

# The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center

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*Center Overview 2017–18*





## CORE PROGRAMS

[stanford.io/2EjuLNI](https://stanford.io/2EjuLNI)

### ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM

Director: Karen Eggleston

*Promotes a comparative understanding of health and health policy in the Asia-Pacific region.*



### CHINA PROGRAM

Director: Jean C. Oi

*Advances both academic and policy-relevant multidisciplinary, social-science-oriented research on contemporary China.*



### JAPAN PROGRAM

Director: Takeo Hoshi

*Facilitates multidisciplinary, social-science-oriented academic scholarship and policy-relevant research on contemporary Japan.*



### KOREA PROGRAM

Director: Gi-Wook Shin

*Focuses on multidisciplinary, social-science-oriented, collaborative research on policy-relevant topics on Korea.*



### SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

Director: Donald K. Emmerson

*Undertakes research and stimulates fresh perspectives on Southeast Asian issues, fostering intellectual exchange between scholars and practitioners.*



### U.S.-ASIA SECURITY INITIATIVE

Director: Karl Eikenberry

*Deepens dialogue, advances policy-relevant research, and promotes teaching on Indo-Asia-Pacific security and international cooperation issues.*



### GLOBAL AFFILIATES PROGRAM

Manager: Denise Masumoto

*Strengthens U.S.-Asia collaboration by hosting accomplished personnel of affiliate Asian organizations as visiting scholars for a year at Stanford.*





The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) addresses critical issues affecting the countries of Asia, their regional and global affairs, and U.S.-Asia relations. As Stanford University’s hub for the interdisciplinary study of contemporary Asia, we produce policy-relevant research, provide education and training to students, scholars, and practitioners, and strengthen dialogue and cooperation between counterparts in the Asia-Pacific and the United States.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AHPP: Asia Health Policy Program
- ASEAN: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
- CEAS: Center for East Asian Studies
- DPRK: Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
- FSI: Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies
- ROK: Republic of Korea
- SCPKU: Stanford Center at Peking University
- SEAP: Southeast Asia Program
- SV-NJ: Silicon Valley–New Japan project
- USASI: U.S.-Asia Security Initiative

COVER: *A graphic art installation on concrete steps in central Seoul wishing for the success of the September 2018 inter-Korean summit.*

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## DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE



Last year, I wrote here of the uncertain times we find ourselves in. Reflecting on the twelve months that have since passed, my earlier sense of uncertainty has given way to a newfound recognition that we must come to expect the unexpected, and be prepared to adapt and respond in turn.

The second year of the Donald Trump presidency saw dramatic developments in the Asia-Pacific and in U.S. relations with counterparts in the region. In August 2017, President Trump threatened North Korea with “...fire, fury, and frankly power the likes of which this world has never seen before.” Yet not even seven months later, Trump accepted an invitation to meet with Kim Jong-un. And while substantive steps have yet to emerge from such talks, it is all the same remarkable that they happened in the first place.

At other points, however, we have witnessed a worrisome trajectory for U.S. strategic relationships in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. The on-off-on Trump-Kim meeting took place on the heels of a tumultuous G7 summit. Relations between Washington and Beijing are at their most fraught levels in years, with the steady declaration of tariffs and countertariffs increasing the likelihood of a trade war. Against these and China’s ambitions, India and other nations in the Indo-Pacific hedge and rebalance their positions.

As events unfold, Shorenstein APARC scholars continue to share findings and policy recommendations from their research, teach and support students and the next generation of Asia specialists, and provide real-time analysis of issues of vital importance to the countries of the Asia-Pacific and to U.S. and international interests. For while the political forces may prove mercurial, APARC’s mission—to address these issues and to strengthen dialogue and cooperation between counterparts in Asia and the United States—remains steadfast.

A year ago, we lost John Lewis, groundbreaking Asian politics expert and co-founder of APARC and of other Stanford centers. Anticipating Asia’s rise and how it would be inextricably linked to the future of the United States, John was a pioneer in promoting U.S.-China relations and in dealing with North Korea. He was a staunch advocate of international dialogue, understanding, and collaboration. Today, when Asia’s impact is exceeding far beyond its territorial expanse, these values, embedded in APARC, are more important than ever.

Carrying on John’s legacy, we will continue to create new knowledge to understand the diverse economic, political, and social factors that shape Asia and their impact on all of us. We thank you for your support and for being part of our community, and we look forward to seeing you at some of our programs and forums in the year ahead.

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

Gi-Wook Shin, *Director*





## The Continuing North Korean Crisis

A sixth nuclear test, ICBMs with the potential to reach the U.S. mainland, a war of words, an Olympic charm offensive, an unprecedented U.S.-DPRK summit in Singapore, and renewed high-level discussions between North and South. What is next for the Korean Peninsula and the United States?

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LEFT: Two boys in Pyongyang, North Korea.  
BELOW: (left to right) Michael McFaul, Gi-Wook Shin, and Scott Sagan listen to former U.S. ambassador to South Korea Kathleen Stephens at a discussion on the future of U.S.-North Korea relations.





*By focusing solely on denuclearization, we risk losing sight of the bigger, more important picture — that is, transforming North Korea into a normal state that no longer sees the need to pursue nuclearization for deterrence, survival, or any other reason.*

Gi-Wook Shin and Joyce Lee,  
*The Diplomat*

LEFT: The village of Panmunjom in Kaesong, North Korea, as seen from the South Korean side.

