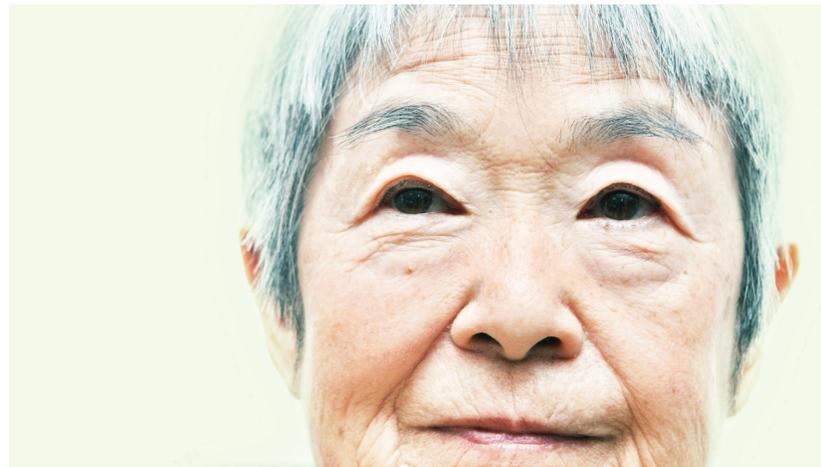


THE STANFORD KYOTO TRANS-ASIAN DIALOGUE

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN EAST ASIA: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS

FINAL REPORT | NOVEMBER 2011



The Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue 2011:

Demographic Change in East Asia:
Economic, Social, and Security Implications

Final Report

With generous support from

The City Of Kyoto

Freeman Spogli Institute For International Studies
(FSI), Stanford University

Yumi and Yasunori Kaneko

November 2011

REPORT CONTENTS

Executive Summary	5
Agenda	7
2011 Stanford Kyoto Dialogue Final Report	9
Participants by Country	22
About the Participants	25

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Japan leads, chased closely by South Korea, with China, on a vastly larger scale, not far behind. Not as mercantilist development states nor as threats to America's high-tech industry, but rather as the world's most rapidly aging societies.

A wave of unprecedented demographic change is sweeping across East Asia. The region is at the forefront of a trend towards longer life expectancy and declining birthrates, which, combined, yield a striking rate of aging. Japan already confronts a shrinking population. Korea is graying even more quickly. And although China is projected to grow for another few decades, demographic change races against economic development. Could China become the first country to grow old before growing rich? In Southeast Asia, Singapore also confronts a declining birthrate and an aging society. Increasingly, Asia's aging countries look to its younger societies, such as Vietnam, Indonesia, and India, as sources of migrant labor and even wives. Those countries in turn face their own demographic challenges, such as how to educate their youth for a globally competitive economy.

Held September 8–9, 2011 in Kyoto, Japan, the third Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue focused on demographic change in the region and its implications across a wide range of areas, including economies, societies, and security. Asia's experience offers both lessons and warnings for North America and Europe, which face similar problems. Questions addressed included:

- What are the interrelationships between population aging and key macroeconomic variables such as economic growth, savings rates, and public and private intergenerational transfers?
- How and why do policy responses to population aging differ in Japan, South Korea, and across different regions of China?
- What are the effects of demographic change on national institutions such as employment practices, pension and welfare systems, and financial systems?
- What policies can or should be pursued to influence future outcomes?
- How will demographic change affect security in the Asia-Pacific region?
- How have patterns of migration impacted society and culture in East Asia, in comparative perspective?
- How will demographic change influence the movement of people across the region and the prevalence of multicultural families?
- What lessons can Asia, the United States, and Europe learn from each other to improve the policy response to population aging?

The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC) established the Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue in 2009 to facilitate conversation about current Asia-Pacific issues with far-reaching global implications. Scholars from Stanford University and various Asian countries start each session of the two-day event with stimulating presentations followed by engaging, off-the-record discussion. Each Dialogue closes with a public symposium and reception, and a final report is published on the Shorenstein APARC website: <http://aparc.stanford.edu/research/skd>.

Previous Dialogues have brought together a diverse range of experts and opinion leaders from Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, India, Australia, and the United States. The first Dialogue examined the global environmental and economic impacts of energy usage in Asia and the United States. It also explored the challenges posed by competition for resources and the possibilities for cooperating to develop sustainable forms of energy and better consumption practices. Last year's Dialogue considered the question of building an East Asian Community similar in concept to the European Union. Participants discussed existing organizations, such as ASEAN and APEC, and the economic, policy, and security implications of creating an integrated East Asia regional structure.

The annual Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue is made possible through the generosity of the City of Kyoto, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University, and Yumi and Yasunori Kaneko.

AGENDA

Wednesday, September 7, 2011

Participants Arrive

6:30 p.m.–8:00 p.m. **Reception for participants (Westin Miyako, Minori-no-ma)**

Thursday, September 8, 2011

Dialogue Day One

9:15 a.m. **Welcome**

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

9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m. **Session 1: Comparative Demographics and Policy Responses**

Shripad Tuljapurkar, Director, Center for Population Research, Stanford University

Ogawa Naohiro, Director, Nihon University Population Research Institute

12:45 p.m.–1:45 p.m. **Lunch (on-site restaurant)**

2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. **Session 2: Macroeconomic Implications**

Masahiko Aoki, Senior Fellow, FSI, Stanford University

Cai Fang, Director, Institute of Population and Labor Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

6:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m. **Dinner and Remarks (Westin Miyako, Houou-no-ma)**

Shin Kak-soo, Ambassador to Japan, Republic of Korea

Friday, September 9, 2011

Dialogue Day Two

9:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. **Session 3: Labor and Migration**

Scott Rozelle, Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow, FSI, Stanford University

Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh, President, Tri Viet University

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. **Bento lunch (Meeting Room 1)**

Research Project Presentation: “Aging Asia”

Karen Eggleston, Director, Asia Health Policy Program, Stanford University

1:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m. **Session 4: Security**

Michael Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Yu Myung Hwan, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea

5:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m. **Public Symposium and Panel Discussion (Event Hall)**

Moderator: Masahiko Aoki

Panelists: Cai Fang, Karen Eggleston, Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh, Oizumi Keiichiro, and Yu Myung Hwan

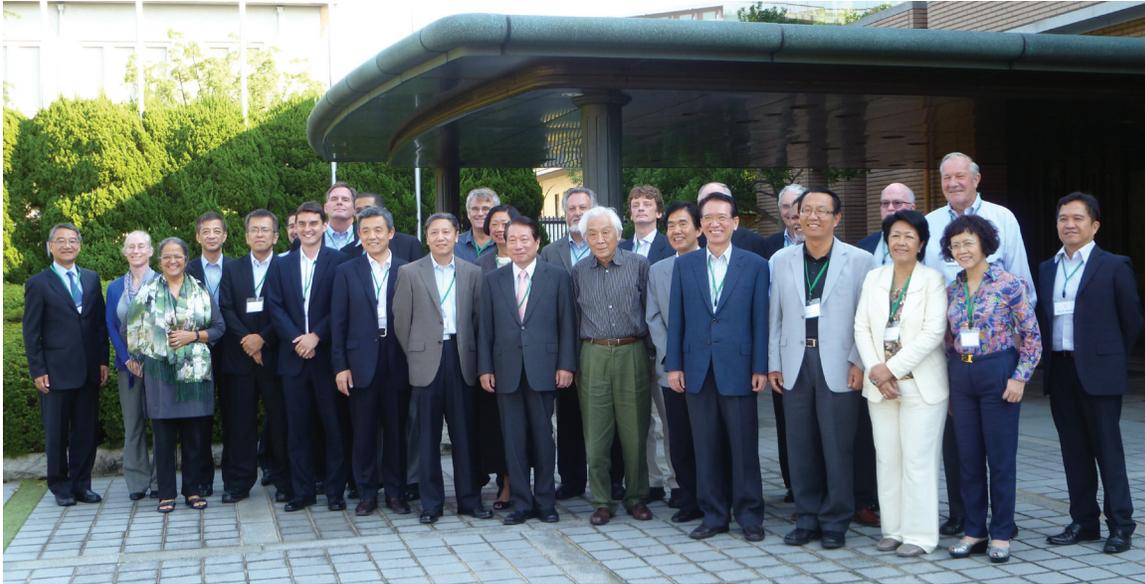
6:45 p.m.–8:00 p.m. **Closing Reception**

Saturday, September 10, 2011

Optional Activity: Tour of Kyoto



2011 STANFORD KYOTO DIALOGUE FINAL REPORT



Participants and observers from the 2011 Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue gather for a group picture in front of the Kyoto International Community House.

