



WALTER H. SHORENSTEIN ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH CENTER

2024–25

# ANNUAL REPORT

**Stanford**

Walter H. Shorenstein  
Asia-Pacific Research Center  
*Freeman Spogli Institute*



## Contents

1	<a href="#">Director's Message</a>
2	<a href="#">By the Numbers</a>
3	<a href="#">Trump's Second Act and the Stakes for Asia</a>
8	<a href="#">Research and Publications</a>
12	<a href="#">Community Updates</a>
14	<a href="#">Education and Fellowships</a>
18	<a href="#">Events and Community Engagement</a>
22	<a href="#">Giving to APARC</a>
24	<a href="#">Finances</a>
25	<a href="#">People</a>

COVER PHOTOS & CREDITS (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT):  
Gi-Wook Shin (COURTESY TPSD); Kiyoteru Tsutsui and Ema Ryan Yamazaki (ROD SEARCEY); 2025 Journalism Award (ROD SEARCEY); TPSD panel (ROD SEARCEY); audience at the Japan Global Content conference (KEN HAMEL); Junichi Masuda with Pokémon fans (KEN HAMEL)

## Director's Message

Dear Friends,

This fall marks my first year as APARC director, and it has been a tremendous honor to take on this role. I am excited to work in this capacity with our dedicated faculty, staff, and scholars, and I am grateful to all of you, our partners and friends, for the trust and support that sustain this community. My predecessor, Gi-Wook Shin, who led APARC for two decades, has my profound respect, and I am committed to building upon his legacy of success and growth.

As you will see in the pages of this annual report, APARC remains a hub where multidisciplinary research meets action in response to developing issues and pressing challenges affecting Asia and U.S.-Asia relations. The lead story captures our collective efforts to explore the past year's defining theme: Donald Trump's return to the presidency and the implications of his administration's sweeping policies for Asian stakeholders and U.S. Asia strategy.

The work in this and other areas featured here demonstrates the necessity of APARC's mission. Through our research, publications, education initiatives, policy engagement, collaborations, and convenings, we unravel how forces of social, economic, technological, security, and political change intersect and what managing their consequences requires at a time when Asia takes center stage in an increasingly multipolar world.

While the second Trump administration's expansive policies reverberate across relations with U.S. allies, competitors, and rivals in Asia and elsewhere, they also exert pressure on universities and research institutions domestically. Legislation that raises costs by millions each year, reductions in federal research funding, and other factors are straining Stanford's financial resources and creating uncertainty that inevitably impacts APARC.

For over forty years, our center has adapted to change, and I am confident we will continue to do so and forge ahead with our commitment to excellence. But we cannot do it alone. Your engagement is vital to our continued impact. To those of you already supporting us, I deeply appreciate your partnership. To those considering joining us, I sincerely invite you to do so—whether by supporting a project that speaks to you, investing in transformative student experiences and training the next generation of Asia experts, or helping us create forums that inform policy debates and spur trans-Pacific, cross-sector collaboration.

Thank you for being part of our community. I look forward to meeting more of you in the months ahead, hearing your ideas, and exploring how we can advance our shared priorities. Stay connected, and I hope to see you soon at Stanford or in Asia.



Kiyoteru Tsutsui  
Director, Shorenstein APARC



## FEATURE STORY



Donald Trump's decisive victory in the 2024 U.S. presidential election reignited urgent questions about America's role in a world of rising geopolitical tension, economic uncertainty, and democratic backsliding. Trump kicked off his second term with a flurry of action bearing high stakes for the Asia-Pacific.

Through panel discussions, publications, and media outreach, APARC scholars and guest speakers probed what Trump's return to the White House means for Asian nations and how regional stakeholders view their future with the United States.

## A New Chapter in U.S. Asia Policy

At APARC's November 2024 post-election panel, Stanford political scientist **Francis Fukuyama**, Korea Program Director and the then-APARC Director **Gi-Wook Shin**, Japan Program Director **Kiyoteru Tsutsui**, and former APARC Visiting Scholar **Gita Wirjawan** sketched scenarios for how Trump's focus on American unilateralism and economic self-interest could reshape economic, political, and security dynamics.

**"The United States will create a huge vacuum in upholding the international liberal order."**

**Kiyoteru Tsutsui**

"We are witnessing the solidification of Trumpism—marked by a blend of economic nationalism, nativism, and a strongman approach to leadership—as an influential

political ideology, one that has begun to transcend traditional American conservatism," stated Shin. He also highlighted the pressures South Korea was likely to face under a second Trump presidency that seeks to redefine trade and a decades-long military alliance.

Tsutsui sounded a similar note for Japan: "There might be greater pressure to line up with the United States in dealing with China economically, which would put a great deal of strain on the Japanese economy." He also cautioned that "the United States will create a huge vacuum in upholding the international liberal order."

In the spring quarter, a Japan Program-hosted symposium on evolving U.S.-Japan ties in the Trump era convened a lineup of leading experts, including trade expert and Asia Society Policy Institute's Vice President **Wendy Cutler**, Stanford's Mosbacher Senior Fellow of Global Democracy **Larry Diamond**, and APARC Visiting Scholar **Shinichi Kitaoka**. They

**"Even though [many Asian countries] are trying to diversify away from China, they're also now trying to diversify away from the United States."**

**Wendy Cutler**

explored whether Tokyo will assert its leadership on global democracy, foreign aid, and regional security as Washington retrenches, and how tariffs and trade wars are reshaping Asia.

Cutler stressed that many Asian countries were accelerating their efforts to pursue trade agreements with China and the European Union, even as they negotiate with the United States. "Let's be honest, China is their largest trading partner, and even though they're trying to diversify away from China, they're also now trying to diversify away from the United States," she said.

## America's Trade Reset

From tariff wars to discarded trade agreements, America's turn away from the rules-based, free trade system it had built and championed is the subject of APARC Visiting Scholar **Michael Beeman's** book, *Walking Out: America's New Trade Policy in the Asia-Pacific and Beyond*.

Published by APARC just ahead of the 2024 U.S. presidential election, Beeman draws on his experience as a former senior official with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to argue that this profound trade policy reversal stems primarily from homegrown conditions in America—in particular, extreme political polarization and a zero-sum thinking—rather than the geopolitical rivalry with China.

**"Trump will try to find a new equilibrium in trade relations that takes American tariffs as a given."**

**Michael Beeman**

Beeman correctly predicted that Trump would be "looking for trade 'reset' with most countries" and, like other experts, anticipated Japan and South Korea would face tough pressures under this era-defining reset. Over the past year, in book talks and media interviews, Beeman has explained how and why America is writing a new story on trade, essentially walking out on the global trade order, and weighed in on news about Trump's "Liberation Day" tariffs and trade deals. He has aired these



APARC and FSI scholars participated in fall and spring events addressing the U.S. election of Donald Trump and its impact on Asian relations. (L-R) Gi-Wook Shin, Kiyoteru Tsutsui, Jean Oi, Francis Fukuyama, Larry Diamond, and Gita Wirjawan.

