New Asian Disorder: Diagnosis and Prognosis

Friday, March 15, 2019
9:30 AM – 6:00 PM
180 Doe Library
UC Berkeley

Sponsors:
Institute of East Asian Studies
Center for Chinese Studies

The organizers of this conference gratefully acknowledge the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in San Francisco for their support of this conference.
New Asian Disorder:
Diagnosis and Prognosis

Conference Participants

Yun-Han CHU, Academia Sinica
Lowell DITTMER, UC Berkeley
Edward FRIEDMAN, University of Wisconsin
Timothy HEATH, RAND Corporation
Min-hua HUANG, Nanyang Technological University
Ho-fung HUNG, Johns Hopkins University
Jeremy PALTIEL, Carleton University
Jing SUN, University of Denver
Ming WAN, George Mason University
Yu-Shan WU, Academia Sinica
Guoguang WU, University of Victoria
Suisheng ZHAO, University of Denver
**Agenda**

**9:30 Introductory Remarks**

**9:45 Dimensions of Political Insecurity**

Timothy Heath, “China-US competition: Strategic Rivalry in the Post-Industrial Age”

Edward Friedman, “Chinese Territorial Expansion and the Fragility of the Asian Peace”

Suisheng Zhao, “A Rule-Based Regional Order? China and the South China Sea Dispute”


**12:00 Lunch Break**

**1:30 The Quest for Identity: A “Community of Common Destiny”**?

Jeremy Paltiel, “Between Two Orders in the Asia-Pacific: Navigating a Treacherous Reef”

Yun-Han Chu and Min-hua Huang, “How East Asians View a Rising China under the Leadership of Xi Jinping”

Jing Sun, “Riding on the Dragon’s Back: Celebrities, Masses, and Foreign Policy”

**3:00 Break**

**3:30 The Political Economy of the New East Asia**

Ming Wan, “A Moderate Phase Transition from Order to Disorder in Asia: The Political Economy of the U.S.-China-Japan Strategic Triangle”

Ho-fung Hung, “China and the Rise and Fall of the ‘New World Order’”


**5:30 Roundtable Discussion**

**6:00 Adjourn**
New Asian Disorder: Diagnosis and Prognosis

Participant Abstracts

Yun-Han CHU, Academia Sinica

How East Asians View a Rising China under the Leadership of Xi Jinping
(co-author with Min-hua HUANG)

Over the recent decade, Chinese policy elites have increasingly recognized that soft power and national image management are essential aspects of Chinese foreign policy agenda. Under Xi Jinping, China’s charm offensive has placed emphasis on presenting itself as a responsible rising power with sincere and benign intention of contributing to a new regional and global order with its vision of “harmonious world” and “the shared destiny of human beings.” At the same time, under Xi Beijing has shown a clear break from its longstanding low-key foreign policy. Beijing has launched new initiatives of economic partnership and mechanisms of regional integration and multilateral cooperation. We are witnessing a more resourceful, more assertive, more ambitious, and to some observers, more aggressive China under his stewardship. In particular, China has also substantially upgraded its economic, political, and military tools in its strategic competition with the United States in East Asia. To what extent China's deployment of "hard power" has reinforced, inadvertently compromised, or even contradicted its effort to upgrade its "soft power". This paper will address this important question by analyzing the cross-national public opinion data that Asian Barometer Survey has collected across the region.

Lowell DITTMER, UC Berkeley

The Political Economy of Great Power Politics in Southeast Asia: China, Japan, and the U.S.

Southeast Asia is an economically dynamic and richly endowed region strategically located between South and Southeast Asia on some of the world’s most heavily trafficked trade routes. It is however comprised of a dozen relatively small, underdeveloped, and/or weak states that have had difficulty uniting against potential threats—and even together, unequal to the size and power of its neighbors. This paper conceives of the region’s strategic position in terms of two parallel triangular relations: an Asian triangle consisting of Southeast Asia, China and Japan; and an international triangle consisting of SEA, China and the United States. Following analysis of the internal dynamics of each of these triangles, the macro relationship between the two triangles will be compared.

