00 pm  Session 5:

**Nesting Mega-FTAs? Implications for Existing Trade Agreements**

Chair: John Ravenhill, Balsillie School and University of Waterloo

Simon Evenett, St. Gallen University
Paper Presenter

Bora Park, UC Berkeley
Paper Presenter

Discussants: Robert Stern, UC Berkeley
Sanket Korgaonkar, UC Berkeley

1:00 - 2:00 pm  Lunch Break

2:00 - 3:45 pm  Session 6:

**How is Taiwan Responding to the Challenge of Mega-FTAs?**

Chair: Deborah Elms, Asian Trade Centre, Singapore

Yi-feng Tao, National Taiwan University, Taiwan
Paper Presenter

Yun-han Chu and Hans Tung, National Taiwan University, Taiwan
Paper Presenter

Discussants: Alexsia Chan, UC Berkeley
Suzanne Scoggins, UC Berkeley

4:00 pm  **Public Forum**

Vinod Aggarwal, Professor and Director, BASC, UC Berkeley, Chair
Penghong Cai, SIIS, Shanghai
Stephen Krasner, Stanford University
Charles Morrison, East-West Center, Honolulu
Shujiro Urata, Waseda University, Japan
Yu-Shan Wu, Professor, Academia Sinica and NTU, Taiwan
The Economics of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is the latest attempt to establish Asia rather than the Asia-Pacific as the key geographical focus for regional economic integration. The RCEP is an ASEAN-centered framework, intended to multi-lateralize the preferential trade agreements that ASEAN has signed with individual partners (the “ASEAN Plus One” agreements). In that only five rounds of negotiations have been conducted by the time of writing—even the modalities for tariff negotiations have yet to be agreed—and outcomes in RCEP may well be influenced by what eventuates from the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations, estimating the economic effects of a future RCEP agreement is hazardous. Nonetheless, on the basis of the contents of the preferential trade agreements already entered into by Asian states, and the “Guiding Principles and Objectives for Negotiating the RCEP endorsed by RCEP Ministers on 30 August 2012”, one can anticipate that any RCEP agreement will be relatively shallow. The principal beneficiaries are likely to be the major economies of the region (China, India, Japan, and Korea) not least because they are not currently linked by preferential trade agreements.

Abstract: The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is the latest attempt to establish Asia rather than the Asia-Pacific as the key geographical focus for regional economic integration. The RCEP is an ASEAN-centered framework, intended to multi-lateralize the preferential trade agreements that ASEAN has signed with individual partners (the “ASEAN Plus One” agreements). In that only five rounds of negotiations have been conducted by the time of writing—even the modalities for tariff negotiations have yet to be agreed—and outcomes in RCEP may well be influenced by what eventuates from the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations, estimating the economic effects of a future RCEP agreement is hazardous. Nonetheless, on the basis of the contents of the preferential trade agreements already entered into by Asian states, and the “Guiding Principles and Objectives for Negotiating the RCEP endorsed by RCEP Ministers on 30 August 2012”, one can anticipate that any RCEP agreement will be relatively shallow. The principal beneficiaries are likely to be the major economies of the region (China, India, Japan, and Korea) not least because they are not currently linked by preferential trade agreements.

The Political Economy of Regional Economic Order in East Asia: The Case of RCEP
Seungjoo Lee, Chung-Ang University

Abstract: East Asian countries are entering into the 2nd stage of the free trade agreement (FTA) drive as they try to turn bilateral FTAs into Mega-FTAs. This paper attempts to examine the underlying forces that prompted East Asian countries to multilateralize their existing bilateral FTAs. In particular, this paper explores how and why East Asian countries’ interests in the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) have fluctuated. While economic motivations are of primary importance in launching the RCEP, East Asian countries also take into account strategic factors. I particularly highlight three strategic factors that have shaped the formation and evolution of the RCEP: Sino-U.S. competition in designing the new global and regional architecture, Sino-Japan rivalry, and the role of middle powers (ASEAN and South Korea).

