The Institute of East Asian Studies gratefully acknowledges the support of the Taipei Cultural and Economic Office in San Francisco in making this conference possible.

Institute of East Asian Studies

Maneuvering in a World of Great Powers

October 25, 2019
9:30 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.
180 Doe Library
UC Berkeley

Sponsors:
Institute of East Asian Studies (IEAS)
Berkeley APEC Study Center (BASC)
Center for Korean Studies (CKS)
Center for Japanese Studies (CJS)
Center for Chinese Studies (CCS)
Maneuvering in a World of Great Powers

Conference Speakers

Vinnie AGGARWAL, UC Berkeley
Daniel BALKE, UC Berkeley
Ping-Kuei CHEN, National Chengchi University
Gina CHOI, UC Berkeley
Kristi GOVELLA, University of Hawaii at Manoa
Min Gyo KOO, Seoul National University
Seungjoo LEE, Chung-Ang University
Yeh-Chung LU, National Chengchi University
Tim MARPLE, UC Berkeley
Seung-Youn OH, Bryn Mawr College
Ishana RATAN, UC Berkeley
Andrew REDDIE, UC Berkeley
Ivana STRADNER, UC Berkeley
Chung Min TSAI, National Chengchi University
John YOO, UC Berkeley

Conference Description

Medium and small powers must carefully maneuver a globalized international political economy amidst increasing competition between the US, China, and other large powers. They must navigate indirect tactical rivalries across an array of issue areas and industries, but they need not be passive or inconsequential while doing so. Their position presents an increasingly diverse set of concerns when it comes to the security and economic dimensions of strategic competition. This workshop will specifically focus on the challenges and opportunities middle powers face in the areas of industrial policy, strategic trade, and the financial system.

Participants will investigate how middle powers interact with the strategic competition between larger powers through global agenda setting, strategic policy formulation, and international capital flows. As middle powers participate in managing the global commons, whether they can effectively use international law to constrain superpowers and how they fit into evolving alliance networks with China and the U.S. become especially salient. Moreover, the rise of unilateral protectionism by the U.S. and China’s response to it raise the question of whether pursuing bilateral free trade agreements and mega-FTAs can help middle powers maintain open markets for their goods and services as they balance between security and economic concerns. As middle powers seek industrial policies that maintain their competitiveness, it is likewise worth asking how they can avoid a protectionist backlash, especially amidst pressures to promote green industries. Finally, considering the role of investment regulation encourages discussion of the means and ability of middle powers to influence arbitration bodies and mechanisms, rules and regulations, and conditionality terms that dictate foreign direct investment. Conference panels will systematically address these sorts of issues and build toward a deeper understanding of emerging possibilities and constraints for middle powers.
Agenda

9:30-9:35: Introduction by Vinod K. Aggarwal

9:35-11:35 Session 1: GEOPOLITICAL STRATEGIES OF MIDDLE POWERS

Chair: Andrew Reddie, UC Berkeley
Kristi Govella, University of Hawaii
*Japan’s Evolving Middle Power Approach to the Global Commons*
Discussant: Steven Vogel, UC Berkeley

John Yoo and Ivana Stradner, UC Berkeley
*Korea: A Middle Power between the Great Powers*
Discussant: Manseok Lee, UC Berkeley

Ping-Kuei Chen, National Chengchi University
*Divide and Rule from the Hub: The Prospect of the US’s Alliance Management in Asia*
Discussant: Philip Rogers, UC Berkeley

Min Gyo Koo, Seoul National University
*The Making of South Korea as a Middle Sea Power*
Discussant: Manseok Lee, UC Berkeley

11:35-1:00 Lunch Break

1:00-2:30 Session 2: STRATEGIC TRADE

Chair: Ishana Ratan, UC Berkeley
Andrew Reddie, UC Berkeley
*Brexit: A Case Study in Adversarial Interdependence*
Discussant: Ryan Brutger, UC Berkeley

Seungjoo Lee, Chung-Ang University
*Digital Service Industry and Strategic Trade Policy in Korea*
*Korea vs. Google*
Discussant: Philip Rogers, UC Berkeley

Yeh-chung Lu, National Chengchi University
*Trading with the Enemy? How Taiwan Debates Its Trading Relations with China*
Discussant: Philip Rogers, UC Berkeley