Edward FRIEDMAN, University of Wisconsin

Chinese Territorial Expansion and the Fragility of the Asian Peace

"China's Territorial Expansion and The Fragility of the Asian Peace" explores the deep historical sources of the Chinese
nationalist identity that legitimates, even demands, an expansionist territorial identity and agenda among ruling groups in China since the creation of a republic to replace the Manchu Qing monarchy in 1912. The paper also assesses the Scandinavian peace studies literature on the long Asian Peace since the 1970s and the reasons for the fragility of that peace. Comparing that literature's theoretical conclusions on why the Asian peace could soon end with the historical understanding of the deep sources of Chinese expansionism finds that both approaches agree that the forces making a major power war a serious possibility could already be defining the choice set and the future of the CCP state.

Timothy HEATH, RAND Corporation

China-US competition: Strategic Rivalry in the Post-Industrial Age

The literature on strategic rivalry helps identify important dynamics that raise the risk of crisis and conflict between the United States and China. From this literature, one can posit observable indicators of a deepening competition and enmity that in turn elevate the risk of conflict, such as arms racing, alliance building, the multilateralization of rivalry, and the proliferation of dispute issues. When analyzing the situation in Asia through this lens, the rivalry between the United States and China appears well underway. However, compared to history’s most dangerous strategic rivalries, most recently that of the Cold War, the US-China rivalry, while tense, seems less volatile.

Whether the current strains in bilateral ties will escalate into a more unstable form of rivalry or whether it will remain the norm bears strongly on the prospects for peace and war. Some of the well-known restraints on great power rivalry, such as democracy or international institutions, appear weaker in Asia than Europe. However, unique features of our post-industrial age may introduce powerful new constraints. History offers no precedent of rivalries between two slow-growing, aging, affluent populations armed with the powers to annihilate one another. The availability of affordable technologies of rapid mobility and the widespread accessibility of electronic social media has fueled the resurgence of overlapping sub-national identities and loyalties, raising internal resistance to efforts by national authorities to mobilize support for costly competitions. The re-emergence of trends that have long dominated history, such as yawning inequality within societies, may exacerbate the effect of these trends. The net effect may be the emergence of a new type of inter-state rivalry that, in some ways, evokes patterns more typical of the pre-modern age. In particular, U.S.-China rivalry may take the form of more constrained competitions conducted primarily by elites and specialized experts in their employ, with the majority of the population largely disengaged. The rivalry may play out in the form of persistent “skirmishing” in trade, cyberspace, diplomacy, and distant geographic locales that yields minor positional changes but overall fails to overturn the basic positions of the U.S. and China. Relatively limited popular support for rivalry and the extraordinarily high cost and risk of escalation may also result in a persistently low risk of systemic war.
Min-hua HUANG, Nanyang Technological University

How East Asians View a Rising China under the Leadership of Xi Jingping
(co-author with Yun-Han CHU)

Over the recent decade, Chinese policy elites have increasingly recognized that soft power and national image management are essential aspects of Chinese foreign policy agenda. Under Xi Jingping, China’s charm offensive has placed emphasis on presenting itself as a responsible rising power with sincere and benign intention of contributing to a new regional and global order with its vision of “harmonious world” and “the shared destiny of human beings.” At the same time, under Xi Beijing has shown a clear break from its longstanding low-key foreign policy. Beijing has launched new initiatives of economic partnership and mechanisms of regional integration and multilateral cooperation. We are witnessing a more resourceful, more assertive, more ambitious, and to some observers, more aggressive China under his stewardship. In particular, China has also substantially upgraded its economic, political, and military tools in its strategic competition with the United States in East Asia. To what extent China's deployment of "hard power" has reinforced, inadvertently compromised, or even contradicted its effort to upgrade its "soft power". This paper will address this important question by analyzing the cross-national public opinion data that Asian Barometer Survey has collected across the region.

Ho-fung HUNG, Johns Hopkins University
China and the Rise and Fall of the “New World Order”

In the aftermath of the End of Cold War in the early 1990s, a “New World Order” grounded on economic globalism and US unipolar global power emerged. The US fomented open market around the world, and it also adopted a democracy-human rights promotion project, either in the form of Clinton’s humanitarian intervention or Bush’s regime change. One ironic cornerstone of this Order was US’s quasi-alliance with state-capitalist and authoritarian China. Given China’s “unlimited supply” of disciplined low cost labor which manufactured consumer goods for the world in exchange for US dollar to be cycled back to support expanding US fiscal deficit, this quasi-alliance helped cement the US-centered global circuit of finance and trade and warrant the global supremacy of the US military. However, the contradictions between US capital and China’s state capitalism, China’s newfound capability of sustaining authoritarian regime abroad, and the explosive inequalities under manufacturing offshoring in the Global North have been eroding the legitimacy and popular support of this New World Order in both Global North and South. When this Order is coming to crash today, the world economy is fragmenting into competing spheres of influence dominated by rival powers.
Jeremy PALTIEL, Carleton University