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

views with outlets including the *Financial Times*, *Nikkei Asia*, and *Yonhap*.

Under Trump 2.0, America has apparently managed effortlessly to secure “concessions” from its trade partners—often with sparse, and sometimes conflicting, details about the substance of these trade deals. It remains to be seen whether these concessions become binding agreements.

## Trump 2.0 and the U.S.-China Strategic Calculus

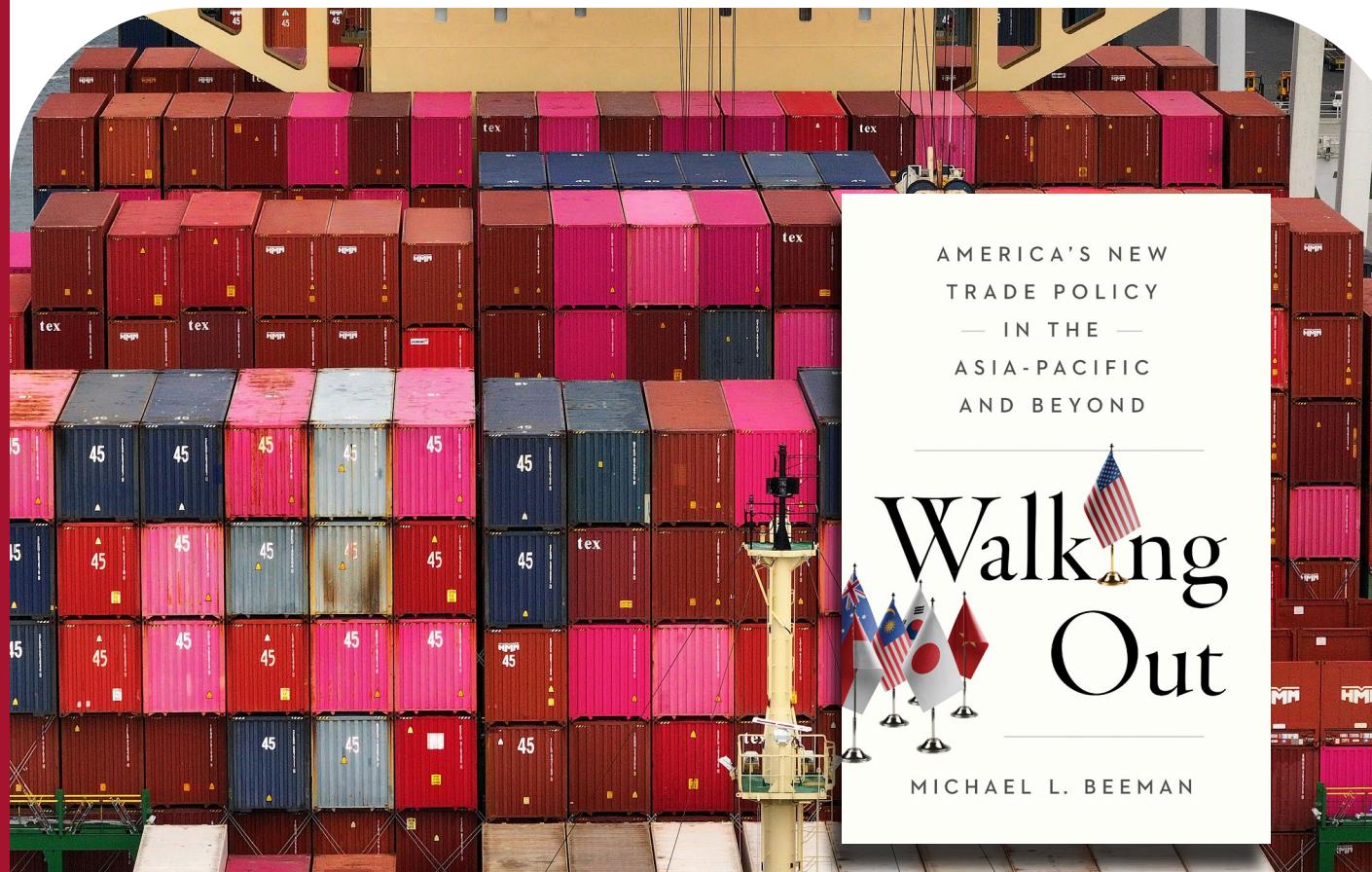
When it comes to U.S.-China relations under Trump’s second term, there is more at stake than trade. A post-election China Program event—featuring Program Director **Jean Oi**, APARC Fellow **Thomas Fingar**, and China Policy Fellow **Yu Tiejun**—analyzed likely developments between the two powers in areas including security and diplomacy amid Washington’s bipartisan consensus on China.

Visiting Scholar Michael Beeman has spoken extensively on America’s turn away from the free trade system, detailed in his recent book (INSET). He attributes the change to polarized politics and zero-sum thinking, which has only intensified in Trump’s second term. CREDIT: JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Since Trump’s return, new challenges and limited opportunities have emerged in the U.S.-China relationship, especially regarding tensions across the Taiwan Strait. Faculty Affiliate **Oriana Skylar Mastro** contributed to policy discussions on these issues through writing, media commentary, and public forums.

Regarding Taiwan, the Trump administration has veered between harsh transactionalism and quiet reaffirmations of support for Taipei. Mastro cautioned that the window of opportunity to settle on a coherent strategy is closing, as there is a growing risk that deterrence in the Taiwan Strait may either fail through inaction or collapse under the weight of provocation. She urged a more thoughtful approach that threads the needle between weakness and recklessness, combining forward-deployed capabilities, diplomatic restraint, and selective economic interdependence.

Mastro’s book, *Upstart*, continues to spark policy and media discussions about the U.S.-China



Protesters against impeached President Yoon Suk Yeol take to the streets in Seoul in January 2025. Gi-Wook Shin discussed how political polarization in South Korea led up to the declaration of martial law, noting that “This episode highlights both the fragility and resilience of Korea’s young democracy.” CREDIT: CHUNG SUNG-JUN/GETTY IMAGES

great power competition, what the United States is getting wrong about its strategy toward China, and what it should do differently to retain its competitive advantage. In March 2025, she testified before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Burden Sharing in the Indo-Pacific, offering recommendations to strengthen U.S. partnerships with allies and maintain credible deterrence in the region.

## South Korea’s Political Upheaval

Trumpism has found resonance in South Korea, where sharp political polarization, a zero-sum mindset, and a strongman approach to leadership have reshaped politics in recent years. These trends peaked in the national turmoil that erupted after then-President Yoon Suk Yeol’s December 2024 bid to declare martial law. When the impeached Yoon fended off arrest efforts, his supporters waved American flags and carried “Stop the Steal” signs in homage to Trump’s MAGA movement.

