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.

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Climate activists take part in a Global Day of Action for Climate Justice protest on November 06, 2021, in Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

From its origins in the twilight of the Cold War and the dawn of a transformative era marked by Japan’s boom years and China’s opening to the world, APARC has been guided by two principles. The first: the belief that nuanced understanding of and engagement with counterparts in Asia are vital to our future. The second: the pursuit of tackling questions with geopolitical and social import by bridging research, education, and policy outreach. These values are as crucial today, when striking economic growth and technological advancement across the Asia-Pacific are accompanied by shifting political winds and escalating threats to well-being, democracy, and global order.

The events of the past year brought into sharp relief the prescience of APARC’s imperative to address the future of Asian nations and U.S.-Asia relations. From pressures on democratic norms and institutions to climate change impacts across Asia and from simmering U.S.-China tensions to the potential of soft power and drivers of innovation in the region, the APARC community produced research and teaching and worked with students, scholars, and professionals to analyze the obstacles before us and inform solutions and policy responses.

Above all, 2022 reminded us that our work has never been more relevant and the need to continuously develop the interdisciplinary study of contemporary Asia more paramount. We are forging ahead with efforts to deepen our culture of diversity and inclusion, better serve young scholars and alumni, and launch new initiatives. The latter include a policy lab to address emergent challenges in Asia and an annual Trans-Pacific Sustainability Dialogue with the Ban Ki-moon Foundation for a Better Future and other collaborators to spur research and practice partnerships and empower young leaders to advance the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

None of this would have been possible without our faculty and staff, our students and alumni, and our donors, partners, and friends. This coming spring, we will mark APARC’s 40th anniversary with a special multi-day event, which our team is hard at work preparing. I look forward to celebrating with our extended community the Center’s accomplishments over the past four decades and envisioning the opportunities ahead of us. I hope you join us there and for many other events we have planned for the 2022–23 academic year.

Best wishes and thank you for your continued support and engagement.

Gi-Wook Shin, Director
"As the West grapples with its own crisis of democracy, there is heightened interest in whether South Korea—once an exemplar of democracy in East Asia—will be able to repair its democracy."

GI-WOOK SHIN

Facing Up to South Korea’s Democratic Backsliding

South Korea was a guiding light for democracies in Asia from the late 1980s, but like in other states worldwide, Korean democracy is in troubled waters. APARC’s recent volume, *South Korea’s Democracy in Crisis*, is a collaborative effort to assess the status of Korean democracy and its implications for Korean society and politics.

Coedited by APARC and Korea Program Director Gi-Wook Shin and Yonsei University’s Ho-Ki Kim, our last Koret Fellow, the book gathers experts who trace how illiberalism, populism, and polarization have eroded Korea’s democratic norms, examine the unfolding of the country’s 2022 presidential election against the backdrop of the Moon administration’s challenging legacy, and offer insights to those who seek to restore and protect Korean democracy. APARC’s June 2022 book launch seminar in Seoul received wide coverage in Korean media.

Following a contentious election, Korean president Yoon Suk-yeol must now bring together a deeply divided country facing domestic and geopolitical headwinds. Shin and the Korea Program provided extensive analysis and commentary on the election and the historic tasks ahead of the Yoon administration.
One victim of the coup has been Myanmar’s independent press. “Every form of free speech is brutally suppressed. There is no space left for any freedom,” says Burmese journalist Swe Win, editor-in-chief of the news outlet Myanmar Now and the recipient of APARC’s 2021 Shorenstein Journalism Award. At the award program, he described Myanmar’s post-coup assault on independent media groups and joined a discussion on the rise of digital authoritarianism and the geopolitical implications of the coup.

To advance toward a crisis resolution, members of the international community must rethink their approach and pursue bolder policies that increase the resistance movement’s chance of success, argues Scot Marciel, the Okesberg-Rohlen Fellow at APARC and former U.S. ambassador to Myanmar. In his writings, speaking engagements, and media appearances, Marciel explains why the only way for Myanmar to emerge from its plight is for the military to be forced out of power.