2:30-4:30 Session 3: INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Chair: Vinod Aggarwal, UC Berkeley
Chung-min Tsai, National Chengchi University
*Opportunity or Dilemma: How Has Taiwan Responded to the US-China Trade Conflicts?*
Discussant: Tim Marple, UC Berkeley
Gina Choi, UC Berkeley
Pricing the Carbon: The Case of Korea and Its Cross-border Implications in Linking Carbon Pricing Schemes
Discussant: Max Kagan, UC Berkeley

Seung-Youn Oh, Bryn Mawr
The Changing Architecture of Korea Inc.: The Korean Government and MNCs’ Strategies for Coping with Global Backlash
Discussant: Daniel Balke, UC Berkeley

Ishana Ratan, UC Berkeley
Industrial Policy and Investment in the Solar Industry: Opportunities and Challenges for Middle Powers
Discussant: Max Kagan, UC Berkeley

4:30-4:45 Break

4:45-5:45 Session 4: INVESTMENT REGULATION

Chair: Philip Rogers, UC Berkeley

Tim Marple, UC Berkeley
Middle Powers in Post-Crisis Financial Governance: An East-West Divide
Discussant: Max Kagan, UC Berkeley

Daniel Balke, UC Berkeley
Understanding Strategic Interaction between International Financial Institutions and Emerging Market and Developing Countries
Discussant: Max Kagan, UC Berkeley

5:45-6:00 Wrap up
**Conference Abstracts**

**Daniel BALKE**, UC Berkeley

*Understanding Strategic Interaction between International Financial Institutions and Emerging Market and Developing Countries*

The relatively strong performance of emerging market economies (EMEs) during and immediately after the global financial crisis of 2007-08 afforded them greater influence in multilateral fora on global financial governance and also resulted in lower borrowing spreads for their sovereign debt in international capital markets. But were EMEs able to translate this greater role in international policy bodies and greater ability to secure affordable finance from private investors into easier, less stringent conditionality in their loans from traditional development lenders? This paper explores the extent to which periods of tighter spreads on EME sovereign bonds and US treasuries was followed by reduced stringency in the number and type of policy reforms EMEs were required to undertake to receive aid from multilateral development lenders, with a focus on the World Bank.

**Ping-Kuei CHEN**, National Chengchi University

*Divide and Rule from the Hub: The Prospect of the US’s Alliance Management in Asia*

This paper examines the development of the “hub and spoke” system of the US security alliances in Asia. It argues that the US enjoys a bargaining advantage in bilateral security relations. In comparison with multilateral alliances, the US can better prevent free riders and collective demand from its allies. The US can effectively restrain the allies’ behavior and compel its Asian allies to accommodate the US’s interests. The "hub and spoke" system helps the US consolidate its dominance in East Asia, putting inter-alliance cooperation under its supervision. This paper examines episodes of US security cooperation with Japan, Korea, and Australia to illustrate the US’s alliance management technique since 2016. These episodes show that despite the Asian allies cooperated with the US based on their security interests, their involvement in regional security affairs was a result of the US guidance instead of voluntary contribution. This may lead to two future developments: first, the US allies will have less foreign policy autonomy. They will find hard to reject the US or pursue neutral policies in regional affairs. Second, the US will discourage, or even undermine, multilateral security cooperation introduced by its Asia allies. The “hub and spoke” system will be strengthened to safeguard the US’s dominance in Indo-Pacific.

**Gina CHOI**, UC Berkeley

*Pricing the Carbon: The Case of Korea and Its Cross-border Implications in Linking Carbon Pricing Schemes*

A carbon pricing scheme is one of the core policy options for energy transition while it has been struggling with political conflicts either in setting or implementing the price in many jurisdictions. As the discussion over linking carbon pricing schemes in multiple jurisdictions goes on, establishing a carbon
pricing scheme based on consistent scientific methods in each jurisdiction becomes more critical in terms of two aspects: first, the scheme functions to make a proper signal to the market for energy transition; and second, it also provides political and scientific basis to a country for a more active engagement in the global discussion in linking carbon pricing scheme and coordinating for energy transition without accommodating its sovereignty. This paper first discusses the significance of setting up a refined carbon pricing scheme in a jurisdiction with the cross-border context. Then it analyzes multiple energy policy documents of the Korean government containing cost-benefit analyses with its own carbon pricing formula, which were obtained through official information disclosure requests filed with the Korean government. The analysis focuses on the less refined cost-benefit analysis, the inconsistent and unfounded method of carbon pricing in each document, and the dynamics among relevant agencies by comparing the subtle difference in the way each agency handles energy policy, including carbon pricing. This review further elaborates on the efficiency of market-based policy instruments in Korea, a newly introduced emissions trading scheme and the wholesale electricity pricing mechanism to reveal the incomplete function as an energy transition policy. The paper closes with policy suggestions for establishing a consistent carbon pricing scheme.