Session 1: Comparative Demographics and Policy Responses

- » **Shripad Tuljapurkar**, Director, Center for Population Research, Stanford University
- » **Ogawa Naohiro**, Director, Nihon University Population Research Institute

Opening presenters Shripad Tuljapurkar and Ogawa Naohiro set the stage for the Dialogue. Focusing on the economic impact of growing numbers of elderly and a shrinking workforce, they presented Japan's greatest demographic challenge as a case study for the rest of the world. Tuljapurkar and Ogawa suggested that Japan's policy responses in the coming years, especially in terms of labor, offer lessons as a similar phenomenon unfolds in other countries.

How long does Japan have before its population drops by 25 percent? Tuljapurkar, director of the Stanford Center for Population Research, calculated that the Japanese government has a window of 37 years—1.5 generations—to determine the potential ramifications of this dramatic decline and to act. In many other countries, the phenomenon is unfolding more rapidly than commonly understood, he said. China's policymakers, for example, have just two generations before facing a similar situation.

What is the greatest potential economic impact and what can be done to offset it?

Tuljapurkar explained that a reduced workforce challenges GDP growth, since fewer people are available to contribute to economic activities. In Japan's case, the economy is particularly strained with a growing number of elderly citizens depending on familial and government support. Modifying labor policies could offer relief to the economy, he suggested, with possible options including increasing the retirement age and encouraging greater female participation in the labor force.

Tuljapurkar went on to ask whether a completely new way of looking at labor might even be needed, such as creating policies to welcome immigrant workers. Were such policies implemented, he stressed, it would be essential for Japan's government to create laws to insure migrant rights.

Choosing to delay marriage and the inability to find a spouse are two major contributing factors to Japan's low fertility rate, said Ogawa Naohiro, director of the Nihon University Population Research Institute. In addition, couples deciding to have few—or even no—children pushes the rate down even further. The governments of Japan and countries facing similar drops in fertility such as Taiwan and Korea, he explained, have responded proactively with policies to promote marital fertility. In Korea, for example, after hitting the world's lowest fertility rate in 2005, the government enacted numerous policy measures, more recently emphasizing work-life balance.



Ogawa Naohiro speaks about Japan's unprecedented fertility decline.

How successful are these pro-natal policies? Taiwan, for example, has experienced some modest spikes on its fertility rate graph, but the measures in all countries are hampered by economic constraints, and the old age factor remains an important policy issue. Looking at Japan, Ogawa explained how elderly citizens tend to support their children well into adulthood, and the majority do not require financial assistance until close to age 80. Through their savings, they are actually helping to cover economic deficits, he said. The crux of the issue is therefore how to best engage elderly citizens in society for the duration of their long, healthy lives and to provide reliable support for them as they begin to require assistance.

Bearing in mind the ebb and flow of economics and the overall uncertainty of public support, Ogawa closed his presentation by stressing the importance of good financial planning education for individuals and families—not only in Japan but also across all of Asia.

As participants discussed the presentations, nearly as many questions were raised as measures were proposed. It quickly became clear, as one Southeast Asian scholar emphasized, that demographic change is deeply complex and multifaceted. Social thinking, economic factors, and policy responses are entangled threads in the demographic puzzle. As one Japanese expert pointed out: “Demographics shift quickly, but social thinking can also shift quickly.”



Shripad Tuljapurkar responds to questions during the discussion session.

The causes of fertility decline and possible policy responses dominated the conversation, with several participants emphasizing the cost of raising children as a critical factor. One participant from China asked about other reasons: “Do people just not want to have children? Are there urban-rural differences?” He also noted that while most countries have policies to encourage fertility, China’s own policy for the past several decades has been to control it—although many people have continued to find ways to have children despite it. Numerous participants also spoke of the link between changing marriage trends and fertility. Some, however, pointed to higher incidences of birth outside of marriage, suggesting that marriage and fertility are not intrinsically bound together.

In response to the several questions about successful pro-natal policy models from other countries, a Stanford expert spoke of measures in Sweden in the 1980s that allowed women up to two years of work leave after giving birth. He noted that after the policies were cut back due to economic decline, fertility fell accordingly. Another Stanford participant asked whether non-European models from economies more closely resembling those of Asia should be examined.

Throughout the duration of the conversation, participants continued to stress the multidimensionality of Asia’s demographic transition and the need for better-nuanced policies. Speaking of pro-natal policy, an Indian scholar said that the critical element in Sweden’s success in the 1980s was that it did not simply provide financial incentives for having children, but it also protected the careers that its female citizens had worked for and valued. Like other participants, she also stressed the need to look at in-country variations, such as women’s status and sex preference across different domestic regions.

Session 2: Macroeconomic Implications

- » Masahiko Aoki, Senior Fellow, FSI
- » Cai Fang, Director, Institute of Population and Labor Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Economists Masahiko Aoki and Cai Fang dealt during the second session with the macroeconomic impacts of Asia's demographic change. Aoki looked more broadly at the span of economic and institutional developments in East Asia across the past 100 years, while Cai examined labor-related trends in China during recent decades.

When Europe's industrial revolution took off during the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries, the pace of economic growth was so great that it left what development economists call a "great divergence" between the economies of Europe and Asia, explained FSI senior fellow Masahiko Aoki. As industrialization proceeded, a demographic shift from rural agricultural areas to urban manufacturing sectors drove economic growth. In contrast, agricultural employment predominated in Japan until the late-nineteenth century, and in Korea and China until the 1950s.

That gap has greatly narrowed. The governments of these countries played a major role in driving the shift toward industrialization, with transformations in East Asian political institutions driving economic and demographic change. Significant bursts of economic growth occurred in Japan from the 1950s, Korea from the 1970s, and China from the 1980s, directly fueled by a large labor supply.

Aoki further described the different stages of development in East Asia, explaining that after high-growth periods, the cost of human capital increases, fertility rates decline, and the aging trend sets in. Considering the next development phase, he cited a 2009 *Nature* magazine article, "Babies Make a Comeback," by Dialogue participant and presenter Shripad Tuljapurkar, that proposed a fertility rebound may be the next demographic trend around the corner.

As Aoki stressed, whatever demographic changes the future holds, the role of government institutions in creating or modifying policies to help ease the transition is crucial. He suggested focusing in the coming decades on policies that allow women to balance work and family life, and that provide more support for the needs of elderly citizens.

Focusing next on the issue of China's shrinking workforce, Cai Fang, director of the Institute of Population and Labor Economics at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, emphasized that China's fertility rate has dropped dramatically, to below-replacement levels. He noted that population decline set in as early as 30 years ago—even before China put its one-child policy into place—and that fertility rates have remained slightly higher in rural areas.



Masahiko Aoki (left) and Cai Fang presenting at the Dialogue's public forum.

China's economic advantage to date has hinged largely on its having a large labor force to meet global demands for low-cost manufacturing, Cai explained. Such jobs are especially clustered in eastern coastal urban areas, attracting millions of rural residents over the years and skewing the urban-rural socioeconomic balance. China's central and western regions have been especially impacted, and workers returning home after an urban sojourn often struggle to find employment.

China is at a turning point. If it wants to sustain its economic growth and reduce social inequality, it must rethink its population, economic, and labor policies, stressed Cai. He cited statistics predicting that China's trade surplus could drop by 50 percent within five years and that GDP growth will slow down. As a possible measure, he proposed moving factories westward and encouraging development away from the coast to bring jobs and a better standard of living to the areas where it is most needed.

Participants spent most of the dialogue session sharing views and expressing concerns about China's impending labor transition, which an Australian scholar described as one of the country's greatest potential policy challenges. A Stanford expert on economics suggested that China, in fact, has two completely different economies, with coastal area economies resembling those of middle-income countries. This led to a reflective discussion of whether China would become "trapped" in a middle stage of economic development, or if it would be able to compete with a global shift toward knowledge-based industries.

Another Stanford scholar stressed that the labor and economic situation in China's interior rural areas is not entirely dire. She spoke, for example, of large-scale commercial agriculture projects in the west that have created job opportunities. A participant from Southeast Asia also offered success stories from the Vietnamese countryside, saying that "the rural-urban exodus is not irreversible." She described an innovative telecom

project utilizing the army's well-established communications infrastructure that has provided inexpensive, reliable mobile telephone service to the majority of the country's rural inhabitants. Families in the countryside are also gaining modest wealth through investment in land and small trade, provided with the resources to do so in part by remittances from overseas relatives.

