

# THE STANFORD KYOTO TRANS-ASIAN DIALOGUE

## THE EAST ASIAN COMMUNITY: AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME?

FINAL REPORT

NOVEMBER 2010



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and with the advent of a new Japanese government, the long-simmering concept of an East Asian Community (EAC) has come to a boil. Trilateral discussions among China, Japan, and South Korea—the “Plus Three”—have accelerated, including early steps toward formation of a trilateral free trade area. The Obama administration has responded with new interest in regionalism, including discussion of new trans-Pacific trade agreements and a bid to join the budding East Asia Summit process. In November 2010, the trans-Pacific APEC will convene in Japan, and the next annual meeting, in 2011, will take place in Hawaii.

This period could shape the future of regionalism in East Asia, but many questions have yet to be answered. Will former Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama’s initiative to build a new regional order on the core of Japan-China-ROK ties bear fruit? How does this concept of an EAC compare to other visions of regional integration, from APEC to the ASEAN-plus process? Will the ASEAN member nations cede leadership of the drive for tighter integration to Northeast Asia? Will the gravitational power of China’s booming economy overwhelm concerns about its political system, military nontransparency, and possible ambition for regional hegemony? What role will the United States seek to play in Asian regionalism, and what will Asia’s response be?

On September 9 and 10, 2010, the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) at Stanford University convened the second Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue. This distinguished gathering discussed the latest research into the course of regionalism across several dimensions: regional vs. trans-Pacific trade and production networks; traditional and nontraditional security; the intersection of historical memories and national cultures in forging, or thwarting, a new regional identity; and possible futures for the regional order and how it might interact with other transnational institutions.

The goal of the Dialogue was to facilitate discussion, on an off-the-record basis, among scholars, policymakers, media, and other experts from across Asia and the United States, and to establish trans-Asian networks that focus on issues of common concern.

The first Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue was held September 10–11, 2009, in Kyoto, on the theme of “Energy, Environment, and Economic Growth in Asia.” The program and final report for that inaugural event are available on the Shorenstein APARC website at <http://apararc.stanford.edu>.



## FINAL AGENDA

**Thursday, September 9, 2010**

### **Welcome**

Gi-Wook Shin, Director, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

### **Session 1: The Regional Economic Order: Decoupling or Trans-Pacific Integration?**

Masahiko Aoki, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Bakh Byongwon, 2009–2010 Koret Fellow, Shorenstein APARC

### **Session 2: Traditional and Nontraditional Security and Regionalism**

Ambassador Michael H. Armacost, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Funabashi Yoichi, Editor-in-Chief, *Asahi Shimbun*

**Friday, September 10, 2009**

### **Session 3: History, Culture, and Identity**

Donald K. Emmerson, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Shi Yinhong, Professor of International Relations and Strategy, and Director,  
Center for American Studies, Renmin University

### **Research Project Presentation: “Divided Memories and Reconciliation”**

Daniel C. Sneider, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

### **Session 4: The Future of East Asian Regionalism**

Thomas Fingar, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Simon SC Tay, Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs, and Professor,  
National University of Singapore Faculty of Law and Lee Kuan Yew School  
of Public Policy

### **Public Symposium and Panel Discussion**

*Moderator:* Masahiko Aoki, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

*Speakers:* Ambassador Michael Armacost, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford  
University

Andrew MacIntyre, Dean, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian  
National University

Ton Nu Thi Ninh, President, Tri-Viet University

Shi Yinhong, Professor of International Relations and Strategy, and  
Director, Center for American Studies, Renmin University

Yoon Young-Kwan, Professor of International Political Economy,  
Seoul National University



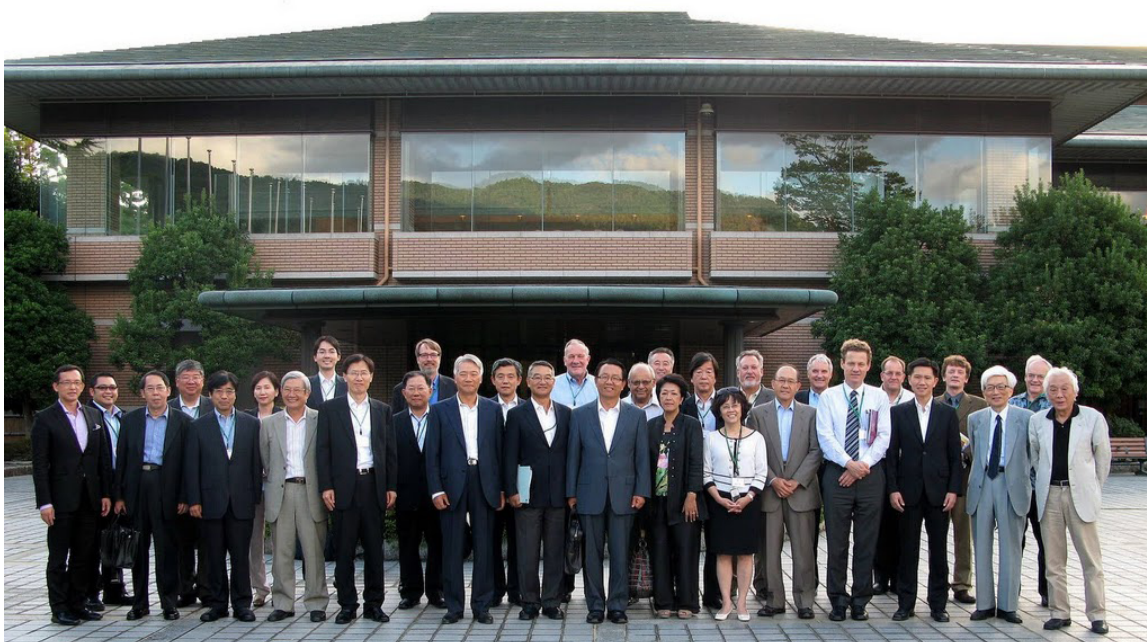


## FINAL 2010 STANFORD KYOTO DIALOGUE REPORT

Although separated by the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean, historical, economic, and political ties connect Asia, Oceania, and the United States. The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) is committed to promoting relations within the Asia-Pacific region and between the region and the United States. In keeping with this mission, it established the Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue in 2009.

The annual Dialogue addresses timely issues of mutual concern and interest to Asia-Pacific countries and the United States. Shorenstein APARC held its second annual Dialogue in Kyoto, Japan, September 9–10, 2010. The first Dialogue, held in September 2009, examined the interplay between energy, the environment, and economic growth in Asia. This second annual Dialogue addressed questions related to the regional integration of East Asia, both present and future. Shorenstein APARC brought together scholars and subject experts from nine countries in the Asia-Pacific region and the United States for an exchange of diverse views on this important topic.

To facilitate more open dialogue, the presentations and discussions during the two-day event were closed. The following report summarizes the proceedings of these sessions.



*Participants and observers from the 2010 Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue gather in front of the Kyoto International Community House.*

### Session 1: The Regional Economic Order: Decoupling or Trans-Pacific Integration?

- Masahiko Aoki, Shorenstein APARC
- Bakh Byongwon, Shorenstein APARC

*Economics are arguably the basis for regional integration in Asia and recent overtures by the U.S. government have demonstrated its keen interest in trans-Pacific economic integration. President Barack Obama met in late September 2010 with leaders from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and he will embark in November on a major visit to Asia, concluding with the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) annual meeting in Japan.*

All East Asian economies have followed the same evolutionary trajectory, Professor Masahiko Aoki argued in his presentation to open the Dialogue. China and Japan, in particular, have followed a similar economic path, although they are at different stages along the developmental continuum. Japan, he noted, overcame the devastation of the post-World War II era to surpass China's GDP in the 1960s. China took three decades to recover its lead, but it is now a regional and a global economic force. While there has been a great deal of focus on the competitive consequences of China's rise, significant complementarities also exist between China and Japan, which could advance the future economic success of both countries and the region. Both countries face the challenges posed by demographic change. Japan is coping with an aging population and a shrinking workforce—as China will in the near future. More immediately, China must cope with a rapid shift of population from the countryside to the country's exploding urban centers. These similarities offer great opportunities for complementary cooperation, Aoki argued. China might benefit, for example, from Japan's experience in urban management.



