

An aerial night photograph of a large outdoor event space. The area is filled with people, many of whom are wearing red and blue clothing. There are several bright spotlights illuminating the scene, and a large, dark, circular structure is visible in the center. The overall atmosphere is festive and busy.

Stanford

Walter H. Shorenstein
Asia-Pacific Research Center
Freeman Spogli Institute

2018-19

CENTER OVERVIEW



PAGES 9, 13

ASIA HEALTH POLICY PROGRAM

DIRECTOR Karen Eggleston

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



PAGES 3–5, 15

CHINA PROGRAM

DIRECTOR Jean C. Oi

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



PAGES 10, 14

JAPAN PROGRAM

DIRECTOR Takeo Hoshi

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



PAGES 6–9, 11, 15

KOREA PROGRAM

DIRECTOR Gi-Wook Shin

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



PAGES 12, 16, 18

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

DIRECTOR Donald K. Emmerson

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



PAGE 17

GLOBAL AFFILIATES PROGRAM

MANAGER Denise Masumoto

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

ABOUT THE COVER

In July 2019 Chinese workers lay the tracks for a high-speed railway line that will link Jiangxi Province's capital city Nanchang with Ganzhou and is expected to reduce travel time from five to two hours after completion. David M. Lampton, the Center's Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow, is researching China's high-speed rail development between southern China and Southeast Asia in his current book project (see pages 4–5).

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Shorenstein APARC

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

ABBREVIATIONS

AHPP	Asia Health Policy Program
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CISAC	Center for International Security and Cooperation
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
FSI	Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies
PRC	People's Republic of China
REAP	Rural Education Action Program
ROK	Republic of Korea
SCP KU	Stanford Center at Peking University
SEAP	Southeast Asia Program

The year 2019 featured important anniversaries for the Asia-Pacific region and U.S.-Asia relations. These anniversaries, however, symbolize anything but stability.

We saw a grandiose celebration of 70 years of communist rule in China; witnessed Shinzo Abe becoming Japan's longest-serving postwar prime minister; commemorated the centennial of the anti-colonialist independence movement of South Korea; marked the first anniversary of both the historic Singapore summit between President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un as well as the Panmunjom summit between Kim and South Korean president Moon Jae-in; and observed the 40th anniversary of both U.S.-China diplomatic relations and of the Taiwan Relations Act. Yet in every arena volatility is spreading.

The scenes of pageantry and unity in Tiananmen Square were overshadowed by an escalation in the unrelenting pro-democracy demonstrations in Hong Kong. The United States and China are mired in a trade war and a race for technological supremacy, and Beijing has intensified its economic and diplomatic pressure on Taipei. The collapse of the second Trump-Kim summit exposed the ambiguities surrounding North Korean denuclearization, inter-Korean rapprochement efforts have been stranded by the stalemate on the nuclear track, and, at the time of this writing, details have emerged about the failure of the much-anticipated U.S.-DPRK working-level nuclear talks. Rising nationalism in Japan and South Korea is driving those two states toward potential disaster, while autocrat-leaning populism is expanding in Southeast Asia.



These developments bring to relief the U.S. withdrawal from multilateralism and the lack of American leadership in the Asia-Pacific. For even as Washington embraces a vision of a “free and open Indo-Pacific,” its Asia policy remains focused on “fair” bilateral deals and “America First” thinking. What else, then, could we expect but increasingly fragile regional dynamics, explosions of nationalist chauvinism, and a global retreat from democratic values and human rights protections? Most disconcerting is that this leadership void in Asia comes at a time when Washington needs to marshal alliances to address, in unison, China's growing regional and global influence.

Today, more than ever, we must invest in building a solid foundation of education, knowledge, and dialogue about the critical challenges facing the Asia-Pacific and U.S.-Asia relations. Shorenstein APARC research and teaching and the intellectual exchange we facilitate exemplify how we work to generate new ideas that inform policy responses to these challenges. We have been leading this charge for over 35 years and are committed to carrying it on.

