

# UNCERTAIN TIMES



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Walter H. Shorenstein  
Asia-Pacific  
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International Studies

*“Much uncertainty remains about how the United States will manage its critical alliances in Asia and how our relationship with China will evolve.”*

Gi-Wook Shin, *Director*



## SHORENSTEIN APARC

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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COVER PHOTO: President Donald Trump poses with other leaders for a photo at the ASEAN-U.S. 40th Anniversary Commemorative Summit in the Philippines, Nov. 2017.

CREDIT: REUTERS/MANAN VATSYAYANA/POOL

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## DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

A tumultuous political state of affairs, a historic election, a divisive civil society, and dire threats not seen since the Cold War.

Am I describing the United States or South Korea? Both, to some extent. This past year we saw mass protests in Seoul against corruption, the impeachment of Park Guen-hye, and the election of Moon Jae-in, bringing progressives back to power in that country for the first time in almost a decade. Here in the United States, Donald Trump's stunning victory has brought significant change to policy discussions, both domestic and foreign.

One major difference may be that South Koreans have some degree of hope that a new administration can move the country forward, whereas Americans remain harshly split over the nation's direction — to some degree the election itself remains contested. Both nations will need to find new ways to bridge the divides that have become sharply apparent with these events.

Shorenstein APARC's mission has been, in part, to research the Asia-Pacific and to constructively guide U.S. policy toward the region, but even for us, the pace and direction of change has been somewhat overwhelming and has led to significant uncertainty. President Trump's anti-globalist platform, his withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris Climate Accords and criticism of other treaties, and rapidly growing concern over a nuclearized North Korea have many wondering where things are headed, at home and abroad.

Much uncertainty remains about how the United States will manage its critical alliances in Asia and how our relationship with China will evolve. For decades the region has looked to American leadership, but now in many areas China is apparently stepping up to fill this gap, and across Asia there is doubt about the American will to play a role in the region. Which vision of the future will reign: China's Belt and Road Initiative and a multilateral approach, or Trump's stress on the "Indo-Pacific" region and bilateralism?

Here at the Center, we addressed this uncertainty by holding events focused on the Asia-related policy challenges that would face either candidate; in Seoul and Tokyo, Shorenstein APARC faculty discussed the meaning of a Trump win for Asian audiences, who were unsettled by its potential impact on their regions. We also produced a report detailing the crucial steps the Trump administration should take to manage critical alliances in Asia.

Amid this turbulence, Center programs continue to offer a rich array of conferences, workshops, and colloquia, and to publish their research in journals, through academic presses, and through our own publications distributed by the Brookings Press. Two of our programs — the Asia Health Policy Program (AHPP) and the China Program — celebrated their tenth anniversaries this past year. And, in fall 2017, the Taiwan Democracy Project will be returning to the Center as the Taiwan Democracy and Security Project, under the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative.

In January 2017 we were pleased to announce Karen Eggleston's appointment to Center Deputy Director. Karen has been with Shorenstein APARC for ten years as AHPP director and now she will also lend her talents to working on the Center's strategic direction. Yong Suk Lee was appointed as deputy director of the Korea Program and will work with me to expand our research and teaching activities. We also welcomed Faith Angel to the Center as our finance manager.

Your support of the Center is greatly appreciated. I hope you will have opportunities to join us at one of our many programs this upcoming year.

Gi-Wook Shin, Director





## TWO SHORENSTEIN APARC PROGRAMS OBSERVE ANNIVERSARIES

programs. In recognition of this milestone, both held celebratory events marking the research, impact, and people who have been a part of the programs' decade-long journeys.

Since its inception, AHPP has been committed to supporting young researchers working on comparative health policy topics, with director Karen Eggleston mentoring recent doctoral graduate students through AHPP's Postdoctoral Fellow program. It was thus especially fitting that AHPP celebrated its tenth anniversary by assembling a group of its past fellows for the "Young Leaders in Asia Health Policy" conference in June 2017 at the Stanford Center at Peking University (SCP KU). These AHPP alumni, now working in a multitude of countries around Asia, provided comparative perspectives on health challenges facing the region, and, crucially, on how evidence-based policymaking can improve the lives of citizens. Working papers addressed such diverse topics as long-term elderly care policy in South Korea and how living with an adult child may have a protective effect for widows experiencing depression. AHPP's anniversary centerpiece was its "Financing Longevity" conference ([video at stanford.io/2BkA2xR](http://stanford.io/2BkA2xR)).

Born out of Stanford's China Initiative, the China Program originally aimed at fulfilling the university's goals of increasing classes on contemporary China and expanding research and educational opportunities within China. It has met that challenge through events like its China Social Science Workshop and informative colloquia; a vibrant visiting scholar program; multiyear collaborations with China's National Development and Reform Commission; and its annual Oksenberg Lecture. The China Program was also tasked with the establishment of SCP KU, a place for students and faculty across Stanford to convene and carry out research, and which, thanks to advanced classroom technology, allows for real-time classes to be held between Stanford and China.

When the Program launched in 2007, its first international conference focused on the "growing pains" of China's rise as an economic powerhouse. Now that the nation has undergone nearly four decades of reform, the program appropriately looked at "China's Possible Futures" as the subject for its tenth anniversary event. With the nation's tremendous growth reaching a critical juncture, speakers looked at the challenges facing China's economic future; the future of Xi Jinping's leadership, his reform agenda and the possible difficulties facing it; and the shape of China's international relations.