Kristi GOVELLA, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Coping with Competition in the Global Commons: Japan in Outer Space, Cyberspace, and the High Seas

An increasing number of international tensions, conflicts and challenges are linked to the global commons, areas that are beyond the sovereign jurisdiction of any single state. How do middle powers approach issues in the global commons? How do they respond when these domains become linked with security threats? This paper examines these questions through an analysis of Japan’s policy toward outer space, cyberspace, and the high seas. As a key middle power with significant interests in each of these domains, Japanese policy has evolved significantly during the post-World War II period and particularly due to the rise of China. Japan’s long-standing position the global commons has been to uphold the liberal international order based on rule of law and to support multilateral institutions and initiatives. As threats have arisen from China and others in outer space, cyberspace, and the high seas, Japan has supplemented its previous strategy by turning its existing tools in these domains to new purposes: militarizing dual-use technologies, using multilateral institutions to balance China’s influence, and broadening the scope of the US-Japan alliance. This paper contributes to our understanding of how middle powers such as Japan attempt to influence regional and global governance in response to intensifying competition and security risks.
Min Gyo KOO, Seoul National University

The Making of South Korea as a Middle Sea Power

A purely realist perspective is dominant vis-à-vis the newly emerging naval rivalry between the United States and China and its consequences for their neighbors. China’s drive to construct artificial islands in the South China Sea has drawn global attention, while its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has induced the United States to counter-propose the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) strategy. The shifting attention beyond the China Seas has everyone scrambling to protect their commercial interests and national security, which are heavily dependent on the sea lines of communication (SLOCs) in the oceans. Against this background, this paper examines the rivalry between the United States and China and its implications for South Korea from a geographical and geometric viewpoint in terms of the point-line-plane strategy. It suggests that South Korea rejuvenate its long-lost identity as a sea power and that its navy place more emphasis on point-line-plane perspectives in pursuing the Navy Vision 2045 roadmap.

Seungjoo LEE, Chung-Ang University

Digital Service Industry and Strategic Trade Policy in Korea

Korea vs. Google

Since 2007, the Korean government and Google have clashed over the transfer of geographic information to foreign countries. While the Korean government declined Google’s request for national security reasons, the Google vs. Korean government case offers significant implications for strategic trade policy in digital service industries. From the viewpoint of the Korean government and companies, cross-border transfer of spatial information is unavoidably linked to the future development of digital service industry in Korea. In order to examine how the case has evolved for the last decade, this paper first identifies various actors who participated in the case, directly and indirectly, and traces on the interaction among them. On the US side, Google and the U.S. government could successfully aligned their interests in dealing with the case. By contrast, the Korean government and the IT industry’s split interest in the gigantic tech firm. Specifically, the government ministries in Korea including the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport, the Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Energy, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed different preferences depending on their jurisdictional interests. Moreover, digital service companies also revealed conflicting interests.

Yeh-Chung LU, National Chengchi University

Trading with the Enemy? How Taiwan Debates Its Trading Relations with China

Taiwan’s relationship with China is an intriguing question for students of international politics. Taiwan is close to China geographically and economically, but estranged politically. On the contrary, Taiwan enjoys an officially unofficial and yet very close relationship with the United States, wherein the latter also labels Taiwan a “partner” in recent years. In 2017, for instance, China was the largest market and first trading partner to Taiwan, and the trade volume between the US and Taiwan was dwarfed in comparison. By examining rhetoric
from political elites in Taiwan, this paper aims to address how Taiwan navigates the current US-China competition economically and strategically, and the extent to which hedging is a strategy feasible to middle powers in East Asia.

Tim MARPLE, UC Berkeley

*Middle Powers in Post-Crisis Financial Governance: An East-West Divide*

Regulating cross-border investment has been a key issue in the 11 years since the 2008 financial crisis. While a great deal of attention within IPE has been focused on the role of major powers in shaping these regulatory discussions, as in the Basel Accords talks, little research has addressed the growing role of middle powers in determining their agendas and outcomes. This paper explores the role of middle powers in regulating investment, with specific attention to economies which received currency swap lines from either the US or China in the years following the global financial crisis. I explore how these last-resort lending relationships have created both constraints and opportunities for those two groups of middle powers in shaping regulatory processes in investment, both in formal institutional settings, and informally through domestic instruments. I then leverage these distinct sets of opportunities and constraints to discuss likely implications for future trends in regulating global investment, especially in the context of resurging great power competition and China’s Belt and Road Initiative.