## Shorenstein APARC Engages with the North Korean Crisis

With North Korea dominating the news over the past year, Shorenstein APARC experts were repeatedly tapped for commentary on options for dealing with the North and their implications for U.S.-ROK relations.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2Q0t6xI](https://stanford.io/2Q0t6xI)

In October 2017, Kim Sook, former ROK ambassador to the UN, spoke at a Korea Program seminar on the North's dangerous trajectory, and in November former senior U.S. and ROK government officials and other experts met at the 18th Korea-U.S. West Coast Strategic Forum to discuss peninsular developments, the future of the U.S.-ROK alliance, and a strategic vision for Northeast Asia. READ MORE // [stanford.io/2ONECjI](https://stanford.io/2ONECjI)

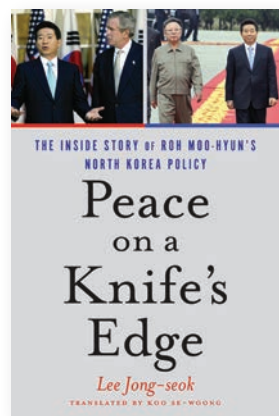
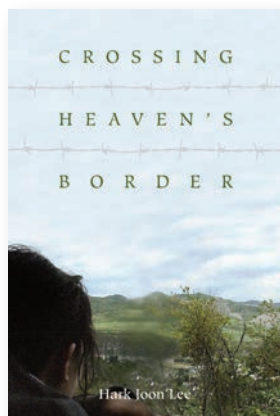
In March 2018, on the heels of DPRK leader Kim Jong-un's dramatic New Year's address and the first high-level talks between North and South in two years, Stanford experts met with members of Congress through the Aspen Institute Congressional Program to discuss policy options to resolve the crisis. READ MORE // [stanford.io/2R37wKm](https://stanford.io/2R37wKm)

The 2018–19 Koret Fellow and career ROK diplomat Kyou-hyun Kim played a leading role in organizing April's Koret Conference, "North Korea 2020." Following the summit in Panmunjom, the first time a DPRK leader ever stepped foot into the South, the Korea Program presented a special public forum, where former ambassador Kathleen Stephens noted that "this was a process driven by South Korea in a way we've never seen before." Gi-Wook Shin struck a cautious note, questioning whether complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization should be the goal of diplomatic engagement with the North. READ MORE // [stanford.io/2ywxuyb](https://stanford.io/2ywxuyb)



## SHEDDING LIGHT ON NORTH KOREA

Recent Shorenstein APARC publications examine the decades-long North Korean crisis from different perspectives. In *Peacemaker*, Lim Dong-won traces the process of twenty years of diplomatic negotiations with North Korea; Lee Jong-seok's *Peace on a Knife's Edge* reveals how South Korean efforts toward peace were thwarted by U.S. hardliners; *Dynasty* details the Kim family leadership succession; and *Crossing Heaven's Border* presents a harrowing tale of a South Korean journalist coming to grips with the tragic stories of North Korean defectors.



### IN MEMORIAM

## John W. Lewis (1930–2017)

When John Lewis died in 2017 at the age of 86, we lost a preeminent China scholar and a champion of Asian-American relations, along with one of the Center's founders and early co-directors. Lewis was also a pioneer in engaging with North Korea. He made numerous visits to the North, often with nuclear scientist Sig Hecker, and was key in keeping information flowing on Pyongyang's nuclear program after the 2002 collapse of the Agreed Framework. [READ MORE // stanford.io/202Us90](https://stanford.io/202Us90)



*Our goal was guided by the belief that you cannot understand the security, culture, and other aspects of Asia unless you view them as a whole. No single individual can possibly do that—you need a team. For us it was not just about creating a center, it was about changing the world.*

John Lewis, on founding the Center

## China: Exploring the Past, Understanding the Present, Anticipating the Future



China's economy expanded dramatically in the past 35 years. But changes to its political structure, as well as a looming trade war with the United States, now cast doubt on that trajectory. This year, at events examining China's recent history and its potential next steps, APARC scholars and distinguished guests explored many of the reasons for concern.

In April 2018, the China Program's annual Oksenberg Conference was organized to coincide with the publication of *Zouping Revisited: Adaptive Governance in a Chinese County*, a volume offering insights into the profound changes in China's political institutions that have enabled the seemingly unchanged one-party system to govern a vastly transformed market economy. Zouping, a county in Shandong province that served as the hub of the field research featured in this publication, was first opened to Western scholars through the efforts of the

conference's namesake, China scholar Michel Oksenberg. Conference participants discussed the legacy of Oksenberg and their experiences conducting research in Zouping. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2O7ewDj](https://stanford.io/2O7ewDj)

Through its winter colloquia, "An Expanding Toolkit: The Evolution of Governance in China," the China Program hosted scholars who explored the evolving methods used by the country's authoritarian regime to control political discontent. From the uneasy partnership between the central government and the media to the role of rents in local election vote-buying, the series delved into the myriad ways in which the state manages challenges from below. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2AteAcI](https://stanford.io/2AteAcI)

Following the most recent National People's Congress (NPC) meeting in March, China scholars gathered at the Center to discuss the NPC's near-unanimous decision to eliminate term limits for China's president and vice president. At "Game Changer?: Elimination of Term Limits and Xi Jinping's Power," panelists considered whether or not China was abandoning Deng Xiaoping's legacy, what impact the decision had on authoritarian rule by the party, and the short- and long-term implications of the decision on the country's economic growth and foreign policy.



TOP: In May, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank president and chair Jin Liqun speaks at the China Program event, "The AIIB After Two Years."  
ABOVE: China Program director Jean Oi speaks with U.S. ambassador to China Terry Branstad at the Lee Shau Kee World Leaders Forum at SCPKU.