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PHOTO LEFT TO RIGHT: FSI senior fellow Andrew Walder, Barry Naughton (UC San Diego), and AHPP director Karen Eggleston participate in "China's Possible Futures," a China Program anniversary event. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY



## TWO NEW ADMINISTRATIONS AND EAST ASIA'S FUTURE

Guen-hye — held significant implications for U.S.-Asia policy. Shorenstein APARC experts held events in both the United States and in Asia to discuss what the future might hold under these new administrations.

The Trump administration — given Trump's vow to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement, his anti-China rhetoric, and his criticism of the U.S. military presence abroad and of the nuclear policies of allies like Japan and South Korea — created uneasiness among longstanding U.S. allies in Asia. APARC experts held post-election events in Tokyo and Seoul to address concerns about what the future of alliances under a Trump White House would look like.

At a panel discussion at Stanford, Japan Program director Takeo Hoshi suggested that Trump's early positions would be seen in Japan as representative of America's withdrawal from a global leadership role; former ambassador to Japan and the Philippines Michael Armacost, while noting that "striking a real estate deal is a lot simpler than negotiating with foreign sovereign governments," expressed hope that Trump's pragmatism might serve him well — assuming he could manage the steep learning curve.

Following the election, Shorenstein APARC scholars produced a report, *President Trump's Asia Inbox*, which detailed the critical Asia-related issues facing the new administration. Key recommendations included reaching trade deals that build on what was achieved in the abandoned TPP negotiations; restoring confidence that the United States will honor its security commitments in Asia, amid China's military buildup and North Korea's nuclear aims; conducting freedom-of-navigation operations in the South China Sea to ensure that no one nation enjoys a monopoly over it; and putting early and special attention on the U.S.-South Korea alliance.

At a panel discussion on South Korea's election of Moon Jae-in, experts recommended that the ROK government move quickly to strengthen bilateral relations with the United States in light of escalating tensions in Northeast Asia. With Moon proposing engagement with the North, former U.S. ambassador to South Korea Kathleen Stephens and Shorenstein APARC director Gi-Wook Shin both suggested that such a movement could be useful if the ROK appointed a special envoy in emulation of the American "Perry Process." This would streamline a process that currently requires complicated coordination among dozens of ROK government agencies. Experts also advised that South Korea recognize Chinese limits on influencing North Korea.

PHOTO: Shorenstein APARC director Gi-Wook Shin shares his analysis of the South Korean presidential election with the Korea Society.  
CREDIT: KOREA SOCIETY



## WORKING TOWARD GENDER EQUITY

positions in Japan. In light of Japan's aging population and declining productivity, increasing the role of women in the nation's economic landscape became an integral part of Abenomics. Since Abe's declaration, real progress has been made in setting up gender equity plans and passing legislation that would work toward gender equity. Yet the gender gap has only gotten worse in Japan, with the nation remaining at 111th place since falling to that position in the *2014 Global Gender Gap Report*.

In recognition of this disparity, in November 2016 the Japan Program, in collaboration with the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and the United States–Japan Foundation, held a two-day conference on “Womenomics, the Workplace, and Women.” The event, organized by visiting fellow Mariko Yoshihara Yang and Japan Program research scholar Kenji Kushida, aimed to foster dialogue on challenges women face on both sides of the Pacific and to develop concrete solutions.

The public portion of the conference addressed the situation in Silicon Valley and in Japan, as well as issues of productivity and work-life balance. In the United States, despite outnumbering men in colleges for several decades, women remain significantly underrepresented in top corporate positions, in elected congressional offices, and in STEM fields. High attrition rates are an issue for women in both Silicon Valley and Japan, so formulating appropriate social policy is one avenue to addressing the problem. One researcher argued that, for Japanese women, job dissatisfaction was a greater factor behind women quitting jobs than childbirth.

Following the conference, the participants published a report proposing ten actions that would promote women's leadership in Japan. The proposals, which covered the realms of government, corporations, start-ups, and education, included institutional reforms like strengthening gender equity promotion offices in universities; abolishing the income tax deduction for dependent spouses, which effectively discourages married women from seeking full-time employment; and changing Japan's corporate work culture by imposing overtime limits to help change the tradition of devotion and self-sacrifice.

*The full report from the event is available on the Shorenstein APARC website at [stanford.io/2hKmioL](https://stanford.io/2hKmioL)*

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PHOTO: Visiting Fellow Mariko Yoshihara Yang, co-organizer of the “Womenomics” conference, speaks at a panel on women in the Japanese economy. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

*“Going forward we will probably see...an increase in religious life in China. But potentially also more tensions, because I think in some ways [the government] is trying to make use of groups like this.”*

*Ian Johnson, winner of the fifteenth annual Shorenstein Journalism Award*



## IAN JOHNSON WINS SHORENSTEIN JOURNALISM AWARD

Award to Ian Johnson. The award, now in its fifteenth year, alternately honors two groups of journalists: those who produce outstanding reporting on Asia and have contributed to our greater understanding of the region's complexities, and Asian journalists whose work has helped to pave the way for press freedom in Asia.