As Korea faced political upheaval that tested its democratic resilience and led to the June 2025 election of President Lee Jae Myung, **Gi-Wook Shin** provided extensive expert commentary across U.S. and international media. You can explore his analysis of the sociopolitical context of

“[Yoon’s failed power grab] is a stern warning to the world: People should take democratic backsliding in their countries seriously. If such an event can happen in Korea [...], then it can happen anywhere that is experiencing similar democratic challenges.”

Gi-Wook Shin

Korea’s political crisis, interviews unpacking Yoon’s impeachment and the ensuing snap presidential election, and his take on what’s next for Korea under President Lee. Throughout this body of thought leadership, Shin traces a country that both strained and reaffirmed democratic norms.

The events in Korea over the past year “highlight the urgent need for democratic renewal, while demonstrating that, even in times of deep political division, democratic institutions and norms can endure,” Shin writes. “This lesson holds global relevance, particularly for the United States, where democracy is also being put to the test.”

Bridging research and policy, our scholars' social science research makes important contributions in multiple fields including area studies, health economics, security, and international relations.

## Policy Levers for More Equitable and Effective Asian Health Systems

Asia Health Policy Program Director **Karen Eggleston** co-authored a suite of studies that distill evidence-based policy measures economies can use to improve health for vulnerable and disadvantaged populations in Asia and beyond.

One study finds that China's urban-rural medical insurance integration significantly improved the mental well-being among rural adults, offering a model for countries pursuing universal health coverage. To improve health outcomes for all, however, universal coverage alone is not enough. Eggleston and colleagues demonstrate that, in South Korea, the lowest-income adults derive the least relative health gains despite similar, increased per capita spending across income groups.

South Korea, now officially a "super-aged" society, serves as a testbed for studying how governments can prepare their health systems and societies for aging populations. In a co-authored review of a quarter century of

*China's integration of urban-rural medical insurance has improved mental well-being for rural adults, according to new research by a team including health economist Karen Eggleston.* CREDIT: CHINA PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES

dementia care in Korea, Eggleston extracts lessons for designing more inclusive, coordinated support systems for people with Alzheimer's and related dementias and their care partners. A companion study on age-friendly jobs in the country reveals structural labor-market barriers that limit access to the much-needed roles that enable the elderly to remain in the workforce.

New technologies are rapidly reshaping health systems. Researching digital health implementations across South and Southeast Asia, Eggleston and colleagues offer practical recommendations to scale technologies for the benefit of populations in low- and middle-income settings.

Together, these studies outline an actionable agenda for designing health systems that account for financial and social determinants of health, reduce longstanding disparities, and improve well-being through inclusive policies.



(L) *The Stanford Japan Barometer*, led by Kiyoteru Tsutsui, surveyed questions of gender inequality in Japan; (R) Jean Oi co-authored a study investigating how COVID-era regulatory crackdowns in China affected the local government financing model and led to a liquidity crisis. CREDIT: (L) GETTY IMAGES (R) ANDREA VERDELLI/GETTY IMAGES

## How COVID Exposed China's Flawed Fiscal System

Mounting hidden local government debt is one of China's pressing challenges. A co-authored study by China Program Director **Jean Oi** uncovers how China's local government financing model buckled under COVID-era shifting central government regulatory crackdowns on income tied to the real estate sector, creating a local government liquidity crisis and exposing inherent vulnerabilities in China's fiscal system.

## What the Japanese Public Thinks About Gender Equality

Led by Japan Program Director **Kiyoteru Tsutsui**, the **Stanford Japan Barometer** (SJB), a public opinion survey platform, continues to uncover findings on various topics in Japanese society, politics, and economy. One such topic is married couples' surnames, which has emerged as a potent symbol of gender inequality in Japan. It was also a hotly debated issue in the September 2024 Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) presidential election and the October 2024 general election, which ended in a brutal loss for the LDP.

Coinciding with these events, SJB conducted a survey on gender and sexuality, including the question of

optional separate surnames for married couples. It found that approximately 20 percent of Japanese women would choose a different surname if a dual surname option for spouses were legalized. The *Asahi Shimbun GLOBE+* featured these and more insights from SJB research.

## The Sociology of Korea Takes Center Stage at Stanford

The Fourth International Conference on the Sociology of Korea (I-CSK), hosted by the Korea Program in September 2025, gathered graduate students and scholars of all ranks from the United States and Korea to share the latest research on pressing developments and transformations shaping and challenging Korean society in areas including the decline in marriage and fertility, incorporation of migrants and the diaspora, rising political polarization, increasing prevalence of mental health disorders, and the ways new technologies impact youth, education, and labor.

Presenters emphasized that Korea's sociological study yields lessons with global relevance. I-CSK draws scholars not just to learn about Korea, but to understand the world through Korea, said **Paul Chang**, deputy director of the Korea Program.



## Journal of Korean Studies Returns to Stanford

The Korea Program is pleased once again to serve as the home of ***The Journal of Korean Studies***, the leading journal in its field, publishing essays, special issues, forums, and book reviews across disciplines on historical and contemporary Korea. The program previously published JKS from 2004 to 2009. Under the new editorial team of **Paul Chang** and faculty affiliates **Yumi Moon** and **Dafna Zur**, the journal publishes two issues a year.

## Data-Driven Insights into Asian Affairs and U.S.-Asia Relations

The **Stanford Next Asia Policy Lab** (SNAPL), housed at APARC and founded by **Gi-Wook Shin**, continues to produce data-driven scholarship and spur trans-Pacific collaboration through its four research tracks that tackle issues in Asian affairs and U.S.-Asia relations.

In August 2025, the lab hosted the conference **Beyond a New Cold War**, where team members presented research findings on how U.S. political leaders and the media shape narratives

about China and how citizens in young democracies perceive this discourse.

Earlier in the summer, in partnership with the Chey Institute and the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, SNAPL co-hosted the **third annual Sustainable Democracy Roundtable** in Seoul, convening experts from Stanford and South Korea to provide actionable steps for bolstering liberal democracy. The published roundtable report highlights actionable pathways forward, including strengthening support for civic education, civil society, and media literacy.

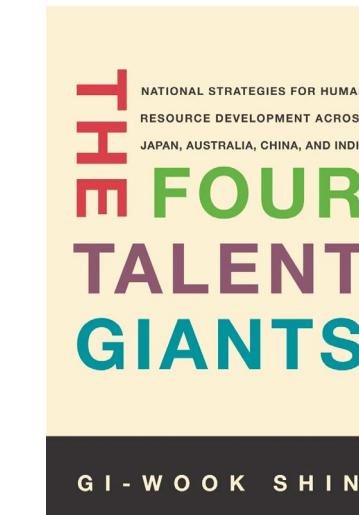
July saw the publication of Shin's book, ***The Four Talent Giants***, an outcome of research conducted as part of SNAPL and its predecessor project. It explores how Japan, Australia, China, and India deploy talent strategies to drive and sustain economic growth (see p. 11). The lab also published a study on **patterns of racism "denial" in Asia**, offering a novel framework for understanding racism and racial discourse in non-Western contexts.