In discussing the economic impact of fertility decline, a Korean participant acknowledged that it is a "long-term issue." He, however, spoke optimistically of the future possibilities to achieve higher productivity with a smaller workforce. Technological advances in manufacturing, for example, reduce the need for a large number of employees. In addition, he suggested, a country's shift to a knowledge-based economy—and thus less physically challenging work—allows people to participate longer in the workforce as they age.

Session 3: Labor and Migration

- » Scott Rozelle, Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow, FSI, Stanford University
- » Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh, President, Tri Viet University

Picking up where the first day's presenters left off, Scott Rozelle and Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh transitioned into a deeper look at the links between labor and migration. Rozelle brought the discussion of China's rural-urban divide to life with photos and data from Stanford's Rural Education Action Project, of which he is co-director. Ninh highlighted the ever-growing implications, challenges, and opportunities that migration has for labor policy in Asia.

To remain globally competitive, China must invest even more than it already has in human capital, stressed Rozelle, who is also FSI's Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow. He described how, by 2008, 90 percent of agricultural families in China had one child working away from the farm, when 30 years earlier that rate was only 4 percent. The high demand for unskilled manufacturing labor has driven up China's wages, and the allure of a better life in the city is draining rural villages of their youth—especially young men.

China's ability to supply millions of workers for low-cost manufacturing has helped it to get ahead for several decades—but now what? If the government wants to move the country out of the "middle-income trap," then it must reindustrialize as a knowledge-based economy as Korea did in the 1970s and 80s, Rozelle stated. The difference, however, is that virtually 100 percent of Korea's labor force had a high school degree, while a large number of China's rural youth drop out after middle school. The challenges that rural students face in trying to stay competitive with the national education system do not

reinforce the value of staying in school—especially when they can earn relatively well in manufacturing, he said.

Rozelle pointed to Mexico’s situation during and after the 1990s peso crisis, when millions of unemployed workers joined gangs or left the country. To avoid such a future, he emphasized the need for China to redress basic issues of urban-rural inequality, beginning with the underlying causes for poor educational performance: issues of health and nutrition. By investing more in simple solutions, the government can wipe out many basic problems such as intestinal worms, nearsightedness, and anemia. And by starting right now, he said, China has a good chance of improving the value of its human capital

Research Project Presentation: “Aging Asia”

» **Karen Eggleston**, Asia Health Policy Program Director, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

Two years ago, Shorenstein APARC and the Global Aging Program at the Stanford Center on Longevity co-organized the conference *Aging Asia: Economic and Social Implications of Rapid Demographic Change in China, Japan, and Korea*. The event resulted in the publication of an edited volume of the same name, and provided the foundation for an innovative three-year research project launched by Shorenstein APARC in January 2011.

Asia Health Policy Program director Karen Eggleston, who leads the project, outlined its primary research questions during a working lunch session. Similar to the theme of the Dialogue, the project is examining the political, economic, and social aspects of demographic change in the Asia-Pacific region with a special focus on East Asia. The international group of scholars and experts involved with the project are considering such questions as:

- How will national and social identities transform as population aging strains traditions of filial piety and immigration disrupts ethnic homogeneity?
- Will the economies of East Asia languish, or will a “second demographic dividend” spur renewed economic growth?
- How have individuals, families, communities, and policymakers responded to demographic change? How should they?

Eggleston also described other research currently underway at Shorenstein APARC that is related to the demographic transition, including a project that has contributed data about China’s intergenerational economic flows to the National Transfer of Accounts project and a study on healthy aging and inequality in China.

and remaining economically competitive on the regional and global levels.

Among the many types of migration, the number of people traversing the globe each year due to work is second only to the volume of tourism-related travel. And the trend is not only outward, said Tri Viet University president Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh. People are moving across countries and regions—and homeward. While the majority of Asian immigrants fill a demand for unskilled employment, countries like Japan, the Philippines, Korea, and Taiwan also send forth a large number of highly trained workers who work in fields like healthcare, engineering, and IT. Since the 1990s, the rate of migration within Asia has been steadily rising, Ninh stated.

Migration poses tremendous possibilities for alleviating labor imbalances due to low fertility and aging, Ninh proposed. For source countries, she explained, the movement of workers does not necessarily equal economic decline. In the case of many Southeast Asian countries, for example, family members living abroad often send back a significant amount of their earnings, helping to boost the domestic economy. Japan and Korea—the countries most affected by the fertility-aging issue—can benefit from an increased number of migrant workers, she proposed.

Migration, of course, is also deeply complex, stressed Ninh. She spoke of the 120,000



(Clockwise from left) Mayor of Kyoto Kadokawa Daisaku at the Dialogue reception; Karen Eggleston and Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh at the public symposium; Scott Rozelle makes a point in Session 3.



Andrew Walder (L) conferring with Nitin Pai.

Vietnamese migrant brides living in Taiwan, and of the large number also in Korea. Along with foreign workers, these women often face discrimination. As Tuljapurkar had stated during the first session, Ninh said that governments must consider long-term domestic and foreign policy measures to protect the rights of their inhabitants from abroad. Immigration is a trend that will only continue to grow, she emphasized, and countries have the opportunity to embrace the “exciting and challenging” possibilities it offers.

During the productive and reflective discussion session, participants considered both the complexities of migration and China’s human capital challenges—especially in terms of education. A scholar from China raised the idea of creating adult education and training opportunities for older workers returning home to the countryside from urban factory jobs. He also stressed the importance of taking steps to reduce the rate of rural drop-outs. A Stanford scholar suggested that setting up an adult education system would prove difficult in China owing to the lack of precedent and the pressure of family-related time commitments.

Turning to the case of baby boomer-generation workers in Japan and Korea, a Japanese participant asked about the types of skills and training that they would require to work longer and to move into new types of employment. He emphasized the necessity of considering the needs of elderly workers, and the possible variations across countries experiencing different demographic dividend stages.

An expert from Korea then described the downside to human capital investment, stating that even when it is difficult to find employment, a large number of Korean college graduates will not concede to work in lower-skill jobs like manufacturing. To fill the need for factory workers, Korea must rely on migrant labor, he said.

A Stanford scholar described the tendency in Korea to view foreign workers as temporary and migrant brides as permanent, even to the point of government policies favoring the latter more. He stated that Korea’s “multiculturalism” policy is that in name only and that it actually tended more towards encouraging assimilation. As Korea and Japan will increasingly need to address the realities of immigration—such as multiethnic families—he asked whether these countries might need to consider different models suited to their specific cultural and social contexts.

Session 4: Security

- » Yu Myung Hwan, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea
- » Michael H. Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow, Shorenstein APARC, Stanford University

During the final afternoon session of the Dialogue, two former senior-level government officials from the United States and Korea came together to discuss the possible impact of demographic change on future security trends in Asia. Yu Myung Hwan and Michael H. Armacost emphasized that while the connections are perhaps not immediately obvious, trends such as aging would indeed change the face of security in the long run.

Yu, who previously served as Korea's minister of foreign affairs and trade, proposed a framework for thinking about security impacts in terms of three major areas of demographic transition: fertility, urbanization, and migration. He pointed to fertility decline as the single greatest demographic challenge facing the Asia-Pacific region, saying that it could ultimately change the way that countries configure their security forces and defense technologies. For example, rather than maintaining an army with a large number of troops for the possibility of a land war, countries could instead move toward relying more on air and water defense, and on technology.

Urbanization is rapidly spreading across the world, and Asia is no exception, said Yu. As of 2003 there were 23 megacities in Asia, a number likely to grow. The large population concentration in a megacity such as Seoul makes it more vulnerable to attack and difficult to evacuate, he explained. For a country already facing "growing pains," it also puts further pressure on a strained infrastructure and creates possible security challenges, such as anti-government protests. On the other side of things, however, urbanization has in many places reduced the strength of rural-based rebel movements.

Finally, coming back to the complex subject of migration, he described how under certain conditions it could create regional instability. Government-induced migration, he explained, could throw off the balance of a population and lead to a sense of marginalization, serving as a source of communal violence as it has in eastern Indonesia. Yu also re-emphasized, as other presenters and participants had throughout the Dialogue, the responsibility of governments to take migration policy seriously into account in their long-term planning.

Focusing his talk on Northeast Asia, Stanford's Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow Michael H. Armacost concurred with many of Yu's views and noted the current lack of literature on the link between demography and security. He suggested that the security impacts of Asia's demographic transition would be less direct than territorial disputes or nuclear weapons negotiations, and would emerge from issues surrounding ethnicity, urbanization, migration, fertility decline, and other areas. Like Yu, he foresees a future



(Clockwise from left) Michael H. Armacost; Ambassador Shin Kak-soo, Yu Myung Hwan, and Gi-Wook Shin at the reception; Hu Shuli commenting during one of the sessions.

shift in defense strategy from manpower to technology, and he described trends already under way in several countries.