The Trans-Pacific Partnership: Origins, Evolution, and Significance
Shujiro Urata

Abstract: Negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership have been actively conducted since its beginning, although its conclusion has not yet been realized. This indicates the eagerness of the participants as well as the difficulty of the negotiations. Despite the objective of building an ambitious, high quality, comprehensive 21st century FTA, negotiations are stuck with 20th century market
access issues in goods trade between the United States and Japan. The paper analyzes the controversial issues in the TPP negotiations with a focus on the U.S.-Japan bilateral negotiations. It also examines the economic significance of the TPP in improving business environment in Asia-Pacific.

The Origins and Evolution of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Trade Negotiations
Deborah Elms, Executive Director, Asian Trade Centre, Singapore

Abstract: Negotiating the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) has been a bit like trying to solve a Rubik’s Cube that keeps getting another layer added to the puzzle from time to time. Just at the moment when officials might be able to conclude some element of agreement, another country has joined the deal. Because the TPP is not just broader than most existing trade agreements but also reaches deeper into the “behind the border” regulatory and domestic policy arenas of the memberships, closing the agreement has proven extremely difficult. This paper tracks the evolution of the agreement from its beginning as a trade deal linking four small countries that barely traded with one another to a 12 party negotiation that brings together large and small economies across three continents over nearly 5 years.

Session 3: Asia-Pacific FTAs: Implications beyond Asia
Mignonne Man-Jung Chan, National Cheng Chi University

Abstract: Within a political economy framework, the author explores the implications of mega-FTAs beyond Asia. Four approaches to globalization—realism, constructivism, Marxism, and Leadership Personality—will be analyzed in the context of globalization, and the intersection among politics, economics, and society will be assessed. From the perspective of realism, the notions of “balance of power” and “competitive liberalization” are to be examined. From the perspective of constructivism, the underlying value of various institutional arrangements, including the WTO, Washington Consensus embedded in the World Bank and IMF and possibly “Beijing Consensus” of the sort embedded in the upcoming BRICS New Development Bank, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, will be identified. From the perspective of Marxism, center-peripheral relations are the focus. From the perspective of leadership personalities, the leadership characteristics of key mega-FTA players, though not exhaustive, will be highlighted in the narrative of mega-FTAs. Contentious issues under negotiation in the mega-FTA will be discussed and the future trend and picture of globalization will be attempted.
Session 4: The Security Implications of Mega-FTAs

China’s Strategic Posture of Regional Security Architecture
Penghong Cai, SIIS, Shanghai

Abstract: A question periodically mentioned within the past 30 years or more is “how well do theories of economic integration and political realism or power politics explain China’s action and intention toward Asia-Pacific community together with regional countries?” This article argues that we possibly need to bring in a new approach provided by Chinese elite discourse, thoughts from Chinese government officials and government related think tanks when thinking about China. It suggests that a debate within China on China’s participation in the process from economic cooperation with FTAs in East Asia like the latest one, RCEP, to a complex and sensitive issue like security architecture does not depend on Western schools of thought but is framed by different ways, or liberal, neutral and conservative approaches.

The Security Implications of Mega-FTAs
To-hai Liou, National Cheng Chi University, Taiwan

Abstract: If those on-going mega-FTA negotiations such as TTIP, TPP and Japan-EU FTA as well as Sino-US bilateral investment treaty (BIT) and Sino-EU BIT have any breakthrough in one front, it is very likely to set off a chain reaction of concluding other mega-FTAs and BITs. For example, if TPP countries reach an agreement, driven by the fear of being marginalized, the EU will speed up its FTA negotiations with the US. Alternatively, if the US and China sign their bilateral investment treaty, the EU will expedite its BIT talks with China to compete with the US in China. As a result, the global free trade expansion across regions will further be accelerated. Moreover, the growing economic interdependence through the signing of mega-FTAs and BITs will be eventually conducive to the strengthening of WTO’s role of global governance on world trade and thus decrease the probability of war among states.

Session 5: Nesting Mega-FTAs? Implications for Existing Trade Agreements

Title: Old Wine in New Bottles? Mega-Regional FTAs and the WTO
Simon Evenett, St. Gallen University

Abstract: From an economic perspective this paper critically assesses whether the negotiation of mega-regional RTAs calls for a reassessment of our understanding of the tensions and complementarities between RTAs and the multilateral trading system. The assessment confronts idealized conceptions of the latter with the reality of multilateral rulemaking in the postwar era.