SNAPL's year-round **colloquium series** connects scholars from Stanford, the United States, and Asia to deepen academic exchange and policy engagement around these research projects.

*At the third annual Sustainable Democracy Roundtable in Seoul, experts diagnosed the current state of democracy, its threats, and possible prescriptions for democratic prosperity.* CREDIT: COURTESY CHEY INSTITUTE/KFAS



## New Book: *The Four Talent Giants*



The Asia-Pacific region has seen extraordinary economic achievements. Japan's post-World War II transformation into an economic powerhouse challenging U.S. dominance by the late 1980s was miraculous. China's rise as the world's second-largest economy is one of the 21st century's most stunning stories. India, now a top-five economy by GDP, is rapidly ascending. Despite its small population, Australia ranked among the top ten GDP nations in 1960 and has remained resilient. While cultivating, attracting, and leveraging talent has been crucial to growth in these countries, their approaches have varied widely, reflecting significant cultural, historical, and institutional differences.

In this sweeping analysis of talent development strategies, **Gi-Wook Shin** investigates how these four "talent giants" achieved economic power and sustained momentum by responding to risks and challenges such as demographic crises, brain drain, and geopolitical tensions. This book offers invaluable insights for policymakers and is essential for scholars, students, and readers interested in understanding the dynamics of talent and economic growth in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

## Recent Shorenstein APARC Working Papers



### Assessing Japan's Innovation Policy Landscape **Rie Hiraoka**

Has Japan lost or is it losing its innovation capacity? Hiraoka considers this question and assesses whether the government's series of public policies aimed at promoting science, technology, and innovation ultimately contributed to strengthening the country's innovation capabilities.

### Korean Cuisine Gone Global **Edited by Dafna Zur**

Three papers from the Korea Program conference offer insights into the transformation of Korean cuisine, the role of race and place in its success story, and new directions in studying food and Korean culture.

### The Paradox of the Internet **Gita Wirjawan**

A combination of low education levels and rampant online misinformation has created conditions in which the internet, contrary to its promise, is used to subvert fundamental democratic values, argues Wirjawan, outlining recommendations to address this challenge.

### Unlocking Korean Market Value **You Jung Lee**

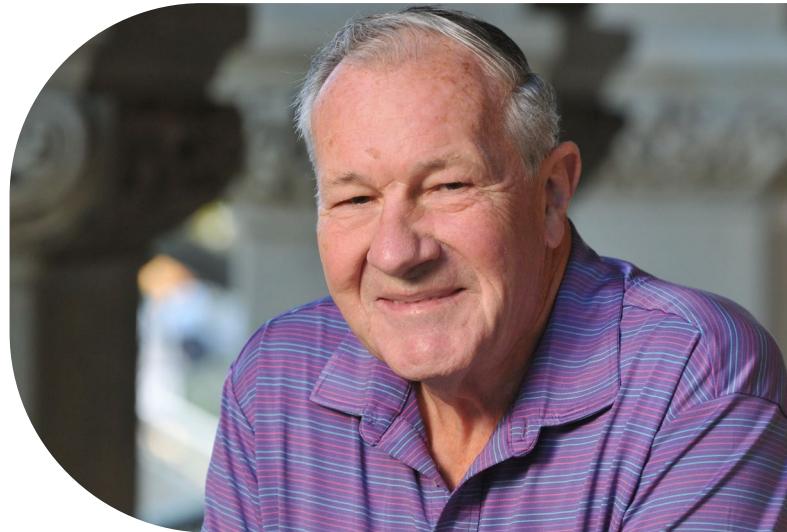
Why are South Korean stocks chronically undervalued? Lee's analysis points to weak corporate governance and the dominance of family-controlled conglomerates as key culprits. Drawing lessons from successful reforms elsewhere, she offers practical steps to improve market valuations.

## In Memoriam: Michael Hayden Armacost

In March 2025, we lost our dear colleague and friend, [Michael \(Mike\) Armacost](#) (1937–2025), a distinguished American diplomat, scholar, and public servant.

A former U.S. ambassador to the Philippines and to Japan, Mike played a pivotal role in shaping U.S. diplomatic and security relations with Asia. In 1993, he brought his expertise in Asian affairs and foreign policy to APARC as the inaugural Shorenstein Visiting Fellow, remaining a leader at the center for nearly three decades until his retirement in 2021. His commitment to deepening U.S.-Asia relations is evident in our collective scholarly work and policy engagement.

Mike was a generous mentor and a warm presence whose kindness enriched our community. We remember him not only for his lasting academic and policy contributions but also for the wisdom and humanity he shared with students, colleagues, and friends.



## Faculty Awards

### Gi-Wook Shin Receives Korean American Achievement Award

For his contributions to promoting Korean Studies, addressing Korea's contemporary challenges, and strengthening U.S.-Korea collaboration, [Gi-Wook Shin](#) was honored with the [Korean American Achievement Award](#). The award recognizes individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the academic, cultural, and civic development of the Korean American community.

### Dafna Zur Awarded South Korea's Order of Culture Merit

Associate Professor of East Asian Languages and Cultures [Dafna Zur](#), a Korea Program faculty affiliate, received the [Order of Culture Merit](#) for promoting the Korean language and its writing system, Hangeul. The award is the highest recognition the government of the Republic of Korea bestows on individuals who have made exceptional contributions to Korean culture and arts. At Stanford, Zur teaches courses on Korean literature, cinema, and popular culture.

PHOTO CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

## Leadership Change at APARC

On September 1, 2025, [Kiyoteru Tsutsui](#) began his term as APARC director, succeeding [Gi-Wook Shin](#), who had served in this role since 2005. Tsutsui is the Henri H. and Tomoye Takahashi Professor and Senior Fellow in Japanese Studies at APARC, where he also serves as director of the Japan Program and co-director of the Southeast Asia Program. His research focuses on globalization, human rights, social movements, and political sociology. At Stanford, he also serves as the executive director of the Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies, co-director of the Center for Human Rights and International Justice, a professor of sociology, and a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI).

Shin, the William J. Perry Professor of Contemporary Korea in the Department of Sociology and a senior fellow at FSI, continues to direct the Korea Program and the Stanford Next Asia Policy Lab at APARC. During the 2025–26 academic year, he will be on sabbatical, researching and writing.

“Over the past two decades, we have experienced meaningful growth and expanded our impact across multiple fronts,” said Shin, [reflecting on his many years as center director](#). “This role has been a cornerstone of my career at Stanford. Yet I am confident the time is right for a leadership change, and I am excited to see Kiyoteru Tsutsui assume the position.”



“As I begin my first year as center director, I am grateful for your kind messages of trust and support and feel inspired by the work ahead. I know that, together, we can build on the center’s legacy and advance its mission with renewed purpose and possibility.”