While the U.S.-China conflict and the prospects for the diplomacy of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula took center stage on Shorenstein APARC's agenda reviewed here and will surely continue to occupy us, we are starting the 2019–20 academic year with a thematic emphasis on the threats to democracy and human rights in Asia. We look forward to seeing you at some of our forums exploring this and other pressing issues. Thank you for being part of our community.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Shin Gi Wook". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of each name being capitalized and prominent.

Gi-Wook Shin, Director



FEATURE / CHINA

ABOVE Condoleezza Rice (right), former U.S. secretary of state and Hoover Institution senior fellow, speaks with China Program director Jean Oi at the annual Oksenberg Conference.

Chinese Power and the Future of U.S.-China Relations

How should the United States address the changes in China's domestic and foreign policy? Who will blink first in the U.S.-China trade war? Who will first scale the commanding heights of technological supremacy? How is China's "sharp power" deployed, and what are its implications for political and civic life in America?



As U.S. policy toward China veers away from “constructive engagement” to “strategic competition,” Shorenstein APARC and the China Program shed light on the intensifying U.S.-China power struggle and its implications for the world order.

The China Program’s colloquia, “A New Cold War? Sharp Power, Strategic Competition, and the Future of U.S.-China Relations,” hosted leading experts who presented seven seminars before packed audiences. Highlights included discussions by Elizabeth Economy, Hoover Institution visiting fellow, who analyzed Xi Jinping’s “Third Revolution” of strategic shifts in domestic and foreign policy; Craig Allen, president of the U.S.-China Business Council, who expressed optimism that a resolution to the U.S.-China trade conflict would be found,

but acknowledged that the confrontation between Washington and Beijing is in essence a technology war, not a trade war; and Daniel Rosen, founding partner of the Rhodium Group, who urged U.S. policymakers to sustain a “foundation of good will” toward China.

The six-month colloquia series reached a fitting closing with APARC’s annual Oksenberg Conference, which honors the legacy of the late Michel Oksenberg—a renowned scholar of contemporary China and an advocate of making China and the United States understandable to each other. Titled “On the Brink: A New Cold War with China,” the conference featured a fireside chat with keynote speaker Dr. Condoleezza Rice, the 66th U.S. secretary of state and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. The event included a panel discussion with China Program director Jean Oi, FSI director Michael McFaul, and renowned China scholar David M. Lampton, who joined Shorenstein APARC last year as the Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow.

READ MORE

ELIZABETH ECONOMY ON XI’S REVOLUTION // stanford.io/2o7q7L4

CRAIG ALLEN ON THE TRADE WAR // stanford.io/2Y7w1cW

DANIEL ROSEN ON ENGAGEMENT WITH CHINA // stanford.io/2lYQnqt

“A NEW COLD WAR?” EVENT LIST // stanford.io/2lYgC06

AUDIO AND TRANSCRIPTS // stanford.io/2WAFZw0

ABOVE FSI director and former ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul speaks at the Oksenberg Conference.



Lampton's current book project investigates China's development of high-speed rail between southern China and the seven continental Southeast Asian nations south of it. The United States and its allies, argues Lampton, must realize that China's Belt and Road Initiative isn't necessarily a bad idea. "Competition in general is a good thing," he says. "But what we must avoid is a destructive competition in which we're hurting our own ability to innovate by attempting to keep China from advancing."

READ MORE // stanford.io/2YNrP51

Looking ahead, in the fall 2019 academic quarter the China Program will be setting its sights on examining the causes and implications of the turmoil in Hong Kong and the crisis in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

ABOVE Elizabeth Economy and history professor Gordon H. Chang take part in a China Program panel responding to a Hoover Institution report on Chinese influence in America.

“Merely managing the U.S.-China relationship to prevent it from becoming worse is not adequate and should be unacceptable to both sides, because it limits what each can achieve and, as importantly, it inhibits cooperation to address critical transnational issues like global warming, infectious disease, sea-level rise, demographic change, and proliferation of dangerous technologies.”

