



SHORENSTEIN APARC

THE WALTER H. SHORENSTEIN
ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH CENTER
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
CENTER OVERVIEW 2011–2012

Old Tensions & New Transformations

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



SHORENSTEIN
APARC
STANFORD

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COVER PHOTO: *Primary students visit an exhibition on China's manned spacecraft at a museum in Shanghai, China, November 2012.*
CREDIT: REUTERS/ALY SONG

Director's Message



A range of low, rolling foothills borders Stanford to the west; beyond sits the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean and the vibrant, rapidly growing countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

Truly a “Pacific university,” Stanford recognized early on the significant political, social, and economic transformations taking shape in the Asia-Pacific, and the need to cultivate a deeper understanding and relationship with the countries of this dynamic region. In 1983, under the co-leadership of professors Daniel Okimoto and John Lewis, Stanford established the Northeast Asia–United States Forum on International Policy Study, later to become the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC).

This year marks my third term as director of Shorenstein APARC, and I could not be prouder as we prepare to celebrate our Center’s thirtieth anniversary. Shorenstein APARC has helped train future leaders from both sides of the Pacific; hosted hundreds of visitors from Asia; published timely, policy-oriented reports and academic books; sponsored academic conferences and policy working groups at Stanford and in Asia; and organized countless public outreach events.

From our Center’s earliest days until today, the significance of our work remains undiminished. The Obama administration’s “pivot” to Asia—a renewed U.S. commitment to Asia-Pacific policy and regional alliances—underscores the vital importance of a strong, peaceful Asia-Pacific region to global well-being.

East Asia’s recurring territorial tensions are a reminder of the need to finally bring closure to the painful period of World War Two, a need that inspired our Divided Memories and Reconciliation initiative. Its numerous events include a seminar series on the most recent territorial flare-ups; its first publication, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*, will be followed by volumes on topics such as the depictions of the war in contemporary film and how the experiences of war and reconciliation differ between Europe and Asia.

China’s steady ascension to global economic and political prominence, still little understood, is often met with a mixture of admiration and trepidation. To place China’s “rise” in perspective, we initiated the China and the World project last year, and convened its first conference on China’s interactions in Northeast Asia at the Stanford Center at Peking University. Future events and publications will explore China’s significance in other regions and its new role in the overall global order.

Shorenstein APARC is proud of the momentum our Japan Studies Program (JSP) is gaining. I am deeply grateful to FSI senior fellow Masahiko Aoki for his leadership as JSP’s inaugural director, and to Professor Phillip Lipsky and Takahashi Research Associate Kenji Kushida for their dedicated work with the program. In December 2012 we are honored to welcome Professor Takeo Hoshi, an economist, as JSP’s new faculty director.

Considering the future, now, as always, we believe that even the most challenging of events possess the potential for transformative, positive change. Shorenstein APARC looks forward to continuing to serve as one of the leading U.S. research centers promoting a deeper, policy-oriented understanding of Asia and strong, lasting alliances between the United States and countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Shin Gi Wook". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Shin" being the most prominent.

Gi-Wook Shin, Director

China's Vibrant, Changing Media Landscape

Caixin Media, Winner of the 2011 Shorenstein Journalism Award



SHORENSTEIN JOURNALISM AWARD RECIPIENTS, 2002–2010

2010 Barbara Crossette, former Foreign Correspondent, *New York Times*

2009 Seth Mydans, Southeast Asia Correspondent, *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*

2008 Ian Buruma, writer and Henry R. Luce Professor of Democracy, Human Rights, and Journalism, Bard College

2007 John Pomfret, former Beijing Bureau Chief, *Washington Post*

2006 Melinda Liu, Beijing Bureau Chief, *Newsweek*

2005 Nayan Chanda, former Editor and Correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic Review*

2004 Donald Oberdorfer, former Diplomatic Correspondent, *Washington Post*

2003 Orville Schell, journalist and former Dean, School of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley

2002 Stanley Karnow, former Foreign Correspondent and Pulitzer-Prize-winning historian

“Journalism in Asia is incredibly dynamic, from the growth of independent media outlets to the relatively uncharted territory of blogs and social media. We expanded the scope of the Shorenstein Journalism Award precisely because there is so much to learn about Asia from its many cutting-edge journalists.”

Daniel C. Sneider, Associate Director for Research, Shorenstein APARC

PHOTO (L TO R): Panelists at “China’s Changing Media Landscape”: Hu Shuli, editor-in-chief, Caixin Media; Wang Shuo, managing editor, Caixin; Ben Hu, journalist and Knight Fellow; Orville Schell, previous Shorenstein Journalist Award recipient and jury member. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

NEWSSTANDS DOT THE STREET CORNERS OF CHINA'S MAJOR CITIES, and each day the country's netizens cram into Internet cafés to surf the web and connect with friends online. In 2010 alone, Chinese readers purchased 50 billion newspapers and the government reported 163 million regular Internet café users—roughly one-third of China's total Internet population.

It is an exciting time to be a journalist in China, panelists at Shorenstein APARC's December 7 event, "China's Changing Media Landscape," told a packed house. But it is also a challenging time, as journalists have to weave their way through a repressive system of government control of the media.

Changes in China's media landscape go hand in hand with today's rapid economic, social, and political reforms, said Shorenstein APARC associate director for research Daniel Sneider as he opened the event. He described Caixin Media, recipient of the 2011 Shorenstein Journalism Award, as the "first truly independent media company in China."

Hu Shuli, editor-in-chief of Caixin Media and a former Stanford Knight Journalism Fellow, said that China's number of quality investigative and independent media outlets keeps growing. "We need to try harder to get a scoop," she said. "But I think it's a nice problem to have."

Hu called technology a "double-edged sword" in that it can be manipulated in order to spread rumors and incite unproductive debates. She said, however, that the popularity of the Internet and mobile devices offers Chinese journalists the opportunity to publish news faster and reach the public through social media platforms like the country's most popular micro-blog service, Sina Weibo, which has approximately 230 million user accounts.