Kiyoteru Tsutsui

## APARC Welcomes New Staff Members

This year we were delighted to welcome two talented team members to our community:



[Xixin Crisp](#)

Coordinator, China Program



[Adilene Farias-Moreno](#)

Center Administrative Associate

## Fellows and Scholars

We offer prestigious fellowships and training opportunities to students, emerging scholars, faculty, and professionals of exceptional promise and demonstrated accomplishment working on contemporary Asian affairs and Asia-related policy challenges.

### Shilin Jia and Yingqiu Kuang, Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellows on Contemporary Asia

How did leadership changes shape China's rise as a global economic powerhouse? Shilin Jia studies the career trajectories of high-level Chinese political elites during the country's economic reform period. Combining quantitative analysis and historical data, he examines how the party-state strategically managed elite circulation as a governance tool during a period of profound transformation.

The digital revolution has raised the strategic value of technical standards. Yingqiu Kuang researches how East Asian states, particularly China and South Korea, are shaping the digital order by assuming leadership roles in setting global technology standards for critical and emerging technologies, a hallmark of technological and geopolitical power.

### Alisha Cherian, Predoctoral Fellow

A doctoral candidate in social and cultural anthropology, Alisha Cherian studies how Indian Singaporeans navigate their identities and racial positioning. Her work challenges traditional top-down narratives of racial governance that have dominated scholarship on Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, contributing to understanding race relations in a region that has long been at the crossroads of colonial legacies, multiculturalism, and state-led racial governance.

### Shinichi Kitaoka, Visiting Scholar

Japanese political history offers important lessons in an era of democratic backsliding, says Shinichi Kitaoka. Drawing on his leadership experience at the Japan International Cooperation Agency, the UN, and in academia, he taught a class guiding students, scholars, and community members through new interpretations of key issues and moments in Japanese politics and diplomacy from the 17th century to the present.

### Huixia Wang, Visiting Scholar

While there is rich literature on how income and education are passed down across generations, the dynamics of intergenerational health remain understudied. Economist Huixia Wang fills this gap by pursuing research that illuminates the role of health in social mobility and identifies interventions that interrupt patterns of persistent health inequalities in developing regions.



### Jinseok Kim and Mai Nguyen, Asia Health Policy Program Postdoctoral Fellows

As Asian economies grapple with aging populations, rising healthcare demands, and rapid technological change, Jinseok Kim and Mai Nguyen study behavioral pathways to help design healthcare systems that meet the needs of aging societies.

Kim researches how aging affects the adoption of new technology in South Korea. He probes the relationships between consumers' age and preferences in choosing electric vehicles, telemedicine, and generative AI platforms—and, in turn, how patterns of technology adoption can influence the trajectory of innovation in aging societies.

Nguyen's research focuses on the role of private healthcare providers in Vietnam, especially for patients managing chronic diseases such as diabetes. She explores how patient preferences can guide more effective public-private collaboration in healthcare, ultimately shaping systems that are more responsive to real-world conditions.



### Meredith Weiss, Lee Kong Chian Fellow on Southeast Asia

A professor of political science at the University at Albany, SUNY, Meredith Weiss' research focuses on issues including urban governance in Southeast Asia and social and institutional change in Malaysia. At APARC, she advanced a book manuscript on the latter topic, presented a new framework for analyzing variation in patronage democracies in Southeast Asia, and served as a discussant in a seminar on youth movements in Asia.

### Brandon Yoder, Stanford Next Asia Policy Fellow

As China's economic and military might has grown, so have concerns about its long-term intentions. Brandon Yoder studies state signaling under uncertainty and great power politics, exploring how these shape the prospects for peace or conflict. His research focuses on China's foreign policy behavior, how Asia-Pacific actors perceive and respond to it, and how credibility is interpreted and contested in U.S.-China relations.

### Select APARC Courses 2024–25

Our scholars teach Stanford courses through multiple academic departments, preparing students for deeper interactions with the countries of the Asia-Pacific.

- China's Journey to the Present **Andrew Walder**
- Global Human Rights and Local Practices **Kiyoteru Tsutsui**
- Health and Healthcare Systems in East Asia **Karen Eggleston**
- The Logic of Governance in Contemporary China **Zhou Xueguang**
- New Politics of Trade: Top Issues and National Approaches in Japan, India, and Beyond **Michael Beeman**
- Narratives of Modern and Contemporary Korea **Dafna Zur**
- Nations and Nationalism **Gi-Wook Shin**
- Political Economy of Reform in China **Jean Oi**

## Global Affiliates Program Promotes U.S.-Asia Engagement

Our [Global Affiliates Program](#) (GAP) had the pleasure of hosting eleven visiting scholars: **Daisuke Asahara** of Parallel, Inc.; **James Ding** of GSR Ventures; **Kazuto Honda** of Japan's Ministry of Finance; **Shogo Kaito** of the Japan Patent Office; **Koichi Kinouchi** of the Development Bank of Japan; **Yasushi Maruyama** of Egon Zehnder; **Koji Omura** of APAMAN; **Nobuhiko Shimura** of First Partners; **Hiroyuki Yamada** of the Development Bank of Japan; **Banjo Yamauchi** of Yamauchi No. 10 Family Office; and **Edward Zeng** of NextG Tech Limited.

Each year, GAP welcomes a cohort of accomplished professionals nominated by our affiliate members who send their talent to Stanford for a year of research and enrichment. Global affiliate visiting scholars immerse themselves in APARC's academic and social

life, contribute to the center's intellectual community, and benefit from Stanford's culture of excellence and bold ideas while gaining exposure to Silicon Valley's entrepreneurial energy and innovation spirit.

We are grateful for the enduring partnerships with our affiliate members and invite new organizations to join this dynamic network.

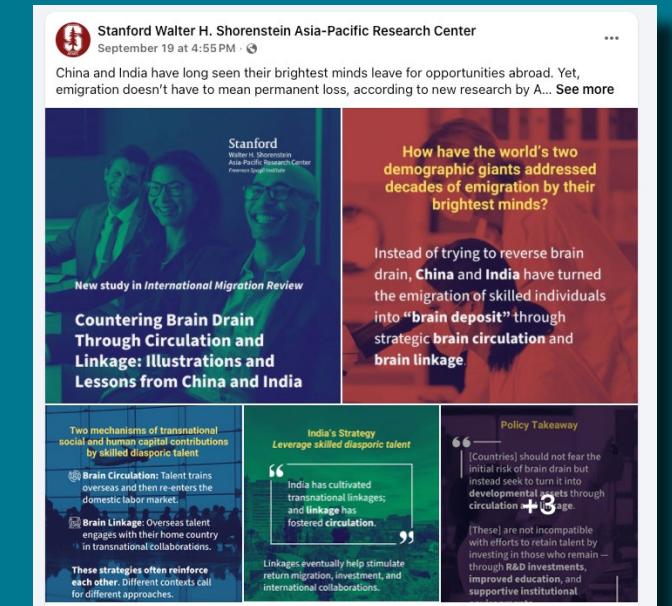
## Policy Lab Research Assistants Admitted to Top Doctoral Programs

In fall 2025, five former [Stanford Next Asia Policy Lab](#) research assistants began doctoral studies at top U.S. institutions. At the lab, they gained hands-on experience and skills essential for their academic journeys, reflecting SNAPL's dual mission of rigorous, policy-relevant research and student mentorship. "Their success demonstrates exactly the kind of impact I envisioned when I launched SNAPL," says Gi-Wook Shin.