Thomas Fingar, *China International Strategy Review*

READ MORE // stanford.io/32kV0uP



FEATURE / NORTH KOREA

Moving Beyond the Impasse in North Korea Diplomacy

Although most informed observers were skeptical about a definitive resolution to the long-standing North Korean nuclear problem, the dramatic collapse of the February 2019 Hanoi summit between President Trump and North Korea's leader Kim Jung Un shocked many. Since then, U.S.-North Korea negotiations and inter-Korean diplomacy have mostly stalled, while the North has fired off multiple missiles and rocket tests. Where to now for the diplomacy of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula?

ABOVE President Donald J. Trump, Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea Kim Jong Un, and President of South Korea Moon Jae-in outside Freedom House in the Korean Demilitarized Zone in June 2019.



Amidst the twists and turns of the North Korea diplomatic rollercoaster, Shorenstein APARC continues to serve as a hub for research, dialogue, and thought leadership on the options for U.S.-DPRK rapprochement, the threats to South Korea's position in Northeast Asia, and the challenges to the U.S.-ROK alliance.

Shortly before the Hanoi summit the Center had the honor of hosting the first public address by U.S. special representative for North Korea Stephen Biegun, who leads negotiations with the North on behalf of U.S. secretary of state Mike Pompeo. At this event, which received extensive national and international media coverage, Biegun noted that the United States was prepared to pursue “simultaneously and in parallel” all of the commitments outlined at the Trump-Kim Singapore summit, but recognized there was “no detailed definition or shared agreement of what denuclearization entails.” **VIDEO & TRANSCRIPT** // stanford.io/2m1rWZ2

In the *National Interest*, Korea Program director Gi-Wook Shin and researcher Joyce Lee indeed argued that the most urgent task at the Hanoi summit was to minimize ambiguities in central questions and reach a shared understanding of the meaning of denuclearization. Shin and Lee's research project “Reengaging North Korea” aims to find sustainable ways for the United States and North Korea to connect.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2msJrlh and stanford.io/2msOthI

Additional Shorenstein APARC experts who commented on and analyzed the diplomatic engagement with the DPRK throughout the past year included Korea Program deputy director Yong Suk Lee, 2018–19 Koret Fellow in Korean Studies Andray Abrahamian, and visiting scholar Andrew Kim, who as former head of the CIA's Korea Mission Center helped orchestrate the 2018 Trump-Kim Singapore summit.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2kNh0hB and stanford.io/2lZHeO7

“As North Korea is taking advantage of this indefinite recess to reshuffle its negotiating team, broaden its diplomatic outreach to China and Russia, and reevaluate its strategy, the rest of the stakeholders should take note and do the same.”

Gi-Wook Shin and Joyce Lee, *East Asia Forum*

LEFT U.S. special envoy for North Korea Stephen Biegun (right) speaks with CISAC's Robert Carlin after delivering his first public comments on U.S.-North Korea diplomatic efforts. RIGHT CNN national security reporter Kylie Atwood (center) was a participant at this year's Koret Workshop, which focused on summit diplomacy, including its media coverage.



“I believe that Kim Jong Un delivered on his promise to his people already: better life and economic prosperity. . . . It is not a good idea for Chairman Kim to walk back and ask his people to abandon hope at this point.”

Andrew Kim, former head of the CIA’s Korea Mission Center

In his much-anticipated first public speech, in front of a packed audience and members of the media, Andrew Kim outlined a roadmap for achieving the U.S. goal of North Korea denuclearization and stated his belief that there is one way to find out what the North Korean leader’s true intentions are, namely, to continue to engage him directly and test his willingness to proceed with the diplomacy of denuclearization. “It will be a one step back, two steps forward process,” he predicted.