Financial Crisis and Trade in Financial Services: Nesting Mega-FTAs in GATS
Bora C. Park, UC Berkeley

Abstract: The two decades leading up to the 2008 global financial crisis were a period of substantial liberalization in the financial services sector. In 1998, this liberalization trend accelerated with the WTO Financial Services Agreement (FSA), which constructed a multilateral system of financial services trade, allowing developed countries to enter the financial sectors of developing countries. However, as I argue in this paper, the recent financial crisis has reversed this course, with both developed and developing countries adopting protectionist policies, especially in the financial sector. An in-depth analysis of the evolution of trade in financial services, blueprints and current negotiations of the mega-FTAs suggests that this unwinding has led to the weakening of the institutional support structure for liberalization. The lack of a systemic regulatory framework and weak dispute settlement in mega-FTAs such as TPP, RCEP, and TTIP diverge from GATS commitments. Further,
institutions in mega-FTAs hamper multilateral responses and cooperation of states and institutions in the financial services sector during times of crises. I conclude by discussing the policy implications of these trends for developing countries and international institutions.

Session 6: How is Taiwan Responding to the Challenge of Mega-FTAs?

Sinicization or Globalization? Taiwan’s Economy at the Crossroads
Yi-feng Tao, National Taiwan University

Abstract: Since the end of the Cold War, Taiwan’s economy has rapidly integrated with China’s through sharp increases in cross-Strait trade flows and FDI flows. The Sinicization of Taiwan’s economy came hand in hand with its marginalization in the region as well as in the world. This paper analyzes the domestic and external implications of this unbalanced development and argues that countries in this region, especially the United States, should help Taiwan to mitigate this unbalanced development through supporting its participation in regional and bilateral free trade agreements to diversify its economic structure and relations.

Trade Agreements on the Street? The Post-Sunflower Trade Politics in Taiwan
Yun-han Chu, Academia Sinica/National Taiwan University
Hans H. Tung, National Taiwan University

Abstract: This paper attempts to paint an analytical picture of Taiwan's trade politics after an impactful student movement took place earlier this year in Taipei. Dubbed the Sunflower Student Movement, the protest movement that lasted for 23 days has significantly shaken, if not destroyed, the pro-trade coalition that had offered the major momentum for Taiwan's trade and investment liberalization (especially towards mainland China) since the current Ma administration returned to power in 2008. While the government is still very keen on advancing its liberalization agenda, it remains a tall order for Taiwan both domestically and internationally to conclude high-quality free trade agreements if another coalition cannot be organized. This paper provides a descriptive account for the formation and the changes in Taiwan's pro-trade coalition before the Sunflower Student Movement broke out, as well as presenting a framework for analysis of trade policymaking that incorporates both sources of influence from special interests and civil society groups that have been hitherto under-theorized in the literature.
**Conference Bios**

**Vinod K. Aggarwal** is Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, with appointments in the Travers Department of Political Science and the Haas School of Business. He serves as Director of the Berkeley Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Study Center (BASC), Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Business and Politics*, and Co-Chair of the U.S. Consortium of APEC Study Centers. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and founding member of the U.S. Asia Pacific Council. Prof. Aggarwal is the author or editor of 21 books and over 100 articles and book chapters. His most recent book is *Responding to China’s Rise: US and EU Strategies* (edited with Sara Newland). He received his B.A. from the University of Michigan and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University.

**Penghong Cai** is a Senior Fellow at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS) and a faculty member in the Graduate Program, SIIS. He was the Director of the APEC Study Center (2001-09) and a Research Professor at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (1995-2009). His research and teaching interests are international relations and security in Southeast Asia with an emphasis on China’s foreign policy, security strategy and maritime security in Asia. He was a fellow at the East-West Center in Hawaii (1992-93) and a visiting scholar at Graduate School of Pacific Studies and International Relations in UC San Diego in 1995. He graduated from Fudan University in 1982 with a degree in International Politics.