**Between Two Orders in the Asia-Pacific: Navigating a Treacherous Reef**

The Asia-Pacific is poised between two orders: the Postwar Order defined by the US and the alliances formed during the Cold War and the “Great National Rejuvenation” of China that takes as its premise the norm of China’s centrality in the Asian Order prior to the Opium Wars. The US and its allies see the role of the US as essential to order in the Asia-Pacific (now revamped as the Indo-Pacific) while China demurs. The US claims that it welcomes China’s rise so long as it acts within the rules and norms. China proclaims that the Pacific is big enough to contain both China and the US and favors a “new great power relationship” that is win-win. Each side claims deference to its own version of order: the US places first importance on its alliances and the security guarantees contained within them; and China looks to “respect for its core interests” and insists that smaller powers “should not take sides”. The lines of friction between these normative orders run through the South China Sea and the “First Island chain” running south from Japan’s home island. Interest in the security of the Korean peninsula involves overlapping and contrasting views over the survival of the DPRK. Is it possible to for the US and China to agree to an inclusive vision of order satisfactory to each and attractive to smaller regional powers? Whereas both sides loudly affirm commitment to “Openness,” can China dispel suspicion that its identity implies regional domination, and can the US persuade China that its role in the Asia-Pacific is not aimed at “containment” of China’s rise? Taking the position that identities are fluid, adaptive selves that must contend with the recalcitrant reality of the Other that can neither be assimilated nor annihilated, the paper will seek to delineate which elements in each vision of order is adaptive and flexible and which elements are rigid and competitive. The aim will be to show possibilities of negotiating pragmatic consensus in the face of contrasting identities.

Jing SUN, University of Denver

**Riding on the Dragon’s Back: Celebrities, Masses, and Foreign Policy**

This paper examines Chinese societal forces’ diverse and increasingly important impact on foreign policy – a realm once monopolized by leaders and government officials. As Chinese economy takes off, its diplomacy has become increasingly relevant to the public on a personal level. The old role of the masses serving as a mobilization tool sustains. In other words, they remain the droplets in the government’s use of the “human wave” tactic. But people have also been acquiring new roles. Most importantly, their rising economic power supports their new legitimate capacity as consumers of Chinese foreign policy. This consumer identity in the public’s relations to diplomacy has added dynamism and monetary incentives to all parties involved. By analyzing a few recent examples featuring public pundits, the viral popularity of China’s anti-Japan TV dramas, and the latest big-budget movies lionizing China’s rising impact, the paper points to an emerging economic eco-system built on a commercial logic: consumable patriotism. A booming mega-business is serving the economic interest of a plethora of actors.
at all levels: individual entrepreneurs, consumers, and local
governments. One agent that could be troubled by the virulent
commercial patriotism, though, is the national government. The
paper uses some latest incidents to point to a new dilemma: even
when the government realized it has been used by private actors
for enhancing their personal agendas, it has to play along to
protect its principle-abiding image. This would be a textbook
eexample of the tail wagging the dog.

Ming WAN, George Mason University

A Moderate Phase Transition from Order to Disorder in Asia:
The Political Economy of the U.S.-China-Japan Strategic
Triangle

This paper explores the current political-economic climate in
Asia, which is currently experiencing a moderate phase
transition defined as a qualitative change of form. If order is
defined in terms of stability, Asia is doing well from a historical
and comparative perspective. But tensions in the region have
increased as a result of a more assertive China, which has caused
self-fulfilling security concerns for the immediate and midterm
future of the region. If we define order by the embedded social
and political purposes, then the current Asian order is being
challenged by the “America First” approach of the Trump
administration which rejects the fundamental principles of the
US-created liberal international order. Liberal order is only one
element of the Asian international system that is competing or
interacting with the other elements that constitute the system.
Through the lens of political economy, the paper explains the
asymmetrical game played by much of Asia that is neither truly
liberal or free-market oriented and the backlash toward
globalization in the United States due to an enlarging gap in
income, wealth and opportunity. This paper recognizes how the
policy communities and general public perceive the changes in
their own country, the region and the world during this critical
juncture partly constitutes international order. Therefore, the
paper examines perceptions, strategic calculations and the
behavior of the US-China-Japan triangle as an important
component of the Asian international system. Judging by recent
events, Asia is likely to become less orderly and less liberal than
before, but still more stable than other regions in the world.