*Dialogue participants discuss ideas presented during the “History, Culture, and Identity” session.*

In the wake of the global financial crisis, there was much talk of a “decoupling” of the still-growing Asian economies from the United States and Europe. On the contrary, argued South Korean economist Bahk Byongwon, the evidence suggests that the world economy is even more tightly integrated than previously understood and the economies of the United States and the countries of Asia are increasingly interdependent. The region is also becoming a major source of global investment—China is now the world’s fifth largest global investor. Free trade agreements (FTAs), including among major trading partners, could offer a significant aid to integration, but these have stalled due to domestic political obstacles, as we have seen in the case of the Korea-U.S. FTA. An FTA, in the image of NAFTA, among the so-called big three of Northeast Asia—China, Japan, and South Korea—is one missing piece of the integration puzzle. Such an agreement could be an important step toward a broader proposed trans-Pacific FTA, but domestic opposition, particularly from agricultural interests in all three countries, makes it a difficult idea at present. More feasible may be bilateral FTAs among the three nations. The goal of an FTA in Northeast Asia would not be to export more but to import more, to raise living standards, and increase investment. The United States, Bahk concluded, needs to take an active role in trans-Pacific integration.

During the lively dialogue that followed the presentations, some participants cited evidence of Asian economies’ decoupling from that of the United States. The financial crisis and the slow recovery of the U.S. economy are already leading to decoupling, particularly as Asia needs to find its own sources of demand, argued one Southeast Asian participant. Movement toward a Northeast Asian FTA could also lead to a more self-contained Asia, he concluded. If China continues to expand its role as the engine of growth in Asia, the decoupling issue could become critical, a Korean scholar said. Other participants responded that Asia cannot yet sustain growth without heavily relying on the export markets of the United States and Europe, especially given the role those economies play in maintaining open markets.

Other participants questioned the need for an FTA in East Asia. If the goal is market liberalization, what is needed is rule-based economic relations, said one Japanese participant, pointing to the U.S.-Japan economic relationship, which succeeds without an FTA.

Finally, numerous participants raised the point of the undeniable impact that human factors have on economic integration, such issues as aging populations, labor migration, and even the growing phenomenon of cross-border marriages to stem population decline.

## **Session 2: Traditional and Nontraditional Security and Regionalism**

- Ambassador Michael H. Armacost, Shorenstein APARC
- Funabashi Yoichi, *Asahi Shimbun*

*Territorial disputes over land and water have long existed in East Asia, including the military rivalry between China and Japan over the East China Sea. Today, discussion of security also encompasses “nontraditional” issues, such as the competition for natural resources. What role do traditional and nontraditional security play in the development of regional institutions? How should each one be considered?*



During the Dialogue's security session, Michael H. Armacost maintained that, aside from occasional territorial disputes, security conditions in the Asia-Pacific are relatively benign. War between major powers is highly unlikely, he concluded. The United States—which solidified its military presence in the Asia-Pacific during World War II and the Korean War—remains the dominant security power in the region. The bilateral basis of American security architecture in Asia, he added, tends to limit the potential for regionalism in this sphere. In addition to the United States, the Six Party Talks, the ASEAN Regional Forum or ARF (which Armacost counts as a success), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization exist as regional, though less influential, security structures. But rather than being based on security, he suggested that regionalism in Asia is tied more to economics. In resolving nontraditional security issues, he proposed that different approaches are applicable depending on the type of threat. For example, he said, while addressing energy needs is a global effort, controlling the flow of the Mekong River is a regional issue, and preventing pirate attacks is a regional issue that may require assistance from an outside country such as the United States.

Funabashi Yoichi told the Dialogue that the region must address three key security challenges in the next decade, the first of which is the future of North Korea. He underscored the need to move beyond the Six Party Talks to a more systematic approach, led by the United States and Japan, in developing relations with and stronger policy toward North Korea. Next, Funabashi called for Asia to address the issue of the regional security presence of the United States, noting the strong Chinese reaction when Hillary Clinton urged multilateral resolution of sovereignty claims in the South China Sea, following a July 23 ARF meeting. Finally, he observed that a regional structure must address environmental issues, especially the management of water resources. Funabashi argued that the U.S.-Japan security relationship provides the basis for overall security in the region. Nontraditional security issues, he suggested, provide an opportunity to apply the principle of complementarity, such as adopting successful environmental protection practices from Japan.

As the presentation portion of the session concluded, a participant from Japan expressed skepticism about whether there were in fact no major power confrontations in East Asia given the situation in the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Coping with the rise of China was at the top of the list of issues he highlighted; thoughtful dialogue on the subject ensued. Participants felt that the U.S.-Japan Alliance, though it must remain the linchpin of the regional security order, must be used not as a tool to contain China, but rather as part of a multilayered regional security framework in which China can be effectively integrated. One Stanford scholar pointed out, "If a country like China is rising economically, there will be mistrust from others." He suggested looking for ways to "mitigate potential areas of tension," including accommodating China on certain issues.

A participant from China stated that Beijing's actions with regard to the South China Sea are only a matter of policy strategy and have not, until recently, escalated in ten years. China's interest in oil and natural gas deposits in the South China Sea was noted by a Southeast Asian participant, who said, "China seems to be more proactive about energy." To resolve the sovereignty dispute, the participant suggested a multilateral approach.

ASEAN, which also has a strong interest in the South China Sea, was discussed in the context of its significant role as the primary regional institution of Asia. One

### **Research Project Presentation: “Divided Memories and Reconciliation”**

- Daniel C. Sneider, Shorenstein APARC

*In the same way that painful experiences leave a lingering mark on individuals, so too do memories of World War II events in Asia remain in the society and culture of the countries involved in and impacted by the war.*

Following the Dialogue session titled “History, Culture, and Identity,” Daniel C. Sneider, associate director for research at Shorenstein APARC, presented an insightful overview of the Center’s three-year Divided Memories and Reconciliation research project. The project seeks to understand the process through which historical memories are shaped and to arrive at a clearer idea of what is needed to bring about reconciliation in Northeast Asia. Most importantly, the project does not assume that the negative effect of wartime memories is indelible.

Sneider described the three stages of the project, which operates on the principle that “the past is present” and focuses on World War II era memories in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the United States. The first year of the project was dedicated to a close, comparative reading of high school history textbooks from the years 1931–1951. The second year focused on contemporary popular films that deal with historical subjects from these two decades, and concluded with a screening of *Letters From Iwo Jima* and an engaging public discussion with director Clint Eastwood. The final stage of the project is a survey of elite opinion makers from the countries studied. The first of several volumes featuring the project’s findings, focused on textbooks, will appear in 2011 from Routledge Press.

participant from Southeast Asia expressed that China has “built up goodwill with many ASEAN states” and that most are willing to wait and see what move China will make next. Another participant from Southeast Asia remarked that, “There is a growing ASEAN understanding of needing to talk about security issues.” However, internal issues, such as domestic politics and military repositioning, could potentially hamper ASEAN’s focus on security, he said.

### **Session 3: History, Culture, and Identity**

- Donald K. Emmerson, Southeast Asia Forum, Shorenstein APARC
- Shi Yinhong, Center for American Studies, Renmin University

*The overall history of Asia, with its long archaeological and written record of humankind, is comprised of a rich entanglement of imperial, colonial, indigenous, and other histories. More recent historical memory includes the final days of colonial Europe, World War II, and the Korean War, all of which affect regional thinking about culture and identity.*

Regional identity, Donald K. Emmerson proposed, emerges as a result of uncertainty. He suggested that ASEAN was created in response to internal and external unknowns, saying further that regionalism is a form of protection in a globalizing world. Regionalism is often based, Emmerson asserted, on regional leaders' desire to construct an image of similarity. ASEAN, for example, comprises ten countries. Nine of these were formerly colonized by European entities, a factor that plays a further part in ASEAN's regional identity. Emmerson pointed to the ironic aspect—and thus the challenge of—creating a “closed” regional community, when the nature of economics and nontraditional of security issues is global.



*Martin Fackler (right), Tokyo bureau chief of the New York Times, listens to Yoon Young-kwan, professor of international political economy at Seoul National University, during a discussion session.*

Using China as a case study, Shi Yinhong's presentation focused on history as the foundation of culture and identity. Shi first examined the contemporary perceptions of East Asia's history that impede regionalism. He spoke of factors that shape thinking about history and memory—such as the notion of China's “glorious” imperial past—that can make bygone events seem current and contribute to feelings of suspicion among countries. Shi next addressed contemporary thinking about nationalism, which differs from its earlier incarnations, such as revolutionary ideas of the Maoist era. Nationalism today, Shi suggested, is based more on what China has accomplished since Deng Xiaoping introduced economic reforms in 1978. Finally, he concluded that there is no single view of identity in China, but rather a mixture of perspectives. These range from a more inward-looking position, according to which China must follow its own path, to the more pragmatic, situational approach that China's current government has adopted.