*Many younger researchers take for granted the ability to get on-the-ground information about China. But the opening of China fieldwork and actually interviewing the political actors at different levels of the system was not a given.*

Jean Oi, director, China Program

PHOTO: In 2008, Charlotte Lee (left), one of China Program director Jean Oi's students, conducts fieldwork in Zouping, China.



## Peering into Technological Disruption and the Future of Work

Asia's economies have undergone rapid advances in the twenty-first century, but face severe challenges to their continued growth. How are new technologies changing regional entrepreneurship and employment, and what do they augur for the future of work in the Asia-Pacific? Shorenstein APARC scholars examine these pressing issues from multiple angles.

East Asia is at the forefront of adopting new technologies such as artificial intelligence and robotics. These technologies' net effect on labor, however, is yet to be understood. Yong Suk Lee, deputy director of the Korea Program, explores how specific technologies are augmenting or replacing tasks and workers in South Korea. His Digital Technologies and the Labor Market project empirically examines the impact of artificial intelligence technologies and robotics on different sectors of the economy, including manufacturing, health care, and tech startups. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2DpsjES](https://stanford.io/2DpsjES)

Lee also investigates the ways in which new technologies affect regional entrepreneurship and employment. His Entrepreneurship, Technology, and Economic Development project studies the linkages between these three areas and the differential effects of industrial robots on small and young firms versus large and mature firms. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2OMSre4](https://stanford.io/2OMSre4)

In Japan, the Abe administration continues to pursue its pledge to increase women's role in the nation's workforce and economic landscape. The conference "Break Through: Women in Silicon Valley, Womenomics in Japan," hosted by the Japan Program in August 2018, convened women thought leaders from Stanford, Silicon Valley, and Japan to design strategies for narrowing the gender gap in the workforce on both sides of the Pacific. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2O1W1jD](https://stanford.io/2O1W1jD)



ABOVE: In Beijing, the Law School's Dinsha Mistree analyzes the Indian government's attempts to foster innovation through policy.



## Interdisciplinary and Policy-Relevant Research

The Center is home to a vibrant community of distinguished faculty, scholars, and practitioners whose careers span the realms of government, diplomacy, the military, and business. We bridge theoretical and field research, and study varied issues related to the politics, economies, populations, security, foreign policies, and international relations of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2pr3EpH](https://stanford.io/2pr3EpH)

LEFT: Prime Minister Shinzō Abe speaks at Stanford in 2015. Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Lipsky are researching the political economy of the Abe government.

## Evaluating Abe's Policies and Their Implications for Japan

Takeo Hoshi, director of the Japan Program, and Phillip Lipsky, the Thomas Rohlen Center Fellow, are conducting a multi-year policy evaluation of Prime Minister Shinzō Abe's bold vision for Japan. They assess the efficacy of Abe's political economy, its effects on long-standing debates about Japanese politics, its implications for Japan's foreign policy, and its impacts in the international arena. The new body of research that already resulted from this project includes journal articles by Hoshi, on whether Abenomics succeeded in raising Japan's inward foreign direct investment, and by Lipsky, on the politics of energy and climate change in Japan under Abe. Another major component of the project was a February 2018 conference that brought together top scholars to present and discuss new research on the political economy of the Abe government. A volume of the conference papers is in the works.



ABOVE: The Center's Stanford Asia-Pacific Innovation project is examining how policies and education can lead to a more entrepreneurial workforce. INSET: Wang Tianfu, vice president of the School of Social Sciences at Tsinghua University, speaks at the Beijing innovation conference.

## Promoting Innovation in Asia

The Center-wide project Stanford Asia-Pacific Innovation continues to produce academic and policy research that will help promote innovation and entrepreneurship in Asia. Jointly with Tsinghua University, APARC co-hosted the project's second annual conference, "Analyzing Public Policies for Entrepreneurship and Innovation in East Asia." Held in September 2018 at the Beijing-based D&C Think Tank, this meeting brought together scholars from the United States and Asia to examine education policies and financial policies conducive to accelerating innovation and developing a more entrepreneurial workforce in the region. Participants focused on entrepreneurship education in universities and on policy interventions to promote innovation financing. The conference papers will be published in an edited volume.

Meanwhile, APARC is preparing for publication the findings from the project's first conference, which focused on national innovation policies and innovation clusters in East Asia. In 2019, the project will turn to the intersection of aging, technology, and innovation, at a third conference in South Korea.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2xExKdf](https://stanford.io/2xExKdf)

### SHORENSTEIN APARC RESEARCH PROPOSALS 2017-18

The Center supported ongoing faculty research for these projects over the past year.

**Innovation for Healthy Aging: Public and Private Roles in East Asia**  
// Karen Eggleston

**The Political Economy of Japan under the Abe Government, Year 2**  
// Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Y. Lipscy

**Digital Technologies and the Labor Market: Evidence from South Korea**  
// Yong Suk Lee

**Personnel Management and Intraorganizational Structure in the Chinese Bureaucratic State** // Xueguang Zhou



## Addressing the Challenges of Population Aging and Chronic Disease in the Asia-Pacific

**Shorenstein APARC's Asia Health Policy Program helps identify best practices and policies to respond to Asia's demographic shifts and growing diabetes epidemic.**