Caixin managing editor Wang Shuo spoke of the efforts by Caixin and other independent Chinese media outlets to gain an international audience. "China presents one of the most exciting stories of our time," he said.

Caixin and the Asian edition of the *Wall Street Journal* publish one another's news

stories on a monthly basis. Wang said that the modest amount of "bartered" content is not the point. "It means that a major U.S. newspaper recognizes that Caixin is up to international standards," he said.

Ben Hu, a reporter with *Southern Weekend* and a current Stanford Knight Fellow, said that China's tough licensing system makes it difficult for publications to grow. Without a license, he said, online publications cannot attract banner advertising—their real source of income. Hu spoke of a computer-coder-turned-online-news-publisher who draws half a million visitors to his website daily, but still cannot make a profit from it.

China's weak copyright protection system is another major issue facing journalists today, he said. Start-up publications often plunder "real" articles and rehash the content to avoid paying a fee to license it.

Orville Schell, the director of the Asia Society Center on U.S.-China Relations and himself a Shorenstein Journalism Award recipient, said that as the traditional U.S. media industry declines, China's continues to grow more vibrant. On the flip side, however, he said that aggressive industry competition and the state's system of licensing and censorship challenges journalists.

But China's system of media control may also have an inadvertent upside, Schell suggested. It may slow the spread of a dumbing down of content in television and other areas of the media, following the commerce-driven model of the U.S. media industry.

The panel discussion concluded with a lively question-and-answer session with the standing-room-only audience of members from the Stanford community and general public. Questions ranged from the role of technology in the media to China's system of censorship.

Hu Shuli and Wang accepted the Shorenstein Journalism Award on behalf of Caixin Media at a dinner ceremony held later that day at Stanford. The event marked the first time that an Asian media outlet or journalist has won the award.

The Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue 2012

Reforming Asia's Higher Education Systems in the Digital Age



PHOTO: Participants and observers from the 2012 Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue gather outside the Kyoto International Community House.

COURTESY: POLARIS SECRETARIES OFFICE CO., LTD.

EDUCATION, FUNDAMENTAL TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, has become an arena for global competition in the digital information age. As in the United States, many Asian policymakers are now pushing for higher education reform in the belief that strong, innovative higher education systems will pave the way for their countries' future economic and political strength.

Looking comparatively at situations across Asia and in the United States, the fourth annual Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue considered possible solutions to the challenges of reforming higher education today.

Scholars and top-level administrators from Stanford and universities across Asia, as well as policymakers, journalists, and business professionals, met in Kyoto on September 6 and 7, 2012. In the discussion sessions following the presentations, participants raised a number of key, policy-relevant points, which are highlighted in the Dialogue's final report. These include:

All countries face the challenge of preparing students to find meaningful employment, yet there is a lack of clarity in educational goals.

Several participants felt the political expediency of government funding aiming for world university rankings must be balanced with the less politically attractive but potentially more critical vocational needs of economic development.

University administrators and government policymakers need to define their goals for "globalization" or "internationalization" as they launch new initiatives and policies.

Participants noted that, while few are opposed to the principle of internationalization, without a sense of concrete and realistic goals, the cost-benefit ratio of various measures may not make sense.

Online education promises great potential innovation in education, but it is still at a very early stage. While potentially valuable in enhancing traditional learning and research, serious challenges remain.

There was a sense that far more needs to be done than simply taking existing forms of education and putting them online in order to truly harness the potential offered by online education.

The Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue series is made possible through the generosity of the City of Kyoto, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University, and Yumi and Yasunori Kaneko. The final report from the 2012 Dialogue, and those of previous years, is available for download from the Shorenstein APARC website.

A Historic Occasion

Shorenstein APARC Turns Thirty



PHOTO: *President-elect Park Geun-hye, one of many high-profile visitors to the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center over its thirty-year history, spoke at the Center in 2009.*

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

MAY 2013 MARKS THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. Over the three decades of the Center's existence, immense change has taken place in the Asia-Pacific.

The early 1980s were a time for tremendous, transformative ripples of social, political, and economic change in many Asian countries; many of those changes set in motion trends, institutions, and events that are prominent aspects of the Asian landscape today.

In Northeast Asia, China embraced market reforms and opened its doors to foreign investment and trade, setting the stage for its role as a contemporary global leader. Japan experienced the peak of its post-war boom, consolidating its role as a global leader in technology and manufacturing. South Korea underwent a dramatic transformation that, paired with its rapid economic growth, created a regional powerhouse.

At Stanford, the Northeast Asia–United States Forum on International Policy Study and the Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC) were established in May 1983 as independent, but complementary, entities. The Forum later grew into the Asia/Pacific Research Center and, in 2005, was endowed as the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC). The two centers still closely collaborate on research and events.

In the ensuing three decades, Shorenstein APARC expanded its reach beyond core expertise on Northeast Asia to the fast-developing region of Southeast Asia and to South Asia, which has emerged as a new center of power in the Asia-Pacific. The Center has focused increasingly on the crosscurrents of growing economic, cultural, and institutional integration in the region alongside a troubling rise of tensions driven by intensifying nationalism.

Today, Shorenstein APARC boasts five vibrant programs focusing on contemporary Asia and engaged in policy-oriented research, training, and publishing: the Asia Health Policy Program, Japan Studies Program, Korean Studies Program, Southeast Asia Forum, and the Stanford China Program. It also takes great pride in its unique Corporate Affiliates Program, whose alumni roster of over 300 Asian business, government, and media professionals continues to expand. Rounding out Shorenstein APARC's Asia expertise, its South Asia Initiative has produced many important publications and events for over a decade.

On May 2, 2013, Shorenstein APARC will celebrate its anniversary with a special public symposium exploring Asia's transformation over the past three decades, developments in U.S.-Asia relations, and the trajectory of Shorenstein APARC's own history. You are invited to join us in marking this historic occasion.

Spotlight on People

Shorenstein APARC's Brick and Mortar



EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE COMPRISE the essential DNA of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center's research, publishing, and outreach activities. Shorenstein APARC is fortunate to have a strong team of faculty and experts specializing in contemporary issues facing Northeast, South, and Southeast Asia. Every year the Center also hosts numerous visiting fellows and scholars from Asia and countries across the world. Not least of all, the Center has a dedicated staff with significant Asian language and subject expertise.