Looking at Russia, for example, Armacost spoke of the double challenge of a declining fertility rate paired with an increasing adult mortality rate. He explained that the country no longer has the resources to maintain its traditionally large army and it is now faced with the prospect of cutting back the size of its forces. Armacost cautioned that Russia—and possibly other countries in the region—could move toward relying more on nuclear weapons, posing new challenges to discussions about global nuclear disarmament.

Building on an observation made by a Stanford participant earlier in the day, Armacost suggested that the continuing growth of the U.S. population and the winding down of current military campaigns will help buffer against any impact from aging on U.S. security. He stated the importance of maintaining a regional U.S. presence in the Asia-Pacific, but said that carefully scaling back and reconfiguring troops would be sustainable. In addition, he stressed the need for the United States to continue pursuing good relations with China and Russia during this time of change.

As the presentations transitioned into the final discussion session, the theme of the complex, multifaceted nature of demographic change again carried through the conversation. An Australian scholar described the upcoming decade as a “period of intense strategic uncertainty” and asked what types of institutions are best suited to meet security challenges. Whether concerns are met bilaterally, trilaterally, or through new institutional innovations, he said, any actions could have unexpected consequences and thus should be handled very carefully. A Stanford scholar suggested that financial resources would play a determining factor in any type of policy development. He proposed that in countries such as Japan and Korea, social welfare programs and defense would eventually have to

compete for government funding.

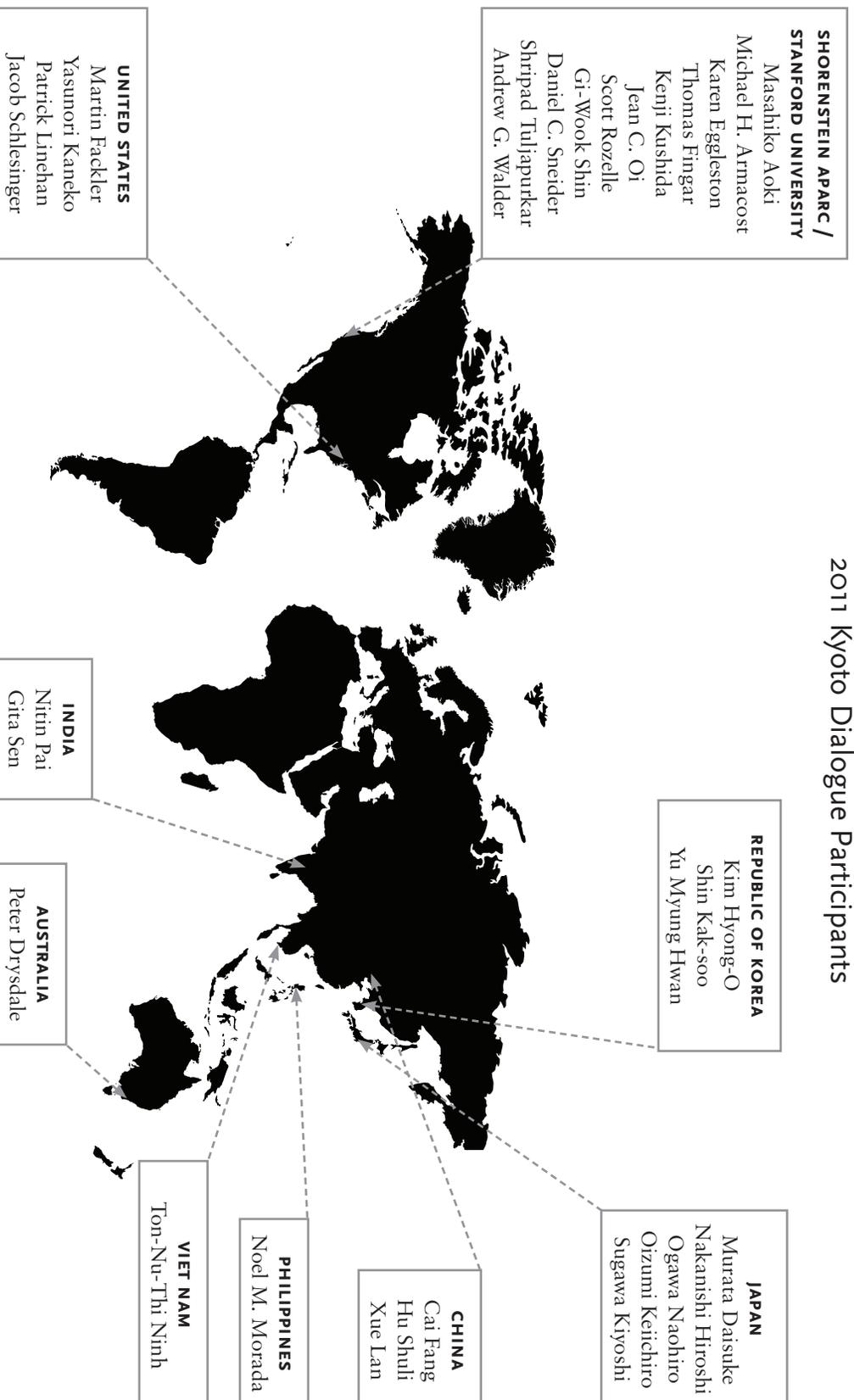
Other participants raised the issue of resources, planning, and security. A Japanese participant spoke of the recent disaster at the Fukushima nuclear complex and raised the question of government accountability. The future of nuclear energy in Japan is now under debate, he said, stressing that other countries should carefully consider the implications of such a disaster—however rare—occurring again. What would happen if it took place in a country without the resources to deal with it, he asked. He described the public outcry that has taken place against the government—especially by Japanese youth—following the Fukushima disaster.

Identity becomes tremendously important as societies transform, suggested a scholar from India. The security implications, however, do not always yield a negative effect. She spoke of a recent anti-corruption movement in India, one that is bringing together large numbers of young people from a broad cross section of economic backgrounds, who are questioning the changes that they see taking place. How the movement takes shape could have an impact on a national level, she suggested.

As in previous years, the event concluded with a lively and interactive public symposium and reception attended by students from Stanford and local universities in Kyoto, Shorenstein APARC guests and affiliates, and members of the general public. During the symposium, a panel of Dialogue participants led by Masahiko Aoki presented perspectives on demographic change from five different countries: the United States, China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan. Karen Eggleston first defined demographic change and highlighted the major issues facing Asia. Cai Fang next spoke of the impact of China's labor shortage on the country's economic growth. Yu Myung Hwan then described the South Korean government's policy efforts to address fertility decline. Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh followed with a discussion about the importance of embracing migration and also about finding ways to adapt employment to enable elderly citizens to work longer. Oizumi Keiichiro concluded with a description of the link between low fertility, marriage, and economics. Aoki followed up with questions for each of the panelists.

Speaking during the reception, Kadokawa Daisaku, mayor of Kyoto, and Kim Hyong-O, member and former speaker of the Korean National Assembly, acknowledged the significance of the Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue as a forum for addressing issues of mutual importance to the United States and Asia. The reception provided further ground for discussion as participants and audience members had a chance to speak with one another about the demographic change that will eventually impact us all.

2011 Kyoto Dialogue Participants



PARTICIPANTS BY COUNTRY (ALPHABETICALLY ORDERED)

AUSTRALIA

Peter Drysdale

*Emeritus Professor of Economics, Crawford School of Economics and Government,
Australian National University*

CHINA

Cai Fang

*Academician, and, Director, Institute of Population and Labor Economics,
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*

Hu Shuli

*Editor-in-Chief, Caixin Media; and Dean, School of Communication and Design,
Sun Yat-Sen University*

Xue Lan

Professor and Dean, School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University

INDIA

Nitin Pai

*Founder and Fellow for Geopolitics, Takshashila Institution; and Editor, Pragati —
The Indian National Interest Review*

Gita Sen

*Professor of Public Policy, Indian Institute of Management Bangalore; and Adjunct Professor of
Global Health and Population, Harvard School of Public Health*

JAPAN

Murata Daisuke

President and CEO, Murata Machinery, Ltd.

Nakanishi Hiroshi

Professor, Graduate School of Law, Kyoto University

Ogawa Naohiro

*Professor of Population Economics, College of Economics and Advanced Research Institute
for Sciences and Humanities, Nihon University; and Director, Nihon University
Population Research Institute*

Oizumi Keiichiro

Senior Economist, Economics Department, Japan Research Institute, Ltd.