Much of the discussion of this session was reflective, particularly with regard to ideas of regional identity. One Stanford scholar suggested that East Asia's identity may be threatened in the future by powerful forces such as India's growing economy. “Will some

of the conditions driving East Asia together also pull it apart?” he asked. A Southeast Asian participant noted the difficulty of building identity based on history, asking, “Whose version [of history] do we use?” Addressing China’s place in regional identity, another Southeast Asian participant pointed to its more central role in East Asia, but also asked, “Is regional identity more prominent now than twenty years ago?” Many agreed that regionalism has ebbed, but one participant asserted that it can never vanish from the scene.

With respect to China’s own sense of identity, a U.S. participant spoke of the country’s history, particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of adopting practices from “the West” to realize growth objectives. He suggested that we are currently seeing a revival of this tendency. China, he proposed, is still grappling with unresolved issues of identity. A South Korean scholar suggested that China is now more proactive with its foreign policy, including security issues, but challenged by internal factors. One possible approach, he proposed, would be for the government to utilize nationalism rather than socialism to address its domestic challenges. Multilateralism, too, could be an effective approach, in the event that nationalism is seen as overly aggressive.

With respect to security, a Stanford scholar noted that although “Korea is becoming more and more dependent upon China,” the United States still plays an important security role, which causes some conflict between it and China.

#### **Session 4: The Future of East Asian Regionalism**

- Thomas Fingar, Shorenstein APARC
- Simon SC Tay, National University of Singapore Faculty of Law and Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy; and Singapore Institute of International Affairs

*Looking into the future, Asia experts ask, “What shape will East Asian regionalism take?” Will economics be the driving force of regionalism or will it be something else? What role will the United States, ASEAN, and other existing entities play in shaping the region’s future?*

The discussion of regional integration in East Asia has tended to focus on the issues of structure and membership, presuming that it is a matter of finding the right mix of people and countries, Stanford scholar Thomas Fingar told the Dialogue. Instead, it would be more useful to take a “matrix approach” to East Asian regionalism. Each country must look at their answers to a list of possible questions, including: What issues affecting the region require attention? What things are important to the region’s future? What endangers the peace and security of the region? How do issues—such as climate, security, and food—interact? Which institutions are outdated?

Out of this matrix could emerge common concerns that form the basis for regional cooperation. In the category of dangers to peace and security, Fingar cited the impact of Sino-Japanese rivalry, uncertainty about China’s rise and North Korea’s future, access to energy, and the impact of climate change. The stabilizing role of the United States in maintaining regional security, keeping markets open, and sustaining global institutions remains a positive factor. But Fingar warned against being complacent. “Existing frameworks and structures are waning and inadequate,” he stated, “[However,] there is no crisis tomorrow and we can face this with success.”





*Lee Sook-Jong (left), professor in the Department of Public Administration and Graduate School of Governance at Sungkyunkwan University, speaks with Simon SC Tay, chairman of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs and professor in the National University of Singapore's Faculty of Law and Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, during a break.*

Singapore's Simon Tay sees the present global economic crisis, led by the United States, as an inflection point for Asia. There is a rising opposition to globalization within the United States and a feeling that jobs are being lost to Asia. This has raised question marks about American will and interest to engage Asia today. The sharp rise of China and India and the call for a more self-contained Asian economy raises the prospect of Asian regionalism without America. Former Japanese Premier Hatoyama raised ideas about the architecture of regionalism, Tay noted, but Asian players have no common conception and compete for leadership. ASEAN's efforts to form a "normative community" constitute the core of any future regional organizations, Tay believes. While he argued that any community "should not be guided by bigger powers," he acknowledged the importance of the United States for maintaining peace within Asia. Tay also called on Japan to increase its visible leadership role in pushing forward Asian regionalism.

During the closing discussion session, several participants echoed Tay's assertion that the 2008 financial crisis affected the regional and global climate. One South Korean participant said, "We should see things differently because the world has changed." A scholar from China remarked that although China's economy continues to grow, "China did not benefit from the financial crisis." A South Korean scholar noted that some in Asia see regionalism as a hedge against the rise of China. An American participant added that when it comes to institutionalization, whatever emerges must pass the test of practicality—does it do the job?

American participants countered the notion of the United States as a declining power. And most Asian participants, while fearing a diminished role in the future, acknowledge that the United States remains an indispensable factor in sustaining regional peace and stability. One Stanford scholar suggested that while “the role of the United States as a leader is not going to go away” its ability to provide strength in certain areas, including economics and the environment, “may be eroding.”

In moving forward with regionalism, one participant from Japan suggested utilizing “multilayered functional institutions,” saying that no single institution may be able to cope with the challenges ranging from security to energy-saving. Some participants pointed to the need to involve all stakeholders, including the United States and India, with one scholar saying, “There needs to be a framework where everyone who wants to participate can.” A Southeast Asian scholar argued that “ASEAN is not strong or effectual,” but that it was a necessary structure for larger powers like the United States. A scholar from China echoed a broadly shared sentiment, saying, “East Asia should include everyone.”

### Public Symposium and Reception

A key element of the Dialogue is to distill and share the content of the presentations and closed discussion sessions with the general public, through an open symposium and reception. Over 130 people—including 43 university students—attended the September 10 symposium, moderated by Masahiko Aoki and featuring Michael H. Armacost, Andrew MacIntyre (College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University), Ton Nu Thi Ninh (Tri-Viet University), Shi Yinhong (Renmin University), and Yoon Young-Kwan (Seoul

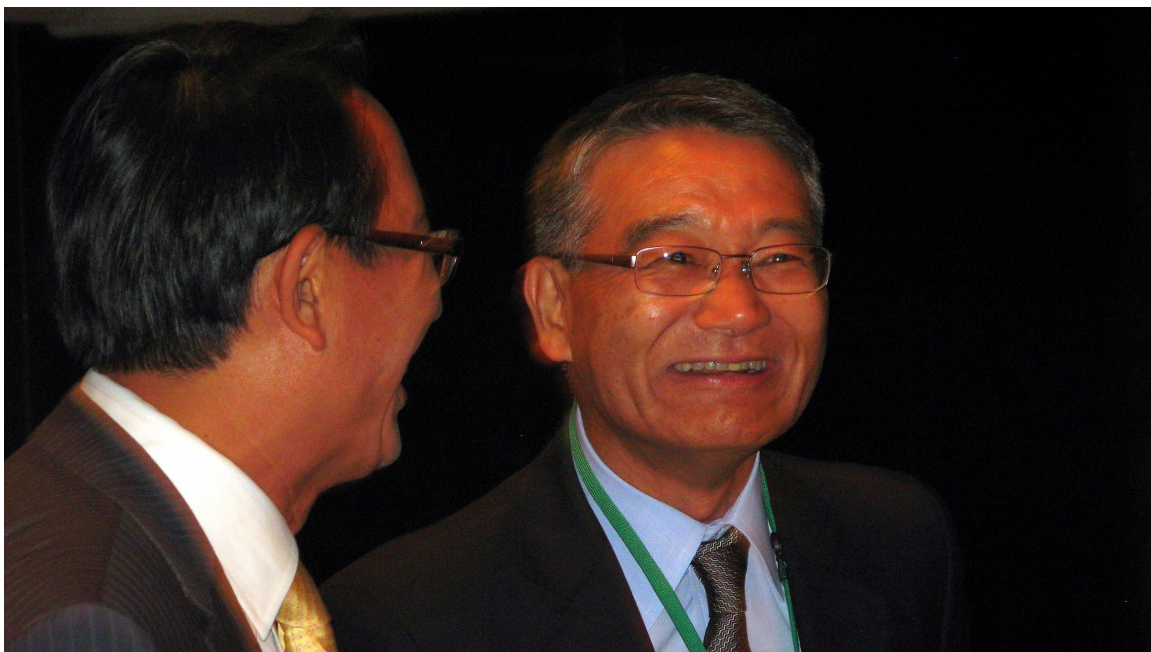


*Ton Nu Thi Ninh (left), president of Tri-Viet University, and Andrew MacIntyre, dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific at Australian National University, present at the public symposium.*



National University). Armacost provided an American perspective on regional security conditions. Shi then shared an overview of the U.S.-China relationship and offered historical context for China's "rise." Yoon and Ninh followed with views on how the region should address China's growing economic and political influence. MacIntyre concluded with an Australian perspective on how to insure future regional peace and prosperity.

Students and other audience members actively engaged Dialogue participants during the reception held after the symposium. Gi-Wook Shin, director of Shorenstein APARC, expressed deep gratitude to guest-of-honor Kadokawa Daisaku, Mayor of the City of Kyoto. Shin spoke of the strong relationship between Stanford University and the City of Kyoto and thanked Mayor Kadokawa for the continuing, enthusiastic support that the Dialogue enjoys in Kyoto.