The international community should recognize that the spontaneous revolt underway in Myanmar is not only a resistance front against the military but also a movement demanding dramatic social and political change.”

—Scot Marciel

More than 18 months since Myanmar’s military junta seized power in a coup, the people of Myanmar continue to suffer amid a multidimensional political, economic, and humanitarian crisis, as the military regime—facing challenges from multiple opposition groups—wages unrestrained warfare on its own public.

To advance toward a crisis resolution, members of the international community must rethink their approach and pursue bolder policies that increase the resistance movement’s chance of success, argues Scot Marciel, the Okesberg-Rohlen Fellow at APARC and former U.S. ambassador to Myanmar. In his writings, speaking engagements, and media appearances, Marciel explains why the only way for Myanmar to emerge from its plight is for the military to be forced out of power.

APARC’s Southeast Asia Program and Asia Health Policy Program also presented webinars featuring additional experts who examined the shifting contours of the civil conflict in Myanmar, the country’s stressed health system, and the opportunities for recovery.

Left: Anti-coup protesters sit behind makeshift shields featuring an image of military junta leader Min Aung Hliang in March 2021 in Yangon, Myanmar.
Below: Burmese journalist Swe Win, editor-in-chief of Myanmar Now and recipient of the Shorenstein Journalism Award.
Five thousand miles apart, the bloody war in Ukraine and rising tensions in the Taiwan Strait are intersecting in complex and unpredictable ways. The connection between the two geopolitical conflicts took center stage at the 2022 Oksenberg Conference, which focused on the prospects for the newly bolstered Sino-Russian partnership in the aftermath of the war in Ukraine. China's military is watching Moscow's failures in Ukraine and learning lessons relevant to a Taiwan invasion, but President Xi Jinping's calculus on invading Taiwan is shaped primarily by domestic factors, according to Center Fellow Oriana Skylar Mastro, an expert on Chinese military and Asia security. Ultimately, Mastro argues, the question is when China would feel confident in its ability to win in a Taiwan contingency and whether the United States has the military capabilities needed to defend the island. Across multiple media, Mastro examines the implications of the Taiwan tensions for the U.S.-China great power competition and the dynamics underpinning cross-strait deterrence.

APARC continues to illuminate the competition between the two world powers with its fall 2022 webinar series that considers Asian perspectives on the U.S.-China competition.

The China Program was part of a roundtable on climate action that produced a report with specific steps on accelerating decarbonization in China and the United States.
SHORENSTEIN ASIA-PACIFIC RESEARCH CENTER 2021-22 RESEARCH PROPOSALS

APARC’s annual research funding supported these projects:

• The Coronavirus Pandemic and Chronic Disease Control in Six Asian Health Systems: Foregone Care, Telehealth, Adherence, and Policy Adaptation  Karen Eggleston

• Hiding in Plain Sight: How China Became a Great Power  Oriana Skylar Mastro

• Qualitative Work to Understand Social and Bargaining Dynamics between Mothers-in-Law and Daughters-in-Law in Rural China, and Impact on Child Health  Scott Rozelle

• Stanford Japan Pulse: Survey and Social Media Analysis on Public Opinions in Japan  Kiyoteru Tsutsui

STEPHEN KOTKIN APPOINTED SENIOR FELLOW

We are excited to welcome eminent scholar and public intellectual Stephen Kotkin as APARC’s newest faculty member and senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. A renowned historian of Russia-Eurasia, authoritarianism, and geopolitics, Kotkin holds a joint appointment as a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. Previously he was the Birkeland Professor of History and International Affairs at Princeton University, a title he retains as emeritus.

SCOT MARCIEL NAMED OKSENBERG-ROHLEN FELLOW

Congratulations to Scot Marciel on his appointment as the Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow at FSI based within APARC. Much of Marciel’s decades-long career in diplomacy and public policy has been focused on Southeast Asia. He served as U.S. ambassador to Myanmar, Indonesia, and for ASEAN affairs, among other roles. Most recently, he was a visiting scholar and practitioner fellow on Southeast Asia at APARC.