Guoguang WU, University of Victoria

The Coming of the Economic Warring States? China-USA
Rivalry and Asian (Dis)Order in the Age of De-Globalization

Based on the theoretical framework presented in my new book
Globalization against Democracy: A Political Economy of
Capitalism after Its Global Triumph (Cambridge University
Press, 2017 forthcoming), this paper will attempt to extend the
analysis to the case of the current China in the global context of
the rise of anti-globalization for exploring why both
globalization and anti-globalization benefit China’s authoritarian
capitalist regime. It will, first, briefly summarize the institutional
features of the post-Cold War globalization that I have discussed
in the book, and highlight the state-market nexus as the
institutional backbone of globalization; then the paper will apply
this institutional theory to the case of China by analyzing why its
effective authoritarianism can promote economic prosperity
through the involvement into the neoliberal global market while
strengthening political repression everywhere it may reach. The third part of the paper will emphatically discuss the rise of anti-globalization in leading capitalist nations, as that is signaled by Brexit and Trump’s winning of the U.S. presidential election, and its impact over China’s political economy. As the author has seen a substantial decay of democracy caused by globalization and now sees that the rise of anti-globalization is going to a wrong direction as it does not aim at revitalizing political democracy but is still trapped in promoting economic nationalism, he concludes that the Chinese regime would be continuously, though ironically, benefitted with anti-globalization.

Yu-Shan WU, Academia Sinica

Bringing the Strategic Triangle Back: The Role of Small and Medium States in US-PRC Rivalry

In the literature on the resurgence of US-PRC rivalry, the emphasis is typically on the interaction between the two actors and their domestic politics. Little is said on the role played by the small and medium powers that find themselves on the geo-strategic fault line. In order to explore the full dynamics of the Sino-American competition, it is thus necessary to bring back the perspective of strategic triangle and adjust it for an analysis of asymmetrical power relations among three actors. This paper will explore into the Taiwan issue and develop a general framework for hegemonic competition in East Asia.

Suisheng ZHAO, University of Denver

A Rule-Based Regional Order? China and the South China Sea Dispute

China’s response to the South China Sea dispute in general and the International Arbitration Court ruling in particular has been seen as litmus test to see what kind of a rising power China is, and what kind of norms it hopes to shape for the region: to build a rule-based order or return to a world of great power politics. Labeling the South China Sea territorial disputes a core national interest that is non-negotiable and cannot be uncompromised and denying the validity of the international court arbitration, China has been criticized as in blatant violation of the UN convention obligations, subscribing to “the ‘might-makes-right’ school of international politics. How has China’s behavior in the South China Sea territorial disputes been evolved and what are the implications of China’s increasingly assertive position in the disputes for the regional order? Could a rule-based regional order be built in East Asia or has a world of great power politics returned to the region? These are the questions that this article is seeking answers.
New Asian Disorder: Diagnosis and Prognosis

Participant Biographies

Yun-Han CHU, Academia Sinica

Yun-han Chu is Distinguished Research Fellow of 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. He is the founding director of Asian Barometer Survey, a regional network of survey on democracy, governance and development covering more than eighteen Asian countries. In 2012, he was elected an Academician of Academia Sinica, the country’s highest academic honor, and in 2016 a Fellow of World Academy of Science. In 2014, he was awarded an Outstanding Achievement Award by University of Minnesota, the highest honor the university bestows upon its graduates. He currently serves on the editorial board of Journal of Democracy, China Journal, China Review, Journal of Contemporary China, International Studies Perspectives, and Journal of East Asian Studies. He is the author, co-author, editor or co-editor of seventeen books. Among his recent English publications are How East Asians View Democracy (Columbia University Press, 2008), Citizens, Elections and Parties in East Asia (Lynne Reinner, 2008), Dynamics of Local Governance in China During the Reform Era (Rowman & Littlefield Pub Inc, 2010), Democracy in East Asia: A New Century (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), and Handbook of Democratization in East Asia (Routledge, 2017).