Johnson, who currently lives in China, writes for the *New York Times* and freelances for the *New York Review of Books*, the *New Yorker*, and *National Geographic*. During his thirty years as a journalist, he has written extensively on Chinese history, religion, and culture; his most recent book was *The Souls of China*, which delves into the resurgence of religion in the post-Mao period. He delivered a keynote at the award ceremony and participated in a panel discussion that explored China's religious landscape. In his address, Johnson noted that, amidst China's sweeping and fast-paced economic reforms, a growing angst and anxiety has prompted many Chinese, across every social background, to turn to religion as an outlet. He pointed out the shift from his earlier time in China, in the mid-1980s, to now, when “the government sees that religious groups can provide some sort of moral framework.” Orville Schell, a panelist and member of the 2016 jury for the award, acknowledged this social shift and said that “everybody is out there . . . trying to reify that part of life which isn't filled by bread alone, by commerce alone.” And FSI senior fellow Xueguang Zhou, who researches the Chinese bureaucracy and China's economic development, pointed out that in grassroots China, spiritual life and the Party have long been very much intertwined.

Despite its tacit recognition of the possible value of religious engagement for its citizens, the Chinese government remains wary of the role of religious groups; as Schell observed, it fears movements that tout “higher values, higher loyalties, and different organizational structures that don't owe fealty to the Party.” In the end, the future of the relationship between religion and the Chinese government remains to be seen as Chinese society continues to evolve.

*A video of Ian Johnson's keynote speech can be seen at [stanford.io/2A6WsTX](https://stanford.io/2A6WsTX)*

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PHOTO: Journalist Ian Johnson presents the keynote at the reception for the Shorenstein Journalism Award.

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

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## SHORENSTEIN APARC RESEARCH



### THE ROCKY ROAD TO URBANIZING CHINA

China's growth and efforts to make appropriate and successful urbanization policy have at times challenged the effectiveness of its central and local governments and their ability to work together to resolve sometimes-conflicting interests. A new book, *Challenges in the Process of China's Urbanization*, addresses this premise by examining topics like property rights, affordable housing, and food security, and looks at the institutional and governance challenges that China faces as it strives to reach its own urbanization targets.

The book was a product of a joint five-year initiative between the Center and China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), carried out by the China Program and the Asia Health Policy Program.

Wang Yiming, vice president and senior research fellow at the State Council's Development Research Center, was a co-editor of *Challenges*, along with program directors Jean Oi and Karen Eggleston. Wang facilitated ongoing scholarly exchanges for the initiative, including workshops and conferences, as well as joint fieldwork in China.

Events marking the book launch were held both at Stanford and in China at the Stanford Center at Peking University (SCP KU). At the SCP KU event, Wang introduced the current reform plans aimed at completing the citizenization of almost 40 percent of the 260 million rural residents who have moved into cities.

### PROMOTING INNOVATION IN ASIA

Recognizing the importance of innovation to the future development of Asia, Shorenstein APARC has launched a new multi-year initiative, the Stanford Asia-Pacific Innovation Project. The project's main goal is to produce academic and policy research that will aid in the promotion of innovation and entrepreneurship in East Asia. Toward that goal, the Center held the initiative's first conference at Stanford University in October 2017, examining the theme of how businesses and innovation clusters are organized in East Asia. Scholars from Asia and the United States convened to examine five economies — China, Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan — and to provide a comprehensive comparative analysis of the region.

The Center plans to publish the research results in an edited volume that it hopes will serve as a valuable reference for scholars and policymakers interested in the future economic development of Asia. The next planned step for the Stanford Asia-Pacific Innovation Project will be an examination of human capital and education policies that can help develop a more entrepreneurial and innovative workforce, as well as financial policies that can promote innovation and entrepreneurship. These themes will be explored in the next conference, slated for Beijing in 2018. In 2019, the initiative plans to focus on the intersection of aging, technology, and innovation, with a conference in either Japan or South Korea.



## VYING FOR INFLUENCE THROUGH INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In his book, *Renegotiating the World Order: Institutional Change in International Relations*, Phillip Lipsky examines how countries renegotiate their positions in the world order. International institutions like the UN Security Council and World Bank play important roles in the international system, and they are often contested by countries seeking greater influence and status. Lipsky shows that renegotiation plays out differently depending on the institution's policy area: institutions in competitive policy areas tend to adjust flexibly or collapse as states exit, while those in noncompetitive realms can remain relevant even while resisting change.

His book has important implications for both the rise of China and President Trump's efforts to renegotiate international agreements. China has been active in seeking a leadership role in international institutions, e.g., through proposing the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. Lipsky argues that these new institutions allow China to increase its international influence without resorting to violence or coercion. Rather than seeing these institutions as threats, the United States should welcome them and cooperate with China to shape their trajectory.

As for President Trump's foreign policy, Lipsky sees a surprising degree of continuity between current and past administrations. Obama's 2008 campaign also pledged to renegotiate NAFTA. During the Cold War, senators like Mike Mansfield and Sam Nunn threatened to withdraw U.S. troops to pressure NATO allies to spend more on national defense. However, Lipsky worries that Trump is not pursuing the most effective strategy for renegotiation — his abrupt withdrawal from the Paris Agreement on climate change and UNESCO threw away leverage and prestige without any substantial gains. It is an approach that leaves much to be desired.