The Asia-Pacific is experiencing rapid population aging, a trend accompanied by an alarming increase in the prevalence of chronic diseases such as cancer and diabetes, and governments in the region recognize the imperative to secure the future of their citizens and economies. Karen Eggleston, Shorenstein APARC's deputy director and AHPP director, is spearheading international collaborative research projects that empower health and eldercare systems in Asia and other regions to develop actionable programs to respond to these challenges. Eggleston's Innovation for Healthy Aging project analyzes public-private collaborations tackling chronic disease, focusing on hypertension control in China, and on precision health and personalized medicine technologies in managing cancer patients in Taiwan. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2NvEWmz](https://stanford.io/2NvEWmz)

The Net Value in Diabetes Management project brings together teams of clinicians and health economists from ten countries (and growing) to compare health-care use, medical spending, and clinical outcomes for patients with type 2 diabetes in Asia and other regions as a lens for understanding the economics of caring for patients with complicated chronic diseases. It aims to quantify the quality improvement associated with changes in medical technology, and to provide an evidence base for policies to improve the delivery of high-quality, cost-effective diabetes management coordinated across outpatient and inpatient settings. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2xsbNyz](https://stanford.io/2xsbNyz)

In June 2018, AHPP convened in Beijing two conferences related to these projects. Discussions centered on chronic disease control in India and China and on China's family doctor system, primary care, and health-care reforms. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2OHiGDO](https://stanford.io/2OHiGDO)



ABOVE: AHPP director Karen Eggleston visits the Zhejiang Provincial Center for Disease Control and Prevention.



## Workforce Mobility in a Global Context: Studying Talent Flows and Diversity in the Knowledge Economy

ABOVE: Students speak with Tsinghua University's Wang Tianfu (left) and Stanford's Charles Lee (right) at the September 2018 Asia-Pacific Innovation conference.

The mobility of skilled workers is critical to enhancing productivity, and the ability to maintain and develop a talent pool is key to competing globally. How do the leading economies in the Asia-Pacific region respond to the growing need to incorporate foreign talent? What should less-developed countries do to be competitive in the war for global talent? And how do Asian countries that undergo demographic changes due to internationalization and labor migration grapple with the social integration of ethnic minorities and cultural diversity policies?

These are some of the questions that Gi-Wook Shin, director of Shorenstein APARC and of the Korea Program, has set out to study in two distinct but interrelated, collaborative research projects. The Talent Flows, Brain Hubs, and Socioeconomic Development in Asia project investigates high-skilled talent flows within and across the Asia-Pacific region and their potential policy implications. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2MTZcJm](https://stanford.io/2MTZcJm)

The Migration, Cultural Diversity, and Tolerance project explores migration and diversity challenges in Korea and greater Asia. It focuses on migration policies and diversity programs and policies of universities, corporations, and governments, and on their impact on innovation and creativity.

[READ MORE // stanford.io/2MT9WYy](https://stanford.io/2MT9WYy)

*The most concrete impact of artificial intelligence on the labor market may be first felt not here in the United States but in the Philippines, as chatbots replace call centers in Manila.*

Yong Suk Lee, deputy director, Korea Program



## Visiting Expert Explores Political Behavior and Institutions in Vietnam

The Lee Kong Chian Visiting Fellowship on Southeast Asia is part of a joint initiative established in 2007 by the National University of Singapore and Stanford. It aims to raise the visibility, extent, and quality of research on contemporary Southeast Asia. At Stanford, the infrastructure for research is provided by the Southeast Asia Program.

Paul Schuler, assistant professor at the University of Arizona's School of Government and Public Policy, joined the Center as a Lee Kong Chian Fellow for 2018. During his fellowship, Schuler is completing a book that compares the evolution of particular Vietnamese political institutions to those in China. Schuler argues that the expansion of democratic forces in Vietnam is not always driven by soft-liners or reform-minded people wanting to open the institutions for democratic purposes. Rather, he sees this expansion as often driven by more conservative elements of authoritarian regimes that are looking to attack their more reform-minded rivals within the party.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2Q9NhcF](https://stanford.io/2Q9NhcF)

*The vast expertise on East Asia at Shorenstein APARC provides contextual knowledge that helps both inform the issues I'm working on and generate new research ideas.*

Paul Schuler, Lee Kong Chian Fellow on Southeast Asia, 2018



ABOVE: Visiting Lee Kong Chian fellow Paul Schuler is researching the evolution of political institutions in Vietnam.



*I was amazed to learn about the immense scope of the INDOPACOM exercise program. I now have a much greater appreciation for the importance of these exercises for military preparedness as well as for diplomacy and alliances.*

Rachel Hirshman, BS '18, MS '19,  
Global Policy Intern, 2018

## Global Policy Internships: Fostering the Next Generation of Asia Experts

In partnership with the Freeman Spogli Institute's Student Programs, Shorenstein APARC offers Stanford students multiple Global Policy Internships, summer-long internships that enable them to work on policy-relevant projects at prominent organizations in Asia and the United States. Many of these internships are sponsored by the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative, under the direction of Ambassador Karl Eikenberry. They emphasize faculty mentorship, provide a stipend, and are open to Stanford undergraduate and master's students from all majors.

This past summer, 18 students completed internships through the program. One student developed documentation that could improve the efficiency of military exercises by the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM). Another student worked on initiatives that will help bring more diverse scholars and experts to Beijing's Carnegie-Tsinghua Center.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2I4QXcP](https://stanford.io/2I4QXcP)



ABOVE: One of the Global Policy interns worked on documentation for INDOPACOM exercises. Here, Indonesian medical personnel learn airway management techniques aboard the USNS Mercy during Pacific Partnership 2018, a mission aimed at enhancing regional interoperability and disaster response capabilities.