Lowell DITTMER, UC Berkeley

Professor Dittmer received his Ph.D. from The University of Chicago in 1971. His scholarly expertise is the study of contemporary China. He teaches courses on contemporary China, Northeast Asia, and the Pacific Rim. His current research interests include a study of the impact of reform on Chinese Communist authority, a survey of patterns of informal politics in East Asia, and a project on the China-Taiwan-US triangle in the context of East Asian regional politics. Professor Dittmer's recently published books and monographs include Sino-Soviet Normalization and Its International Implications (University of Washington Press, 1992), China's Quest for National Identity (with Samuel Kim, Cornell University Press, 1993), China Under Modernization (Westview Press, 1994), and South Asia's Nuclear Crisis (M. E. Sharpe, 2005).

Edward FRIEDMAN, University of Wisconsin

Edward Friedman, Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, first got involved in Chinese foreign policy with the U.S. Government when, in 1965-1966, he taught at the US Government's Chinese Language and Area Studies School in T'ai-chong, Taiwan. In 1969, he was invited by the Kissinger National Security Council to prepare a paper on finessing Taiwan to normalize USA-PRC relations. In 1981, 1982 and 1983, he was appointed as a China specialist for the US House

**Timothy HEATH, RAND Corporation**

Timothy Heath is a senior international defense researcher at the RAND Corporation. Prior to joining RAND in October 2014, he served as the senior analyst for the USPACOM China Strategic Focus Group for five years. He worked for more than 16 years on the strategic, operational, and tactical levels in the U.S. military and government, specializing on China, Asia, and security topics.

Heath has published numerous articles and one book. Fluent in Mandarin Chinese, he has extensive experience analyzing China's national strategy, politics, ideology, and military, as well as of Asian regional security developments. He earned an M.A. in Asian studies from George Washington University and a B.A. in philosophy from the College of William and Mary. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in political science from George Mason University.

**Min-hua HUANG, Nanyang Technological University**

Min-Hua Huang is Professor in the Department of Political Science and Director of the Fu Hu Center for East Asia Democratization Studies, College of Social Science, National Taiwan University. Min-Hua Huang received his PhD from the University of Michigan. His research and teaching interests are in survey studies, democratization, Asian politics, and multivariate statistical analysis. Before joining the National Taiwan University, Professor Huang served as an assistant professor in National Chengchi University (2004-2005), National Taiwan University (2005-2008), Texas A&M University (2008-2012), and a senior fellow at Shanghai Jiaotong University (2012-2013). He was also a visiting fellow at the Center for East Asia Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution (2014-2015). His publications have appeared in Social Indicators Research, Journal of Contemporary China, Electoral Studies, Journal of East Asian Studies, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Journal of Democracy, International Review of Sociology, International Political Science Review, Asian Perspective, Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Korean Journal of International Studies, Global Asia, Cass Journal of Political Science, Asian Politics & Policy, and various Taiwanese political science journals. He is the author of the book, The Ideas of Statistics: Theory and
Application (Wu Nan, 2017, in Chinese), which emphasizes the historical dimension of the modern statistical paradigm in higher education.

Ho-fung HUNG, Johns Hopkins University

Ho-fung Hung is the Henry M. and Elizabeth P. Wiesenfeld Professor in Political Economy in the Sociology Department and in the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of the award-winning Protest with Chinese Characteristics (2011) and The China Boom: Why China Will not Rule the World (2016), both published by Columbia University Press. His articles have appeared in the American Journal of Sociology, the American Sociological Review, Development and Change, Review of International Political Economy, Asian Survey, and elsewhere, and have been translated into nine different languages. His analyses of the Chinese political economy and Hong Kong politics have been featured or cited in The New York Times, The Financial Times, The Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg News, BBC News, The Guardian, Die Presse (Austria), Folha de S. Paulo (Brazil), The Straits Times (Singapore), The South China Morning Post (Hong Kong), Xinhua Monthly (China), and People’s Daily (China), among other publications.