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## SHORENSTEIN APARC FUND PROPOSALS, 2016–17

Using Text Messages to Improve Parenting Practices in Rural China // Scott Rozelle and Susanna Loeb

The Political Economy of Japan under the Abe Government // Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipsky

"Value for Money" in Diabetes Control in South and Southeast Asia: Adding India and Indonesia to an International Collaborative Research Project // Karen Eggleston and collaborators

Political Conflict in Guangxi Province, 1966-1969: A Pilot Study // Andrew G. Walder

ASEAN @ 50, Southeast Asia @ Risk: What Should Be Done? // Karl W. Eikenberry and Donald K. Emmerson

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OPPOSITE PHOTO: One project that Shorenstein APARC grants helped to fund aims to improve parenting in rural China by texting core parenting lessons directly to caregivers. CREDIT: COURTESY RURAL EDUCATION ACTION PROJECT // ABOVE PHOTO: Phillip Lipsky's most recent work looks at how nations bid for prestige and power by negotiating their roles in international institutions. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

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## SHORENSTEIN APARC OUTREACH



### INDIA COLLOQUIA

Since the beginning of India's economic liberalization in 1991, what has been achieved and what are the challenges ahead? In particular, what of the efforts undertaken since 2014 by Narendra Modi and the Bharatiya Janata Party? These are some of the questions examined by Shorenstein APARC's 2015–16 colloquia, "A New India? The Impact of Twenty-Five Years of Reform." The event series was part of the Center's efforts to revitalize its scholarly work on the region, previously supported by its South Asia Initiative (1999–2013), and to link it to a broader university-wide initiative for multi-disciplinary research and engagement with India and South Asia.

Former U.S. diplomat Ambassador Kathleen Stephens, who served as *chargé d'affaires* in New Delhi in 2014, organized the first colloquia in collaboration with Stanford's Center for South Asia. The speakers, including U.S. ambassador to India Richard Verma, renowned Indian writer Ramachandra Guha, and leading policy expert Ashley Tellis, were asked, in Stephens' words, "to consider the strategic bet U.S. policymakers have made on India's rise." The goal for the colloquia, and for other South Asia-related events going forward, would be to "knit together the expertise and resources at Stanford and in Silicon Valley with policy leaders from India," all in an effort to further understanding of the complex region and its growing importance to the United States.

The colloquia continues this year under the leadership of Shorenstein APARC deputy director Karen Eggleston, and with generous support from the U.S. India Business Council. It aims to broaden our understanding of India's enormous domestic potential and problems, its place in the region and the world, and the ambitious agenda of the new Modi administration. Individual lectures will cover a wide range of topics, including India's innovation economy, India-China relations, the role of non-violent civil disobedience, India's pivotal role in global health, and U.S.-India relations. Upcoming colloquia events can be found at [stanford.io/2Ab44ag](https://stanford.io/2Ab44ag).

### KOREA-U.S. WEST COAST STRATEGIC FORUM

Changes in administrations in both the United States and South Korea amid increasing tensions with North Korea have created considerable uncertainty regarding both U.S. policy toward the North and the U.S. alliance with the South. For more than ten years — since 2006 — American and South Korean policymakers, scholars, and regional experts have been meeting biannually for the Korea-U.S. West Coast Strategic Forum in order to evaluate the strength of the alliance and the level of the threat from the North.

The Forum, which alternates between Seoul and Stanford, is held under the Chatham House Rule of individual confidentiality, allowing participants to hold candid dialogues on current issues of vital national interest to both countries. In June 2017 it met for the seventeenth time, to discuss the new challenges facing Northeast Asia amid the inconsistency and unpredictability of the Trump administration's foreign policy; a power struggle



between the United States and China; and continued tension bubbling under relations between Japan and South Korea. Not surprisingly, much time was spent deliberating the chances of progress in denuclearizing North Korea, the possibility of dialogue, and the potential help that China may offer in defusing tensions.

*Reports from all seventeen Strategic Forums can be found on the Korea Program's website, at [aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/korea](http://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/korea).*

## POLICY TRIALOGUE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bangkok Declaration that launched the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Southeast Asia Program (SEAP) and the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative (USASI) at Shorenstein APARC have joined forces to organize an Australia-Singapore-U.S. Policy Dialogue.

SEAP director Donald K. Emmerson and USASI director Karl Eikenberry see the dialogue initiative as filling an absence that has become more urgent with China's rise as a powerful player in regional affairs, increasing concerns over maritime security in the region, and continuing questions on the commitment of U.S. leadership to engage in Southeast Asia.

Working with two partners — the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at Australian National University (Canberra) and the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) — the dialogue aims to sponsor interactions that can tackle complex, real-world policy issues to generate innovative ideas for feasible policy responses; and to convey those recommendations to foreign policymakers and analysts alike.

Emmerson and Eikenberry see great promise in tapping the concentrations of expertise on Southeast Asia that exist in Australia and Singapore, and in the opportunities for collegial synergy, two-way learning, and eventually, they hope, constructive policy outcomes.

The roadmap laid out by the dialogue began with "ASEAN @ 50, Southeast Asia @ Risk: What Should Be Done?", a prescriptive policy workshop hosted by the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu in October 2017 that addressed four topics related to Southeast Asia: regional security, regional infrastructure, regional economy, and regional institutions. The next step will be to reach out to scholars and officials in the United States and other countries to discuss and refine proposals. The goal is to encourage, organize, and improve collaborative policy research, prescription, and evaluation across the Asia-Pacific region on key issues related to Southeast Asia.