ANDREW KIM’S REMARKS // stanford.io/2Ey7lm5

How to keep the ball rolling on the negotiations? The current stalemate should not be taken as a prelude to dejected failure, Gi-Wook Shin claims, but rather as “an opportunity to regroup – to review strategies, reshuffle the key players as necessary, reconsider the objectives, and renew momentum.” One thing is certain: avoiding another Hanoi is imperative. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2ktCmAd

On the heels of the collapse of the Hanoi summit, the Korea Program convened international experts in Korean affairs and journalists at the 11th Koret Workshop, appropriately titled “North Korea and the World in Flux.” The participants examined the challenges in covering and reporting on the diplomacy of denuclearization and considered the prospects for future summitry. General Vincent Brooks, U.S. Army (Ret.), delivered the keynote address. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2m1kgWK



ROBERT R. KING



VICTOR CHA

UPCOMING VISITORS FOCUSED ON NORTH KOREA

This year Shorenstein APARC will continue to explore what can be done to promote lasting reengagement with the North with help from two new Koret Fellows: Ambassador Robert R. King, former special envoy for North Korean human rights issues at the State Department, and Victor Cha, professor of government and international affairs at Georgetown University. Finding a way forward on human rights in North Korea will also be the focus of the next Koret Workshop.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2nkgxEw

TOP The former head of the CIA’s Korea Mission Center, Andrew Kim, spoke on diplomatic engagement with the DPRK and a denuclearization roadmap in his first public speech.

Exploring the Socioeconomic Impact of Artificial Intelligence and Robotics

Artificial intelligence (AI), robotics, big data analytics, and the next generation of mobile internet connectivity are some of the new technologies reshaping industries and economies across the globe. What socioeconomic impact will these technologies generate? How will they drive transnational labor trends, work cultures, and economic opportunities, particularly in East Asian countries at the forefront of their adoption? Center scholars investigate these questions through a comparative lens.

Yong Suk Lee leads one of the first empirical studies of the impact of new technologies on manufacturing at the plant level, focusing on evidence from South Korea, a country with the highest number of industrial robots per worker in the world. His study first identifies the scope and rate of change of key technologies — including robotics, big data analytics, and artificial intelligence — and then evaluates how they are augmenting or replacing various tasks and workers. The goal is to identify how new technologies affect the productivity of establishments, labor skills, job tasks, and ultimately labor inputs, and to serve as a platform for developing a

research agenda on new technologies' net effect in the Asia-Pacific region. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2kZvhaN

Through additional, interlinked research projects, Lee also examines how robot exposure affects employment across industries and firm age in U.S. local labor markets, and how different AI regulatory frameworks impact managers' business strategies and their intentions to adopt AI technologies.

ABOVE Robotics is not only changing manufacturing, but in Japan is also proving to be a preferred solution to caring for the large proportion of elderly brought about by demographic change.

SHORENSTEIN APARC RESEARCH PROPOSALS 2018–19

The Center invites its faculty to apply for funding for ongoing research through its annual open call for proposals. The project that received funding this past year is “The Impact of Robots on Staffing and the Quality of Care in Nursing Homes in Japan,” jointly led by Karen Eggleston and Yong Suk Lee. By focusing on how the adoption of robots affects labor inputs and patient outcomes in nursing homes in Japan, this project aims to advance understanding of the implications of robotic technologies' adoption in aging societies.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2ktGaBv

Evaluating Abe’s “Three Arrows”

In 2019, Shinzo Abe became the longest serving postwar Japanese prime minister. His enduring tenure owes largely to the perceived success of his economic policies, dubbed “Abenomics” and based upon the “three arrows” of bold monetary policy, flexible fiscal policy, and structural reform to promote private investment. But has the program truly succeeded, or do serious shortcomings remain that the administration needs to address before taking the proverbial victory lap?



Over the last three years, the Japan Program evaluated Abenomics and its implications for Japan’s economy, politics, and society as part of its extended project “The Political Economy of Japan under the Abe Government.” The project concluded this year with an expert panel that went beyond the readily apparent successes of Abenomics in order to examine some of its potential shortfalls. Participants assessed the effectiveness of Abenomics targets for inflation, the economic impact of its appetite for deregulation,

and its influence on women’s presence and roles in the workforce.

The panel, part of the Japan Program’s Summer Juku on Political Economy series, was cosponsored by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership. Research findings from the multiyear project will be published in an upcoming volume. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2mauYu6

ABOVE Some Abenomics elements—like trying to raise inflation and fix the salary gender gap—have been less successful.