Sugawa Kiyoshi

*Special Researcher, Cabinet Secretariat, Office of the Prime Minister, Japan; and Director and
Senior Researcher, Policy Research Committee, Democratic Party of Japan*

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Kim Hyong-O

Member and Former Speaker, National Assembly, Republic of Korea

Shin Kak-soo

Ambassador to Japan, Republic of Korea

Yu Myung Hwan

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea

PHILIPPINES

Noel M. Morada

Executive Director, Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland

UNITED STATES

Martin Fackler

Tokyo Bureau Chief, New York Times

Yasunori Kaneko

Managing Director, Skyline Ventures

Patrick Linehan

Consul-General, U.S. Consulate General, Osaka-Kobe

Jacob Schlesinger

Japan Editor-in-Chief, Wall Street Journal/Dow Jones Newswires, Tokyo Bureau

VIET NAM

Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh

President, Tri Viet University

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Masahiko Aoki

Henri and Tomoye Takahashi Professor Emeritus of Japanese Studies, Department of Economics; and Senior Fellow, FSI and Stanford Institute of Economic Policy Research

Michael H. Armacost

Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow, Shorenstein APARC

Karen Eggleston

Director, Asia Health Policy Program; Shorenstein APARC Center Fellow, FSI; and Fellow, Center for Health Policy/Primary Care and Outcomes Research

Thomas Fingar

Oksenberg-Rohlen Distinguished Fellow, FSI

Kenji Kushida

Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies, Shorenstein APARC

Jean C. Oi

*Director, Stanford China Program; William Haas Professor in Chinese Politics,
Department of Political Science; and Senior Fellow, FSI*

Scott Rozelle

Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow, FSI; and Co-director, Rural Education Action Program

Gi-Wook Shin

*Director, Shorenstein APARC; Tong Yang, Korea Foundation, and Korea Stanford Alumni Chair
of Korean Studies; Founding Director, Stanford Korean Studies Program; Senior Fellow, FSI; and
Professor of Sociology*

Daniel C. Sneider

Associate Director for Research, Shorenstein APARC

Shripad Tuljapurkar

*Dean and Virginia Morrison Professor of Population Studies; Professor of Biology; and
Director, Center for Population Research*

Andrew G. Walder

*Denise O'Leary and Kent Thiry Professor, School of Humanities and Sciences; Director,
Division of International, Comparative and Area Studies; Chair, Department of Sociology; and
Senior Fellow, FSI*

OBSERVERS

Shiro Armstrong

*Research Fellow, Crawford School of Economics and Government, Australian National University;
and Editor, East Asia Forum*

Belinda Byrne

Senior Associate Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

Andrew Horvat

Director, Stanford Center for Technology and Innovation

Indra Levy

Associate Professor, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Stanford University

Yamaguchi Wataru

Doctoral Candidate, Department of Law, Doshisha University

DIALOGUE COORDINATORS

Sarah Lin Bhatia

Communications and Outreach Coordinator, Shorenstein APARC

Polaris Secretaries Office Co., Ltd.

ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS (ALPHABETICALLY ORDERED)



Masahiko Aoki is the Henri and Tomoye Takahashi Professor Emeritus of Japanese Studies in the Department of Economics, and a senior fellow of the Stanford Institute of Economic Policy Research and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He is a theoretical and applied economist with a strong interest in institutional and comparative issues. His preferred field covers the theory of institution, corporate architecture and governance, and the Japanese and Chinese economies.

Aoki's most recent books are *Corporations in Evolving Diversity: Cognition, Governance, and Institutions* (Oxford University Press, 2010) and *Toward a Comparative Institutional Analysis* (MIT Press, 2001). His research has been also published in leading economics journals, including the *American Economic Review*, *Econometrica*, the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Review of Economic Studies*, the *Journal of Economic Literature*, *Industrial and Corporate Change*, and the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organizations*.

Aoki was the president of the International Economic Association from 2008 to 2011, and is also a former president of the Japanese Economic Association. He is a fellow of the Econometric Society and the founding editor of the *Journal of Japanese and International Economies*. He was awarded the Japan Academy Prize (1990) and the sixth International Schumpeter Prize (1998). Between 2001 and 2004, Aoki served as the president and chief research officer of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry in Japan.

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



Michael H. Armacost graduated with a bachelor's degree from Carleton College as well as a master's and doctorate in public law and government from Columbia University. He began his professional life as an instructor of government at Pomona College in 1962. Armacost entered the State Department in 1969 as a White House Fellow, and remained in public service for twenty-four years. During that time he held sensitive international security positions in the State Department, Defense Department, and the National Security Council. These included ambassador to the Philippines from 1982 to 1984, undersecretary of state for political affairs from 1984 to 1989, and ambassador to Japan from 1989 to 1993. Armacost subsequently served as

president of the Brookings Institution from 1995 to 2002.

Since 2002, he has served as Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. Armacost has authored three books, including his most recent work *Friends or Rivals?*, and edited *The Future of America's Alliances in Northeast Asia*. He currently chairs the board of The Asia Foundation, and has served as a director on a number of public corporations. He has received the President's Distinguished Service Award, the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award, the Defense Department's Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and the Japanese government's Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun.



Cai Fang attended China's Renmin University and the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), where he received his PhD in economics. Currently, he is an academician at CASS and the director of the academy's Institute of Population and Labor Economics. He is also a member of the standing committee of the eleventh National People's Congress. Cai has been awarded several national-level awards since the 1990s, such as the Zhang Peigang Development Economics Award, the China Development 100 Persons' Award, the China Soft Science Prize, and the China Population Prize. He serves as vice president of the China Population Association and as a member of the advisory committee of the National Plan of China. Cai's research focuses on theories and policies of agricultural economics, labor economics, population economics, China's economic reform, economic growth, distribution of income, and poverty. His publications include *The Chinese Economy*, *The Development and Transition of China's Labor Market*, and *China's Population and Labor Issues Report*.



Peter Drysdale is emeritus professor of economics in the Crawford School of Economics and Government at the Australian National University. He is widely acknowledged as the leading intellectual architect of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). He was founding head of the Australia-Japan Research Centre and is known for his work on East Asian and Pacific economic cooperation. He is the author of a large number of books and papers on international trade and economic policy in East Asia and the Pacific, including *International Economic Pluralism: Economic Policy in East Asia and the Pacific*. He is recipient of the Asia Pacific Prize, the Weary Dunlop Award, the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun with Gold Rays and Neck Ribbon, the Australian Centenary Medal, and he is a Member of the Order of Australia. He is presently head of the East Asia Forum, the East Asian Bureau of Economic Research, and the South Asia Bureau of Economic Research.



Karen Eggleston is the director of the Asia Health Policy Program and a center fellow at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. She is also a fellow at Stanford's Center for Health Policy/Primary Care and Outcomes Research. A faculty member teaching in the East Asian studies program, her research focuses on comparative healthcare systems and health reform in Asia, especially China; government and market roles in the health sector; payment incentives; healthcare productivity; and the economics of the demographic transition. Eggleston earned her PhD in public policy from Harvard University in 1999. She has an MA in economics (1995) and another in Asian studies (1992) from the University of Hawai'i, and an AB from Dartmouth College. She studied in China for two years, was a Fulbright scholar in Korea, and has served as consultant for the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the People's Republic of China's Ministry of Finance.



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



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



Andrew Horvat, a Japan-based foreign correspondent for most of his career, has since 2008 headed the Stanford Japan Center, the university's undergraduate overseas studies program located at Doshisha University's Imadegawa Campus in Kyoto. Between 1999 and 2005, he was Japan representative of The Asia Foundation. In that capacity, he organized some 30 symposiums and workshops on public policy issues ranging from the social and economic impact of Japan's declining population to the challenges to regional integration in Asia posed by unresolved historical problems stemming from colonialism and war. In 2003, Horvat co-edited (with Gebhard Hielscher) *Sharing the Burdens of the Past: Legacies of War in Europe, America, and Asia* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Asia Foundation, Tokyo). From 1970 to 1994, he was a journalist based in Tokyo covering Japan, China, the Korean Peninsula, and Southeast Asia for the Associated Press, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *London Independent*, and U.S. public radio. He has served as president of the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan and remains a life member of that organization. From 1994 to 1995 Horvat was affiliated with Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies, and in 1997 with the National Foreign Language Center in Washington, DC as an Abe Shintaro Fellow. His most recent publication is "How American Nuclear Reactors Failed Japan" in the *Foreign Policy* e-book *Tsunami*, edited by Jeff Kingston.