*The 2024–25 Global Affiliates Program Fellows* CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY



## Join us on social media!



@StanfordAPARC  
 @stanfordsaparc

@stanford\_aparc  
 @aparc.stanford.edu

## Shorenstein Journalism Award Honors *New York Times'* Chris Buckley

APARC proudly recognized the *New York Times'* Chief China Correspondent **Chris Buckley**, winner of the 2024 Shorenstein Journalism Award, for his exemplary reporting on one of the defining narratives of the 21st century: China's rise and its political and social transformations under Xi Jinping.

In his keynote address, Buckley discussed how Xi and the Chinese Communist Party have reinforced control not only over Chinese society, the economy, and China's claimed territories, but also over history. By embedding history in political and social structures and by reshaping collective memories of war, revolution, famine, massacre, and extraordinary change, they have created a framework that defines China's national identity and foreign policy behavior, Buckley explained.

The October 2024 award ceremony also included a lively discussion of major issues keeping

China in the headlines, featuring Buckley in conversation with award-winning journalist and Shorenstein Award judge **Will Dobson**, alongside China scholars **Oriana Skylar Mastro** and **Xueguang Zhou**.

**"Contestation over history also courses through many of the great issues that put China in the news—Taiwan, the South China Sea, Tibet and Xinjiang, and China's relationship with the United States and the West in general."**

**Chris Buckley**

As of this writing, preparations are underway for the 2025 Shorenstein Journalism Award celebration. Held on October 7, 2025, it will honor **Netra News**, Bangladesh's premier investigative media outlet.

*Journalism Award winner Chris Buckley (2ND FROM LEFT) discusses the vast control of the Chinese Communist Party with (L-R) Will Dobson, Oriana Skylar Mastro, and Xueguang Zhou.* CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY



## Advancing Resilient Infrastructure and Sustainable Industrialization

Another APARC signature event held in October 2024 was the third annual Trans-Pacific Sustainability Dialogue (TPSD). It brought together social science researchers and scientists from Stanford and the Asia-Pacific region alongside policymakers, private and public sector experts, and emerging leaders to explore practices and policies for advancing resilient infrastructure, sustainable industrialization, and innovation (Sustainable Development Goal 9).

A joint initiative of APARC and the Ban Ki-moon Foundation for a Better Future, the TPSD aims to spur U.S.-Asia research-policy partnerships to accelerate the implementation of the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) underlying the United Nations-adopted 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

In June 2025, APARC also joined the Office of the President of Mongolia and the Ban Ki-moon Foundation at the third sub-regional TPSD convening. Held in Ulaanbaatar, the event focused on strengthening cooperation and expediting progress on climate action (SDG 13), primarily across the Altai region.

As of this writing, preparations are underway for the fourth annual TPSD. It will be held on November 10–11, 2025, in Manila, the Philippines, advancing the vision captured in SDG 11: making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.

## Oksenberg Symposium Deciphers China's Strategic Relationships

The 2025 Oksenberg Symposium examined the evolving dynamics among China, the United States, Russia, and India, and considered their strategic balancing acts in an increasingly multipolar world. Moderated by China Program Director **Jean Oi**, the discussion featured panelists **Da Wei** of Tsinghua University, **Alex Gabuev** of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, **Sumit Ganguly**

of the Hoover Institution, and FSI Director **Michael McFaul**.

The impacts of the second Trump administration's policies took center stage at the March 2025 symposium, which was held on the heels of a Putin-Xi meeting to reaffirm their countries' ties, Trump's controversial Oval Office exchange with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, and Indian Prime Minister Modi's unmet hopes to secure Trump's concessions on tariffs.

The panelists noted that the fragmentation of global power, combined with the redirection of U.S. foreign policy priorities toward Trump's "America First" agenda, provides China with opportunities to pursue more flexible diplomatic strategies and enhance its alignment with Russia and India. On its part, New Delhi has worked to mend ties with Beijing after their 2020 border clashes, while maintaining close energy and defense links with Moscow.

For more on the implications of Trump's second term for Asia, see our feature story on p. 3.

## From Baseball to Creative Content: Examining Japan's Cultural Exports

Hanamaki Higashi High School in Japan's Iwate Prefecture has become synonymous with elite baseball talent, counting among its alumni global stars such as Shohei Ohtani (Dodgers) and Yusei Kikuchi (Angels). What sets the high school's baseball program apart? What are the conditions for cultivating world-class talent?

At the Japan Program's February 2025 symposium Nurturing Global Talents by Molding Young Japanese Minds, Mr. **Hiroshi Sasaki**, the renowned head coach of Hanamaki Higashi High School's baseball program, shared a teaching philosophy that marries collective discipline with individualized development, translating mentorship and rigorous routines into exceptional outcomes. The symposium opened with a screening of the documentary *Koshien: Japan's Field of Dreams*, followed by a discussion with filmmaker **Ema Ryan Yamazaki** on the

phenomenon of high school baseball as a microcosm of Japanese society.

In May, the Japan Program turned the spotlight on [Japan's global content industries](#), convening creators, producers, technologists, and scholars from Japan and the United States to explore the evolution of Japanese content ranging from anime and manga to video games, music, and VTubers. The conference sessions examined the creative ecosystems that fuel Japan's content industries; innovations redefining storytelling, interactivity, global reach, and fandom in the digital age; and new pathways for collaboration between Japan and the United States in media, technology, and education.

### Democratic Strain and Humanitarian Urgency in Thailand and Myanmar

The Southeast Asia Program hosted two fireside chats that shed light on the political struggle for democracy in Thailand and the enduring humanitarian crisis in Myanmar, combining personal testimony and policy insight.

In a February 2025 conversation on the [future of Thailand](#), [Pita Limjaroenrat](#), leader of the dissolved opposition Move Forward Party, spoke about his journey from winning Thailand's 2023 parliamentary elections and symbolizing a potential turning point toward a more democratic rule in the country to the subsequent dissolution of his party on politically motivated allegations. Pita examined the erosion of democratic institutions in Thailand,

**“The voters are behind us, but the military, the monopoly, and the media have something to lose if I become the prime minister.”**

Pita Limjaroenrat

describing the growing role of “lawfare,” the weaponization of the legal system to suppress opposition. He emphasized how structural barriers blunt democratic participation and argued that change will depend on civic engagement and a new generation of leaders.

Another conversation, held in April and featuring [Kim Aris](#), son of Aung San Suu Kyi, focused on [Myanmar's humanitarian crisis](#). Kim urged stepped-up humanitarian assistance, the release of political prisoners, including his mother, and stronger international solidarity for Myanmar's citizens.