TAKEO HOSHI



PHILLIP LIPSCY

PROFESSORS HOSHI AND LIPSCY DEPART STANFORD

In August 2019 APARC bade farewell to two of our Japan scholars and core members of our community. Japan Program director Takeo Hoshi has joined the faculty of the University of Tokyo and Phillip Lipsky the faculty of the University of Toronto’s Department of Political Science and Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, where he has also assumed leadership of the Centre for the Study of Global Japan. We wish them well in their new roles and look forward to future collaborations.



“The challenges associated with aging, depopulation, and a shrinking workforce in Korea are expected to intensify in the coming years. . . . These recent shifts call for a better appreciation of the growing heterogeneity and multiplicity of migrants in Korea.” Gi-Wook Shin and Rennie Moon

Advancing Diversity and Transnationalism in South Korea

Tension and discord in Japan – South Korea relations are nothing new, but the intensifying conflict between the two countries seems headed toward a collision course. In an article published by the Korean magazine *Shindonga* (New East Asia) that received much attention in South Korea, Gi-Wook Shin analyzes the friction between Seoul and Tokyo and illuminates the unique characteristics of Korean nationalism, explaining the difference between South Korean attitudes about Japan and China. “It is time South Korea moved beyond its psychological complex toward Japan and recognized that ethnic nationalism is obsolete,” says Shin.

READ “THE PERILS OF POPULIST NATIONALISM” // stanford.io/2lxX2r0

ABOVE The 2018 arrival of Yemeni refugees at South Korea’s resort island of Jeju sparked debate among South Koreans.

As part of their ongoing project “Migration, Cultural Diversity, and Tolerance,” Shin and Yonsei University professor Rennie Moon continue to stimulate much-needed conversation about the value of transnationalism and diversity in Korea and greater Asia. In a special section they coedited in the July/August 2019 issue of the journal *Asian Survey*, titled “Korea’s Migrants: From Homogeneity to Diversity,” Shin and Moon collect articles that examine nontraditional, relatively under-researched, highly skilled migrant populations. By doing so, they aim to suggest a new framework, in both social discourse and policy, that reflects the growing heterogeneity of migrants in Korea and that charts a course forward for a nation that is staring into a demographic abyss.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2KQeW11

How Southeast Asia Navigates U.S.-China Competition

The escalating U.S.-China struggle for influence and changing U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia under the Trump administration are affecting political trends in Southeast Asia. APARC scholars examine how this competition is taking root and manifesting in sea, land, and air.



Southeast Asia Program director Donald K. Emmerson continues to engage in formulating policy responses to the territorial disputes in the South China Sea. Emmerson is a member of the Center for Strategic and International Studies Expert Working Group on the South China Sea, whose most recent report, *Defusing the South China Sea Disputes*, gathers three blueprints — for a code of conduct, for fisheries management and environmental cooperation, and for cooperation on oil and gas production — that provide a model for managing the complex disputes over sovereignty in the region, one that is both legally and politically feasible for all stakeholders.

READ MORE ABOUT SEAP'S RESEARCH // stanford.io/2ofgn1A

“Let’s not think that the Southeast Asians are so enamored of the Chinese that they’re going to roll over on their backs. In fact, only a small percentage of them view China as a benign power. China lacks the kind of soft power that the United States still has in Southeast Asia.” Donald K. Emmerson

Emmerson also provides his singular commentary in journals and on the dais at conferences. Over the past year he highlighted lessons that could help Southeast Asian states manage risk when choosing between 5G network providers; analyzed Southeast Asian perspectives on the U.S. Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy; and assessed the differences between foreign policies of