Seung-Youn OH, Bryn Mawr College

*The Changing Architecture of Korea Inc.: The Korean Government and MNCs’ Strategies for Coping with Global Backlash*

A fundamental reordering of the global economy is under way with the rise of trade protectionism and increasing competition among nations to lead the fourth industrial revolution. As one of the leading countries in the information technology sector, Korea now faces the daunting task of restructuring itself to reflect the ongoing global structural paradigm shift. On the one hand, globalization opens the door to connectivity and encourages Korean companies to become leaders in innovation. On the other hand, intensifying national competition leads to mercantilist practices. Developed countries have become more openly protectionist, as shown in the cases of Brexit, the escalating U.S.-China trade war, and the renegotiation of the U.S.–Korea Free Trade Agreement. Late developers like China are catching up rapidly in technology and advanced manufacturing through various industrial policy initiatives. The global turn toward protectionism has brought geopolitical tension to Korea, a medium-sized power sandwiched between the US, its most important military ally, and China, its largest trading partner. The dilemma that Korea faces between the two great powers was best demonstrated when the Chinese government placed unofficial state-led boycotts and economic sanctions on Korean consumer goods in retaliation for Korea’s decision to deploy an American missile defense system in July 2016. This paper seeks to examine the changing dynamics of public-private partnerships of Korea INC. in navigating
political and economic changes in the post-Global Financial Crisis period. I do so by conducting a sectoral analysis of Korea’s semiconductor industry, the single most important contributor to the Korean economy whose exports account for nearly five percent of national GDP. As a latecomer to the industry, the Korean semiconductor sector provides an interesting case through which to examine the interplay between government and corporate actors in overcoming a series of financial crises and coping with protectionist waves coming from both the East (China) and the West (the US).

Ishana RATAN, UC Berkeley

*Industrial Policy and Investment in the Solar Industry: Opportunities and Challenges for Middle Powers*

This paper examines the relationship between industrial policy and investment in the solar industry with an emphasis on industrial policy as a mechanism for middle powers attract foreign investment. Industrial policy provides a stable government commitment to transformative policy and is a means by which states can attract foreign capital to catalyze the growth of an uncertain industry. This paper illustrates the growing importance of middle powers using data on solar industrial policy and investment between 2000 – 2019 and case studies which highlight the relationship between industrial policy and investment inflows in emerging markets. China, followed by Japan and other Southeast Asian states, successfully used industrial policy to attract investment and technology transfers from greater powers like the United States to build a renewables industry. However, others including Malaysia have struggled to attract foreign investment despite attempting to implement industrial policy. The Japanese and Malaysian case studies highlight the importance of robust domestic institutions for the implementation of policy disruptive to entrenched interests, and illustrate the detrimental consequences of regulatory capture for solar industry development.

Andrew REDDIE, UC Berkeley

*Brexit: A Case Study in Adversarial Interdependence*

Much has been made of the domestic political and economic consequences of Brexit on the United Kingdom. By contrast, the geoeconomic dimensions of Britain's political developments have been largely ignored--despite recent work making clear the continuing importance of economic statecraft in international relations (Farrell and Newman 2019). In this paper, I examine the United Kingdom's geoeconomic concerns during Brexit, paying particular attention to the continuing political debates concerning alliance dynamics, industrial policy, and regulatory standard-setting related to the build-out of Britain's next-generation 5G network and engagement with Huawei. In the process, I argue that the confluence of political, security, and economic concerns at play during the Brexit crisis are emblematic of the challenges associated with middle-power policy-making in an era of strategic competition.
Ivana STRADNER, UC Berkeley

*Korea: A Middle Power between the Great Powers
Co-Authored with John YOO, UC Berkeley*

Korea sits between the United States and China as their great power competition intensifies. This paper uses a simple bargaining model to examine the choice between war and peace, and asks what this means for a middle power such as Korea. It argues that Korea will likely become an arena for the competition between the U.S. and China, but could also be a proving ground for a more durable settlement.