*Gi-Wook Shin (left), director of Shorenstein APARC and the Korean Studies Program at Stanford University, with Yasunori Kaneko, managing director of Skyline Ventures.*

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## ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS (ALPHABETICALLY)



**Masahiko Aoki** is the Henri and Tomoye Takahashi Professor Emeritus of Japanese Studies in the department of economics, and a senior fellow of the Stanford Institute of Economic Policy Research (SIEPR) and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI) at Stanford University. He is also the director of the Virtual Center for Advanced Studies in Institutions (VCASI) at the Tokyo Foundation. He is a theoretical and applied economist with a strong interest in institutional and comparative issues. His preferred field covers the theory of institution, corporate governance, and the Japanese economy.

Aoki's most recent book, *Corporations in Evolving Diversity: Cognition, Governance, and Institutions*, based on his 2008 Clarendon Lectures, was published in 2010 by Oxford University Press. It identifies a variety of corporate architecture as diverse associational cognitive systems, and discusses their implications to corporate governance, as well their modes of interactions with society, polity, and financial markets within a unified game-theoretic perspective. His previous book, *Toward a Comparative Institutional Analysis*, was published in 2001 by MIT Press. This work developed a conceptual and analytical framework for integrating comparative studies of institutions in economics and other social science disciplines using game-theoretic language.

Aoki is currently the president of the International Economic Association (2008–2011) and is a former president of the Japanese Economic Association. He is a fellow of the Econometric Society and the founding editor of the *Journal of Japanese and International Economies*. He was awarded the Japan Academy Prize in 1990, and the sixth International Schumpeter Prize in 1998. Between 2001 and 2004, Aoki served as the president and chief research officer (CRO) of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry (RIETI), an independent administrative institution specializing in public policy research in Japan.

Aoki graduated from the University of Tokyo with a BA and an MA in economics and earned a PhD in economics from the University of Minnesota in 1967. He was formerly an assistant professor at Stanford University and Harvard University and served as both an associate and full professor at the University of Kyoto before rejoining the Stanford faculty in 1984.



In his current role as Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow, **Michael H. Armacost** has been at Shorenstein APARC since 2002. Between 1995 and 2002, Armacost served as president of Washington D.C.'s Brookings Institution, the nation's oldest think tank and a leader in research on politics, government, international affairs, economics, and public policy. Previously, during his twenty-four-year government career, Armacost served, among other positions, as undersecretary of state for political affairs and as ambassador to Japan and the Philippines.

Armacost began his career in academia, as a professor of government at Pomona College. In 1969, he was awarded a White House Fellowship, and was assigned to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of State. Following a stint on the State Department policy planning and coordination staff, he became a special assistant to the



U.S. ambassador in Tokyo from 1972 to 1974, his first foreign diplomatic post. Thereafter, he held senior Asian affairs and international security posts in the State Department, Defense Department, and the National Security Council. From 1982 to 1984, he served as U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, and was a key force in helping the country undergo a nonviolent transition to democracy. In 1989, President George Bush tapped him to become ambassador to Japan, considered one of the most important and sensitive U.S. diplomatic posts abroad.

Armacost is the author of three books, the most recent of which, *Friends or Rivals?* was published in 1996 and draws on his tenure as ambassador. He also coedited, with Daniel Okimoto, *The Future of America's Alliances in Northeast Asia*, published in 2004 by Shorenstein APARC. Armacost has served on numerous corporate and nonprofit boards, including TRW, AFLAC, Applied Materials, USEC Inc., Cargill Inc., Carleton College, and The Asia Foundation.

A native of Ohio, Armacost graduated from Carleton College and earned his MA and PhD in public law and government from Columbia University. He has received the President's Distinguished Service Award, the Defense Department's Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and the Secretary of State's Distinguished Services Award.



**Bahk Byongwon** was the 2009–2010 Koret Fellow at the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University. Prior to coming to Stanford, he served as senior economic advisor to the president of the Republic of Korea (ROK). Bahk has served as chairman and CEO of the Woori Financial Group and chairman of the board of the Woori Bank. He has also held numerous positions with the ROK Ministry of Finance and Economy, including that of vice minister, deputy minister, director-general of the Bureau of Economic Policy, and director of budget coordination for the Budget Policy and Fiscal Planning Divisions of the Budget Office. He has

held several other prominent ROK government positions. Bahk also served on the board of directors at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London and as visiting scholar at the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at George Washington University.

Bahk holds a BA and an MA in law from Seoul National University, an MA in industrial engineering from the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology, and an MA in economics from the University of Washington.

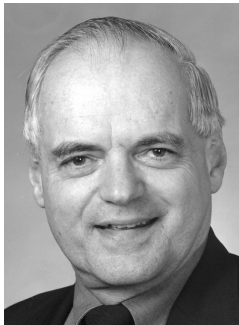


A member of the U.S. Senior Foreign Service with a career rank of minister counselor, **Edward Dong** assumed his current position of Consul General of the U.S. Consulate General in Osaka-Kobe in July 2008.

A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, with a BA degree in East Asian studies and political science, an MA degree in Asian Studies, and a JD degree, Dong entered the Foreign Service in June 1978.

After an initial tour as a vice consul in Mexico City, the remainder of Dong's tours have all been in East Asia or have dealt with East

Asian issues. He has had overseas tours in Taiwan twice, in Korea twice, Singapore, and Guangzhou, mostly as a political officer but sometimes also with responsibilities in economic/commercial and cultural affairs. He served as consul general in Guangzhou. In the United States, he has been staff assistant in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs; a member of the Policy Planning Staff (handling East Asian issues); director of the Office of Korean Affairs; and, as a Pearson Fellow assigned to the City of San Diego's World Trade Center, a senior advisor on trade and investment issues involving East Asia. He was also a member of the Senior Seminar, a yearlong training program for senior members of the Foreign Service along with counterparts from other civilian foreign affairs agencies and the U.S. military.



**Donald K. Emmerson** heads the Southeast Asia Forum at Shorenstein APARC. He is also affiliated with Stanford's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. His publications in 2009–2010 include *Asian Regionalism and U.S. Policy: The Case for Creative Adaptation* (Singapore), *Hard Choices: Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia* (edited, Stanford/Singapore), *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam* (coauthored, Stanford); chapters in *Indonesia 2025* (Jakarta), *Refreshing U.S.-Thai Relations* (Bangkok), and *The Philippines and Japan in East Asia and the World* (Quezon City). His commentary during this period has appeared in

*Asia Times* and *East Asia Forum*. Earlier writings, singly or jointly authored or edited, comprise more than a dozen books, monographs, and reports and some two hundred articles, chapters, and media pieces on subjects related to Asia.

Emmerson's outreach and advisory activities in 2009–2010 have been wide-ranging. He has spoken on Asian topics in Jakarta, London, Los Angeles, Manila, New York, Oxford, Paris, Singapore, and Vienna, among other venues. He participated in an Asia Society Task Force report on *Current Realities and Future Possibilities in Burma/Myanmar: Options for U.S. Policy*, and served on the boards of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, the Japan Policy Research Institute, the *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, and the *Journal of Democracy*. Emmerson worked on Asian regionalism and U.S. policy as a research associate of the National Asia Research Program, and was interviewed by the BBC, NPR, the *New York Times*, Radio Australia, and the Voice of America, among other media.

Prior to joining Stanford's faculty in 1999, Emmerson taught political science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and was a visiting scholar at the Australian National University, the Institute of Advanced Studies (Princeton), and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, among other institutions. He received his Yale PhD in political science, following a Princeton BA in international affairs, after graduating from high school in Beirut (with his future spouse Carolyn), following a childhood of travel as the son of American diplomat and Japan expert John K. Emmerson (who wrote *The Japanese Thread*).



**Martin Fackler** is the Tokyo bureau chief for the *New York Times*. A native of Iowa who grew up in Georgia, he was first captivated by Asia more than 20 years ago when he spent his sophomore year in college studying Mandarin and classical Chinese at Taiwan's Tunghai University. A chance to study Japanese at Keio University in Tokyo led him to Japan, where he later did graduate work in economics at the University of Tokyo. He has masters degrees from the University of Illinois at Urbana and the University of California, Berkeley. In addition to the *New York Times*, he has also worked in Tokyo for the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Associated Press, and Bloomberg News. He has also worked in New York, Beijing, and Shanghai for the Associated Press. He joined the *New York Times* in 2005, working first as Tokyo business correspondent before assuming his current position in 2009. He covers Japan and the Korean peninsula.