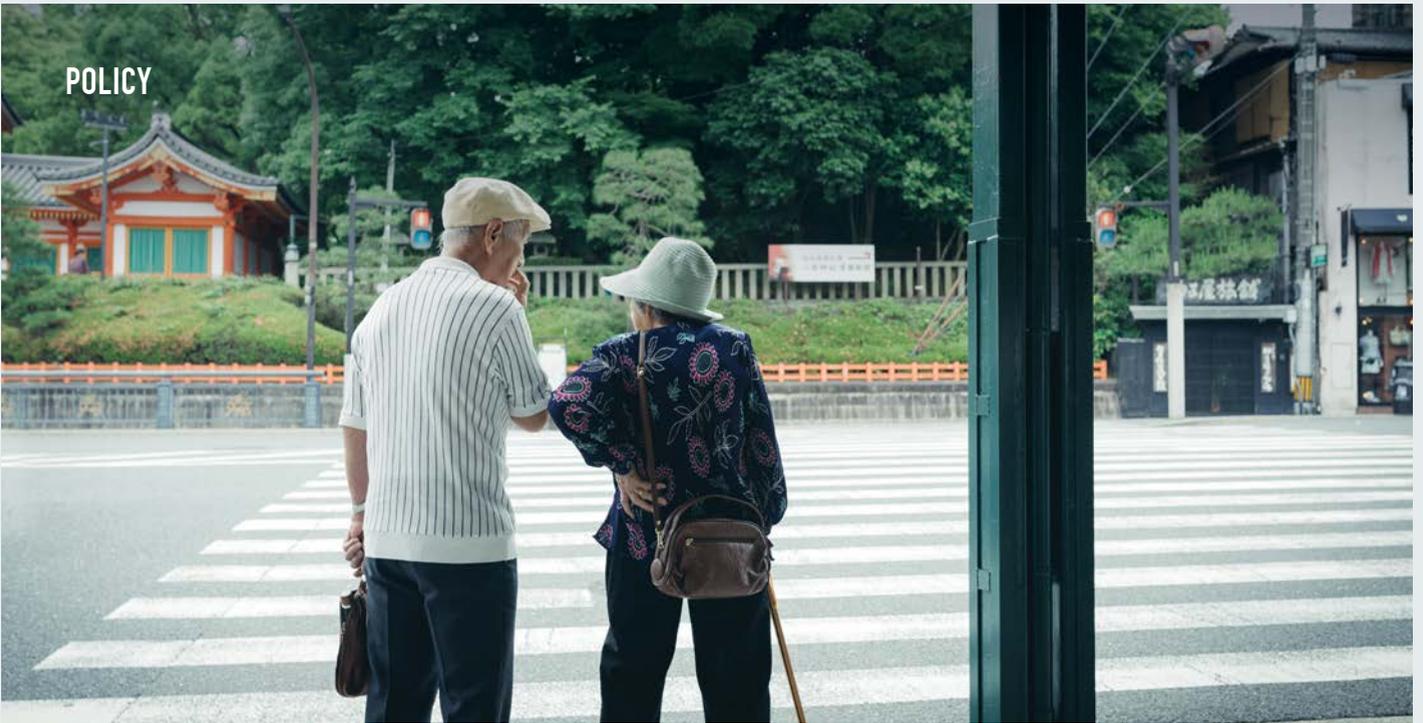
several Southeast Asian states and their implications for U.S. policy.

In line with SEAP’s research agenda, 2018–19 Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow in Contemporary Asia Ketian Zhang dedicated her residency at Shorenstein APARC to advancing her work on Chinese coercive behavior in the South China Sea. Where others may view China as repetitively aggressive, Zhang sees a cautious bully. She finds that protecting a reputation for resolve and calculating economic costs are critical elements in China’s decision-making regarding the (dis)advantages of coercing its neighbors. Nor is the intended target country necessarily clear. China often coerces one to deter another — “killing the chicken to scare the monkey.”

VIDEO INTERVIEW WITH KETIAN ZHANG // stanford.io/2kDCAVv



TOP SEAP director Donald K. Emmerson (left) meets with Indonesia’s foreign affairs minister Retno Marsudi at the Bali Democracy Forum XI. BOTTOM China’s behavior in the South China Sea is the research focus of Shorenstein Postdoctoral Fellow Ketian Zhang.