Chung Min TSAI, National Chengchi University

*Opportunity or Dilemma: How Has Taiwan Responded to the US-China Trade Conflicts?*

Taiwanese businessmen (Taishang) have been investing in China since early 1990s and many sectors have concentrated production in China with the advantages of cheap labor and tax breaks. After many years, Taishang’s factories have greatly integrated into the “red supply chain.” Nonetheless, the trend seems to be reversed. With the rising cost of land and labor in the past few years, the macroeconomic environment is no longer friendly toward Taiwanese investment. The trade war between the US and China has aggravated the market situation. Many Taiwanese firms in China were heavily affected. In the meanwhile, Taiwan’s economic growth has been slowing down and the Taiwanese government has made preferential policies to attract foreign investment in order to boost the economic development. Undoubtedly, Taishang has become the best option for the Taiwanese government to invite. As of August 2019, there was more than 150 billion USD Taishang investment returning to Taiwan. Some argue that this is a great opportunity for Taiwan to pull the Taiwanese investment back and create more job opportunities. Others contend that with economic reliance on China for more than two decades, short-term gains amid the trade war are unlikely to bring long-term relief for Taiwan. Against this background, this article explores the following questions: how has the Taiwanese government respond to the US-China trade war in terms of industrial policy-making? How has Taishang reacted to the changing political-economic landscape? What has changed and what has not about Taiwanese investment in China in the past two years? Has the Taiwanese government taken advantage of the shifting regional situation or chasing a mirage. In general, how has a middle power made the industrial policies while facing the conflict between two giants? Drawing on data from both Taiwan and China, this article argues that the Taiwanese government has been driven mainly by political motivations with considerations on coming presidential election in 2020. Hence, the industrial policies would harvest short-term gains but not last long.

John YOO, UC Berkeley

*Korea: A Middle Power between the Great Powers
Co-Authored with Ivana STRADNER, UC Berkeley*

Korea sits between the United States and China as their great power competition intensifies. This paper uses a simple bargaining model to examine the choice between war and peace, and asks what this means for a middle power such as
Korea. It argues that Korea will likely become an arena for the competition between the U.S. and China, but could also be a proving ground for a more durable settlement.

**Maneuvering in a World of Great Powers**

**Participant Biographies**

**Vinnie AGGARWAL**, UC Berkeley

Vinod (Vinnie) Aggarwal is Travers Family Senior Faculty Fellow and Professor in the Department of Political Science, Affiliated Professor in the Business and Public Policy group in the Haas School of Business, and Director of the Berkeley Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Study Center (BASC) at the University of California at Berkeley. He also serves as Editor-in-Chief of the journal Business and Politics, and Co-Chair of the U.S. Consortium of APEC Study Centers. From 1991-1994, he chaired the Political Economy of Industrial Societies Program at UC Berkeley. He has published 21 books and over 100 articles and book chapters on the politics of trade and finance. His most recent book is Responding to the Rise of China. His current research examines comparative regionalism in Europe, North America, and Asia with a focus on implications for the international system and multinational corporations.

**Daniel BALKE**, UC Berkeley

Daniel Balke is a PhD student in political science at the University of California at Berkeley. He previously served as a Strategy and Operations Officer in the Fragility, Conflict, and
Violence Group and the Middle East and North Africa Region of the World Bank Group in Washington, D.C., as well as an assistant to former World Bank Group President Jim Yong Kim, where he helped draft speeches and analytical economic briefings for the President. Before joining the Bank in February 2013, Daniel served as an international economist in the U.S. Department of the Treasury’s Western Hemisphere Office, providing macroeconomic analysis on Latin America for senior Treasury officials. Before joining the Western Hemisphere Office, Daniel worked as a special assistant in Treasury’s Office of the Chief of Staff, beginning in February 2009. Prior to the Treasury Department, Daniel worked for the presidential campaign of then-Senator Barack Obama, as a field organizer in Southern New Mexico and, after the election, went to Washington to work for President-elect Obama’s Transition Team, where he worked with a group to help prepare Timothy Geithner for his Senate confirmation hearing to become Secretary of the Treasury. From 2007-08, Daniel served as an elementary schoolteacher in Navajo Nation, New Mexico, as part of the Teach For America program. He holds a B.A. in international relations from the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, where he played four years of NCAA Division 1 Tennis. Daniel also holds an M.A. in Latin American Studies from Georgetown University’s Center for Latin American Studies, with a concentration in political economy. He is a member of the Washington, D.C., Hub of the World Economic Forum’s Global Shapers community, and is a founding Board Member of Building With Beans, a Washington, D.C.-based social enterprise that uses coffee sales to provide employment and workforce training to formerly incarcerated citizens and at-risk youth.