KAREN EGGLESTON, DIRECTOR OF THE ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM

Since health economist Karen Eggleston first came to Stanford in 2007, Shorenstein APARC's Asia Health Policy Program (AHPP) has flourished under her direction.

Eggleston serves as primary editor of AHPP's vibrant working paper series, one that to date has published thirty papers on topics ranging

"The Shorenstein APARC fellowship changed the trajectory of my academic career. It gave me the intellectual space to be productive and the freedom to expand my understanding of world events, making me a better teacher and researcher."

Jeremy Menchik, 2011–12
Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow

PHOTO: Jeremy Menchik (second from right) with municipal-level leaders of Nahdlatul Ulama, the world's largest Islamic organization, in Makassar, Indonesia, where he undertook surveys of religious leaders.

CREDIT: COURTESY JEREMY MENCHIK

from chronic disease in Mongolia to health insurance in South Korea. She leads the Shorenstein APARC initiative to examine the implications of demographic change in Asia. Her other research focuses on health reform in China; compares health-care systems across Asia; and studies how public policies and market incentives interact in health sectors. Eggleston serves as a research advisor to the Asia Pacific Observatory on Health Systems and Policies, and was recently nominated to the National Bureau of Economic Research. She also co-leads, with Stanford anthropologist Matthew Kohrman, a multidisciplinary project to understand the contemporary impacts of the one-hundred-year legacy of China's cigarette industry.

In addition to her many research and publishing activities, Eggleston teaches Stanford health policy courses, and mentors undergraduate and graduate students and postdoctoral scholars in their research and in planning for their professional careers. "It has been a true privilege to work with these students and emerging scholars—their enthusiasm, quick learning, and productive research on their chosen topics make them a pleasure to mentor," Eggleston says.

YASUNORI KAKEMIZU, CORPORATE AFFILIATES PROGRAM VISITING FELLOW

2011–12 Corporate Affiliates Visiting Fellow Yasunori Kakemizu spent the academic year studying the strategies of major American cable companies in adapting to industry changes, such as the rise of online streaming media. He examined, for example, the launch of Comcast's Xfinity streaming service, and how the company has successfully grown it into a profitable part of its business. Kakemizu is assistant to the general manager of the Cable TV Department in Sumitomo Corporation's Media Division.

Throughout the year, Kakemizu enjoyed taking part in the Corporate Affiliates Program site visits to local cutting-edge tech companies, like

Facebook. He also attended entrepreneurship-related seminars at Stanford and audited classes, exploring topics like cloud computing and investment finance. Seeing the opportunities Stanford students have to work on projects with Silicon Valley companies, and the important role Stanford plays in the regional and global business world, were eye-opening experiences for him.

In his free moments between research and all of his other activities, Kakemizu even found time to earn his pilot's license before returning to Japan. "The view of Stanford from the air is very beautiful," he says.

JEREMY MENCHIK, SHORENSTEIN POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW

Jeremy Menchik, a 2011–12 Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow, came to Stanford after earning his PhD in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He fully embraced his year at Shorenstein APARC: attending seminars; engaging with faculty, research fellows, and visiting scholars; and turning his dissertation on religious and political tolerance in Indonesia into a book manuscript.

Menchik's broader research examines the politics of the Muslim world, and he has spent significant time conducting field research in Indonesia. During the course of his research he has conducted extensive interviews and surveys, and studied patterns in the language and symbolism of election posters. A paper he developed at Shorenstein APARC, "The Origins of Intolerance in Islamic Institutions," received the 2012 Award for the Best Qualitative or Multi-Method Manuscript submitted to the *American Political Science Review*.

Menchik is spending this year as a researcher at the American University of Beirut, and in 2013 will begin his position as an assistant professor of international relations at Boston University.

Research



CHINA AND THE WORLD

This multiyear project, coordinated by FSI's Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow Thomas Fingar, looks sequentially and systematically at China's interactions with countries in all regions and across many issue areas. The project seeks to clarify China's objectives and policies to achieve them, but it also seeks to identify and explain the goals and policy calculations of other countries that see opportunities and perils associated with China's greater activism on the world stage.

Phase one of the project examined China's engagement with Japan, the Republic of Korea (ROK), and North Korea. Scholars and foreign policy practitioners from China, Japan, the ROK, Russia, and the United States discussed these questions at a two-day workshop in Beijing in March 2012. Participants from several Southeast Asian countries also attended the workshop to ensure that questions explored were broad enough to facilitate comparisons

"A tobacco-induced human annihilation is unfolding right now in almost every country and questions about how society and Big Tobacco are enmeshed, and how cigarette culture and government finance have become mutually supportive, are pivotal."

Matthew Kohrman, AHPP Researcher and Associate Professor of Anthropology

PHOTO: Cigarette cards were a popular form of advertising for tobacco companies, and in China featured topics of interest as diverse as childhood education, literacy, and even classic novels like Journey to the West.

CREDIT: COURTESY GEORGE KROMPACKY

and the search for patterns and learning across issues and areas at the follow-on regional workshop held in Singapore in November 2012.

EXPLORING CHINA'S FORMIDABLE CIGARETTE INDUSTRY

China's government rolled out a nationwide public indoor smoking ban in May 2011, yet the country's growing tobacco-control movement faces significant challenges against a multibillion-dollar government-run industry and deeply embedded social practices. How has the cigarette become so integrated into the fabric of everyday life across China?

Historians, health policy specialists, sociologists, anthropologists, business scholars, and other experts met March 26–27, 2012, at the Stanford Center at Peking University for “Critical Industry Studies in Cigarette Production Before, During, and After Liberation,” a conference organized by the Asia Health Policy Program (AHPP). They examined connections intricately woven over the past sixty years between marketing and cigarette gifting, production and consumer demand, government policy and economic profit, and many other dimensions of China's cigarette culture.