## New Name for Affiliates Program



ABOVE: The 2017–18 cohort of the Global Affiliates Program came from a variety of government, industrial, and non-profit organizations.

APARC is committed to furthering U.S.-Asia collaborations, and our newly renamed Global Affiliates Program (formerly known as Corporate Affiliates Program) is at the heart of our efforts to do just that. Each year, the program hosts a cohort of qualified personnel nominated by our affiliate members, who send their talent to Stanford as visiting fellows for a year of research and enrichment. Fellows get involved in the many aspects of research and education at APARC and contribute to the intellectual exchange at the Center and the university at large. We value the long-standing relationships with our affiliate organizations and are delighted to welcome 21 Global Affiliate fellows for the 2018–19 academic year. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2IVjfa7](https://stanford.io/2IVjfa7)

### SHORENSTEIN APARC FACULTY COURSES

Our faculty teach courses through multiple Stanford departments, and the Center often sponsors team-taught, multidisciplinary classes that prepare students for deeper interactions with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

#### 2017–18 COURSES

**Economic Development and Challenges of East Asia** // *Yong Suk Lee*

**Global Trends: Anticipating the Future in Order to Shape It** // *Thomas Finger*

**Health and Healthcare Systems in East Asia** // *Karen Eggleston*

**Japan and the World: Innovation, Economic Growth, Globalization, and International Security Challenges**

// *Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Lipsky*

**Political Economy of Reform in China** // *Jean Oi*

**The Political Economy of China** // *Andrew Walder*

**The United States, China, and Global Security** // *Karl Eikenberry*

[COMPLETE LIST OF COURSES // stanford.io/2Dm51Qk](https://stanford.io/2Dm51Qk)



ABOVE: “The United States, China, and Global Security,” taught by USASI director and former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan Karl Eikenberry, uses the Highly Immersive Classroom to teach simultaneously at Stanford and SCPKU.

# Uncovering the Proliferation of Cigarette Production in China and the Foundations of the Global Smoking Epidemic



A common mythology is that cigarette smoking is yesterday's problem. In *Poisonous Pandas: Chinese Cigarette Manufacturing in Critical Historical Perspectives*, however, Stanford Associate Professor of Anthropology Matthew Kohrman and his co-authors reveal why the cigarette epidemic is today's greatest health calamity and explain how transnational tobacco companies and their allies have fueled a tripling of the world's annual consumption of cigarettes over the last 50 years. At the forefront is China, the world's largest manufacturer and consumer of cigarettes.

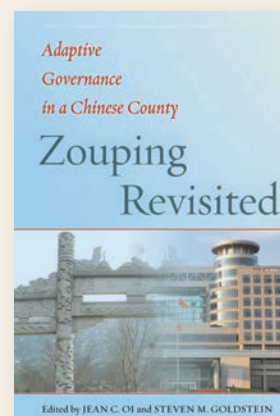
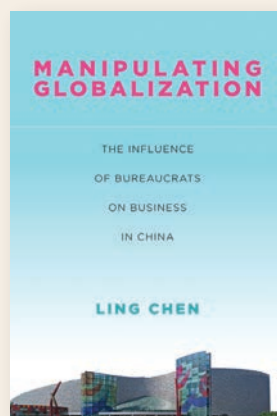
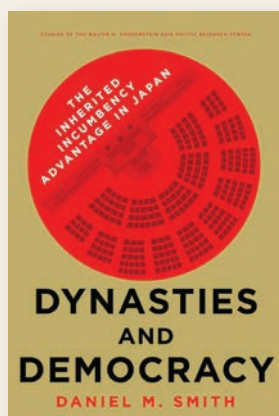
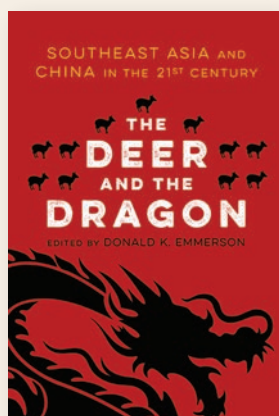
*Poisonous Pandas*, part of Shorenstein APARC's book series with Stanford University Press, assembles leading scholars from a variety of disciplines, from both inside and outside China, who investigate the proliferation of cigarette manufacturing amidst the public health condemnation of smoking and uncover new policy-relevant knowledge about how the greatest health crisis of our day may be quashed. With this book, the authors aim to nurture a new area of historical research in China, critical industry studies of tobacco, and to spark a vibrant critical consciousness regarding the tobacco industry that extends well beyond the academy.

*Why go so big and broad on production? At issue is simultaneously a central plank in public health and all those people who are regularly imperiled by tobacco smoke worldwide. More to the point, at issue is whether tobacco prevention continues to inch along shackled by ill design.*

Matthew Kohrman, associate professor, Department of Anthropology

## RECENT AND UPCOMING TITLES

The Center publishes its own books, distributed by Brookings Institution Press, publishes through Stanford University Press the series "Studies of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center," and Center faculty and researchers publish extensively in journals and scholarly/trade presses.







## Formulating Policy Responses to the Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea

The Southeast Asia Program, led by Donald K. Emmerson, continues to pay priority attention to the complex disputes over sovereignty in the South China Sea. January 2018 saw the publication of the report *ASEAN @ 50, Southeast Asia @ Risk: What Should Be Done?*, the outcome of a preceding workshop that addressed pressing problems facing Southeast Asian nations and that produced specific policy recommendations, many of which focused on the South China Sea imbroglio. SEAP and USASI prepared this program and publication jointly with multiple partners.