Jeremy PALTEIL, Carleton University

Jeremy Paltiel is Professor of political science at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. He is author of The Empire’s New Clothes: Cultural Particularism and Universality in China’s Rise to Global Status (Palgrave, 2007 “Mencius and World Order Theories” (2010), “China’s Regionalization Policies: Illiberal internationalism or Neo-Mencian Benevolence?” (2009). He co-edited with Huhua Cao, Facing China as a New Global Superpower: Domestic and International Dynamics from a Multidisciplinary Angle published by Springer and coedited a special issue of Canadian Foreign Policy on Canada and emerging Markets with Laura Macdonald in 2016. He has contributed numerous other articles on Chinese politics, human rights and the Chinese tradition, civil-military relations in China, East Asian foreign relations and Sino-Canadian relations.

Jing SUN, University of Denver

Jing Sun, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison, is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Denver. His areas of expertise are Japanese politics, Chinese politics, and East Asian international relations. Dr. Sun, a native of Beijing, received his B.A. in journalism from Fudan University in Shanghai. Upon graduation, he worked as a journalist for Xinhua, China’s state news agency, from 1997 to 1999. He also worked for China Central Television, the People's Daily, and Beijing Youth Daily while he was a student at the School of Journalism of Fudan University. Dr. Sun came to the United States in 1999. He has received fellowships from the Social Science Research Council and the Japan Foundation, and was a visiting fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Tokyo from 2003 to 2004 and at Waseda University from 2008 to 2009, at Shanghai International Studies University in 2013, and at Jilin University (China) in 2014. He is the author of Japan and China as Charm Rivals: Soft Power in Regional Diplomacy (University of
Michigan Press, 2012). His articles have appeared in *Current History*, *Asian Survey*, *Asia Policy*, and the *Diplomat*, among others. Dr. Sun is a regular contributor to the *People's Forum*, one of China's leading current affairs magazines. He has received interviews from American, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian media outlets.

**Ming WAN, George Mason University**

Ming Wan is Professor and Associate Dean at George Mason University’s Schar School of Policy and Government. His Ph.D. was from the Government Department, Harvard University. He has held postdoctoral fellowships at Harvard from the Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies and the Pacific Basin Research Center, and has been a visiting research scholar at Tsukuba University and a George Washington University-Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Luce Fellow in Asian Policy Studies. He was a visiting professor at Keio University in Japan in 2010-2012. He has authored seven books, most recently *The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: The Construction of Power and the Struggle for the East Asian International Order* (Palgrave 2016). His current research interests include the U.S.-China strategic rivalry, the political economy of East Asian security and Sino-Japanese relations.

**Guoguang WU, University of Victoria**

Guoguang Wu, a Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University, is Professor of Political Science, Professor of History, and Chair in China and Asia-Pacific Relations at the University of Victoria, Canada. His research interests include Chinese political institutions and their transformation in comparative perspectives, and the political economy of capitalism and globalization. He is the author of four books, including China’s Party Congress: Power, Legitimacy, and Institutional Manipulation (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and Globalization against Democracy: A Political Economy of Capitalism after its Global Triumph (Cambridge University Press, 2017), editor or coeditor of six English-language volumes, contributor of numerous journal articles and book chapters, as well as author and editor of more than a dozen Chinese-language books.

**Yu-Shan WU, Academia Sinica**

Yu-Shan Wu is Distinguished Research Fellow and founding director of the Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. He is an Academician of Academia Sinica, elected in 2016. He is also professor of Political Science at National Taiwan University, Chair Professor at National Sun Yat-sen University and National Chengchi University, and Inaugural Lo Chia Lun Chair Professor at National Central University. He served as Convener of Political Science, National Science Council, and President of the Chinese Association of Political Science (Taipei). His major interests are in political and economic transitions in former socialist countries, constitutional engineering in nascent democracies, and theories of international relations and Cross-Taiwan Strait relations. He has been a leading scholar in Taiwan’s semi-presidential studies and theorization of cross-Strait relations. His area focuses are Taiwan, mainland China, Eastern Europe and Russia. He has authored and edited twenty one books and published more than
140 journal articles and book chapters, in both English and Chinese.

Suisheng ZHAO, *University of Denver*

Suisheng Zhao is Professor and Director of the Center for China-US Cooperation at Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. A Campbell National Fellow at Hoover Institution of Stanford University, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies at Washington College in Maryland, Associate Professor of Government and East Asian Politics at Colby College in Maine and visiting assistant professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) at University of California-San Diego, he is the founder and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary China* and the author and editor of more than a dozen of books and several dozens of articles on Chinese foreign policy, US-China relations, Cross-Taiwan Strait relations, Chinese politics/political economy, and East Asian regional issues.