Despite formidable challenges, successful tobacco control efforts in China could have implications for the entire world. “Every country except Bhutan has legalized cigarette sales and is subject to many of the same general issues as China—only in China they're on a much larger scale,” says Matthew Kohrman, an AHPP researcher and Stanford professor of anthropology. “But if it chooses to do so, China is in a position to lead and change the landscape in a very profound way.”

Kohrman and AHPP director Karen Eggleston will continue the efforts begun at the conference through an ongoing research initiative, and they will publish an edited volume of papers presented at the event.

THE FUKUSHIMA NUCLEAR DISASTER

Given the massive scale of the earthquake—the fourth largest in recorded history—and subsequent tsunami that struck Japan on March 11, 2011, it might be easy to overlook the human elements in the sequence of events that spelled disaster for the Fukushima Dai-Ichi Nuclear Plant.

But there are valuable lessons to be learned from the response to the nuclear accident by the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) and the Japanese government. Kenji Kushida, Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies, has assembled the clearest picture to date of what went wrong during the crisis in his report, “Japan's Fukushima Nuclear Disaster: Narrative, Analysis, and Recommendations,” taking advantage of a multitude of Japanese sources not yet available in English.

Many of the details are likely to come as a surprise even to a well-informed audience: the absence of the power operator's president and chairman for almost a full day as the crisis unfolded, chaos magnified by the emergency nuclear response headquarters set up in the prime minister's office initially unable to receive cell phone signals or faxes, the dozens of emergency backup battery trucks arriving at the plant only to discover they could not connect to the reactors in crisis, and numerous similar examples.

An understanding of how events unfolded in the Fukushima disaster is critical to deriving valuable lessons about nuclear power governance, politics, and societal preparedness. As countries such as China, India, and Brazil move to build new nuclear reactors to serve the energy needs of ever-increasing numbers of ever-wealthier populations, and the United States considers the safety of its aging nuclear power plants, lessons from Japan's experience will only increase in significance.

Outreach



AMERICAN TEACHERS GET LESSON IN KOREAN STUDIES AT STANFORD

Nearly two dozen American teachers came to Stanford in July 2012 to learn about Korean history, culture, security, and politics from scholars at the university and other schools. Teachers and students from Hana Academy Seoul, a private high school in South Korea, also attended.

Stanford's Korean Studies Program (KSP) co-sponsored the first annual Hana-Stanford Conference on Korea, along with the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). Hana Financial Group provided generous funding for the conference to take place at Stanford over the next five years.

James Covi, who teaches world history at Seattle's Lakeside High School, attended the conference to expand his knowledge of Korea. He enjoyed learning more about Korean culture through events such as a cooking demonstration and presentations on the educational

"Coverage of Korea in U.S. high schools has generally been limited to the Korean War. The fact that the coverage is so limited really restricts students' understanding of a very vibrant country."

Gary Mukai, Director, Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

PHOTO: Students from Seoul's Hana Academy performed traditional Korean music for participants of the Hana-Stanford Conference on Korea.

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

system, as well as about the divided peninsula's history and politics. The conference also provided the opportunity for the U.S. and Korean participants to learn from one another through discussion of education issues in both countries.

"South Korea is an incredibly important U.S. ally and partner," Gi-Wook Shin, director of Shorenstein APARC, told the conference participants. "And Korean Americans are becoming a very important part of American society."

STANFORD STUDENTS WORK, LEARN ABOUT EVERYDAY LIFE IN ASIA

What if you had the opportunity to work at a leading independent media company in China, or behind the scenes on a popular television show in Korea? The twenty-five students who participated this past summer in Stanford's East Asia Internship Program gained hands-on experience at major media organizations, consulting firms, university hospitals, law offices, museums, and more.

They also learned about language, everyday life, and culture, and made lasting friendships and professional connections. The internship program is co-sponsored by Shorenstein APARC and the Division of International, Comparative and Area Studies.

Several Shorenstein APARC faculty and researchers served on the selection committee, including: Jean Oi, director of the Stanford China Program; Karen Eggleston, director of the Asia Health Policy Program; Kenji Kushida, the Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies; Daniel Sneider, associate director for research at Shorenstein APARC; and David Straub, associate director of the Korean Studies Program.

"Before my internship with Arirang Television began, I tried to keep myself from forming expectations about Korea. This effort may have been pointless, however, for the Korea I experienced this past summer was something that surpassed any expectations I could have formed," says Caroline Bank, a Stanford undergraduate. "My internship experience has

convinced me that I would like to return to work in Korea, and my friendships formed this summer created a family of sorts to whom I can return."

THE FUTURE OF CHINA'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Military strength is only one part of the national security strategies of China and the United States, and stable U.S.-China relations are an important factor for the overall peace and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region, said Karl Eikenberry during the annual Oksenberg lecture, held May 14, 2012, at Stanford. Eikenberry, FSI's Payne Distinguished Lecturer and a Shorenstein APARC affiliate, discussed key factors shaping China's national security strategy and corresponding developments in the People's Liberation Army; constraints on China's military capabilities; and implications of China's economic and political growth for U.S. defense strategy.

Eikenberry concluded his remarks with thoughts on how the United States should respond to China's "rise" and increasing military strength. An important first step, he said, is to address U.S. domestic issues, including balancing the national budget while still allowing significant resources for military R&D and personnel training. Eikenberry also advocated supporting regional and global institutions, both economic- and security-oriented, in which China can participate as a responsible stakeholder. He further stressed the importance of improved engagement with U.S. regional allies. Finally, he emphasized the significance of developing processes of dialogue for managing future conflicts between the United States and China.

The annual lecture, established by Shorenstein APARC in 2002, honors the memory of Michel Oksenberg's distinguished academic career and the major role he played in normalizing and strengthening U.S.-China relations.

Publications

“Questions about what happened in the past touch upon the most sensitive issues of national identity, the formation of historical memories, and national myths that play a powerful role to this day.”