**Ryan BRUTGER, UC Berkeley**

Ryan Brutger is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He earned his Ph.D. in the department of Politics at Princeton University, where he received a Harold W. Dodds Fellowship. Prior to joining Berkeley, he was an Assistant Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. His research crosses international political economy, international law, and international security, examining the domestic politics of international negotiations and cooperation. Prior to returning to academia, he was a Director with the Association of Academic Health Centers, where he focused on best practices for international research and operations. He also worked for Sidley Austin LLP, where he was the lead legal assistant on the Airbus-Boeing WTO disputes and worked on ICSID, antidumping, countervailing duties, and trade remedies cases.

**Ping-Kuei CHEN, National Chengchi University**

Ping-Kuei Chen is an assistant professor at the Department of Diplomacy, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. He received his PhD degree from Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park. His fields of expertise focus on interstate conflict, security institutions, alliance cohesion, and East Asia affairs.
**Gina CHOI, UC Berkeley**

Gina J. Choi is a post-doctoral scholar at U.C. Berkeley School of Law. Her current research focuses on the institutional dimensions of energy and climate change policies with multi-level governance. Gina recently co-authored the South Korea chapter in Oxford Handbook on Comparative Environmental Law. She also served as a guest lecturer at several institutions in Korea including Seoul National University School of Law, Korea University School of Law, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), and Judicial Research and Training Institute operated by Korean Supreme Court. Prior to academia, she was a partner at a prestigious law firm based in Seoul. Gina received her LL.B. from Seoul National University School of Law with honors, her LL.M. from NYU School of Law, and her J.S.D. from the U.C. Berkeley School of Law. She recently spent a year at NYU School of Law as a Hauser Global Fellow.

**Kristi GOVELLA, University of Hawaii at Manoa**

Kristi Govella is an Assistant Professor in the Asian Studies Program at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, an Adjunct Fellow at the East-West Center, and an Adjunct Fellow at Pacific Forum. She specializes in international relations and comparative politics in Asia, with a particular focus on regional economic and security policy. She is currently working on a number of projects related to economics-security linkages, regional institutional architecture, trade agreements, multinational firms, recent Japanese security reforms, and the global commons. Her publications include *Linking Trade and Security: Evolving Institutions and Strategies in Asia, Europe, and the United States* (2013). Prior to joining the University of Hawaii, Dr. Govella was a Postdoctoral Fellow at Harvard University and an Associate Professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies. She has also been a visiting research fellow at the University of Tokyo and Waseda University. She holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley and a B.A. in Political Science and Japanese from the University of Washington.

**Max KAGAN, UC Berkeley**

Max Kagan is a Ph.D. student in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He earned his B.A., *summa cum laude*, in political science from Middlebury College in 2014. After graduating, he worked for several years at McKinsey & Company, the global management consulting firm. Max was initially based in Dubai, where he worked throughout the GCC serving variety of public- and private-sector clients, and was later selected for a rotational program with McKinsey's Private Equity practice based in New York. After McKinsey, Max also worked as an investor at Long Ridge Equity Partners, a New York growth equity firm focused on financial services and technology companies, as well as for the Good Jobs Institute, a Cambridge, Massachusetts non-profit focused on working with companies to create good jobs that improve the lives of workers.
Min Gyo KOO, Seoul National University


From fall 2005 to spring 2007, he served as a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for International Studies and the Korean Studies Institute at the University of Southern California. Prior to his move to SNU, Dr. Koo taught at Yonsei University. He also served as a 2015-2016 Visiting Scholar at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. He holds a BA in Political Science and an MA in Public Policy from SNU and an MA in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Koo received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley in 2005.

Manseok LEE, UC Berkeley

Manseok Lee is a second-year Ph.D. student at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. His research interests include the future effectiveness of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, regional states' strategy for nuclear weapons use, and the impact of emerging technologies on strategic stability. Prior to his Ph.D. studies, he held an instructor position in war history at the Joint Military Forces University of the Republic of Korea, worked for the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Korea, and was a research assistant for the Center for Global Security Research at the Lawrence Livermore National Lab. Manseok received masters degrees in Nuclear Engineering and International and Area Studies from UC Berkeley and a B.A. in Physics from the Korea Military Academy.

Seungjoo LEE, Chung-Ang University

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 at Berkeley. Professor Lee has previously taught at the National University of Singapore and Yonsei University. He has actively consulted government ministries and agencies including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Korean Foundation. He has held various positions in academic associations in Korea such as the Korean
Political Science Association and the Korean Association of International Studies. In 2019, he served as the chair of the organizing committee for the 2019 World Congress of Korean Politics and Society. Professor Lee is the co-author of The Political Economy of Change and Continuity in Korea: Twenty Years after the Crisis. He also edited Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration?, International Political Economy in Cyberspace, Korea’s Middle Power Diplomacy, Trade Policy in the Asia-Pacific: The Role of Ideas, Interests, and Domestic Institutions. His publications appeared in various journals such as Comparative Political Studies, The Pacific Review, Asian Survey, and Korean Political Science Review. His current research focuses on economy-security nexus, international economic order in cyber space, and cyber security diplomacy.