SEAP also sponsored a series of presentations by experts from the United States and Asia on the situation in the South China Sea and related policy issues. Meanwhile Emmerson has written opinion pieces, contributed analysis, and conducted field research on the disputed waterway in various journals, conferences, and venues including Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and Washington, DC. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2xIdJSO](https://stanford.io/2xIdJSO)

*For several years, Washington has watched Beijing turn the South China Sea into a Chinese lake. Impunity has benefited the pace of appropriation, and already some analysts have concluded the game is over.*

Donald K. Emmerson, director, SEAP



TOP: SEAP director Donald K. Emmerson has written extensively on South China Sea disputes. ABOVE: The ASEAN @ 50, Southeast Asia @Risk workshop resulted in a list of 24 individual policy recommendations for regional security, regional economy, and regional institutions.

## Confronting the Obstacles to the U.S.-Japan Alliance and to Taiwan's Security



The U.S.-Asia Security Initiative, led by Ambassador Karl Eikenberry, is forging ahead with its commitment to advancing a discourse on contemporary Indo-Asia-Pacific security issues and actionable policy recommendations to enhance U.S. alliances with Asian counterparts. USASI and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation co-hosted the second meeting of the U.S.-Japan Security and Defense Dialogue Series in Tokyo. The workshop engaged senior policymakers, military leaders, scholars, and regional experts in frank discussions of the challenges facing the security alliance, especially in light of changing conditions in East Asia. A policy brief is available online.

READ MORE // [stanford.io/2DkKYls](https://stanford.io/2DkKYls)

USASI's Taiwan Democracy and Security Project dedicated its annual conference to Taiwan's place in East Asia's evolving security environment. Experts in economic, diplomatic, and security issues from the United States, Taiwan, and elsewhere in Asia considered the

obstacles to and opportunities for greater multilateral cooperation on Taiwan's security challenges. Participants formulated recommendations for steps that Taiwan and its partners could take to enhance regional security relationships. View the policy brief online. READ MORE // [stanford.io/2pqGAHI](https://stanford.io/2pqGAHI)

*The U.S.-Japan Security and Defense Dialogue Series continues to be an excellent venue for the United States and Japan to explore ways to achieve the shared goal of maintaining peace and prosperity in the region.* Karl Eikenberry, director, USASI



INSET: Kharis Templeman (right), manager of the Taiwan Democracy Project at USASI, accompanies former president Ma Ying-jeou during a visit to Stanford in April. ABOVE: Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force destroyers JS Makinami and JS Inazuma with guided-missile cruisers USS Bunker Hill and USS Preble transit the Western Pacific in November 2017.





*If you look broadly at the India-China relationship, it's a textbook case of how improvements in economic relations and improvements in trade do not necessarily lead to improvements in political relations.* Siddharth Varadarajan, recipient of the 16th annual Shorenstein Journalism Award

## Siddharth Varadarajan Wins Shorenstein Journalism Award

TOP: Siddharth Varadarajan, founding editor of *The Wire*, received the Shorenstein Journalism Award for his "insightful reporting and analysis of strategic policy issues," in the words of jury member Nayan Chanda.

The U.S.-India-China triangular relationship has been thrown into sharp relief by recent power shifts. A bolder China seeks to assert its supremacy in Asia, potentially placing itself in direct opposition to both India and the United States. Yet as Indian officials apprehensively watch China's rise, they prefer to avoid choosing sides between Washington and Beijing.

This idea marked the keynote address by Siddharth Varadarajan, founding editor of *The Wire* and former editor of *The Hindu*, who was awarded the 2017 Shorenstein Journalism Award for his record of excellence in reporting on India's domestic and foreign affairs in both traditional and new media. In his analysis of the U.S.-India-China triangle Varadarajan highlighted recent changes effected by President Xi Jinping, India's departure from the so-called Nehruvian consensus, and the unpredictability of U.S. foreign and trade policies under the Trump presidency.

Varadarajan was joined at the award panel discussion by Thomas Fingar, Shorenstein APARC Fellow, and Nayan Chanda, jury member for the award. Fingar predicted that the Indian economy would significantly shape the triangular relationship over the next decade and emphasized the importance of depicting correctly its underlying geopolitical dimensions of interdependence.

The Shorenstein Journalism Award recognizes both American journalists whose work has helped audiences understand the complexities of Asia and Asian journalists at the forefront of the battle for press freedom in their home countries.

In November 2018, APARC will honor the 2018 journalism award recipient, Anna Fifield, the Beijing bureau chief for *The Washington Post*.

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## Annual Events and Conferences



*The Oksenberg  
Conference/Lecture  
April 5, 2018*

**ZOUPING REVISITED:  
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY  
IN A CHINESE COUNTY**

The Oksenberg Lecture, honoring the legacy of Professor Michel Oksenberg, recognizes distinguished individuals who have helped to advance understanding between the United States and the nations of the Asia-Pacific; on occasion it is expanded to a workshop to allow scholars and policymakers to convene and discuss the role of China in today's world. This year's conference celebrated the publication of *Zouping Revisited* and assembled a panel of China specialists with deep personal and scholarly connections to Zouping County.

*The Tenth Annual  
Koret Workshop  
April 20, 2018*

**NORTH KOREA 2020**

The Koret Workshop annually brings together an international panel of experts in Korean affairs. In light of the rapidly changing circumstances on the Korean Peninsula, from the brink of war to a "new beginning," the aim of this year's conference was to examine all possible options for dealing with North Korea, from military intervention, containment, or sanctions to diplomatic engagement.