Hu Shuli is currently editor-in-chief of Caixin Media and *Caixin Century*, executive editor-in-chief for *China Reform*, and dean of the School of Communication and Design at Sun Yat-sen University.

Founding *Caijing* magazine (*Business and Finance Review*) in 1998, Hu provided the leadership that brought *Caijing* to its position as one of China's most authoritative business publications. At the editorial helm for 11 years, she departed in 2009 to create Caixin Media.

In 2001, Hu served as chief of financial news for Hong Kong-based broadcaster Phoenix TV. She worked from 1992 to 1998 as an international editor and chief reporter for *China Business Times*. Hu began her journalism career in 1982 as an international editor and reporter for *Workers' Daily*.

Hu is internationally recognized for her achievements in journalism. *Time* listed her among its Top 100 Influential People in 2011, and in 2010 and 2009, *Foreign Policy* named her as one of its Top 100 Global Thinkers. Hu received the 2007 Louis Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism from Harvard University's Nieman Foundation. In 2006, the *Financial Times* called her the "most powerful commentator in China," and the *Wall Street Journal* cited her as one of Asia's Ten Women to Watch. *World Press Review* named Hu 2003 International Editor of the Year, and *Business Week* listed her as one of its "Fifty Stars of Asia" in 2001.

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



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

Kaneko has been involved in managing and financing U.S. life sciences companies since 1981. He began his career at Genentech, where he spearheaded its business development activities for the first several years. He was then project leader for the launch of Protropin (a human growth hormone), the first product marketed by Genentech. In 1987, he became head of corporate finance in the investment banking division of Paribas Capital Markets Ltd., in Tokyo, where he helped finance Japanese government agencies, municipalities, and corporations in the euromarket. He also helped numerous life sciences companies raise capital. In 1991, he became senior vice president and CFO of Isis Pharmaceuticals in San Diego, which went public during his tenure. In 1992, Kaneko was recruited to be the original business executive at Tularik Inc., where at various times he was CFO and vice president of business development until its public offering in 1999. At Tularik, he led a series of financings and negotiations of numerous corporate partnerships. Tularik was acquired by Amgen in 2004.

Kaneko received a medical degree from Keio University School of Medicine in Tokyo, and an MBA from the Stanford Graduate School of Business (GSB). At Stanford, he currently serves on the advisory board of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and he previously served on the advisory council of the GSB. He also belongs to the board of directors of Miraca Holdings, which is listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange. Kaneko and his wife, Yumi, have two children and reside in Hillsborough, California.



Kim Hyong-O is a current member (1992–present) and a former speaker of the Republic of Korea’s National Assembly (July 2008–June 2010). In addition to serving on a number of National Assembly committees, he has also previously been chairman of the Korea–Netherlands Parliamentarians’ Friendship Association (2000–2008); the Science, Technology, Information, and Telecommunications Committee (2001–2003); and the Special Committee on Unemployment Policy (2001).

Kim has served in several other key political roles, including that of vice chairman of the Presidential Transition Committee (2007–2008), and of floor leader (2006–2007) and secretary general (2004–2005) for the Grand National Party. His career has also encompassed the positions of secretary for political affairs to the president and prime minister (1986–1990) and Press Secretary Office staff official (1982–1986). Prior to these important roles, he worked as a researcher in the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security and as a reporter for *Dong-A Ilbo*.

Among numerous awards and honors, Kim has earned the Greek Parliament’s Gold Medal, Mongolia’s North Star Medal, the City of Shanghai’s Magnolia Award, and the Republic of Korea’s Presidential Award for Excellence in Service. He has also been awarded honorary doctorates from Sofia University, Tianjin University, Kongju National University, and Korea Maritime University.

Kim holds a PhD in political science from Kyungnam University, and an MA in political science and a BA in international relations from Seoul National University.



Kenji Kushida is the Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center (Shorenstein APARC). During the 2010–2011 academic year he served as a Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, and was a graduate research associate at the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy. Kushida has an MA in East Asian studies and BAs in economics and East Asian studies, all from Stanford University.

Kushida’s research interests are in the fields of comparative politics, political economy, and information technology. His country expertise is primarily in Japan, with comparisons to Korea, China, and the United States. He has three streams of research. The first examines political economy issues surrounding information technology, such as how IT is transforming services activities, and how cloud computing is opening new policy debates in different ways across diverse economies. Related past publications include comparative analyses of broadband and wireless development in Japan and South Korea. His second research stream examines, through a study of the political strategies of foreign multinational corporations in Japan, the mechanisms of how foreign direct investment can drive institutional change. A book manuscript is currently underway. The third stream analyzes how Japan’s political economy has transformed since the 1990s, with a focus on institutional change. An edited volume from Shorenstein APARC is forthcoming.



Patrick Joseph Linehan is currently the consul-general at the U.S. consulate serving Osaka and Kobe. A native of Boston, he graduated from Arizona State University in 1974 with BA degrees in political science and Russian, and from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1977 with an MA degree in political science. From 1979 to 1980, he was a Fulbright Fellow to Finland.

In 1984, he entered the U.S. foreign service and specialized in public diplomacy. He is now a member of the career senior foreign service with the rank of minister-counselor. He has represented the United States overseas on assignments in Helsinki, Finland; Christchurch, New Zealand; Seoul, Korea; Yokohama, Sapporo, and Tokyo, Japan; Brasilia, Brazil; and Ottawa, Canada.

Linehan's most recent assignments have been as minister-counselor for public affairs in Seoul; embassy spokesman in Seoul and in Tokyo; counselor for public affairs at the embassy in Brasilia; and minister-counselor for public affairs at the embassy in Ottawa. He speaks Japanese, Korean, and Portuguese.

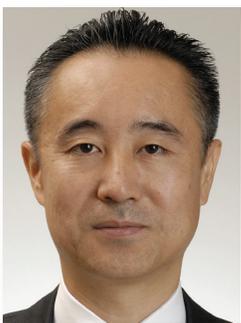


Noel M. Morada is executive director of the Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (APCR2P) in the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. He also directs APCR2P's Philippines program, and is currently on the editorial board of the *Global Responsibility to Protect*. In spring 2008 Morada was a distinguished visiting professor with the Southeast Asia Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. He was also a visiting professor at the Asia Europe Institute at the University of Malaya in March 2009. Formerly, he was a professor of political science at the University of the Philippines, Diliman in

Quezon City.

Morada's areas of specialization encompass Southeast Asian security; comparative politics of Southeast Asia; ASEAN regionalism; and ASEAN relations with China, Japan, and the United States. As a Fulbright Scholar, he earned his PhD in political science (2002) from Northern Illinois University, where he was also awarded the Gerald Maryanov Fellowship for academic excellence. He received his BA (1983) and MA (1989) degrees in political science from the University of the Philippines, Diliman. He also has an MPA degree (1991) from Cornell University.

His recent publications include: "ASEAN-U.S. Partnership in East Asian Community Building: Opportunities, Risks, and Constraints" in *East Asia Community Building and Changing U.S. Policy Under the Obama Administration* (Japan Center for International Exchange, March 2011); *Cooperative Security in the Asia Pacific: The ASEAN Regional Forum*, co-edited with Jürgen Haacke (Routledge, 2010); and "The Philippines" in *Southeast Asia in a New Era: Ten Countries, One Region in ASEAN* (ISEAS, October 2009).



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



Nakanishi Hiroshi has been a professor at the Graduate School of Law at Kyoto University since 2002, beginning there as an associate professor in 1991. Also a graduate of the university, he majored in political science and received an MA in law in 1987. He then studied international history at the University of Chicago from 1988 to 1990, where he was admitted to PhD candidacy.

Nakanishi's major research interests encompass the historical development of international relations theory; the international history of the twentieth century, with particular focus on Japanese foreign and security policy in the Showa Era; and current Japanese foreign and security policy. To date, his major publications include *Kokusaiseiji-toha Nanika* (2003), a Yomiuri-Yoshino Sakuzo prizewinner, and *Rekishi-no Shikkoku-wo Koete- Nichukankeishi-no Shin Shiten* (2010), co-edited with Michihiko Kobayashi. His recent English-language writings include "Diplomatic Strategy of a Defeated Nation: Yoshida Shigeru and His Successors," in *Conflicting Currents: Japan and the United States in the Pacific*, co-edited by Williamson Murray and Tomoyuki Ishizu (Praeger, 2010). Nakanishi has served as a panelist on several governmental advisory committees, such as the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities in the New Era, which issued its final report in August 2010.