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OPPOSITE PHOTO: Ashley J. Tellis, senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, speaks at the India Colloquia on whether India can become a great power. CREDIT: LISA LEE // ABOVE PHOTO: The seventeenth Korea-U.S. West Coast Strategic Forum convened in Seoul at the Sejong Institute in June 2017. CREDIT: COURTESY SEJONG INSTITUTE

## SHORENSTEIN APARC PUBLICATIONS

Shorenstein APARC has an active publishing program to disseminate its research and 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.

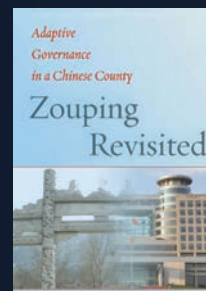
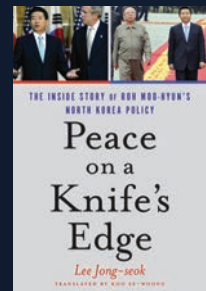
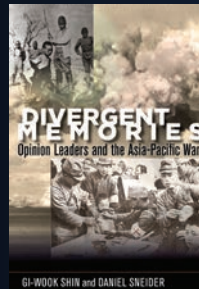
Shorenstein APARC publishes its own peer-reviewed books, which are distributed by the Brookings Institution Press. These titles feature leading-edge topics that are policy-relevant in both the United States and Asia.

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.

*Learn more about Center publications at [aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/publications](http://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/publications).*

*“The countries that interact with China do not simply respond to challenges and opportunities from the People’s Republic. They have objectives of their own, sometimes leverage their relationship with China to entice or counterbalance third countries, and often seek to take advantage of spillover effects of engagement with China.”*

Thomas Fingar, *from Uneasy Partnerships*



The **ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM** 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.

## ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The year 2017 marked the tenth anniversary of the Asia Health Policy Program (AHPP). A special series of commemorative events featured an international conference on “Financing Longevity: The Economics of Pensions, Health, Long-term Care and Disability Insurance” in April, as well as workshops and seminars both on campus and at the Stanford Center at Peking University. Topics included ethical perspectives on global health and financial protection; international comparative studies of net value in chronic disease management; the third annual forum on primary healthcare reform and community health services; and a workshop showcasing the latest policy-relevant research of the thirteen postdoctoral fellows AHPP has mentored since its founding a decade ago. Keynote speakers at tenth anniversary events featured not only academic scholars but also policymakers, including previous U.S. government officials as well as current policymakers from Singapore’s Ministry of Health, China’s Ministry of Finance, and Japan’s Ministry of Finance.

In addition, the 2016–17 academic year included presentations on health policy and demographic change in Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam. The Program’s 2016–17 postdoctoral fellow, Ngan Do, studied public and private roles in health services and dual-practice physicians in Vietnam. AHPP continues to train young scholars from Southeast and South Asia, welcoming postdoctoral fellows Natt Hongdilokkul from Thailand and Sarita Panday from Nepal.

AHPP’s events are linked to policy-relevant research that is continuing into the 2017–18 academic year. For example, following peer review the “Financing Longevity” conference papers will be published in a special issue of the *Journal of the Economics of Ageing*, guest edited by Karen Eggleston and Anita Mukherjee of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Eggleston and AHPP continue to lead an international collaborative study of “value for money” in chronic disease management through the lens of diabetes, with the first joint study published in the leading health policy journal *Health Affairs* in November 2017. Eggleston’s NBER working paper on the economics of prevention, with analysis on Japan with colleagues from the University of Tokyo, was featured on the web page and newsletter of the National Bureau of Economic Research.



*“The Japanese budget deficit largely results from financial imbalance between the growth of social security expenditures and tax revenue. Compared with other OECD countries, Japan is way off from the golden rule — the balance of benefit and burden.”*

Hirotaka Unami, Ministry of Finance, Japan

PHOTO: Hirotaka Unami, senior director for policy, planning, and research, Ministry of Finance, Japan, speaks at the “Financing Longevity” conference. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

The **CHINA PROGRAM** 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. With a presence at the Stanford Center at Peking University (SCP KU), the China Program leverages unique opportunities to establish Stanford as the leading center on contemporary China.

## CHINA PROGRAM

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) culminated in a joint volume co-edited by director Jean Oi, Shorenstein APARC's Karen Eggleston, and Wang Yiming of the NDRC. The volume, *Challenges in the Process of China's Urbanization*, explores the deep institutional challenges facing China as it shifts toward sustainable urbanization.

Jean Oi and Steven Goldstein, professor of government at Smith College, also co-edited *Zouping Revisited: Adaptive Governance in a Chinese County* (Stanford University Press, forthcoming 2018), a book that analyzes the adaptive capabilities of China's political institutions during recent transformative decades.

The China Program's winter colloquia, "China: Going Global," brought leading experts to explore the implications of China's international economic initiatives and its Belt and Road Initiative.

The China Program celebrated its tenth anniversary by convening leading scholars who exchanged views on China's "possible futures" in the realms of politics, economics, global economic engagements, and international relations. Former U.S. ambassador to China Max Baucus reflected on the "Thucydides Trap" and the current state of U.S.-China relations. Building on the work stemming from this anniversary conference, the Program is currently working on an edited volume titled *Challenges and Choices in China's Future*. As the Program proceeds to assemble a closed-door workshop in Beijing with Chinese commentators for this book, it is also co-organizing a public panel at the Stanford Center at Peking University titled, "The United States and the Asia-Pacific."