Yeh-Chung LU, National Chengchi University

Yeh-Chung Lu is associate professor of the Department of Diplomacy and former director of the International Master’s Program in International Studies (IMPIS) in National Cheng-chi University (NCCU), Taipei, Taiwan. He was previously holding visiting positions at the Henry L. Stimson Center (summer 2014) and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (summer 2013), both in Washington, DC. In summer 2012, Dr. Lu held visiting professorship in Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea. Dr. Lu focuses on US-China relations, and American and Chinese foreign policy as his academic expertise. In addition, his research interests include IR theories, international security issues, and international institutions. His publications appeared in scholarly journals as Issues & Studies, Journal of Contemporary China, Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, New Asia, Prospect Journal, Wenti yu Yanjiu, EurAmerica, Prospect Quarterly, and edited books. He also served to peer reviewing articles from Perspectives on Politics and Asian Politics and Policy, to other publications in Taiwan. In addition to being in academia, Dr. Lu is serving as Vice President of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. He supports the President of TFD in dealing with administrative issues and oversees the Department of Research and Development and International Visiting Fellowships. Dr. Lu received his doctoral degree in Political Science from George Washington University, Washington, DC, U.S.A., and B.A. and M.A. in diplomacy from NCCU in Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C. (E-mail: yelu@nccu.edu.tw)

Tim MARPLE, UC Berkeley

Tim Marple is a Ph.D. student in the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. His research interests include themes of complexity and uncertainty in the international political economy of finance, studied through the lens of social and cognitive psychology. Specific examples of his research focuses include social homophily among central bankers during the 2008 crisis, the role of social distance in regulatory advocacy at the SEC, and emergent models of environmental clauses in bilateral trade agreements. He currently serves as managing editor for the journal Business and Politics, and holds a B.A. (2016) and M.A. (2017) from the University of
Seung-Youn OH, Bryn Mawr College

Seung-Youn Oh is assistant professor of Political Science at Bryn Mawr College, specializing in international relations and comparative politics in East Asia. She also serves as an affiliated faculty at the Center for the Study of Contemporary China and a faculty director of for Global Immersion Program China and Korea of Wharton Business School at the University of Pennsylvania. Her broader research interests include industrial upgrading of East Asian countries, the effects of national origin of foreign direct investment on local economic development in East Asia, corporate reforms, as well as China’s compliance pattern with international legal agreements. She was a research fellow at the East West Center in Honolulu (2016-2017) and at the East Asia Institute in Seoul, Korea (2014-2015). She was a post-doctoral fellow at the Center for the Study of Contemporary China at the University of Pennsylvania (2012-2013) and was a visiting scholar at the Chinese Academy of Social Science in Beijing (2009-2010). She has been a visiting professor at the Shanghai branch of École Supérieure des Sciences Commerciales, teaching “Doing Business in China” and “China and the World: Geo-political and geo-economic implications of China’s Rise” since 2009. She has lived and conducted research in various Chinese cities including Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Hong Kong. She holds an M.A. and Ph.D in Political Science from the University of California at Berkeley and a B.A. in Political Science as valedictorian from Yonsei University in Korea.

Ishana RATAN, UC Berkeley

Ishana is a second year PhD student in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, studying International Relations and Comparative Politics with a focus on political economy and industrial policy. Her work experience as a International Trade paralegal in Washington DC on trade litigation on cases from solar to steel in the context of supply chain fragmentation motivated her to pursue graduate studies in Political Science. With a regional emphasis on China and Southeast Asia, her current research interests lie at the nexus of political economy, public policy, and innovation economics. Her current projects investigate the relationship between industrial policy and investment in the renewables industry, and the challenges of regulatory capture and technology lock in for industrial upgrading. Looking forward, she hopes to continue research on the politics of energy investment and innovation.