**Thomas Fingar** is the inaugural Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He was the Payne Distinguished Lecturer at Stanford during January–December 2009. From May 2005 through December 2008, he served as the first deputy director of National Intelligence for Analysis and, concurrently, as chairman of the National Intelligence Council. Fingar served previously as assistant secretary of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, principal deputy assistant secretary (2001–2003), deputy assistant secretary for analysis (1994–2000), director of the Office of Analysis for East Asia and the Pacific (1989–1994), and chief of the China Division (1986–1989). Between 1975 and 1986 he held a number of positions at Stanford University, including senior research associate in the Center for International Security and Arms Control. He is a graduate of Cornell University (AB in government and history, 1968), and Stanford University (MA, 1969 and PhD, 1977 both in political science).



**Funabashi Yoichi** is editor-in-chief of the *Asahi Shimbun*, one of Japan's oldest, largest, and most renowned national daily newspapers. He also serves on the Editorial Board of Global Asia (Seoul), is a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Crisis Group (Brussels), and is a council member of the Copenhagen Climate Council. Funabashi previously served as correspondent for the *Asahi Shimbun* in Beijing (1980–1981) and Washington (1984–1987), and as American general bureau chief (1993–1997). In 1985 he received the Vaughn-Ueda Prize for his reporting on international affairs. He won the Japan Press Award, known as Japan's "Pulitzer Prize," in 1994 for his columns on foreign policy, and his articles in *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* won the Ishibashi Tanzan Prize in 1992.

His recent English-language books include *The Peninsula Question: A Chronicle of the Second Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brookings Institution, 2007), *Reconciliation in the Asia-Pacific*

(editor, USIP, 2003); and *Alliance Adrift* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1998), for which he won the Shincho Arts and Sciences Award.

Funabashi received his BA from the University of Tokyo in 1968 and his PhD from Keio University in 1992. He has been a distinguished guest scholar at the Brookings Institution (2006), a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University (1975–1976), and a visiting fellow at the Institute for International Economics (1987), among several others.



**Hu Shuli** is currently editor-in-chief of Caixin Media Company, editor-in-chief for the weekly magazine *Century Weekly*, executive editor-in-chief for the monthly journal *China Reform* and the Dean of the School of Communication and Design at Sun Yat-sen University.

Founder of *Caijing Magazine* (Business and Finance Review) in 1998, Hu provided the leadership that brought *Caijing* to its eminent position as one of China's most authoritative business publications. At the editorial helm for 11 years, Hu left in 2009 to create the breakthrough new media company, Caixin Media. In 2001, she served as chief of financial news for the Hong Kong-based television broadcaster Phoenix TV. She worked as an international editor and chief reporter for *China Business Times* from 1992 to 1998. She began her journalism career as an international editor and reporter for the *Workers Daily* in 1982, serving there until 1992.

In November 2009, *Foreign Policy* named Hu one of the "Top 100 Global Thinkers." Internationally recognized for her achievements in journalism, Hu received the 2007 Louis Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University. In 2006, Hu was called the most powerful commentator in China by the *Financial Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal* cited her as one of the "Ten Women to Watch" in Asia. She was named International Editor of the Year by the *World Press Review* in 2003 and one of Business Week's "50 Stars of Asia" in 2001.

Hu concentrated on development economics as a Knight Journalism Fellow at Stanford University in 1994. She earned a bachelor's degree in journalism from the People's University of China and an EMBA through a program hosted by Fordham University and the China Center for Economic Research at Peking University.



**Hyun Jae-Hyun** is chairman of Tong Yang Group, a South Korean conglomerate that operates a broad spectrum of businesses through its subsidiaries. For much of its early history, Tong Yang contributed to Korea's industrial growth, with emphasis in cement manufacturing. However, during the mid-1980s, under Hyun's leadership, the Group diversified its business structure and began to offer a full range of financial services such as securities brokerage, investment banking, asset management, and life insurance. Apart from financial services, other affiliated businesses of the Group include IT-systems integration services, housing construction, textiles, home appliance manufacturing and leisure.

Prior to joining Tong Yang Group in 1977, Hyun served two years as public prosecutor at the Public Prosecutor's Office in Busan and three years as active judge advocate officer in the Korean Navy.



Hyun currently serves as vice chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI), and concurrently, he holds chairmanship over the FKI's Committee on Economic Policy and the Korea-U.S. Business Council. In addition, he is chairman of the Youth Hope Foundation; a member of the Trilateral Commission's Pacific Asia Group; a member of Prudential Financial Inc.'s Asian Advisory Board; and member of the Seoul Bar Association. From 1996 to 2008, he served as a delegate of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Business Advisory Council (ABAC). In 2005, he was appointed chairman of ABAC when Korea was the host economy for APEC; that same year, he chaired the APEC CEO Summit.

Hyun received his bachelor's and master's degrees in law from the Seoul National University. He earned his MBA from the Stanford Graduate School of Business in 1981



**Yasunori Kaneko** is managing director of Skyline Ventures. Founded in 1997, the venture capital firm specializes in investing in product-focused health care companies.

Kaneko has been involved in managing and financing U.S. life sciences companies since 1981. He began his career at Genentech, where he spearheaded its business development activities for the first several years. He was then project leader for the launch of Protropin (human growth hormone), the first product marketed by Genentech.

In 1987, he became head of corporate finance in the investment banking division of Paribas Capital Markets Ltd., in Tokyo, where he helped finance Japanese government agencies, municipalities, and corporations in the euromarket. He also helped numerous life sciences companies raise capital. In 1991, he became senior vice president and CFO of Isis Pharmaceuticals in San Diego, which went public during his tenure. In 1992, Kaneko was recruited to be the original business executive at Tularik Inc., where at various times he was CFO and vice president of business development until its public offering in 1999. At Tularik, he led a series of financings and negotiations of numerous corporate partnerships. Tularik was acquired by Amgen in 2004.

Kaneko received an undergraduate degree from Keio University in Tokyo, a medical degree from Keio University School of Medicine, and an MBA from the Stanford Graduate School of Business. He serves on the advisory board of FSI at Stanford University and on the advisory council of the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. He also serves on the board of directors of Miraca Holdings, listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange.



**Kawai Masahiro** is dean and CEO of the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI). He was previously special advisor to the president of ADBI, in charge of regional economic cooperation and integration. Kawai was an assistant and associate professor in economics at the Johns Hopkins University (1978–1986) and an associate and full professor of economics at the University of Tokyo (1986–2008). He also worked as chief economist for East Asia and the Pacific region for the World Bank (1998–2001), and as deputy vice minister of finance for international affairs at Japan's Ministry of Finance (2001–2003).

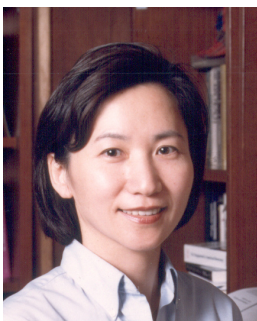
Kawai has published a number of books and more than one hundred academic articles on economic and financial globalization, regional economic integration and cooperation in East Asia, and the international monetary system. Some of his publications include *The New World Fiscal Order* (Urban Institute, 1996), *Exchange Rate Regimes in East Asia* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), and *Policy Coherence towards East Asia: Development Challenges for OECD Countries* (OECD, 2005). He holds a PhD in economics from Stanford University.



**Evan A. Laksmana** is a researcher with the Department of Politics and International Relations at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Indonesia and a visiting associate fellow of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He was previously an advanced security cooperation fellow at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, and was an analyst with Singapore's Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies under a Research Analyst Award.

Laksmana has written papers for the Singapore Armed Forces, the Institute of Security and International Studies in Thailand, Complutense University in Spain, and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. His articles have appeared in *Asia Pacific Defence Reporter*, *Foreign Policy*, *World Politics Review*, *The Jakarta Post*, *The Straits Times*, *Today*, the *China Post*, and the *Brunei Times*. He has also taught at the Indonesian Air Force Staff and Command College and a private university in Bandung, Indonesia.

Previously affiliated with the Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations, Laksmana was also part of the Young Leaders Program of the Pacific Forum at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He holds an MS in strategic studies from Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and his current research interests and projects are in military organizations and international security.



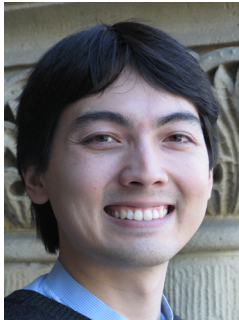
**Lee Sook-Jong** is a professor in the department of public administration and the Graduate School of Governance at Sungkyunkwan University. She also currently serves as president of the East Asia Institute, a Seoul-based independent policy think tank.