*The Shorenstein  
Journalism Award Panel*  
**INDIA, THE UNITED STATES,  
AND CHINA: THE  
NEW TRIANGLE IN ASIA**

The Shorenstein Journalism Award is annually presented to a journalist who has produced outstanding reporting on Asia and has contributed significantly to Western understanding of the region. The 2017 awardee was Siddharth Varadarajan, founding editor of *The Wire* (see page 19 for full details).

ABOVE LEFT: Andrew Walder speaks at the April 2018 Oksenberg Conference, which focused on academic fieldwork in Zouping and the insights it has provided on 40 years of Chinese reform. ABOVE RIGHT: Speaking at a Korean Program seminar, Jane Yeonjae Lee discussed how returning migrants transfer knowledge and skills.



## Select Events, 2017–18



Shorenstein APARC and its programs hosted nearly 100 seminars, colloquia, conferences, and workshops, serving as a gathering place for leaders from academia, business, government, and the social sector to examine policy-relevant topics of mutual importance to the United States and Asian nations.

**The AIIB After Two Years** // Jin Liqun

**Assessing the Effectiveness of Alliance Responses to Regional and Global Threats** // USASI U.S.-Japan Security and Defense Dialogue

**Break Through: Women in Silicon Valley, Womenomics in Japan** // Japan Program conference

**Confronting Climate Change** // The Abe Fellows Global Forum

**Disease Control and Big Data Platforms for Health Policy in China** // Zhong Jieming

**The Future of Asia: Voices from Asia's Next Generation** // SEAP panel discussion

**Hate Spin: Disinformation Campaigns and Identity Politics in Asia** // Cherian George

**Incentivizing Restraint in the South China Sea** // Chin-Hao Huang

**Lee Shau Kee World Leaders Forum: The U.S. and the Asia-Pacific** // Karl Eikenberry, Thomas Fingar, Michael McFaul, Kathleen Stephens, Yu Tiejun, and Zhu Feng

**North Korea's Trajectory: A Dangerous Path to Self-destruction?** // Kim Sook, former South Korean ambassador to the UN

**Park Chung Hee and Modern Korea: The Roots of Militarism, 1866–1945** // Carter Eckert

**The Political Economy of Japan under the Abe Government** // Japan Program conference

**Reform Contradictions Facing China's New Leadership** // Yukon Huang

**Two Neighbors: India and China—an Indian Perspective** // Nirupama Rao, former Indian foreign secretary

**The U.S. and North Korea: What Lies Ahead?** // Joseph Yun, former U.S. special representative for North Korea policy

**The U.S.-Indian Partnership: A Linchpin for Asian Peace and Prosperity** // Richard Verma, former U.S. ambassador to India

**U.S.-China Rivalry and the Origins of Taiwan's Developmental State** // James Lee

ABOVE: Audience members listen to Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank president Jin Liqun assess the bank's first two years and its future.

## SUPPORTING SHORENSTEIN APARC

Shorenstein APARC's achievements in promoting education, knowledge, and dialogue about topical issues pertinent to Asia and U.S.-Asia relations would not be possible without the partnership of our valued friends and supporters.

Together, we have accomplished a great deal. But we need your help to continue the momentum. Our mission has never been more urgent than today, when Asia plays an increasingly important role on the global stage and is critical to U.S. and international interests. We hope you join us.

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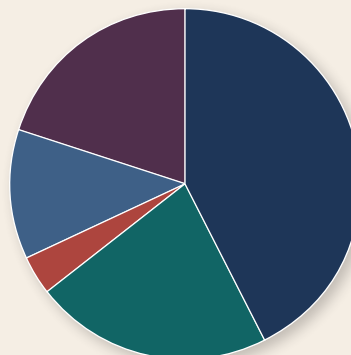
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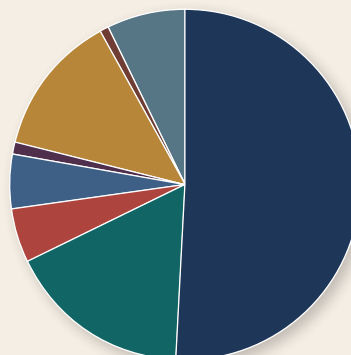
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Gifts	1,590,812	24%
Grants	235,161	4%
Income	844,044	13%
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External Department Support (transfer out)	(687,878)	-11%
<b>Net Revenue:</b>	<b>\$6,513,819</b>	<b>100%</b>