**Alexsia Chan** is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Her dissertation examines state control, authoritarian durability, and public service provision in China. She holds an M.A. in Political Science from UC Berkeley and a B.A. in Political Science and Economics from Rutgers University.

**Mignonne Chan** is the Chair & CEO of Out-of-the-Box Consultancy, an Advisor to the Chinese Taipei APEC Study Center, and sits on many Boards, including Standard Chartered Bank (Taiwan), Prospect Foundation, Association of Emerging Market Studies, and Association of Environmental Strategic Resources. Her career has included a number of prominent roles in business, academia, government, and international organizations, including serving as a Senior Advisor to the President at the National Security Council of the Republic of China (2008-10); the Director General of the International Secretariat at the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC) (1999-2001); and the Director (Research) at Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (1996-98). Dr. Chan received a Ph.D. in Political Economy from Boston University. Her expertise lies in the areas of national security, international organizations, business-government relations and international political economy.

**Yun-han Chu** is Distinguished Research Fellow at the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica and Professor of Political Science at National Taiwan University. He serves concurrently as president of Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. Professor Chu received his Ph. D. in political science from the University of Minnesota and joined the faculty of National Taiwan University in 1987. During 1990-1991, Professor Chu was a visiting associate professor at Columbia University. Professor Chu specializes in the politics of Greater China, East Asian political economy and democratization. He has been the Coordinator of Asian Barometer Survey, a regional network of survey on democracy, governance and development covering more than seventeen Asian countries. He was recently elected an Academician of Academia Sinica, the country’s highest academic honor, in July 2012. He is the author, co-author, editor or co-editor of fifteen books.

**Deborah Elms** is the Executive Director of the Asian Trade Centre in Singapore. She is also a Senior Fellow in the Singapore Ministry of Trade and Industry’s Trade Academy. Previously, she was head
of the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN) and Senior Fellow in International Political Economy at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Her research interests are negotiations and decision making, and her current research involves the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) negotiations and global value chains. She has provided consulting on a range of trade issues to governments including the United Arab Emirates, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Taiwan, and Singapore. Dr. Elms received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Washington, a M.A. in International Relations from the University of Southern California, and a bachelor’s degree from Boston University.

Simon J. Evenett is Professor of International Trade and Economic Development at the University of St. Gallen. His research and professional interests include how businesses manage relations with governments and regulators, international trade negotiations and disputes, protectionism, and the World Trade Organization. He has taught at the University of Oxford, the Ross School of Business at the University of Michigan, and Rutgers University. In addition, Prof. Evenett has served as a World Bank official twice, was a Non-Resident Senior Fellow in the Economics Studies program of the Brookings Institution, and is co-director of the most established group of international trade economists in Europe. Prof. Evenett obtained his Ph.D. in Economics from Yale University and a B.A. (Hons) in Economics from the University of Cambridge.

Sandile Hlatshwayo is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley. Her current research focuses on questions related to the magnitude and scope of exchange rate pass-through (i.e., the proportion of exchange rate shocks that translate into proportionate changes in prices) and its distributional consequences. She has published papers on a range of topics including America’s structural evolution, the current economic recovery, human trafficking, and the efficacy of social welfare programs in developing markets. She completed her undergraduate studies at Spelman College and holds a Masters in International Policy Studies from Stanford University.

Erik Johnson is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley. He holds a Master's in Economics from Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario and a Bachelor's of Arts from Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick. His research focuses on identifying the effects of infrastructure spending on regional economic growth in the United States.

Jieun Kim is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, specializing in international relations and comparative politics. Her research interests include international relations in East Asia and the domestic politics and foreign policies of China. She holds a B.A. in Political Science from Seoul National University in Korea. She is a fellow of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies.

Sanket Korgaonkar is a Ph.D. candidate in Finance and Real Estate at the Haas School of Business at UC Berkeley. Sanket’s current research focuses on mortgage finance, and more specifically, the influence of intermediaries on the decision to modify or foreclose delinquent mortgages in the aftermath of the financial crisis. His other research interests cover banking, financial intermediation, and dynamic contracting problems. He graduated magna cum laude from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania with a BSc in Economics (Finance and Statistics).