CHARLES CRABTREE JOINS JAPAN PROGRAM AS VISITING PROFESSOR

An assistant professor in the Department of Government at Dartmouth College, Charles Crabtree joined the Japan Program to research fairness in politics as applied to the study of repression, human rights, policing, and immigration. He also collaborated with APARC Deputy Director and Japan Program Director Kiyoteru Tsutsui on several forthcoming publications and seminars.
In March 2022, we bid a fond farewell to Michael Armacost, who was a Shorenstein Fellow at APARC and an active leader at the center for 20 years. Formerly, Armacost served as president of the Brookings Institution and as U.S. ambassador to Japan and the Philippines. We are grateful for the many contributions he made to APARC and Stanford and wish him the very best in his retirement.

During his residency as our final Koret Fellow in Korean Studies, Yonsei University sociologist Ho-Ki Kim conducted research on democracy in Korea. Together with Center and Korea Program Director Gi-Wook Shin, Kim is the coeditor of APARC’s recent volume South Korea’s Democracy in Crisis.

From its inception in 2008, thanks to generous funding from the Koret Foundation, the Koret Fellowship brought leading professionals and scholars from Asia and the United States to Stanford to research contemporary Korean affairs. We are grateful to the Foundation for its long-term support and partnership.
2021–22 Fellow Spotlights

**Enze Han**, a University of Hong Kong political scientist, studies Southeast Asia’s relations with China. Han argues for conceptualizing China as an unconventional great power whose diverse actors impact its regional influence. stanford.io/3Mub3wK

**Katy Imy**, a University of North Texas historian of race, gender, and war in British colonial Asia, studies the roots of winning “hearts and minds” in war, specifically in Singapore and British Malaya. stanford.io/3CTjWLf

**Diana Stanescu**’s research interests include international trade, regulation, and lobbying with a focus on Japan. During her fellowship at APARC, she examined how bureaucratic-interest group networks help firms obtain market access abroad, with evidence from trade and foreign direct investment in Japan. stanford.io/3wImsny

**Ethnographer Mary-Collier Wilks** unveils how distinct development narratives shape the dynamics of aid chains and international organizations’ delivery of services in Southeast Asia. Wilks is now an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina Wilmington. stanford.io/3LtvEkt

**NEW ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR FOR PROGRAM AND POLICY**

Dr. Cherryl Alipio, an economic and medical anthropologist, works with the Center director and faculty members to conceptualize and develop collaborative research projects. In this new leadership role at APARC, she is also involved in the strategic planning of research programs and policy outreach and provides guidance to our postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars. stanford.io/3Rjx7gg

**Kristian Kender**
China Program Associate Director
stanford.io/3TmooM6

**Irene Kyoung**
Korea Program Research Associate
stanford.io/3QvCbNj

**Sallie Z. Lin**
China Program Coordinator
stanford.io/3R9YREE

**LEE KONG CHIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY SINGAPORE-STANFORD FELLOWS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA**

**NEW STAFF MEMBERS**

**Dr. Cheryll Alipio**, an economic and medical anthropologist, works with the Center director and faculty members to conceptualize and develop collaborative research projects. In this new leadership role at APARC, she is also involved in the strategic planning of research programs and policy outreach and provides guidance to our postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars. stanford.io/3Rjx7gg
GLOBAL AFFILIATES PROGRAM WELCOMES FELLOWS BACK TO STANFORD

After a hiatus due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we were delighted to welcome in person four visiting fellows to our Global Affiliates Program (GAP).

GAP is at the heart of APARC’s commitment to further U.S.-Asia collaborations. For four decades, the program has hosted cohorts 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 research and education activities at APARC and contribute to the intellectual exchange at the Center and the university at large.

We are grateful for the long-standing relationships with our affiliate organizations and looking forward to bringing the number of fellows we host back to pre-pandemic levels. We are thrilled to welcome eight Global Affiliate Fellows for the 2022–23 academic year!

stanford.io/2IVjfa7
The Korea Program marked its 20th anniversary with a conference that drew robust audiences in person and online and focused on North Korea’s geopolitics and South Korea’s pop culture wave (Hallyu). The two-day event convened eminent leaders from academia, government, and the K-pop industry, including former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, SM Entertainment Founder and Chief Producer Soo-Man Lee, and global star SUHO, leader of K-pop group EXO.