Madame Ton-Nu-Thi Ninh currently presides over the creation of Tri Viet University, a private university strongly rooted in Vietnamese identity while boldly open to the modern world and driven by the innovative resolve to be the first "green" social enterprise in Viet Nam. In her present undertaking, Madame Ninh's leadership draws upon her European education, her first calling as an academic at the Sorbonne in Paris, her rich international experience, and her lifelong commitment to Viet Nam.

Madame Ninh served Viet Nam as a diplomat for more than two decades, specializing in multilateral institutions and global issues. From 2000 to 2003, she was Viet Nam's ambassador and head of mission to the European Union in Brussels. Elected to Viet Nam's eleventh National Assembly, she served from 2002 to 2007 as vice-chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, focusing on North America and Western Europe. In her capacity as a diplomat, an elected official and, today, a social entrepreneur regularly invited to address international gatherings inside and outside Viet Nam, Madame Ninh has consistently worked to build bridges of understanding and cooperation between Viet Nam and the world.

On the social front, Madame Ninh has been continuously active, with a special interest in gender and post-war legacy issues, such as the impact of Agent Orange/dioxin in Viet Nam. Through her frequent interaction with the public, business, and the media, Madame Ninh is known as one of the public figures having the most impact on Vietnamese youth today.

For her lifetime achievements and contributions, Madame Ninh was conferred the French Legion d'Honneur (Officier), the Belgian Order of Leopold II, and the Vietnamese Medal of Labor-First Class.



Ogawa Naohiro is a professor of population economics at the College of Economics and the Advanced Research Institute for Sciences and Humanities at Nihon University in Tokyo. He is also director of the Nihon University Population Research Institute.

Over the past thirty years, he has written extensively on population and development in Japan and other Asian countries. More specifically, his research has focused on issues such as socioeconomic impacts of low fertility and rapid aging, modeling demographics, and social security-related variables, as well as policies related to fertility, employment, marriage, childcare, retirement, and care for the elderly. His recent work includes measuring intergenerational transfers.

He has published numerous academic papers in internationally recognized journals such as *American Economic Review*, *Journal of Labor Economics*, *Demography*, and *Population and Development Review*. In collaboration with other scholars, he has also edited several journals and books, including most recently: *Population Aging, Intergenerational Transfers, and the Macroeconomy* (2007) and *Ageing in Advanced Industrial States: Riding the Age Waves*, vol. 3 (2010).

He has served on a number of councils, committees, and advisory boards set up by the Japanese government and international organizations, such as the Asian Population Association, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, and the World Health Organization. He is currently an associate member of the Science Council of Japan.



Jean C. Oi is the William Haas Professor in Chinese Politics in the department of political science and a senior fellow of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. She is also the founding director of the Stanford China Program at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center and she leads Stanford's China Initiative. Oi directed Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies from 1998 to 2005.

Her work focuses on comparative politics, with special expertise on Chinese political economy. She has published extensively on China's rural politics and political economy. Her related books include *Rural China Takes Off: Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform* (University of California Press, 1999); *Property Rights and Economic Reform in China* (Stanford University Press, 1999), edited with Andrew G. Walder; and *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: The Political Economy of Village Government* (University of California Press, 1989).

Currently, she is researching the politics of corporate restructuring, with a focus on the incentives and institutional constraints of state actors. She also continues her research on rural finance and local governance in China, and has started a new project on the logic of administrative redistricting in the Chinese countryside.

Her most recent publications include "Shifting Fiscal Control to Limit Cadre Power in China's Towns and Villages" (forthcoming, *China Quarterly*); "Patterns of Corporate Restructuring in China: Political Constraints on Privatization" (*China Journal*, 2005); *Going Private in China: The Politics of Corporate Restructuring and System Reform* (Shorenstein APARC, 2011); *Growing Pains: Tensions and Opportunity in China's Transformation* (Shorenstein APARC, 2010), co-edited with Scott Rozelle and Xueguang Zhou; and *At the Crossroads of Empires: Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-building in Republican Shanghai* (Stanford University Press, 2007), co-edited with Nara Dillon.



Oizumi Keiichiro currently serves as a senior economist with the economics department of the Japan Research Institute, Ltd., where he has worked since 1990. His primary research focuses on ASEAN macroeconomics, demographic change and economic development, mega-urban region development in geographical economics, and trade and FTA policy.

Oizumi holds a degree from the Graduate School of Agriculture at Kyoto University. He has published extensively on Asian demography issues in both English and Japanese, including the recent papers: “The Changing Face of Mega Cities in Asia’s Emerging Economies” (2010), “Demographic Dividend and Development Strategy in Korea” (2010), “Evolution from Mega-Cities to Mega-Regions in China and Southeast Asia” (2009), “Social Welfare Reform in Thailand: Strategy without National Intervention” (2008), and “Demographic Transition and Population Policy in East Asia” (2008).



Nitin Pai is founder and fellow for geopolitics at the Takshashila Institution, an independent think tank, and editor of *Pragati—The Indian National Interest Review*, a publication on strategic affairs, public policy, and governance. Pai is also a columnist for *Business Standard*, *DNA*, and *Yahoo!*, and his articles have been published in a number of other national and international publications.

Previously, he has served as a guest lecturer at India’s Army War College and College of Defence Management, and has worked both in the private sector and in government in Singapore.

Pai was a gold medalist at Singapore’s Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, where he obtained an MPA degree. He is also an alumnus of Nanyang Technological University in Singapore and National College in Bangalore. He divides his time between Singapore and India.



Scott Rozelle is the Helen F. Farnsworth Senior Fellow and the co-director of the Rural Education Action Program in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He received his BS from the University of California, Berkeley, and his MS and PhD from Cornell University. Previously, Rozelle was a professor at the University of California, Davis and an assistant professor in Stanford’s Food Research Institute and department of economics. He currently is a member of several organizations, including the American Economics Association, the International Association for Agricultural Economists, and the Association for Asian Studies. Rozelle also serves on the editorial boards of *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *Agricultural Economics*, the *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, and the *China Economic Review*.

His research focuses almost exclusively on China and is concerned with: agricultural policy; the emergence and evolution of markets and other economic institutions in the transition process and their implications for equity and efficiency; and the economics of poverty and inequality.

Rozelle’s papers have been published in top academic journals, including *Science*, *Nature*, *American Economic Review*, and the *Journal of Economic Literature*. He is fluent in Chinese and has established a research program in which he has close working ties with several Chinese collaborators and policymakers. He is the chair of the International Advisory Board of the Center for Chinese Agricultural Policy; a co-director of the University of California’s Agricultural Issues Center; and a member of Stanford’s Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center and Food, Security, and the

Environment Program.

In recognition of his outstanding achievements, Rozelle has received numerous honors and awards, including the Friendship Award in 2008, the highest award given to a non-Chinese by the Premier; and the National Science and Technology Collaboration Award in 2009.



Jacob Schlesinger is Japan editor-in-chief for the *Wall Street Journal* Tokyo bureau and Dow Jones Newswires Tokyo bureau.

Prior to this, Schlesinger was deputy bureau chief in the Washington, D.C., bureau of the *Wall Street Journal*, working with reporters covering the White House, Congress, and domestic policy.

In August 1986 Schlesinger joined the *Journal's* Detroit bureau as a reporter. He transferred to the Tokyo bureau in April 1989 as a reporter for the domestic *Journal* and the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. After leaving Japan, he authored the book *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan's Postwar Political Machine*, which was published by Simon and Schuster. In August 1996, he returned to the United States as a reporter in Washington covering economics. In 2003, he started covering politics and followed the 2004 presidential campaign. He became a Washington manager in 2005.

Prior to joining the *Journal*, Schlesinger was a business reporter at the *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times* from 1984 until July 1986.

In 2003 Schlesinger was a member of a team of *Journal* reporters awarded the Pulitzer Prize in explanatory reporting for the “What’s Wrong” series of stories that exposed corporate scandals, elucidated them, and brought them to life in compelling narratives.

A native of East Lansing, Michigan, Schlesinger received a bachelor’s degree in economics from Harvard College. He was an intern in the New York bureau of the *Journal*.



Gita Sen is a professor of public policy at the Indian Institute of Management in Bangalore, and an adjunct professor of global health and population at the Harvard School of Public Health. She received her MA from the Delhi School of Economics, and her PhD from Stanford University. Her recent work includes research and policy advocacy on the gender dimensions of population policies, and the equity dimensions of health. She is co-coordinator of the Knowledge Network on Women and Gender Equity for the World Health Organization’s (WHO) Commission on Social Determinants of Health.