Stephen Krasner is the Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations, the Senior Associate Dean for the Social Sciences, School of Humanities & Sciences, and the Deputy Director of FSI. A former director of CDDRL, Krasner is also an FSI senior fellow, and a fellow of the Hoover Institution. From February 2005 to April 2007, he served as the Director of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department. In 2002, he served as the director for governance and development at the National Security
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Seungjoo Lee is a Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Chung-Ang University (Seoul, Korea). Professor Lee received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Lee has previously taught at the National University of Singapore and Yonsei University. Professor Lee is the co-editor of Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration? (2008) and Trade Policy in the Asia-Pacific: The Role of Ideas, Interests, and Domestic Institutions (2010). His recent publications appeared in various journals such as Comparative Political Studies, The Pacific Review, Asian Survey, and Korean Political Science Review. His current research investigates the evolutionary dynamics of institutional balancing in East Asia, the evolution of global FTA networks, and Korea’s development cooperation policy.

To-hai Liou is Professor and Chair of the Department of Diplomacy, the Director of the Center for WTO Studies in the College of International Affairs at National Chengchi University in Taiwan, and the President of the Chinese Association for Korean Studies. He has been a Visiting Fellow at University of Melbourne (2001-02), University of Calgary (2002), Australian National University (Dept. of International Relations, 2006-07), and Centre for Dialogue, La Trobe University (2011) under the Executive Endeavour Award of the Australian Government. He is the author of the book entitled South Korea's Foreign Relations Since the mid-1980s (1997) and co-author of two books, International Politics (1996) and Introduction to Korean Studies (2001). He received his Ph.D. from the University of Arizona.

Charles E. Morrison is the President of the East-West Center. He has had extensive involvement in the conceptualization, organization and funding of policy-oriented educational research and dialogue projects in both Japan and the United States, and has long been involved in promoting the concept of Asia-Pacific community. In September 2005, he was elected International Chair of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC). He is a founding member of the U.S. Asia Pacific Council, the U.S. National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation, and a member of the U.S. Committee for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Namson Ngo-Le is a Ph.D student in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. His research interests encompass international political economy and the international relations of East Asia, in particular Chinese relations with Southeast Asia. Some of his projects include the strategic goals of Chinese foreign aid to Southeast Asia and the power dynamics of territorial disputes in the South China Sea. He holds an M.A. in Political Science from U.C. Berkeley and a B.A. in International Relations, Economics, and Chinese from Tufts University.

Seung-Youn Oh is an Assistant Professor in Political Science at Bryn Mawr College. Prior to arriving at Bryn Mawr, she served as a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania. She also taught at the Shanghai branch of École Supérieure des Sciences Commerciales (2009-12). Her broader academic interests include China’s industrial upgrading, state-owned enterprise reforms, the effects of FDI on local economic development, and China’s WTO trade disputes. Seung-Youn holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley and a B.A. from Yonsei University in Korea.

Bora Clara Park is a Ph.D. student in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley with interests in international political economy and foreign economic policy in the Asia-Pacific region. Her dissertation analyzes institutional development and domestic political economy of trade in financial services and international financial regulatory cooperation. She is a Project Director at the Berkeley APEC Study Center. She holds an M.A. in
Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley and a B.A. in Economics and Government from Cornell University.

Michael G. Plummer is the Director of SAIS Europe, and the Eni Professor of International Economics at Johns Hopkins University. He is also Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Asian Economics; President of the American Committee for Asian Economic Studies (ACAES); and (non-resident) Senior Fellow of the East-West Center. He was until recently Head of the Development Division of the OECD (2010-12). Previous to these positions, he was an Associate Professor of Economics at Brandeis University (1992-2001). He has also been a Fulbright Chair in Economics and Pew Fellow in International Affairs, Harvard University. His Ph.D. in Economics is from Michigan State University.

John Ravenhill is the Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs and a Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Waterloo. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. For more than two decades, he was a Professor at the Australian National University, first in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, and then as Head of the School of Politics and International Relations in the Research School of Social Sciences. From 2000 to 2004, he held the Chair of Politics at the University of Edinburgh. He has recently completed editing, together with Saadia Pekkanen and Rosemary Foot, the Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of East Asia. He is the editor of the Oxford University Press text, Global Political Economy, the fourth edition of which was published in 2014. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia.