Gi-Wook Shin, from *Divided Memories: History Textbooks and the War in Asia*

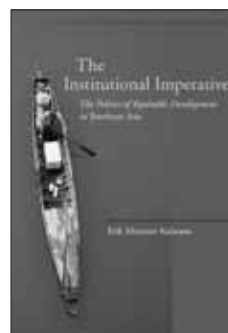
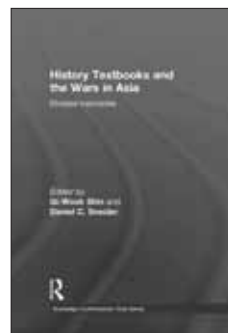
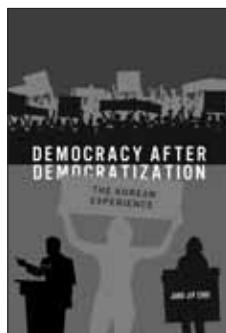
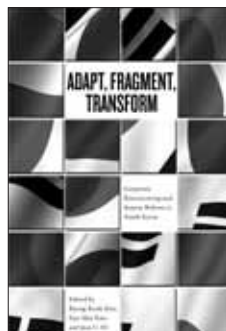
Shorenstein APARC has an active publishing program to disseminate its research, and through which its scholars seek to advance understanding of the Asia-Pacific region.

Together with Stanford University Press, the Center produces “Studies of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center,” a monograph series that includes the varied work of the Center’s faculty, researchers, and fellows.

Shorenstein APARC publishes its own peer-reviewed books, which are distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. These titles feature leading-edge topics that are policy-relevant in both the United States and Asia.

Center faculty and researchers also publish extensively in peer-reviewed academic journals, through scholarly and trade presses, and are frequently asked to comment in the media on events and issues affecting Asia.

A list of Center publications is available at <http://aparc.stanford.edu/publications>.



Spotlight on Publications

Excerpt from a conversation with John Everard,
author of *Only Beautiful, Please*



What is the significance of the book's title?

A friend visiting me from the UK was pursued by a group of North Koreans who were convinced he had photographed things that did not show the DPRK in the best light. An army officer was eventually summoned, and after examining the pictures he concluded there was nothing offensive in them. As he returned my friend's camera, he turned to me and said in his best English: "Only beautiful, please."

I took this for the title because it says quite a lot about how the DPRK likes to hide the negative aspects of life there, and to portray itself as a country where only good things take place.

In terms of easing diplomatic relations with North Korea, do you think that reform would pave the way or are there other issues to keep in mind?

If reform does indeed take place—I have my doubts—it might not be the kind of reform that would help improve relations with the DPRK. Economic reform does not necessarily

translate into a greater readiness for meaningful dialogue with the international community.

A crucial point is that there are certain aspects of the DPRK regime that are extremely difficult to change. I argue in my book that the DPRK cannot conduct any kind of meaningful economic reform along the lines China did because to do so would erode the regime's economic power over its citizens. The regime views this power as intrinsic to its survival. It also cannot allow greater openness because that would allow in new ideas to which the regime has no answer. It will be politically very difficult, and even dangerous, for the regime to encourage the greater openness we have seen in other reforming economies.

Although many people were hoping that Kim Jong Un would bring reforms, and perhaps even better relations with the West, as time passes it seems less likely that these hopes can be realized.

A full interview is available at <http://aparc.stanford.edu/news/3696>.

PHOTO: *Textile factory workers in North Korea's Rason Special Economic Zone.* CREDIT: JOHN EVERARD

AHPP

“As people foresee longer lives, they might choose to work longer, save more, and/or invest in human capital in sufficient amounts and innovative enough ways that longer lives continue to contribute to increased prosperity.”

Karen Eggleston and Victor R. Fuchs,
“The New Demographic Transition”



*The **ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM (AHPP)** promotes a comparative understanding of health and health policy in the Asia-Pacific through research, collaboration with scholars throughout the region, a colloquium series on health and demographic change, and conferences and publications on comparative health policy topics.*

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In 2011–12, AHPP launched the Developing Asia Health Policy Fellowship, designed to bring leading health policy experts from low-income Asian countries to Stanford, with inaugural fellow Dr. Siyan Yi from Cambodia. AHPP also welcomed Dr. Ang Sun from China as the Asia Health Policy Postdoctoral Fellow.

AHPP’s two major events of the year were a workshop on “Will Demographic Change Slow China’s Rise?” held at Stanford in November 2011, and a conference entitled “Critical Industry Studies in Cigarette Production Before, During, and After ‘Liberation’,” held at the Stanford Center at Peking University in March 2012. The latter brought together historians, health policy specialists, sociologists, anthropologists, business scholars, and other experts to examine connections intricately woven over the past sixty years in China between marketing and cigarette gifting, production and consumer demand, government policy and economic profit.

Continuing a multi-year project on demographic change, AHPP director Karen Eggleston and Stanford health economist Victor Fuchs published “The New Demographic Transition” in the *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Featured in a *Wall Street Journal* blog, the article convincingly demonstrates that people around the world are living longer than ever, posing a challenge to long-held ideas about retirement and well-established national retirement systems. A special section discusses China and India. The article shares four interrelated responses to the economic and social challenges now facing countries: increase the retirement age; encourage savings; strengthen education; and emphasize healthy lifestyles early to ensure productivity in old age.

Eggleston was also appointed to the National Bureau of Economic Research and to the Research Advisory Group of the Asia Pacific Observatory of Health Systems and Policies.

Recent AHPP working papers — available on the website — address issues ranging from “Social Change and Psychological Well-being in Urban and Rural China” to “Emerging Infectious Disease Surveillance in Southeast Asia.”

PHOTO: Former AHPP visiting scholar Huijun Liu (right, of Xi'an Jiaotong University) during fieldwork in Shandong province, interviewing elderly residents about their health and living arrangements. CREDIT: XUEFEI QI

Corporate Affiliates

"After 20 years of working at ICBC, I needed to seek out new knowledge, thought, and energy. Through auditing classes, on-site visits, research, and attending seminars, I found new purpose in my work."