### Driving Modernization in Taiwan Amid Shifting Global Dynamics

The Taiwan Program held its inaugural conference in Taiwan, bringing together scholars from Stanford, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and Singapore alongside top Taiwanese industry experts. Held in March 2025 at National Taiwan University, the conference, [Taiwan Forward](#), examined comparative strategies for Taiwan to leverage AI innovation and its semiconductor prowess to drive resilience and continued growth while promoting entrepreneurship and forging advantages in emerging industries; scale its role as a global leader in biomedical and healthcare advancements; address the gaps posed by rapid changes to family structures and population aging; and shape narratives and identities in the context of its historical and linguistic legacies.

The program also presented its first colloquia series, exploring topics including [Taiwan's role in the semiconductor supply chain](#), [aural politics in the country](#), [its university admissions reform](#), and [housing crisis](#), among others.

The year's convenings positioned APARC's newest program as a platform for sustained, policy-oriented exchange on Taiwan's future.



(1) Hiroshi Sasaki shares his teaching philosophy  
 (2) Kiyoteru Tsutsui (L) moderates a TPSD panel  
 (3) Junichi Masuda discussing Pokémon and Japan's global content  
 (4) Manga truck outside Encina Hall for the Japan Global Content Conference  
 (5) Pita Limjaroenrat discusses Thai politics  
 (6) Susan Napier talks anime  
 (7) Viewing the Japanese high school baseball documentary “Koshien”  
 (8) FSI's Larry Diamond speaks on sustainable democracy in Seoul  
 (9) Karen Eggleston (L) on a healthcare panel at the Taiwan Forward conference.

CREDITS: (1-2) ROD SEARCEY (3-4) KEN HAMEL (6) KEN HAMEL (7) ROD SEARCEY (8) COURTESY CHEY INSTITUTE/KFAS (9) COURTESY NATIONAL TAIWAN UNIVERSITY

# Giving to APARC

The work we do at APARC—advancing knowledge, training future leaders, and fostering dialogue on the most pressing issues shaping Asia and U.S.-Asia relations—would not be possible without the generosity of our community. If you have attended our events, read our publications, or followed our programs, you are already part of that network.

By making a gift to APARC, you can help ensure that policy-relevant insights from our research reach audiences beyond academia and inform important debates about Asian affairs and U.S.-Asia ties; that promising young scholars of contemporary Asia gain the mentorship, resources, and opportunities they need to realize their potential and become established leaders in the field; that students, researchers, and innovators from Stanford and Asia work together to deepen engagement and understanding of one another; and that Stanford remains a hub for educating the next generation of experts on Asia. Your gift, at any size, helps us sustain this mission.

The role of Asian countries in the world has never been more vital, nor the need for informed U.S.-Asia dialogue more urgent. We invite you to join us in shaping the conversations and collaborations that guide the future of the Asia-Pacific region and its ties with the United States.

## How to Make a Gift

Whether you give now to make an immediate impact, give over time to support APARC now and in the future, or join a Stanford Day of Giving campaign, your generosity makes a difference in the lives of our students, scholars, and researchers. There are many ways to make a gift, and we can work together to help you make the biggest impact in your areas of interest and achieve your philanthropic and financial goals. We also offer engagement and giving opportunities for organizations and corporate members.

For more information about making a gift to APARC, please contact Noa Ronkin, Associate Director for Communications and External Relations, at [noa.ronkin@stanford.edu](mailto:noa.ronkin@stanford.edu) or 650-724-5667.

For information about the Global Affiliates Program and becoming an affiliate organization, please contact Denise Masumoto, Global Affiliates Program Manager, at [masumoto@stanford.edu](mailto:masumoto@stanford.edu) or 650-725-2706.

*Gifts to APARC are tax-deductible under applicable rules. The center and its parent organization, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, are part of Stanford University's tax-exempt status as a Section 501(c) (3) public charity.*

**2024-25 DONORS** Shorenstein APARC gratefully acknowledges the following benefactors for their support between September 1, 2024, and August 31, 2025.

### \$1,000,000 and above

Lee Seo Hyun

### \$100,000 To \$500,000

Anonymous

Jamie & Steven Shih Chen

NextG Tech Limited

Tzu-Hsien Tung

### \$50,000 To \$100,000

Henry Chang

Lillian Chen  
The Development Bank of Japan

Egon Zehnder Co. Ltd.

### \$10,000 TO \$50,000

Vivian Chiang

Joseph Lishing Hei

Julie Y. Hsieh

Japan Air Self Defense Force

Japan Patent Office

Ministry of Finance, Japan

Mae Tai O'Malley  
Republic of Korea Army

Euni and William S. Valentine

### \$50 TO \$10,000

Andrew Chia Chen Chou

Harold Kalishman

Ms. Jennie Kim

Michael Edwin Liu

**HONOR ROLL: LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO SHORENSTEIN APARC** The Center gratefully acknowledges those listed below for their support with contributions totaling \$100,000 or more since the inception of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, of which the Center is a part.

### \$10,000,000 AND ABOVE

The Walter and Phyllis Shorenstein Foundation

### \$1,000,000 AND ABOVE

Anonymous

The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

Chang Won Chey

Council for Better Corporate Citizenship

Foundation Academia Platonica

Henri Hiroyuki and Tomoye N. Takahashi

The Industrial Technology Research Institute (ITRI), Taiwan

The Japan Foundation

Jeong H. and Cynthia Kim

The Korea Foundation

The Koret Foundation

Chong-Moon Lee

Lee Seo Hyun

Ministry of Finance, Japan

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

National University of Singapore

The Pantech Group

PetroChina Company, Ltd.

Thomas and Shelagh Rohen

Sanjohn Capital Ltd.

Steve Shih and Jamie Chen

Shorenstein Company

Walter and Phyllis Shorenstein

The Smith Richardson Foundation

Sumitomo Corporation, Japan

Tong Yang Business Group

Tzu-Hsien Tung

Jerry Yang and Akiko Yamazaki

### \$500,000 TO \$1,000,000

The Academy of Korean Studies

Anonymous

Asahi Shimbun, Japan

Carnegie Corporation

Daniel (Wen Chi) Chen and Su-Sheng Hong Chen

The Development Bank of Japan

The Ford Foundation

Friends of Stanford University Foundation

Hana Financial Group

The Henry Luce Foundation

HyView Holdings Group Co., Ltd.

Japan Patent Office

Kansai Electric Power Company, Japan

Komatsu Ltd.

Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Japan

Mitsubishi Electric Corporation Nippon Telegraph and Telephone (NTT), Japan

Reliance Industries Ltd., India

Shizuoka Prefectural Government Tokyo Electric Power Company, Japan

The U.S.-Japan Foundation

### \$100,000 TO \$500,000

ANA Holdings, Inc.

Anonymous

Asian and Pacific Security Affairs Capital Group Companies Inc.