Suzanne Scoggins is a Pre-doctoral Fellow at Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) and a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. A scholar of reform-era China, her research is driven by her interests in ground-level governance and authoritarian power structures. Her dissertation, "Policing China: Struggles of Law, Order, and Organization for Ground-Level Officers," maps the everyday challenges faced by local officers and their supervising authorities. Exploring the tensions between central government planning and the officers who enforce the law on the ground provides insight into China's political reform and local state stability. Her work has appeared in PS: Political Science and Politics and China Quarterly (forthcoming).

Robert M. Stern is Professor Emeritus of Economics and Public Policy in the Department of Economics and Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He is currently a visiting professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University in 1958. He has been an active contributor to international economic research and policy for more than five decades. He has published numerous papers, books, and edited volumes on a wide variety of topics, and has been a consultant to and done research under the auspices of many U.S. government agencies and international organizations. He is co-author of the Michigan Model of World Production and Trade, which is a computer-based model that has been used to study a variety of important policy issues. He has done further research relating to the scope of the WTO, labor standards and trade agreements, labor standards and human rights, concepts of fairness in the global trading system, and the conduct of the Doha Round negotiations.

Yi-feng Tao currently serves as Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University. She received her Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University in 2001, and has worked as assistant research fellow in Institute of International Relations at National Cheng Chi University before 2004. Her teaching and research interests are Chinese politics, the effects of globalization on democracy, and East Asian political economy. Having done research on topics including China’s political business cycle, and the institutional foundation of China’s economic rise, she is now working on a comparison of the effects of
globalization on democracy in East Asia, and the China model as a diffusion of authoritarianism.

Hans Hanpu Tung is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University. He received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University in 2011. His general research interests include international political economy, the political economy of authoritarianism, Chinese politics, and the rise of China. In particular, his work seeks to uncover the political logic of authoritarian institutions in general and explore its effects on the making of economic policies in China and her rise on the world stage. His dissertation considers how sectoral special interests influence trade policy outcomes in China's institutional context where intra-elite political interactions are highly institutionalized. Parts of its main results are going to be published in a peer-reviewed journal, *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade* and other edited volumes such as *Chinese Models of Development: Global, Local and Comparative Perspectives* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014).

Shujiro Urata is a Professor of Economics at the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University; Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (RIETI); Research Fellow at the Japanese Centre for Economic Research (JCRE); and Senior Research Advisor at the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA). Professor Urata received his Ph.D. in Economics from Stanford University. He specializes in international economics and has published a number of books and articles on international economic issues. His recent co-edited books include *Bilateral Trade Agreements: Origins, evolution, and implications* (Routledge, 2005), *Multinationals and Economic Growth in East Asia* (Routledge, 2006), *Free Trade Agreements in the Asia-Pacific* (World Scientific, 2010), *Economic Consequences of Globalization: Evidence from East Asia* (Routledge, 2012).

Jay Varellas is a Ph.D. student in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Prior to his doctoral studies, he earned a J.D. (also from Berkeley), worked as a commercial litigator with Cravath, Swaine & Moore in New York and Fenwick & West in San Francisco and clerked for a federal judge. Before law school, he worked as a Truman Fellow in the Office of U.S. Senator Max Baucus and a Policy Analyst in the U.S. Department of Transportation’s Office of Navigation and Spectrum Policy and earned an M.A. in Global Political Economy from the University of Sussex, where he was a Fulbright Scholar.

Yu-Shan Wu is a Distinguished Research Fellow and the Director of the Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica in Taiwan. His major interests are political and economic transitions in former socialist countries, constitutional engineering in nascent democracies, and theories of international relations and Cross-Taiwan Strait relations. His area focuses are Taiwan, mainland China, Eastern Europe and Russia. He has authored and edited 17 books, and published 130 journal articles and book chapters. His recent books include *Semi-Presidentialism and Democracy* (2011), *In Search of China’s Development Model: Beyond the Beijing Consensus* (2011), and *The Chinese Models of Development: Global, Local and Comparative Perspectives* (2014). He holds a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.