Haiming Li, Visiting Fellow, 2011–12,
Industrial and Commercial Bank of
China Limited

*Established in 1982 to introduce Asia-based fellows to American life and institutions, the **CORPORATE AFFILIATES VISITING FELLOWS PROGRAM** is Shorenstein APARC's longest running program. Its 350+ alumni now occupy distinguished positions in the government and private sectors in Japan, China, Korea, and India.*

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Visiting Fellows Program enables organizations that have joined the Center as corporate affiliates to nominate personnel to spend one academic year at Shorenstein APARC. Visiting fellows study and conduct relevant research on the Stanford University campus during their stay. The program is ideal for mid-career managers who wish to deepen their knowledge on topics relevant to their work. In addition to broadening their views through interaction with world-class scholars, visiting fellows can network with managers from different countries and corporations. Shorenstein APARC also benefits from the presence of the visiting fellows: their practical experience and international perspectives inform the intellectual exchange at the center and at Stanford.

Visiting fellows participate in a structured program that includes creating an individual research project, auditing classes, attending exclusive seminars, and visiting local companies and institutions.



VISITING FELLOWS, 2011–12

Minoru Aosaki, Ministry of Finance, Japan
Kazuma Fukai, Kansai Electric Power Company
Katsunori Hirano, Shizuoka Prefectural Government
Young Muk Jeon, Samsung Life Insurance
Yasunori Kakemizu, Sumitomo Corporation
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Trade & Industry, Japan
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CORPORATE AFFILIATES HONOR ROLL: PARTICIPATION FIVE YEARS AND ABOVE

Corporate Affiliate organizations maintain long-standing relationships with Shorenstein APARC. The Center deeply values their commitment and support, and recognizes those affiliates that have participated in this important program for five or more consecutive years.

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Kansai Electric Power Company, Japan
Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI),
Japan
Ministry of Finance, Japan
Mitsubishi Electric
Reliance Industries, Ltd., India
Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan
Sumitomo Corporation, Japan

PHOTO: *Members of the 2011–12 class of Corporate Affiliates Visiting Fellows.* CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

JSP

“While Japan faces many challenges, we must also focus on its many recent successes and opportunities presented by change and reform underway. JSP is actively interacting with policymakers and scholars in Japan and other East Asian countries, including China.”

Masahiko Aoki, Director, JSP



*The **JAPAN STUDIES PROGRAM (JSP)** is dedicated to Japan-related social science-oriented research with policy relevance. JSP engages in international and interdisciplinary research, publications, conferences, and public colloquia with distinguished guest speakers. It collaborates with Stanford’s Center for East Asian Studies (CEAS) and other centers around campus in research and teaching.*

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The 2011–12 academic year brought a successful start to the renewed Japan Studies Program (JSP), with high-caliber guest speakers, a major conference, research output, and publications underway. The program actively collaborated with other organizations on campus, such as the Center for East Asian Studies (CEAS), US-Asia Technology Management Center (US-ATMC), and the Stanford Graduate School of Business.

The Japan Luncheon Colloquium series was inaugurated in fall 2011. This year JSP welcomed opinion leaders, industry figures, and leading scholars. Speakers included: Richard Katz, editor of the *Oriental Economist*; Tadashi Onodera, chairman of KDDI corporation, one of Japan’s leading telecommunications firms (co-sponsored with US-ATMC); Byung Kwang Yoo, associate professor in health policy, University of California, Davis (co-sponsored with the Asia Health Policy Program); Gregory

Noble, professor at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo; and Ulrike Schaede, professor of Japanese business, University of California, San Diego.

The first anniversary of the March 11, 2011, Great Tohoku Disaster in Japan was a time to reflect and focus on issues deeply affecting Japan’s society, economy, and politics. JSP co-sponsored a lecture series with CEAS entitled “Looking Back, Looking Forward: Japan’s March 11 Disasters One Year Later.”

In February 2012, JSP held a major conference focused on restructuring Japan’s energy industry in the wake of the Fukushima nuclear disaster: “One Year After Japan’s 3/11 Disaster: Reforming Japan’s Energy Sector, Governance, and Economy.” Invitees and presenters included key Japanese policy experts and officials involved in restructuring Japan’s energy industry. A report, based partly on the conference proceedings and with additional research, “The Fukushima Nuclear Disaster: Narrative, Analysis, and Recommendations,” has been published as a Shorenstein APARC working paper and is available on the website.

PHOTO: At a JSP event marking one year after the 3/11 disaster, Kazuhiko Toyama (right), CEO of Industrial Growth Platform, Inc., discusses Japanese electric power innovation while JSP director Masahiko Aoki listens.

CREDIT: DEBBIE WARREN

KSP

“As we enter our second decade, the Korean Studies Program is proud to expand significantly our outreach to U.S. secondary school teachers and students in partnership with the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE).”

Gi-Wook Shin, Director, KSP



*The **STANFORD KOREAN STUDIES PROGRAM (KSP)** focuses on multidisciplinary, social science-oriented, collaborative research on policy-relevant topics on Korea. Stanford KSP offers courses, hosts seminars, sponsors workshops and conferences, conducts research projects, supports fellowships, and collaborates with visiting scholars working on Korean issues. Stanford KSP also works closely with Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies (CEAS), which offers a master's degree in East Asian studies with a specialty in Korea.*

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Stanford KSP initiated and planned major new programs and activities during the year while building on existing strengths. With support from the Hana Financial Group, KSP and SPICE convened the first annual Hana-Stanford Conference on Korea for U.S. Secondary School Teachers. Preparations were made to complement it with a new Korea Foundation-funded curriculum development and distance-learning program (Sejong Korean Scholars Program) for high school students. KSP and CEAS awarded the first Korean Studies Writing Prize to recent Stanford law school graduate Jane N. Kim. The program also increases its outstanding faculty with the addition of Dafna Zur, a scholar of Korean literature and popular culture, who will begin in fall 2012 as an assistant

professor in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures.

The Koret Foundation provided KSP with a major gift to continue the successful Koret Fellowship, bringing leading professionals in Asia to Stanford to study U.S.-Korea relations. This year's Koret Fellow, Korean ambassador Park Joon-woo, organized a major conference comparing South Korea and Vietnam as middle powers near rising China. In April, the Koret Foundation also funded a conference on the globalization of Korean capital markets.