Outreach, Engagement, and Education

**APARC AND PROGRAM COLLOQUIA SERIES AND OTHER EVENTS**

The Center and our core programs held multiple thematic webinar series, convening leading scholars, experts, and audiences from the United States and abroad to examine the most challenging issues affecting Asian nations. Throughout the year our programs also hosted a wide array of seminars, discussions, and public conversations. View the highlights below and explore our complete programming on our YouTube channel.

[youtube.com/StanfordAPARC](https://youtube.com/StanfordAPARC)

- **Perfect Storm: Climate Change in Asia**  
  APARC FALL 2021 SERIES  

- **New Frontiers: Technology, Politics, and Society in the Asia-Pacific**  
  APARC WINTER 2022 SERIES  

- **Negotiating Women’s Rights and Gender Equality in Asia**  
  APARC SPRING 2022 SERIES  

- **Aligning Incentives for Better Health and More Resilient Health Systems in Asia**  
  ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM SERIES  
  [stanford.io/3BSTffX](https://stanford.io/3BSTffX)

- **The Future of China’s Economy**  
  CHINA PROGRAM SERIES  
  [stanford.io/3cCknSV](https://stanford.io/3cCknSV)

- **The Future of Social Tech: U.S.-Japan Partnership in Advancing Technology and Innovation with Social Impact**  
  JAPAN PROGRAM SERIES  
  [stanford.io/3AQhtU6](https://stanford.io/3AQhtU6)

“"In an uncertain future, I am certain that Korea’s ascension into a smart power can advance a common destiny for all, one rooted in peace, sustainability, and prosperity,””

—Ban Ki-Moon

OOPPOSITE The Korea Program’s 20th anniversary was an occasion to focus on the state of the field of Korean Studies, and also a celebration of South Korea’s amazing influence on global pop culture. In the audience, EXO fans recorded SUHO’s address at the conference.

INSET Former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon and SUHO pose for photos outside the event.
COMMENTS AND ANALYSIS: KIYOTERU TSUTSUI ON ABE’S LEGACY AND WHAT’S NEXT FOR JAPANESE POLITICS

Shinzo Abe was one of the most transformative political leaders in modern Japanese history, and his assassination will change Japanese politics, most immediately shaking up internal politics within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, predicted Japan Program Director Kiyoteru Tsutsui. It is also a reminder for Japan, the United States, and others that we can never be too careful in working to preserve our democracy, Tsutsui says.

SELEcT APARC COURSES, 2021–22

Our scholars 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:

- Asia-Pacific Transformation Gi-Wook Shin
- Chinese Politics Jean Oi
- Formal Networks Xueguang Zhou
- Global Human Rights and Local Practices Kiyoteru Tsutsui
- Health and Healthcare Systems in East Asia Karen Eggleston
- International Security in a Changing World Oriana Skylar Mastro
- The Political Economy of China Andrew Walder
- Policy toward Northeast Asia Thomas Fingar

FULL LIST OF COURSES: aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/education/courses
THE COURTEOUS POWER
JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE INDO-PACIFIC ERA
John D. Ciorciari and Kiyoteru Tsutsui
Coedited by APARC Deputy Director and Japan Program Director Kiyoteru Tsutsui, in this volume leading scholars provide a nuanced view of Japan’s engagement with Southeast Asian nations, examining the relationship from a variety of perspectives ranging from economic and political to cultural and technological.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE STATE
THE POWER OF IDEAS AND THE REALITY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
Kiyoteru Tsutsui
Kiyoteru Tsutsui explores the paradox of the global expansion of human rights, considers how Japan has engaged with human rights principles, and examines how human rights ideas and institutions have transformed local politics worldwide. Tsutsui is the recipient of the 2022 Ishibashi Tanzan Award for this book.

THE LOGIC OF GOVERNANCE IN CHINA
AN ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH
Xueguang Zhou
Drawing on more than a decade of fieldwork, this book develops a unified theoretical framework to explain how China’s centralized political system maintains governance and how this process produces recognizable policy cycles that are obstacles to bureaucratic rationalization, professionalism, and the rule of law.

NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD
APARC recently launched a co-publishing partnership with the Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., a prominent publishing house with a record of providing global reach for a broad array of politics and policy-focused titles by leading think tanks and research organizations. Rowman & Littlefield now distributes, sells, and markets books published by APARC.

RECENT AND UPCOMING TITLES IN OUR APARC-PUBLISHED SERIES
DRIVERS OF INNOVATION
ENTREPRENEURSHIP, EDUCATION, AND FINANCE IN ASIA
Edited by Yong Suk Lee and Fei Yan
Many policymakers now recognize the role of entrepreneurship education and the importance of fostering financial institutions to promote innovation and entrepreneurship. In this volume, contributors explore policies conducive to accelerating innovation and developing a more entrepreneurial workforce in East Asia.

IMPERFECT PARTNERS
THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
Scott Marciel
Drawing on his long career in the foreign service living in and working with the nations of Southeast Asia, Ambassador Scot Marciel offers insights into the policy process, the personalities, and pivotal domestic developments that have shaped the course of U.S.-Southeast Asian relations.

SOUTH KOREA’S DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS
THE THREATS OF ILLIBERALISM, POPULISM, AND POLARIZATION
Edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Ho-Ki Kim
The contributors to this volume trace the sources of illiberalism in today’s Korea and consider its effects on Korean foreign policy; examine how political polarization is plaguing Korea’s party system, civil society, and the courts; and examine the roles of inequality, education, and social media in the country’s democratic decline.
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, as Asia plays an increasingly important role on the global stage and is critical to U.S. and international interests. We hope you will join us.

FRIENDS OF SHORENSTEIN APARC: Shorenstein APARC gratefully acknowledges the following benefactors for their support between September 1, 2021, and August 31, 2022.

$5,000,000 AND ABOVE
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
- Anonymous

$100,000 TO $500,000
- Ministry of Finance, Japan
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
- The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
- The Walter and Phyllis Shorenstein Foundation

$50,000 TO $100,000
- Asahi Shimbun
- D&C Think Tank
- The Development Bank of Japan
- Head & Shoulders Financial Group
- Japan Patent Office
- Ministry of Finance, Japan
- The Korea Foundation
- Susan Koret

$10,000 AND ABOVE
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan
- SMEC Global Foundation, Inc.
- Euni and William Valentine

ALL GIFTS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE UNDER APPLICABLE RULES. THE CENTER AND ITS PARENT INSTITUTIONS HAVE TAX-EXEMPT STATUS AS A SECTION 501(c)(3) PUBLIC CHARITY.

The Asia imperative: Get involved

Your support helps develop a global community of leaders in Asia research and policy, educate students about pressing Asia-Pacific issues, and strengthen U.S.-Asia cooperation. We offer multiple opportunities that match our partners’ charitable giving priorities. For questions or to discuss your interest in making a gift to Shorenstein APARC, please contact Noa Ronkin, associate director for communications and external relations, at 650-724-5667 or noa.ronkin@stanford.edu.

For information on joining the Center as a Global Affiliate, please contact Denise Masumoto, Global Affiliates program manager, at 650-725-2706 or masumoto@stanford.edu.

Gifts to Shorenstein APARC are tax-deductible under applicable rules. The Center and its parent organization, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, are tax-exempt under Section 501(c)(3) public charity.
Shorenstein APARC’s revenue and expenses for the fiscal year 2021–22:

**REVENUE**

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<tr>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>Gifts</td>
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<td>Interdepartmental Unit (transfer in)</td>
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<td>Internal and External Department Support (transfer out)</td>
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<td><strong>Net Revenue</strong></td>
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**EXPENSES**

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<td>Postdoctoral Scholars and Visiting Scholars</td>
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<td>Student Support</td>
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<td>Conferences, Workshops, and Research Travel</td>
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<td>Research Materials and Other Research Expenses</td>
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<td>Operations, Materials &amp; Services</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Net Expenses</strong></td>
<td>$ 5,049,585</td>
<td>100%</td>
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