Lee was president of the Korean Association of Contemporary Japanese Studies in 2009. She is a member of the Research Council on a New Era for Korea and Japan and the advisory council of the national security advisor to South Korea's President.

Lee received her PhD in sociology from Harvard University. Her previous positions include that of senior research fellow at the Sejong Institute, visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, and professorial lecturer at the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. She participates in the Korea-Japan Forum and speaks at American universities and think tanks.

Lee's research interests include the civil society and democracy of Korea and Japan and the political economy and policy opinions of these two countries. She has published numerous articles and edited several books. Her recent publications are "Allying with the

United States: Changing South Korean Attitudes,” “Japan’s Changing Security Norms and Perceptions Since the 1990s,” and “Korean Perspectives on East Asian Regionalism.” *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, a book she is co-editing with Jan Melissen, is forthcoming from Palgrave. She is involved in numerous opinion surveys on the foreign affairs of East Asian countries.



A specialist on East Asian political economy, international relations, and Japanese politics, **Phillip Y. Lipsky** is an assistant professor of political science at Stanford University and Freeman Spogli Institute center fellow at the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. He is also the inaugural Sakurako and William Fisher Family Scholar and Hellman Faculty Scholar at Stanford University. His research covers a wide range of topics, including Japan’s response to the Asian Financial Crisis, the reasons for excess reserve accumulation in East Asia, how democracies and autocracies respond differently to financial crises, the political economy of energy efficiency, bargaining over unbalanced representation

in major international organizations such as the IMF and World Bank, and the use of secrecy in international relations.

Lipsky obtained his PhD in political science at Harvard University. He received his MA in international policy studies and BA in economics and political science at Stanford University. He has been affiliated with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the RAND Corporation, the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, the Institute for Global and International Studies at the George Washington University, and the Institute for International Policy Studies in Tokyo.



**Andrew MacIntyre** is dean of the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University (ANU). His research interests include comparative political economy, international relations of the Asia-Pacific region, Southeast Asian politics (especially Indonesia), and Australian foreign policy.

MacIntyre is convener of the Australia-Indonesia Governance Research Partnership, an active member of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue, and sits on the advisory boards of the Australia American Education Leadership Foundation and the Asian Development Bank Institute. He is honorary ACT President of the

Committee for Economic Development of Australia (CEDA), and is the recipient of the 2006 Japanese Foreign Minister's Commendation for contributions to the promotion of relations between Japan and Australia. He has served as a consultant to government institutions and companies in Australia, the United States, and China as well as international agencies such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the ASEAN Secretariat. Prior to his appointment at the ANU he was professor at the University of California, San Diego.

MacIntyre's current projects include a multiauthor study of Asian regional institutions and an edited book on the political economy of East Asia 10 years after the financial crisis (Cornell University Press, 2008). He has also published a review of the state of knowledge on

the rule of law and development (*Annual Review Political Science*, 2008), and a policy paper on current developments in Indonesia and their implications for Australia (Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2008). He holds a BA with honors, an MA, and a PhD from ANU.



**Makoto Iokibe** is president of the National Defense Academy of Japan and a professor at Kobe University. A historian specializing in twentieth-century U.S.-Japan relations, he has been a visiting professor at Harvard and Tokyo Universities, and a visiting fellow at the University of London and at Harvard University. He is the author of several books on U.S.-Japan relations, including *Nichi-Bei Kankei-shi* (A History of Japanese-American Relations: From Perry to the Present [2008]). Iokibe has also served as an advisor to the prime minister and as president of the Japan Political Science Association.



**Miyagawa Makio** is the deputy director-general for global affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. He previously served as the acting director of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA).

Miyagawa received his DPhil in philosophy from Oxford University in 1989. He held successive overseas positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including political secretary at the Japanese Embassy in the United Kingdom, legal officer in the Policy Coordination Division, deputy director of the 2nd North American Division, and deputy director at Russian Division. He was also assigned to the Counsellor for the Embassy of Japan in Kuala Lumpur and Counsellor for the Japanese Mission in Geneva. In 1999 he returned to Japan to serve as the director of the Developing Economies Division at the Foreign Ministry, and was then assigned to the director of the Regional Policy Division (Asia and Oceania Affairs Bureau) from 2002 to 2004.

Miyagawa has lectured on international relations and international law as a visiting professor at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies and at the University of Tokyo. He has also published numerous books and articles on regional security and economic affairs both in Japanese and English.



**Murata Daisuke** is president and CEO of Murata Machinery, Ltd., in Kyoto, Japan, a company specializing in manufacturing textile machinery, machine tools, logistics systems, factory automation systems, and communication equipment. Murata has served as vice president of the Japan Institute of Material Handling since 2008 and as vice president of the Japan Textile Machinery Association since 2004. He received a bachelor of economics from Hitotsubashi University in 1984 and an MBA from Stanford University's Graduate School of Business in 1990.





**Ton Nu Thi Ninh** currently presides over the creation of Tri Viet International University in Viet Nam. This university, to open in 2013, aims to be innovative in the context of a Viet Nam in transition: a private entity dedicated to public service, strongly rooted in Vietnamese identity but boldly open to the world, the first green university in Viet Nam. Madame Ninh's leadership in her present endeavor draws from her first calling as a scholar and an academic successively at Paris University III (1969–1972) and Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City Teachers' Training College (1972–1979).

Subsequently Madame Ninh served for more than two decades as a diplomat, specializing in multilateral institutions (United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Francophonie, ASEAN) and global issues (international peace and security, development, environment, governance, and human rights). She was responsible for key international efforts on behalf of Viet Nam, such as the Summit of French-Speaking Countries in 1997 in Ha Noi. From 2000 to 2003, Madame Ninh was Viet Nam's Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg, and Head of Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

In 2002 Ambassador Ninh was elected to the 11th National Assembly of Viet Nam (2002–2007), where she represented the Southern province of Ba Ria–Vung Tau. In her position as vice chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee she developed and enhanced Viet Nam's relations with the countries of North America (particularly the United States) and Western Europe, often representing Viet Nam in international conferences among world leaders to discuss issues with global implications. Most recently she co-chaired the conference "The Asia-Pacific: A Community for the 21st Century" hosted by the Australian government in December 2009.

Madame Ninh was educated in France at the Sorbonne and Ecole Normale Supérieure de Fontenay-aux-Roses where she obtained her Agrégation, and in the United Kingdom at Cambridge University. Born into a traditional family of Central Viet Nam, she developed her political commitment to the National Liberation Front for South Viet Nam early on, during her student days in Paris. Since then she has been consistently active in social issues, with a special interest on gender. She served a term on the Central Executive Committee of the Viet Nam Women's Union and, since August 2007, has chaired the "Global Vietnamese Women Network," her own women's NGO linking up internationally active women within and outside the country. She has also been involved in efforts to address the legacy of Agent Orange/Dioxin in Viet Nam, serving from January 2007 to July 2008 as Co-Chair of the US-Viet Nam Dialogue Group on Agent Orange/Dioxin.

Through her frequent interaction with the public and the media, Madame Ninh is known as one of the public figures having the most impact on Vietnamese young people today.



**Thitinan Pongsudhirak** is an associate professor of international political economy at Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Political Science and director of the Institute of Security and International Studies in Thailand. He has co-edited and authored three books, including *Thailand's Trade Policy Strategy and Capacity* (with Razeen Sally), and a range of journal articles and book chapters on Thai politics, political economy, and foreign policy as well as on ASEAN security and economic cooperation. His articles have appeared in the *Journal of Democracy*, the *Journal of International Security Affairs*,

*Global Asia, Southeast Asian Affairs, Far Eastern Economic Review, and East Asian Forum Quarterly*. He is frequently quoted and his op-eds have regularly appeared in the international and local media, including a column in the *Bangkok Post*.

Pongsudhirak has worked for the BBC World Service, the Economist Intelligence Unit, and Independent Economic Analysis, and on consulting projects related to Thailand's macroeconomy and politics. He was a visiting scholar at Stanford University's Humanities Center and Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law in the spring of 2010; a faculty member at the Salzburg Global Seminar in June 2009; a cultural leader for the Japan Foundation in 2008; and a visiting research fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore in 2005. He has also lectured at many local and overseas universities.

Pongsudhirak received his BA from the University of California, MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and PhD from the London School of Economics, where his work on the political economy of the 1997 Thai economic crisis was awarded the United Kingdom's Lord Bryce Prize for Best Dissertation in Comparative and International Politics, currently the only Asian recipient of this award.