### EXPENSES

Faculty, Research, and Administrative Staff Salaries	\$3,082,096	51%
Fringe Benefits	1,009,642	17%
Indirect Costs	314,858	5%
Postdoctoral Scholars and Visiting Scholars	327,235	5%
Student Support	36,990	1%
Conferences, Workshops, and Research Travel	777,098	13%
Research Materials and Other Research Expenses	70,430	1%
Operations, Materials, and Services	416,865	7%
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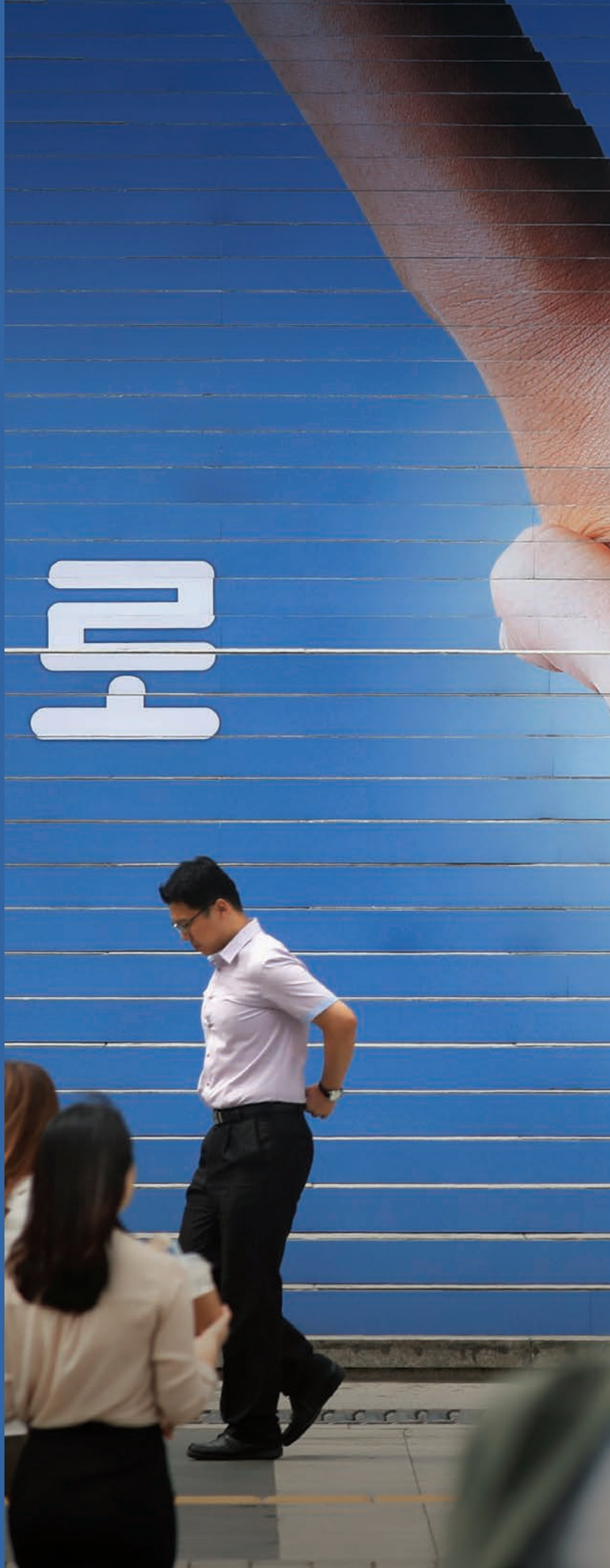
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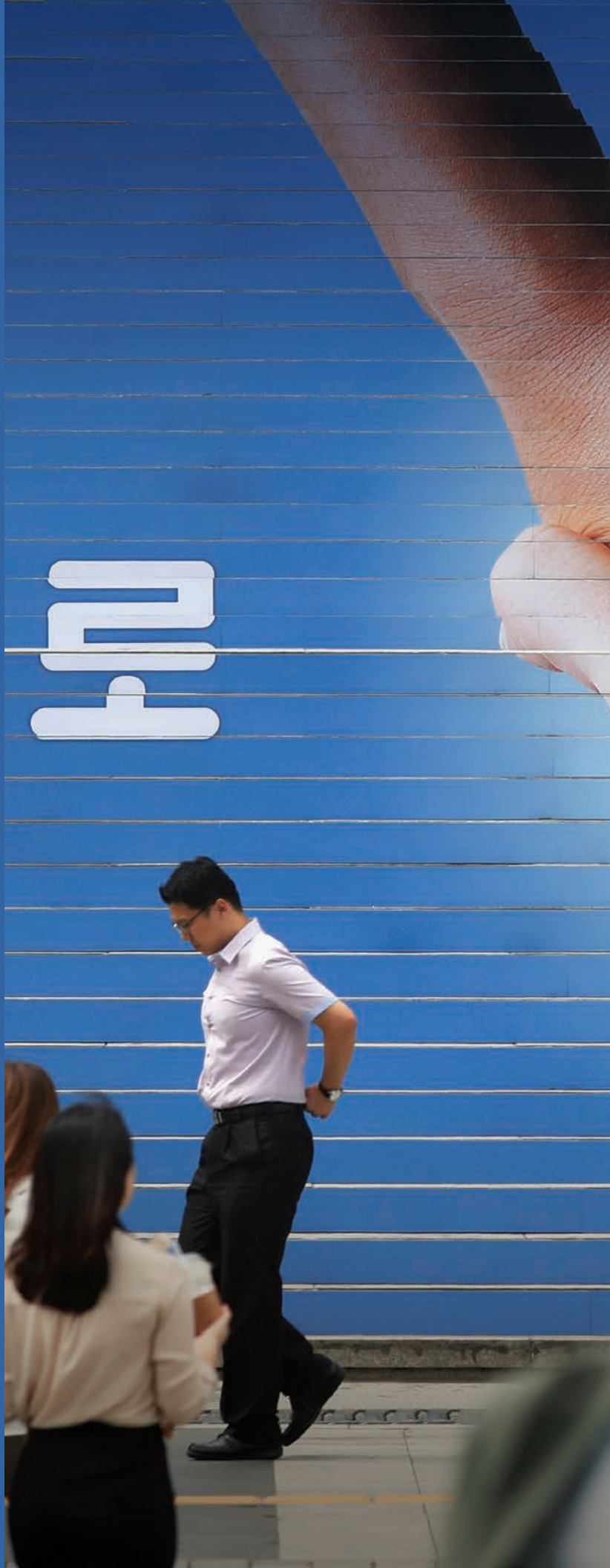
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