As the program heads into 2018, more exciting plans are in the works, including the Oksenberg Conference, which will launch the *Zouping Revisited* volume and convene China scholars who have conducted path-breaking research in Zouping County. The Program also plans to convene junior and senior China social science scholars to discuss a variety of research issues. The upcoming winter colloquia will focus on the evolutionary capacity of China's authoritarian regime and how it has changed its methods of governance.

*"The mission of the China Program grows increasingly important in these fractious times of ongoing tensions in U.S.-China relations, unpredictability in politics, and a 'new normal' in economics. We must continue to foster dialogue and produce the highest quality research on China."*

Jean C. Oi, Director, China Program

PHOTO: Former U.S. ambassador to China Max S. Baucus (r) speaks with Daniel Russel, former assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and current senior fellow at the Asia Society Policy Institute, prior to delivering the 2017 Oksenberg Lecture. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY



The **JAPAN PROGRAM** is dedicated to Japan-related social-science-oriented research with policy relevance. The Japan Program engages in international and interdisciplinary research, publications, conferences, and public colloquia with distinguished guest speakers. It collaborates with centers around campus in research and teaching.

## JAPAN PROGRAM

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In 2016–17 the Japan Program continued its focus on innovation, a major theme for the Abe administration

as it continues policy-reform efforts to spur growth and revive Japan's economy.

In September 2016, more than forty U.S. and Japanese scholars participated in the Program's fourth annual Stanford Juku on Japanese Political Economy. Then, in November, our conference "Womenomics, the Workplace, and Women," co-sponsored with the United States-Japan Foundation, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and the Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University, convened twenty experts from across the United States and Japan to discuss women's leadership and work-life balance, and to form cross-sector expert networks that can build pathways toward advancing opportunities for women in both countries. And in June 2017, the Program co-organized the "Economic Policy Challenges in the U.S. and Japan" forum with the Japan Economic Foundation to discuss growth strategy, populism, globalization, and social equality.

For the second year, program faculty taught "Japan and the World: Innovation, Economic Growth, Globalization, and International Security Challenges," a course that is part of a multi-year project supported by the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership.

The Program's Stanford Silicon Valley—New Japan project (SV-NJ) continued its goal as a platform enabling Stanford, Silicon Valley, and Japan to harness one another's strengths through research, cultivating interpersonal networks at monthly forums, international collaboration, and outreach events. Highlights included an inaugural Stanford summit in November 2016 that brought together Silicon Valley startups with large Japanese firms. A follow-up will take place in Tokyo in July 2017.

In 2017–18 the Program will hold several major conferences, including the Abe Fellows Global Forum, plus events on automation and human autonomy, U.S.-Japan historical relations, and Japan's political economy under the Abe administration, in addition to continuing its colloquia, newsletter, and the SV-NJ forum.



*"Recent economic research suggests restructuring is a very important source of productivity growth in developed economies. Japan must recognize its lack of economic restructuring to address its long economic stagnation."*

Takeo Hoshi, *Director, Japan Program*

PHOTO: Kenji Kushida (l), Japan Program Research Scholar, speaks with Nick Sugimoto (c), Honda Silicon Valley Labs, and Yo Koga, Drivemode, at the Silicon Valley–New Japan Summit in October 2016. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

The **KOREA PROGRAM** focuses on multidisciplinary, social-science-oriented, collaborative research on policy-relevant topics on Korea. The Program offers courses, hosts seminars, sponsors workshops and conferences, conducts research projects, supports fellowships, and collaborates with visiting scholars working on Korean issues. The Korea Program 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.

## KOREA PROGRAM

innovation that are fundamental to the next stages of Korea's development. To seek new approaches to multiculturalism in Korea, the ninth annual Koret Workshop assessed the recent influx of ethnic and non-ethnic Koreans, as well as the situation of migrant workers facing discrimination and cross-cultural issues. In light of the escalation of the North Korean nuclear threat into a serious international security issue, the next annual workshop will focus on possible options in dealing with North Korea problems.

Following the U.S. presidential election, Stanford scholars convened in Seoul to discuss the new U.S. administration's prospective policies toward East Asia and the Korean Peninsula, and the implications of any possible policy changes; then in June 2017, in advance of the first summit between presidents Trump and Moon, scholars took part in a symposium examining major foreign policy and national security issues.

The Korea Program offered public seminars on topics including Korea's economic development conundrum, transnational social capital, and South Korean debates on North Korean nuclear issues; the Program also sponsored, through CEAS, lectures on Korean history and culture, and a workshop on the intersections of science, language, and literature in modern and pre-modern Korea.

Korea Program researchers have been actively engaged in the publication of conference results, research, and insights. The manuscript from the eighth annual Koret Workshop on Korea's future directions for global competitiveness is near completion and will be published as an edited volume; the results from this year's workshop studying multiculturalism in Korea will be published as a special issue in an academic journal. Recent publications include a policy report from the seventeenth session of the Korea-U.S. West Coast Strategic Forum; with Korea's Institute for National Security Strategy, a joint research brief on analyzing the structure and performance of Kim Jong-un's regime; as well as journal articles — "South Korea in 2016: Political Leadership in Crisis" in *Asian Survey* and "South Korea after Impeachment" in the *Journal of Democracy*— examining the South Korean president's fall from power and impeachment, and the future of Korean democracy.