**Benjamin Self** is the inaugural Takahashi Fellow in Japanese Studies at Shorenstein APARC. Prior to joining the center in September 2008, Self was at the Henry L. Stimson Center as a senior associate working on Japanese security policy. While at the Stimson Center, he directed projects on Japan-China relations, fostering security cooperation between the U.S.-Japan alliance and the PRC, Japan's nuclear option, and confidence-building measures. Self has also carried out research and writing in areas such as nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament, ballistic missile defense, Taiwan's security, Northeast Asian security dynamics, the domestic politics of Japanese defense policy, and Japan's global security role.

From 2003 until 2008, Self lived in Africa—in Malawi and Tanzania—and is now studying the role of Japan in Africa, including in humanitarian relief, economic development, conflict prevention, and resource extraction.

Self earned his undergraduate degree in political science from Stanford in 1988, and an MA in Japan studies and international economics from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. While there, he was a Reischauer Center Summer Intern at the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) in Tokyo. He later worked in the Asia Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and was a visiting research fellow at Keio University on a Fulbright grant from 1996 until 1998.



**Shi Yinhong** is a professor of international relations and strategy and the the director of the Center for American Studies at Renmin University of China in Beijing. His previous positions include that of professor of international history at Nanjing University (1993–1998), associate dean of the School of Humanities at Nanjing University (1995–1998), and professor of international relations and director of the Center for International Strategic Studies at the International Relations Academy in Nanjing (1998–2001). He was also president of the American Historical Research Association of China (1996–2002).

Shi received a PhD in international history from Nanjing University in 1988. He has served as a visiting fellow at the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard University (1983–1984) and the Federal Institute for Eastern European and International Studies in Cologne (1992). Shi was also a Fulbright Siting Scholar at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1995–1996), visiting professor of public policy at the University of Michigan (2004, 2005, 2008), and visiting professor of modern China studies at Aichi University in Nagoya (2004).

Shi engages in research and teaching on the history and theory of international politics, strategic studies, East Asia security, and foreign policies of both China and the United States. He has published 25 books (including 12 he has personally translated), in addition to more than 470 articles and essays. His books include *Global Challenges and China* (2010), *Thirty Studies on Strategy: Reflections of China's External Strategy* (2008), *History of Modern International Relations: From the 16th Century to the End of the 20th* (2006); *International Politics and Statecraft* (2006); *Strategic Thinking on China-Japan Relations* (2004, published in Japan in Japanese); and *From Napoleon to the Vietnam War: Lectures on Modern Strategy* (2003). His most recent publications include “China-U.S. Nonproliferation Games: the Case of North Korea and Iran,” “Continuity with Change in China's History and the Modern and Contemporary Chinese Nationalism;” “The Returned China with Chineseness in History and World Politics;” “China and the North Korean Nuclear Issue: Competing Interests and Persistent Policy Dilemmas;” and “China's Much-Debated ‘Global Challenges.’”



**Gi-Wook Shin** is the director of the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center; the Tong Yang, Korea Foundation, and Korea Stanford Alumni Chair of Korean Studies; the founding director of the Korean Studies Program; a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; and a professor of sociology at Stanford University. As a historical-comparative and political sociologist, his research has concentrated on areas of social movements, nationalism, development, and international relations.

Shin is the author and editor of numerous books and articles. His most recent books include *One Alliance, Two Lenses: U.S.-Korea Relations in a New Era* (2010); *Cross Currents: Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia* (2007); *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia* (2006); and *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics and Legacy* (2006). Due to the wide popularity of his books, many of his publications have been translated and distributed in Korea. His articles have appeared in academic journals including *American Journal of*

*Sociology, Nations and Nationalism, Comparative Studies in Society and History, International Sociology, Asian Survey, and Asian Perspectives.*

Shin is currently engaged in a project addressing historical injustice and reconciliation in Northeast Asia with a particular focus on the responsibility and role of the United States and a project on South Korean democratization. Two books will be published in 2011 from these projects: *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*, and *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society*.

Shin is not only the recipient of numerous grants and fellowships, but also continues to actively raise funds for Korean and Asian studies at Stanford. He gives frequent lectures and seminars on topics ranging from Korean nationalism and politics to Korea's foreign relation and the plight and history of Korean Americans. He writes op-eds in both Korean and American newspapers and serves on councils and advisory boards in the United States and South Korea.

Before coming to Stanford, Shin taught at the University of Iowa and the University of California, Los Angeles. After receiving his BA from Yonsei University in Korea, he was awarded his MA and PhD from the University of Washington.



**Daniel C. Snider** is the associate director for research at Shorenstein APARC. He currently directs the center's research on nationalism and regionalism and the Divided Memories and Reconciliation project, a three-year comparative study of the formation of historical memory in East Asia. His own research is focused on current U.S. foreign and national security policy in Asia, including work on a diplomatic history of the building of the United States' Cold War alliances in Northeast Asia.

Sneider was a long-time foreign correspondent and most recently served as the foreign affairs columnist of the *San Jose Mercury News*. His twice-weekly column looking at international issues and national security from a West Coast perspective was syndicated nationally on the Knight Ridder Tribune wire service. Previously, Sneider served as national/foreign editor of the *San Jose Mercury News*. From 1990 to 1994, he was the Moscow Bureau Chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*, covering the end of Soviet Communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union. From 1985 to 1990, he was Tokyo Correspondent for the *Monitor*, covering Japan and Korea. Prior to that he was a correspondent in India, covering South and Southeast Asia. He also wrote widely on defense issues, including as a contributor and correspondent for *Defense News*, the national defense weekly.

Sneider's writings have appeared in many publications, including the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *New Republic*, *National Review*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the *Oriental Economist*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Financial Times*, and *Yale Global*. He is the coeditor of *Cross Currents: Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia* (2007), and coeditor of *First Drafts of Korea: The U.S. Media and Perceptions of the Last Cold War Frontier* (2009), as well as a forthcoming volume on regionalism in South Asia. He has also contributed to other volumes including "Strategic Abandonment: Alliance Relations in Northeast Asia in the Post-Iraq Era" in *Towards Sustainable Economic and Security Relations in East Asia: U.S. and ROK Policy Options* (Korea Economic Institute, 2008).

Sneider has a BA from Columbia University in East Asian history and a master's in public administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.





**Vikram Sood** was a career intelligence officer who retired in March 2003 after heading India's external intelligence service, the Research and Analysis Wing. He is currently vice president of the Center for International Relations at the Observer Research Foundation, an independent public policy think tank. He writes regularly on security, foreign relations, and strategic issues in Indian newspapers such as the *Hindustan Times*, the *Asian Age*, and *Mail Today*, in addition to contributing to other publications. He is also a consulting editor with and contributor to the *Indian Defence Review*, a New Delhi-based quarterly.



**Tanaka Hitoshi** is senior fellow at the Japan Center for International Exchange and was deputy minister for foreign affairs of Japan until August 2005. He has also been a visiting professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo, since April 2006. He had previously been director-general of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau (2001–2002) and the Economic Affairs Bureau (2000–2001); consul-general in San Francisco (1998–2000); and deputy director-general of the North American Affairs Bureau (1996–1998). He was director for Policy Coordination of the Foreign Policy Bureau, political minister at the Japanese Embassy in London

(1990–1993), a research associate at the IISS, London (1989–1990), director for North East Asian Affairs (1987–1989), and director for North American Affairs (1985–1987). He has a BA in law from Kyoto University and BA/MA in PPE from Oxford University.

Tanaka has contributed many articles to various newspapers and monthly magazines. His latest publications include *Purofeshonaru no Kosho-ryoku* (The Logic of Strategic Negotiation, 2009), *Gaiko no Chikara* (The Power of Diplomacy, 2009), and *Kokka to Gaiko* (The Nation and Diplomacy, 2005).



**Simon SC Tay** is a lawyer, adviser on political and economic issues, and public intellectual. He teaches international law and public policy at the National University of Singapore Faculty of Law and the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He is concurrently chairman of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, an independent think tank founded in 1961, which is ranked in the top 15 in Asia and represents Singapore in the influential ASEAN-ISIS network to advise governments.

In 2010, John Wiley & Son published his book *Asia Alone: The Dangerous Post-Crisis Divide from America*, about Asia's relations with the United States. CNN's Fareed Zakaria endorsed the book and called Simon "one of the most intelligent and reliable guides to the region." Martin Wolf, the *Financial Times'* chief economics commentator, said he "found *Asia Alone* to be thought-provoking."