Among many notable KSP publications, a book on daily life in North Korea, *Only Beautiful, Please*, by John Everard, a recent KSP Pantech Fellow and former British ambassador to North Korea, and *Peacemaker*, the memoirs of Lim Dong-won, architect of President Kim Dae-jung's Sunshine Policy, gained widespread attention. Policy-oriented research remained a focus, with meetings of the Korea-U.S. West Coast Strategic Forum, while public outreach included more than a dozen lectures in the KSP luncheon seminar series. Speakers included Katharina Zellweger, the KSP Pantech Fellow and former Swiss aid official in Pyongyang.

PHOTO: David Straub, KSP associate director, discussing learning Korean at the Hana-Stanford Conference on Korea for U.S. Secondary School Teachers.

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

SEAF

“Regarding who owns what in the South China Sea, if ASEAN’s own littoral members cannot settle their own claims among themselves, how can they hope, as a group, to convince China to follow suit?”

Donald K. Emmerson, Director, SEAF,
in *Strategic Review* (Jakarta)



*The **SOUTHEAST ASIA FORUM (SEAF)** seeks to undertake and encourage innovative research and publication on contemporary Southeast Asian issues and conditions. The Forum works to stimulate fresh perspectives on the policy implications of regional events and trends; to create opportunities for scholars and other professionals to discuss, refine, and write up their ideas; and to help Stanford University students learn more about Southeast Asia.*

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Muslim politics in Indonesia, family politics in Thailand, religious freedom in Malaysia, corruption in Cambodia, Vietnam’s foreign policy, plans for an ASEAN Community by 2015... these are just some of the topics that were addressed at SEAF events at Stanford by a dozen speakers from Bangkok, Canberra, Hanoi, Singapore, and other cities. In residence were two Lee Kong Chian NUS-Stanford Distinguished Fellows: James Ockey (University of Canterbury, New Zealand) and Graham Brown (University of Bath), writing respectively on family legacies in Thai politics and the “culturalization” of conflict in Southeast Asia.

Of particular interest to SEAF during the year was the Obama administration’s controversial “pivot” toward Southeast Asia. Coverage of this development included two roundtables

at the Diplomatic Academy in Hanoi, a panel at the Asia-Pacific Roundtable in Kuala Lumpur, and conversations with scholars and policymakers in Canberra, Jakarta, Singapore, and Washington, DC. SEAF director Donald K. Emmerson also spoke with policymakers and analysts at the ASEAN-related meetings held in November 2011 in Bali, where President Obama illustrated the pivot by arriving to inaugurate American membership in the East Asia Summit.

Other topics of concern to SEAF in 2011–12 were conflicting claims to the South China Sea, regional efforts to promote democracy, and values and methods in the study of Indonesian politics. Research projects on these matters involved conferences and conversations in several venues and essays published or forthcoming.

Finally, SEAF began planning for the writing of *The Deer and the Dragon: Southeast Asia and China in the 21st Century*—one in a series of edited books that Shorenstein APARC is sponsoring on China’s relations with different parts of the world.

PHOTO (L TO R): Larry Diamond, CDDRL director, and Don Emmerson, SEAF director, speak with Malaysian opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim in Jakarta during the filming of *A Whisper to a Roar*, a documentary on democracy in developing countries released this year.

CREDIT: COURTESY LARRY DIAMOND

SCP

“Everyone realizes China will be a major player — economically, politically, in all the realms — and Stanford graduates need to have a hands-on understanding of what China is — the kind of training you can’t get from reading a book.”

Jean C. Oi, Director, SCP



The **STANFORD CHINA PROGRAM (SCP)** is a university-wide initiative to facilitate multidisciplinary, social science-oriented research on contemporary China, with a dual emphasis on basic and policy-relevant research. The program recognizes the singular importance of training new generations of Stanford students for broader and deeper interactions with China.

SCP spearheaded the creation of the **Stanford Center at Peking University (SCPKU)**, a unique platform in China for all of Stanford’s seven schools. SCPKU will foster new synergies and further promote interdisciplinary approaches and insights. As a core program in the Beijing center, SCP will leverage new opportunities toward its goal to establish Stanford as the leading U.S. center for the study of contemporary China.

FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

During 2011–12, SCP continued its high-level dialogues on issues of interest to both China and the United States, as well as its engagement with on-the-ground policymakers and implementers, and those who advise them.

SCP hosted events focused on the challenges China faces and impacts on the U.S.-China relationship. At Stanford in November, SCP co-organized—with the Academy of Macro-Economic Research at China’s National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC)—

“China’s Rise in Comparative and Historical Perspective,” a conference where scholars working on Latin America and other developing and developed world regions gathered to compare development experiences to better understand changes in the international economic situation and to glean possible lessons for China. This was the third conference in an annual series co-organized by SCP and NDRC. Another co-organized workshop (with the State Council’s Development Research Center) was held in China on one of that country’s most critical topics, “Land Arrangements in the Reorganization of the Chinese Countryside.”

SCP’s headline colloquium for the year was “China’s Looming Challenge,” with topics ranging from Chinese censorship to the threat that inequality poses to the “harmonious society.” The program’s co-sponsored Oksenberg Lecture was presented by Karl Eikenberry, Payne Distinguished Lecturer at FSI, and explored the People’s Liberation Army’s evolving role in China’s national security strategy.

PHOTO (L TO R): Kay Shimizu (Columbia University), a Chinese official, SCP director Jean Oi, and AHPP director Karen Eggleston discuss low-cost housing alternatives in Guangdong, China, during fieldwork with the National Development and Reform Commission.

CREDIT: COURTESY KAY SHIMIZU

Donors

The generosity of past supporters, as well as those new to its donor rolls, enables Shorenstein APARC to pursue and expand its mission of interdisciplinary research, education, and outreach on contemporary Asia. Without their continued generosity, the Center's important work and continued success would not be possible.

FRIENDS OF SHORENSTEIN APARC Shorenstein APARC gratefully acknowledges the following benefactors for their support in 2011–12. Listed below are individuals, corporations, foundations, and institutions whose contributions were received and recorded between September 1, 2011, and August 31, 2012.