Winston H. Chen and Phyllis Huang Zia Chishti

Cisco Systems, Inc.

The Cyrus Chung Ying Tang Foundation

D&C Think Tank

Egon Zehnder Co. Ltd.

Future Architect, Inc.

Future Corporation

GSR Ventures

The Hannah Oberman Trust Barbara Hillman

India Technology Initiative Industrial & Commercial Bank of China Ltd

Japan Air Self Defense Force The Japan Economic Foundation

JX Nippon Mining & Metals Corporation

Yumi and Yasunori Kaneko Kawasaki Heavy Industries (USA), Inc.

Dr. Jeong H. Kim

The Korea Central Daily Korea International Trade Association

Kozo Keikaku Engineering, Inc. Kumamoto Prefectural Government, Japan

Kyung Hee University, Korea

The Lee Foundation Lehman Brothers Holdings, Inc.

Peigang Li Mr. Feng Lin

Meyerson Charitable Trust William F. and Patty J. Miller

The Miner Foundation Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan Mistletoe, Inc.

Mitsubishi Corporation Mitsubishi Heavy Industries America, Inc.

National Institute for Research Advancement

NextG Tech Limited

Nissoken, Japan

The Northeast Asian History Foundation People's Bank of China

POSCO Research Institute

POSCO TJ Park Foundation

Kanwal and Ann Rekhi

Reliance Life Sciences Pvt Ltd.

Samsung Electronics, Korea

Samsung Group Samsung Life Insurance Co., Ltd.

Sasakawa Peace Foundation SMBC Global Foundation, Inc.

Taewon Entertainment Taipei Economic and Cultural Office

The Telematics Environment Research Toyobo Company Ltd.

Euni and William Valentine

The Walt Disney Company

WiL, LLC

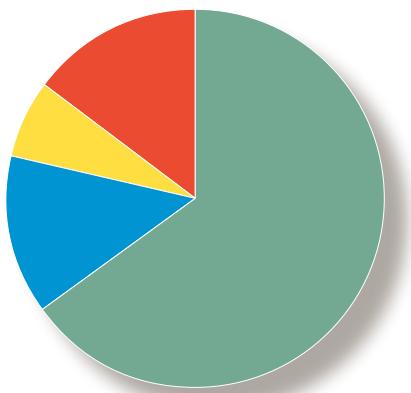
John H. Zhao

# Finances

Shorenstein APARC's revenue and expenses for the fiscal year 2024–25

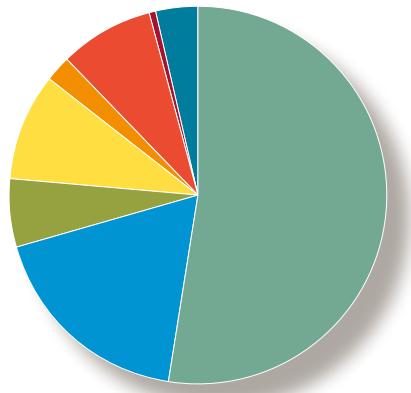
## Revenue

Endowment Payouts	\$3,827,620	65%
Gifts	797,518	14%
Grants	0	0%
Income	387,917	7%
Interdepartmental Unit (transfer in)	990,728	17%
Support (transfer out)	(132,896)	-2%
<b>Net Revenue</b>	<b>\$5,870,887</b>	<b>100%</b>



## Expenses

Faculty, Research, and Administrative Staff Salaries	\$2,993,697	53%
Fringe Benefits	1,023,840	18%
Indirect Costs	331,457	6%
Postdoctoral Scholars and Visiting Scholars	523,172	9%
Student Support	132,377	2%
Conferences, Workshops, and Research Travel	461,987	8%
Research Materials and Other Research Expenses	20,324	<1%
Operations, Materials & Services	201,923	4%
<b>Net Expenses</b>	<b>\$5,688,777</b>	<b>100%</b>



# APARC People

## DIRECTOR

Gi-Wook Shin (2024–25)  
Kiyoteru Tsutsui (Sept. 2025–)

Gidong Kim  
Joong Seop Kim  
Shinichi Kitaoka  
You Jung Lee  
Xinxin Lu  
Huiyi Lyu  
Sung Sup Ra  
Huixia Wang  
Meredith Weiss  
Yasmin Wirjawan  
Brandon Yoder  
Tiejun Yu

Koichi Kinouchi  
*Development Bank of Japan*  
Yasushi Maruyama  
*Egon Zehnder*

## DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Kiyoteru Tsutsui (2024–25)

Xinxin Lu  
Huiyi Lyu  
Sung Sup Ra  
Huixia Wang

Koji Omura  
*APAMAN*

## ASSOCIATE DIRECTORS

Cheryll Alipio  
Noa Ronkin  
Huma Shaikh

Yasmin Wirjawan  
Brandon Yoder  
Tiejun Yu

Nobuhiko Shimura  
*First Partners*  
Hiroyuki Yamada  
*Development Bank of Japan*

## FACULTY

Paul Y. Chang  
David Cohen  
Karen Eggleson  
Thomas Fingar  
Matthew Kohrman  
Stephen Kotkin  
Oriana Skylar Mastro  
Curtis Milhaupt  
Jean C. Oi  
Scott Rozelle  
Andrew G. Walder  
Xueguang Zhou

Minyoung An  
Shilin Jia  
Gidong Kim  
Jinseok Kim  
Yingqiu Kuang  
Ruo-Fan Liu  
Junki Nakahara  
Mai Nguyen  
Alisha Cherian  
Marie Wako

Banjo Yamauchi  
*Yamauchi No. 10 Family Office*  
Edward Zeng  
*NextG Tech Limited*

## POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS

Xinru Ma

Daisuke Asahara  
*Parallel, Inc.*

Heather Ahn  
Faith Angel

## PREDOCORAL FELLOWS

James Ding

Adilene Farias-Moreno  
Kristian Kender  
George Krompacky  
Irene Kyoung  
Kristen Lee  
Lisa Lee  
Kana Limpanukorn  
Denise Masumoto  
Kerstin Norris  
Owen Raymond  
Rowena Rosario  
Shabnam Tabesh

GSR Ventures

## RESEARCH SCHOLARS

Kazuto Honda

Ministry of Finance, Japan

James Ding  
GSR Ventures

## LECTURERS, VISITING

Shogo Kaito

Shogo Kaito  
*Japan Patent Office*

Michael Beeman (2024)

## SCHOLARS, AND PROFESSORS

Rie Hiraoka

Matthew Dolbow

Peng Chen  
Xue Chen

PHOTO CREDIT: KEN HAMEL

Stanford University  
616 Jane Stanford Way  
Encina Hall  
Stanford, CA 94305-6055

PHONE 650.723.9741  
FAX 650.723.6530  
<https://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu>

Stanford  
Walter H. Shorenstein  
Asia-Pacific Research Center  
*Freeman Spogli Institute*