Currently, Sen also serves as co-chair of the Pan American Health Organization’s Technical Advisory Group on Gender Equality and Health, and on the Global Health Advisory Committee for the Public Health Program at the Open Society Institute. She is a member of several national-level Indian government organizations, including: the Mission Steering Group for the National Rural Health Mission; the Technical Resource Group on Monitoring and Evaluation for the National AIDS Control Organisation; and the Governing Board of the National Health Systems Resource Centre at the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. In addition, she serves on the Academic Committee of the Public Health Foundation of India.

Sen is the author and editor of numerous articles and books, recently including: “Gender Inequity in Health: Why It Exists and How We Can Change It” (Special Supplement, *Global Public Health*, 2008) and *Engendering International Health: The Challenge of Equity*, co-edited with Asha George and Pirooska Ostlin (MIT Press, 2002).

Among numerous awards and honors, Sen has received honorary doctorates in medicine from the Karolinska Institute (2003) and the University of East Anglia (1998).



Shin Kak-soo currently serves as the Republic of Korea's (ROK) ambassador to Japan, an embassy where he earlier held the post of first secretary. He began his diplomatic career in 1977 and has served in numerous key posts over the years.

In 1993 he became a director in the ROK foreign ministry's Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau, where he oversaw one of its Northeast Asia divisions. Later, in 2001, he returned to the bureau as the deputy director-general of its East Asia Study Group. Shin has twice served at the ROK permanent mission to the United Nations in New York City, first in the capacity of counselor in 1995 and then as ambassador in 2004. His diplomatic work has also taken him to Sri Lanka as minister-counselor to the ROK embassy in 1998, and to Israel as ambassador in 2006. Among his other recent significant positions, he has also served as director-general of the ROK foreign ministry's Treaties Bureau (2002) and later as second and first vice minister of foreign affairs and trade (2008 and 2009).

Shin studied as an undergraduate and graduate student at the College of Law at Seoul National University, where he received his doctoral degree in law in 1991.



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

Shin is the author/editor of numerous books and articles, many of which have been translated into Korean. His recent books include *Beyond North Korea: Future Challenges to South Korea's Security* (2011); *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (2011); *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society* (2011); *One Alliance, Two Lenses: U.S.-Korea Relations in a New Era* (2010); *First Drafts of Korea: The U.S. Media and Perceptions of the Last Cold War Frontier* (2009); and *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea* (2006). His articles have appeared in leading academic journals, such as the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *International Sociology*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Asian Survey*, and the *Journal of Korean Studies*.

A recipient of numerous grants and fellowships, Shin also actively raises funds for Korean/Asian studies at Stanford. He frequently lectures and holds seminars on topics ranging from Korean nationalism and politics to Korea's foreign relations and the plight and history of Korean Americans. He writes op-eds in both Korean and American newspapers and serves on councils and advisory boards in the United States and South Korea.

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



Daniel C. Sneider is the associate director for research at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University. He currently directs the center's "Nationalism and Regionalism" and "Divided Memories and Reconciliation" projects. His own research is focused on current U.S. foreign and national security policy in Asia and on the foreign policy of Japan and Korea.

Sneider was named a National Asia Research Fellow by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the National Bureau of Asian Research in 2010. He is the co-editor of several publications, most recently including: *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (Routledge, 2011), with Gi-Wook Shin, and *Does South Asia Exist?: Prospects for Regional Integration* (Shorenstein APARC, 2010), with Rafiq Dossani. Sneider's path-breaking study, "The New Asianism: Japanese Foreign Policy under the Democratic Party of Japan," appeared in the July 2011 issue of *Asia Policy*. He has contributed to numerous other volumes and his writings have appeared in many publications, including the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, *Slate*, and *Foreign Policy*.

Prior to coming to Stanford, Sneider was a long-time foreign correspondent. He served as national/foreign editor of the *San Jose Mercury News*, and then as a syndicated national columnist looking at international issues and national security from a West Coast perspective. From 1990 to 1994, he was the Moscow Bureau Chief of the *Christian Science Monitor*, covering the end of Soviet Communism and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Sneider previously served as the *Monitor* correspondent in Tokyo, covering Japan and South Korea, and prior to that reported from South and Southeast Asia. He also wrote widely on defense issues, including as a contributor and correspondent for *Defense News*.

Sneider has a BA from Columbia University in East Asian history and an MPA from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.



Sugawa Kiyoshi is currently a special researcher with the cabinet secretariat of Japan's Office of the Prime Minister. In addition, he serves as director and senior researcher with the Democratic Party (DPJ) of Japan's Policy Research Committee.

Sugawa has worked with the DPJ since 1996, holding the position of deputy director of the Office of the President from 2000 to 2002. He also spent several years with Sumitomo Bank, Ltd., including serving as vice president of its Singapore and Chicago branches and as assistant vice president with the treasury department of its Tokyo headquarters.

Sugawa holds a BA in political science from Waseda University and an MA in international relations from the University of Chicago. He served as a visiting fellow with the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution from 1999 to 2000. His most recent articles include "Strengthening Japan's Diplomatic Power," in *Kodansha* (2008); "The Second Korean War and Its Implications to the Security of Japan," in *Kodansha* (2007); and "Purpose of Japan's Use of Force After the Revision of Article Nine," in *Ronza* (2004).



Shripad Tuljapurkar is the Dean and Virginia Morrison Professor of Population Studies and a professor of biology at Stanford University. He directs Stanford's Center for Population Research and codirects the demography program at Stanford's Center for the Demography and Economics of Health and Aging. He is also a member of the Center for the Demography and Economics of Aging at the University of California, Berkeley. His research spans population ecology, population genetics, demography, and aging. He chaired a multi-year panel on age-structural change around the world for the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. He serves on the editorial boards of several scientific journals and has served on numerous national panels, including the 2007–2008 Technical Advisory Panel to the United States Social Security Administration. In 1996 he received the Mindel Sheps Award from the Population Association of America; and in 1998, the John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.



Andrew G. Walder is the Denise O'Leary and Kent Thiry Professor at Stanford University, where he is also a senior fellow in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. He currently serves as the director of the Division of International, Comparative and Area Studies in the School of Humanities and Sciences, and as the chair of the department of sociology. Previously, he served as director of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

A political sociologist, Walder specializes in the sources of conflict, stability, and change in communist regimes and their successor states. His current research focuses on changes in the ownership and control of large Chinese corporations and the parallel emergence of a new corporate elite with varied ties to state agencies. He also continues his research interest in Mao-era China, with a focus on the mass politics of the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1969.

Walder joined the Stanford faculty the fall of 1997. He received his PhD in sociology at the University of Michigan in 1981 and taught at Columbia University before moving to Harvard in 1987. As a professor of sociology, he served as chair of Harvard's MA Program on Regional Studies-East Asia for several years. From 1995 to 1997 he headed the Division of Social Sciences at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. From 1996 to 2006, as a member of the Hong Kong Government's Research Grants Council, he chaired its Panel on the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Business Studies.

His recent publications include "Transitions from State Socialism: A Property Rights Perspective" in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, edited by Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (Westview Press, 2011); *Fractured Rebellion: The Beijing Red Guard Movement* (Harvard University Press, 2009); and "Political Sociology and Social Movements" (*Annual Review of Sociology*, 2009).



Xue Lan is a professor and the dean of the School of Public Policy and Management at Tsinghua University. His teaching and research interests include innovation policy, global governance, and crisis management. Xue is an adjunct professor at Carnegie Mellon University, a fellow of IC² Institute at the University of Texas in Austin, and a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. In addition, he is a member of the visiting committee for the Harvard Kennedy School, the International Advisory Board for UNU-MERIT, the Global Agenda Council on Catastrophic Risks of the World Economic Forum, and the board of governors of the International Development Research Center.



Minister Yu Myung Hwan served under the Lee Myung-bak administration from February 2008 to September 2010 as the Republic of Korea's minister of foreign affairs and trade. As a career diplomat, he was also appointed to posts including that of ambassador to Japan (2007–2008), vice minister of foreign affairs and trade (2005–2006), ambassador to the Philippines (2004–2005), and ambassador to Israel (2002–2004). He graduated from the Law School of Seoul National University in 1970 and entered the Foreign Ministry in 1973, serving in Japan, Singapore, Barbados, and the United Nations.



THE WALTER H. SHORENSTEIN
ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH CENTER

Stanford University
Freeman Spogli Institute
for International Studies
Encina Hall
Stanford, CA 94305-6055
Phone: 650.723.9741
Fax: 650.723.6530
<http://aparc.stanford.edu>