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Donor Spotlight

The Koret Foundation

COMMENCING IN THE 2008–2009 ACADEMIC YEAR, Stanford KSP established the Koret Fellowship with generous funding from the Koret Foundation of San Francisco. The Koret Foundation is a nonprofit organization committed to promoting educational opportunity, contributing to a diverse cultural landscape, and bolstering organizations that are innovative in their approaches to meeting community needs in the San Francisco Bay Area. The fellowship was established for the purpose of promoting intellectual diversity and breadth in Stanford KSP, bringing leading professionals in Asia and the United States to Stanford to study U.S.-Korea relations. The fellows conduct their own research on the bilateral relationship, with an emphasis on contemporary relations, with the broad aim of fostering greater understanding and closer ties between the two countries.

A major conference is held each year in conjunction with the Koret Fellowship program, with the current year's Koret Fellow playing a lead role in organizing the conference and in inviting major scholars and experts on contemporary Korea to participate in the panels. A public keynote address by a prominent figure is an important feature of the event.



PHOTO: Joon-woo Park, former South Korean ambassador to the EU and 2011–12 Koret Fellow, delivering the keynote speech at the 2012 Koret conference.

CREDIT: DEBBIE WARREN

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Supporting Shorenstein APARC

SHORENSTEIN APARC RELIES ON GIFTS

AND GRANTS, as well as corporate sponsorships, to support its varied research, publishing, and outreach goals. The need for these commitments increases as the Asia-Pacific's economics, politics, and culture play an increasingly central role on the global stage.

BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE

Shorenstein APARC could not carry out its activities—building ties with Asia, engaging established and emerging scholars, informing policymakers, and educating students and the public—without vital financial support from its friends and partners. Recent funding has allowed the Center to extend valuable programming and to develop exciting new ventures, such as the annual Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue, established in 2009.

Many donors engage actively with Shorenstein APARC. They attend the Center's many lectures and conferences; strengthen its network of contacts, often leading to new opportunities; and offer valuable perspectives on key initiatives.

Shorenstein APARC offers a variety of giving opportunities to seed developing research, advance existing projects, and to fund innovative new ventures. The Center encourages individuals, corporations, and government and nonprofit organizations to contribute to its important mission and intellectual life. Gifts from Shorenstein APARC donors help to underwrite the vital activities of:

- Faculty recruitment
- Graduate student research and teaching
- Undergraduate fieldwork
- Fellowships open to international scholars, students, and practitioners
- Support for visiting scholars
- New program development
- Interdisciplinary faculty appointments

In addition, the Center runs a vibrant Corporate Affiliates Visiting Fellows Program, which is available for companies interested in expanding their networks of connections with Asian and U.S. counterparts.



Shorenstein APARC's mission to promote deeper understanding of the Asia-Pacific would not be possible without its valued friends and supporters.

EVERY GIFT MAKES A DIFFERENCE

To become a friend of Shorenstein APARC, please contact Neil Penick, associate director for development, at 650-723-8681 or npenick@stanford.edu. Your contribution will help to support crucial programs and secure the Center's ability to respond to research proposals addressing emerging issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Gifts to Shorenstein APARC are tax-deductible under applicable rules. Shorenstein APARC 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.

For information on joining Shorenstein APARC as a corporate affiliate, please contact Denise Masumoto, manager of corporate relations, at 650-725-2706 or masumoto@stanford.edu.

PHOTO: Chang Won Chey (right), chairperson, Board of Trustees of Foundation Academia Platonica, with Gi-Wook Shin at the signing ceremony to establish the SK Senior Fellowship endowment for the Korean Studies Program. CREDIT: COURTESY YOONJUNG KIM

People



"We accomplish a truly amazing breadth of activity at Shorenstein APARC each year, none of which would be possible without our exemplary faculty, visitors, and staff."

Gi-Wook Shin, Director,
Shorenstein APARC

PHOTO: Gerhard Casper (left), Stanford University president emeritus and FSI director, speaks with Norihiko Ishiguro, a METI director-general and one of Shorenstein APARC's earliest alumni.

CREDIT: COURTESY CORPORATE AFFILIATES

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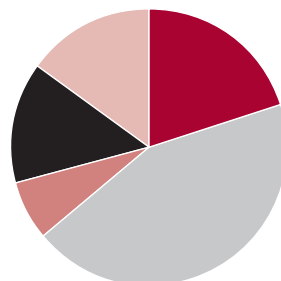
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Below is an overview of Shorenstein APARC's revenue and expenses for fiscal year 2010–2011 (the most recent figures available).

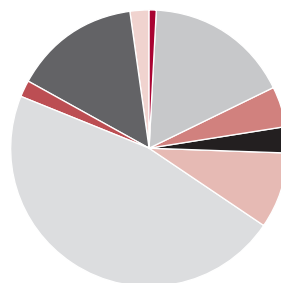
REVENUE

Interdepartment unit	\$ 849,851	20%	■
Endowment payouts	1,851,720	44%	■
Grants	286,342	7%	■
Income	611,011	14%	■
Gifts	655,272	15%	■
Total:	\$4,254,196	100%	



EXPENSES

Computer and telecommunications	\$ 51,305	1%	■
Conferences, workshops, and travel	807,312	17%	■
Indirect costs	243,373	5%	■
Operations	126,000	3%	■
Postdoctoral and visiting scholars	436,873	9%	■
Faculty, research, and administrative staff salaries	2,272,321	47%	■
Research materials, acquisitions, and other research expenses	113,450	2%	■
Staff benefits	723,336	15%	■
Student support	87,365	2%	■
Total:	\$4,861,335	100%	





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The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) is a unique Stanford University institution dedicated to the interdisciplinary study of contemporary Asia. Shorenstein APARC's mission is

- *to produce and publish outstanding interdisciplinary Asia-Pacific-focused research;*
- *to educate students, scholars, and corporate and governmental affiliates;*
- *to promote constructive interaction to influence U.S. policy toward the Asia-Pacific;*
- *to guide Asian nations on key issues of societal transition, development, U.S.-Asia relations, and regional cooperation.*

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