Andrew REDDIE, UC Berkeley

Andrew Reddie is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of California, Berkeley. Previously, Andrew received his doctorate from the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He currently serves as deputy director for the Nuclear Policy Working Group and as a researcher for the Department of Nuclear Engineering, Goldman School of Public
Policy, Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity, and Berkeley Asia-Pacific Study Center at UC Berkeley as well as a researcher with the Project on Nuclear Gaming. He is also a Nuclear Science and Security Consortium (NSSC) Fellow and Bridging the Gap (BtG) Fellow. He holds an MPhil in International Relations from Oxford University as well as an M.A. and a B.A. (hons.) from the University of California, Berkeley. Previously, he held research and editorial roles at the Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Business and Politics, the Canadian International Council, and the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC. Andrew’s work has appeared in a variety of academic and policy-oriented publications including Science, Journal of Cyber Policy, and the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists.

Ivana STRADNER, UC Berkeley

Ivana Stradner is a Jeane Kirkpatrick Fellow in foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute as of Fall 2019. Previously, she was a lecturer at UC Berkeley School of Law. Her academic interests lie at the intersection of international law and international security. She held postdoctoral and research fellowships at the Center for Law and Economics at University of St. Gallen, School of Law in Switzerland; University Lund in Sweden; and the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. She holds an LL.B specializing in international law from the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Law and a B.A. in Political Science. She read for her LL.M. and J.S.D. at UC Berkeley School of Law. Prior to enrolling at UC Berkeley, she worked in the NGO sector, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, and the People’s Office of the President of Republic in Serbia.

Chung Min TSAI, National Chengchi University

Chung-min Tsai is an associate professor of Political Science and deputy director of the Institute of International Relations at National Chengchi University, Taiwan, R.O.C. He obtained his doctoral degree in political science from the University of California at Berkeley in 2010. His academic interests include comparative politics, political economy, China studies with a focus on state regulation and state-owned enterprises reform. He has published articles in the Problems of Post-Communism, China Quarterly, Asian Survey, Taiwanese Political Science Review, Issues and Studies, and edited volumes.

Steven VOGEL, UC Berkeley

Steven K. Vogel is Chair of the Political Economy Program, the Il Han New Professor of Asian Studies, and a Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He specializes in the political economy of the advanced industrialized nations, especially Japan. He recently completed a book, entitled Marketcraft: How Governments Make Markets Work (Oxford, 2018), which argues that markets do not arise spontaneously but rather are crafted by individuals, firms, and most of all by governments. Thus “marketcraft” represents a core function of government comparable to statecraft. The book systematically reviews the implications of this argument, critiquing prevalent schools of thought and presenting lessons for policy. Vogel is also the author of Japan Remodeled: How
Government and Industry Are Reforming Japanese Capitalism (Cornell, 2006) and co-editor (with Naazneen Barma) of The Political Economy Reader: Markets as Institutions (Routledge, 2008). His first book, Freer Markets, More Rules: Regulatory Reform in Advanced Industrial Countries (Cornell, 1996), won the Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize. He edited his mother’s book, Suzanne Hall Vogel, The Japanese Family in Transition: From the Professional Housewife Ideal to the Dilemmas of Choice (Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), and a volume on U.S.-Japan Relations in a Changing World (Brookings, 2002). He won the Northern California Association of Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Excellence Award in 2002, and the UC Berkeley Faculty Award for Outstanding Mentorship of Graduate Student Instructors in 2005. He was awarded a Commendation from the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs for his contribution to Japanese studies in 2018. He has been a columnist for Newsweek-Japan and the Asahi Shimbun, and he has written extensively for the popular press. He has worked as a reporter for the Japan Times in Tokyo and as a freelance journalist in France. He has taught previously at the University of California, Irvine and Harvard University. He has a B.A. from Princeton University and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley.

John YOO, UC Berkeley

Professor Yoo directs the Public Law and Policy program and the Korea Law Center. His latest books are Striking Power: How Cyber, Robots, and Space Weapons Change the Rules for War, co-authored with Jeremy Rabkin. His other books include Point of Attack; Taming Globalization; Crisis and Command; War by Other Means; and The Powers of War and Peace. Professor Yoo has published almost 100 scholarly articles on subjects including national security, constitutional law, international law, and the Supreme Court. He also regularly contributes to the editorial pages of The Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and National Review, among others. He has also been a columnist for his hometown newspaper, The Philadelphia Inquirer. Professor Yoo has served in all three branches of government. He was an official in the U.S. Department of Justice, where he worked on national security and terrorism issues after the September 11 attacks. He served as general counsel of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee under Chairman Orrin Hatch of Utah. He has been a law clerk for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and federal appeals Judge Laurence Silberman. He has been a visiting professor at Seoul National University, Trento University, University of Chicago, and the Free University of Amsterdam. Professor Yoo graduated from Yale Law School and summa cum laude from Harvard College.