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Korea Program continued its research on the themes of diversity and tolerance, education, and

*"The standards of transparency and fairness in Korean politics have been raised. That is a positive sign that Korea is still maturing into a fuller and deeper democracy."*

Gi-Wook Shin and Rennie J. Moon, from "South Korea After Impeachment," *Journal of Democracy*

PHOTO: Former U.S. secretary of defense William Perry speaks on North Korea's nuclear and missile capabilities in his keynote address at "The New U.S. Administration's East Asian Policy and the Korean Peninsula" symposium in Seoul in November 2016. CREDIT: THE SEJONG INSTITUTE



The **SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM** seeks to undertake and encourage innovative research and publication on contemporary Southeast Asian issues and conditions. The Program 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.

## SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

If Southeast Asia is diverse, so was the Southeast Asia Program's agenda in 2016–17. Speakers from Australia, China, Germany, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and the United States addressed a wide range of topics, including Duterte's presidency in the Philippines, Singapore's cartographic cinema, Bangkok's relations with Beijing, and whether the Rohingya refugees escaping from Myanmar would cause ASEAN to rethink its low profile on human rights. Speakers also debated the July 2016 ruling by an arbitral court that China's "nine-dash line" around the South China Sea is incompatible with international law.

The Program also hosted two international workshops that drew participants from Asia, Europe, and the United States: "Coup, King, Crisis: Thailand's Political Troubles and the Royal Succession" and "China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative: Implications for Southeast Asia and the World." Two National University of Singapore–Stanford Lee Kong Chian (LKC) Fellows on Southeast Asia were in residence during the year. Other visitors included Indonesia's coordinating minister for maritime affairs and the American ambassadors to Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam.

One of the LKC fellows, David Timberman, taught a course on "Politics, Governance, and Development in Contemporary Southeast Asia." The readings and lectures spanned Southeast Asian history from pre-colonial times to the present and featured nearly all of the region's countries. Among the subjects covered were democracy and autocracy, poverty and corruption, political and economic reform, ethnic and religious politics, and the intersections of nationalism and regionalism in ASEAN's fiftieth anniversary year.

In addition to administering these activities, Program director Donald Emmerson published articles and chapters on ASEAN and the South China Sea; keynoted conferences on democracy (Bangkok) and critical thinking (Bali); spoke on ASEAN in the United States and the United Kingdom; and worked with U.S.-Asia Security Initiative director Karl Eikenberry and colleagues in Australia and Singapore to make plans for a prescriptive policy dialogue on Southeast Asia in 2017–18 (see page 9 for more details).



*"ASEAN turned fifty in 2017. Will it celebrate its hundredth birthday in 2067? If not, why not? If so, how will it differ from what it is now? The answers will significantly depend on what, by then, China has done and become."*

Donald K. Emmerson

PHOTO: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for South and Southeast Asia Joseph H. Felter (left) and SEAP director Donald K. Emmerson participate in a workshop at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

CREDIT: JOE RINI

The **U.S.-ASIA SECURITY INITIATIVE (USASI)** deepens dialogue, advances research, and promotes teaching on contemporary Indo-Asia-Pacific security issues. The program creates a bridge between academics, government officials, and industry and media leaders from the United States and Asia, drawing upon expertise across Stanford University, the Freeman Spogli Institute, and Shorenstein APARC.

## U.S.-ASIA SECURITY INITIATIVE

### FEATURED PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Throughout 2017, USASI greatly expanded the scope of its activities to address the growing security challenges in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region. The Initiative has established (or is exploring) a number of sub-regional, policy-relevant workshops that bring together policy practitioners and academics:

- U.S.-Japan Security and Defense Dialogue Series (May 2016 [Tokyo]; January 2018)
- Southeast Asia/ASEAN Workshop (co-hosted with the Southeast Asia Program) in cooperation with Singapore's Nanyang Technological University, Australian National University, and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (inaugural workshop held October 2017)
- Taiwan Democracy and Security Project Workshop (inaugural workshop scheduled for March 2018)
- Stanford-Peking University Workshop (tentatively scheduled for fall 2018)

In November 2017, USASI will launch the Taiwan Democracy and Security Project (previously the Taiwan Democracy Project, part of FSI's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law).

USASI teaches an innovative course, "The United States, China, and Global Security," which connects faculty and students through state-of-the-art video-teleconferencing classrooms at Stanford University and the Stanford Center at Peking University. In spring 2018, USASI will (for the first time) co-teach a popular management science and engineering lecture course, "Technology and National Security," which addresses security challenges in the Indo-Asia-Pacific posed by North Korea, China, and terrorism.

Beginning in 2017, USASI established a series of FSI-sponsored undergraduate summer internships with the Asia Foundation in Washington, D.C., and Jakarta; the Carnegie Endowment in Beijing and New Delhi; the United States Pacific Command (PACOM) in Honolulu; and with the Office of U.S. Congresswoman Colleen Hanabusa of Hawaii.

USASI-hosted speakers and outreach included distinguished guests like former Japanese minister of defense Satoshi Morimoto, USPACOM commander Admiral Harry Harris, U.S. Forces Korea commander General Vincent Brooks, as well as a visit to United States Pacific Command by Stanford faculty and fellows.



*"Our workshop on the future of Southeast Asia featured a strong emphasis on interdisciplinary, intraregional dialogue and on policy relevance. This approach informs all that we do in USASI."*

Karl Eikenberry, USASI Director, speaking at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu.