In 2009, Tay was based at the Asia Society in New York City as the Schwartz Fellow and continues as the Society's Global Council co-chair. He has previously written and edited five books on international law and public policy. Tay has appeared on CNN, BBC, CNBC, and Bloomberg and published in leading newspapers and academic journals. He

has spoken at many international meetings, including the World Economic Forum (Davos) and the APEC CEO Summit. Tay has served as a member of parliament in Singapore and initiated the Singapore Volunteers Overseas, the country's equivalent of the Peace Corps. He is also an award-winning author of stories and essays.

Tay received an LLB with honors from the National University of Singapore and an LLM from Harvard University.



**Yoon Young-kwan** is professor of international political economy in the department of international relations at Seoul National University. Before he joined the faculty in 1990, he taught at University of California, Davis for three years. He established and served as the president of the Korean Institute for Future Strategies, a private nonprofit research institute ([www.kifs.org](http://www.kifs.org)). He is currently senior advisor to KIFS and director of another research institute, the Korea Peace Institute ([www.koreapeace.or.kr](http://www.koreapeace.or.kr)). After serving as chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, Security, and Unification of the Presidential Transition Team (2003), he served

as minister of foreign affairs and trade until January 2004.

Yoon has written several books and published about 50 articles in the fields of international political economy, Korea's foreign policy, and inter-Korean relations. His work has appeared in, among others, *World Politics*, *International Political Science Review*, and *Asian Survey*. He received his PhD from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



**Xue Lan** currently serves as a member of the Expert Committee on Emergency Management of the State Council of China, vice president of the China Association of Public Administration, vice president of the Chinese Association of Science of Science and S&T Policy, vice chairman of the National Steering Committee for MPA Education, and a member of the Policy Committee on Developing Countries, International Council for Science Unions (ICSU). Xue is also a member of the Visiting Committee for the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, a member of the International Advisory Board of UNU-MERIT, a member of the

governing board of the International Development Research Center (IDRC), and a member of the International Advisory Board of APEC Technology Foresight Center. In addition, Xue sits on the advisory board of many government agencies in China and was invited to give a lecture to the top Chinese leadership on the issue of S&T Policy in April 2003.

Trained as an engineer, Xue holds two master's degrees, in technological systems management and public administration, from State University of New York–Stony Brook. He holds a PhD in engineering and public policy from Carnegie Mellon University and was an assistant professor of engineering administration and international affairs at the George Washington University before returning to China in 1996. Xue received the National Distinguished Young Scientist Award of China and was awarded the Cheung Kong Chaired Professorship in 2009.

## ABOUT THE OBSERVERS (ALPHABETICALLY)



**Andrew Horvat** directs the Stanford Japan Center, is a visiting professor at Tokyo Keizai University and a lecturer at Showa Women's University, Tokyo, where he teaches courses on cross-cultural communication, language policy, and Northeast Asian regional issues.

Born in 1946 in Hungary, Horvat escaped from his homeland in the aftermath of the abortive uprising of 1956. He and his family emigrated to Canada where he graduated in 1968 from the University of British Columbia and obtained his MA in Japanese literature in 1971. He wrote his thesis on the short stories of novelist Kobo Abe. Returning to Japan, Horvat covered Asia as a Tokyo-based journalist working for the Associated Press, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Independent* (UK), and American Public Radio's "Marketplace" business program. He served as president of the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan from 1988 to 1989.

Horvat was a visiting scholar at Simon Fraser University's David Lam Center for International Communication in 1990, at Stanford University's Center for East Asian Studies from 1994 to 1995, and at the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) in Washington D.C. in 1997. His research at Stanford and the NFLC on the increasing use abroad of the Japanese language was supported by an Abe Shintaro Fellowship. Between 1999 and 2005, he was Japan representative of The Asia Foundation.

Horvat speaks English, Japanese, and Hungarian and has studied Korean, Russian, and Spanish. He has written and translated nine books including *Kaikoku no susume* (Open Up, Japan! [Kodansha 1998]) and *Japanese Beyond Words* (Stone Bridge Press 2000).



**Ken-ichi Imai** is an internationally recognized expert on the economics and management of the firm, industrial organization, and the economics of technological change and innovation. After receiving his PhD from Hitotsubashi University, Imai went on to become an assistant professor, full professor and, eventually, dean of the Graduate School of Business at Hitotsubashi.

In September 1991, he assumed the role of director of research at the Stanford Japan Center (SJC), stepping down in 2001. In 1991, he was also named a senior fellow of Stanford's Institute for International Studies and a professor, by courtesy, of Stanford's department of economics. In December 1991, he became chair of the Stanford Japan Center Foundation Board.

Imai has been influential in both Japanese and international policymaking. In Japan, he has been actively involved in the development of national industrial policy at the level of MITI's Industrial Structure Consultative Council. Abroad, as a member of the drafting committee for the Technology, Economy and Policy Project of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, he has participated in discussions on the rules of conduct for multinational enterprises and global industry.

Imai has published widely in Japanese and English, and many of his books and papers have received prizes in Japan. His books *The Industrial Organization of Japan's Energy*

*Sector* (in Japanese) and *Modern Industrial Organization* (in Japanese) were awarded the Economist Prize and the Nikkei Prize for Excellent Books in Economic Science, respectively. In addition, the Japanese government awarded its Prize for Social Science Research in Telecommunications to his book *Industrial Society: The Process of its Evolution and Change* (in Japanese). His *Information Network Society* (in Japanese) became a “long-seller” in Japan in 1984.

As director of SJC, Imai actively promoted collaborative research between the United States and Japan. For this purpose, he organized and hosted a number of international forums, including: “A New Techno-Economic Paradigm for the 21st Century;” “The Age of New Engineering;” “Sensors, Information and Global Ecosystems;” “The Roles of Government in Economic Development: Analysis of East Asian Experiences” (sponsored by the World Bank); and the “Future of the Computer Industry.” In spring 1995, the Crown Prince of Japan awarded Imai the government’s Purple Ribbon for his cumulative academic and social contributions.



**Gregory Kay** is the public affairs officer/consul for public affairs with the United States Consulate General in Osaka/Kobe. He has held several public affairs positions, including that of international media relations officer with the New York Foreign Press Center; public affairs officer/spokesman with the U.S. Embassy in Tirana, Albania; and assistant public affairs officer with the U.S. Embassy in Pristina, Kosovo.

Before working in public affairs, Kay served with the U.S. Department of State as desk officer for the African Affairs Bureau of the IT Bureau and special assistant to the chief information officer. He also worked as the IT unit chief at the U.S. Embassy in Minsk, Belarus and as the classified IT/local area network manager with the Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel. Prior to these positions, Kay worked with the IT Office of the Embassy in Vienna, Austria.

He holds a BA from Evangel University and studied Japanese language at the Foreign Service Institute.



**Kawakami Takashi** is a professor at the Takushoku University Graduate School and a lecturer at the Cyuou University School of Law in Tokyo. Previously, he taught at Hokuriku University and served as both a professor and senior research fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies of the Japan Defense Agency. Kawakami was research director at the National Institute for Policy Studies of Japan, the think tank of former Prime Minister Kaifu. He also served as a research fellow for the RAND Corporation, the Applied Research Institute, and the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis.

Kawakami has published several books, including *Can Obama Change the World?* (Soeisyu, 2009), *U.S. Forward Deployment and the Japan-U.S. Alliance* (Dobun Kan, 2004), *U.S. Policy Toward Japan* (Dobukan, 1996), *The Collapse and Realignment of the International Order* (Toyo Keizai, 1994), and *Analysis of Current U.S. Foreign Policy* (Gyoken, 1994). He is also the author of numerous articles published by the Japan Institute of International Affairs, Jiji Press, *International Affairs*, and others.



In addition to his teaching, research, and publishing, Kawakami serves as an adjunct research fellow with the House of Councilors of Japan and as an adviser to the governor of Japan's Kanagawa Prefecture. He is a member of several prominent organizations, including the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the International Studies Association, the Japan Association for International Security, and the Japan Association of International Relations.

Kawakami has both bachelor's and master's law degrees from Kyoto Sangyo University, a master's degree from the National Security Studies Program at Georgetown University, and a doctorate from the School of International Public Policy at Osaka University.



Originally from Colorado, **David Tulloch** assumed his current position as consul for economic and political affairs at the United States Consulate General in Osaka/Kobe on July 7, 2008. Coming to Japan for the first time in 1989 to Gifu, Japan under the auspices of the Japanese Government's Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, he has also worked as an attorney in Tokyo. A member of the U.S. Foreign Service since January 2000, he has served tours in Taiwan and Beijing, primarily working on World Trade Organization and trade-related issues.

Tulloch has a BA degree in history from Trinity University and JD and MA degrees in law and East Asian studies from Washington University.

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