PHOTO: USASI leads Stanford faculty and fellows on an orientation of U.S. Pacific Command Headquarters and its component commands on Oahu, Hawaii in April 2017.  
CREDIT: PATRICK C. WINSTEAD, FSI-APARC SENIOR MILITARY FELLOW 2016–17

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 400+ alumni now occupy distinguished positions in the government and private sectors in Japan, China, Korea, and India.

## CORPORATE AFFILIATES PROGRAM

nominate personnel to spend one academic year at Shorenstein APARC. Visiting fellows conduct relevant research on the Stanford University campus during their stay. The program is ideal for mid-career managers who wish to deepen 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 visiting fellows, as their practical experience and international perspective inform the intellectual exchange at the Center and at Stanford.

Visiting fellows participate in a structured program that includes creating a research project, auditing classes, attending exclusive seminars, and visiting local companies and institutions. The ability to communicate in English at an intermediate/advanced level is required.

### VISITING FELLOWS, 2016–17

Hareendra Bhaskaran // Reliance Life Sciences  
Takayuki Hayakawa // Japan Patent Office  
Hirotaka Ishii // Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Japan  
Hui Liu // PetroChina  
Rui Minowa // Development Bank of Japan  
Hiroki Morishige // Shizuoka Prefectural Government  
A. Muthukrishnan // Reliance Life Sciences  
Daisuke Nakaya // Japan Air Self Defense Force  
Hidenori Nishita // Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Japan  
Kanjiro Onishi // Ministry of Finance, Japan  
Akihiko Sado // The Asahi Shimbun  
Yohei Saito // Future Architect, Inc.  
Aki Takahashi // Nissoken  
Zhuoyan Wang // PetroChina  
Kensaku Yamada // Mitsubishi Electric  
Shaofeng Zhang // PetroChina  
Xuan Zhang // Beijing Shanghe Shiji Investment Company

### ABOUT THE PROGRAM

The Visiting Fellows Program enables organizations that have joined the Center as corporate affiliates to

### 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.

Japan Patent Office  
Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry, Japan  
Ministry of Finance, Japan  
Mitsubishi Electric  
PetroChina  
Reliance Industries, Ltd., India  
Shizuoka Prefectural Government, Japan



*“The program helped me to broaden my views, and to think big and outside the box. Attending seminars on issues like global energy, technology, and innovation enriched my knowledge and enhanced my analytical thinking.”*

Zhuoyan Wang, Visiting Fellow, PetroChina

PHOTO: Members of the 2016–17 class of Corporate Affiliates Visiting Fellows. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

# SUPPORTING SHORENSTEIN APARC

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

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 a central role on the global stage.

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PHOTO: Participants at the Silicon Valley–New Japan Summit experiment with virtual reality technology.

CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

## 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.

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 perspective 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:

- 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.

## 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](mailto: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](mailto:masumoto@stanford.edu).

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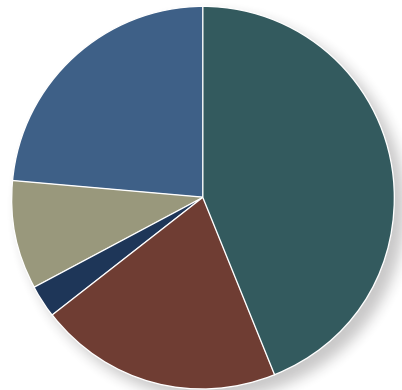
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# FINANCIAL INFORMATION

Below is an overview of Shorenstein APARC's revenue and expenses for fiscal year 2015–16 (the most recent figures available):

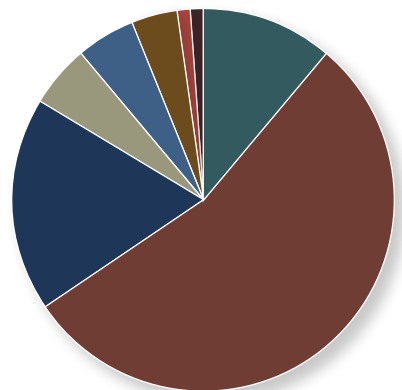
## REVENUE

Endowment Payouts	\$2,922,485	47%
Gifts	1,356,117	22%
Grants	185,109	3%
Income	597,985	10%
Interdepartmental Unit (transfer in)	1,591,798	25%
External Department Support (transfer out)	(388,694)	-6%
<b>Net Revenue:</b>	<b>\$6,264,800</b>	<b>100%</b>



## EXPENSES

Conferences, Workshops, and Research Travel	\$ 639,689	11%
Faculty, Research, and Administrative Staff Salaries	3,054,711	54%
Fringe Benefits	992,159	18%
Indirect Costs	278,543	5%
Operations, Materials, and Services	309,244	5%
Postdoctoral Scholars and Visiting Scholars	259,578	4%
Research Materials, and Other Research Expenses	71,045	1%
Student Support	19,727	1%
<b>Net Expenses:</b>	<b>\$5,624,695</b>	<b>100%</b>



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*“In grassroots China, religion, spiritual life, and the Party really go hand in hand — they’re intertwined. Local elites are involved both in the spiritual world and the Party worlds, and they ship back and forth simultaneously.”*

*Xueguang Zhou, FSI Senior Fellow*

PHOTO: FSI senior fellow Xueguang Zhou speaks at the Shorenstein Journalism Award panel. CREDIT: ROD SEARCEY

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