Advancing Collaborative Solutions for an Aging World

The world is “graying” at an unprecedented rate. Some Asian countries in particular — plagued by population aging, declining fertility, and gender imbalance — are facing a grim demographic outlook. The impending crisis poses difficult, multisectoral challenges, as population aging will have dramatic effects on labor supply, patterns of work and retirement, family and social structures, healthcare services, savings, and social support programs used by older adults. Shorenstein APARC has spearheaded multiple projects aimed to help communities and nations to develop actionable policy responses to the many needs that come with longer lives.

Karen Eggleston, Center deputy director and AHPP director, heads several collaborative studies that contribute to the policy debates about precision medicine and proactive responses to population aging in East Asia and other regions. In fall 2018, as part of its Innovation for Healthy Aging project, AHPP convened experts in health economics and policy for a two-day workshop that examined public-private collaborations promoting prevention of noncommunicable diseases in aging societies. This is also the subject of two upcoming books by Eggleston and her collaborators: *Healthy Aging in Asia* and *Private Roles for Public Goals in China and the United States*. **ABOUT THE WORKSHOP** // stanford.io/2l9URtJ

The need for new approaches to financing long-term care in response to the demographic tidal wave is the topic of a May 2019 special issue of the *Journal of the Economics of Ageing* coedited by Eggleston. Its collected articles cover comparative research on more than

50 countries across Europe, the Americas, and Asia, and analyze various questions pertinent to financing longevity, from the global pension crisis to new ways of expanding old-age financial security.

MORE ON “FINANCING LONGEVITY” // stanford.io/2kzgp2G

The imperative to design new pathways for aging societies also marked the third annual gathering of Shorenstein APARC’s Stanford Asia-Pacific Innovation project. Held in South Korea in June 2019, the conference brought together academics and policymakers to explore the intersection of aging and technological development in East Asia. Participants considered issues including how population aging is altering family structures, correlations between age and high-growth entrepreneurship, and the promise and peril of new technologies in tackling the needs of societies undergoing rapid demographic decline.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2RLeWm2

Director Roundtables Advance U.S.-Asia Dialogue



Shorenstein APARC frequently creates opportunities for candid conversations between academics and U.S. and Asian officials, advancing dialogue with U.S. counterparts in Asia and bringing Stanford research to bear on pressing policy issues. One of the Center's guests this past year was Cho Yoon-je, ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States, who in November 2018 joined faculty members from the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and other

Stanford experts for a discussion about North Korea diplomacy and U.S.-ROK relations. Ambassador Cho expressed South Korea's determination to seize the opportunity for rapprochement with the North and its commitment to the U.S.-ROK alliance.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2E5euue

ABOVE Ambassador Cho Yoon-je (center) speaks with FSI senior fellow Siegfried Hecker (left) and Center director Gi-Wook Shin.

Peering into the Future of the International Order in East Asia

Interstate relations in East Asia are at a critical juncture. The post-World War II regional order — shaped by the San Francisco Treaty of 1951, underpinned by a common commitment to a liberal trade system, and led by the United States — is under stress, as the environment that sustained it has been transformed since the end of the Cold War through the rise of China and recent changes in U.S. foreign policy. Will the “San Francisco System” be maintained, and if not, what will replace it?

“Bringing together the four democracies of the ‘Quad’ [Australia, India, Japan, and the United States] — could pave a path forward towards more comprehensive cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region at a time of increased geopolitical uncertainty.”

Ambassador Michael Armacost

These questions took center stage at a May 2019 symposium, “The Past, Present, and Future International Order in East Asia,” cosponsored by the Japan Institute for International Affairs and the Japan Program at Shorenstein APARC. The participants included experts in international relations, political and diplomatic history in Asia, American foreign policy and history, Japan-PRC relations and politics, security interests in the Indo-Pacific region, and U.S.-Asia regional engagement. They offered insights on the rise and fall of international systems; explored the circumstances that shaped the establishment of the security architecture in East Asia and the forces that propelled its evolution; and debated possible futures for East Asia and the greater Indo-Pacific region vis-à-vis the roles of the United States, Japan, and China, the changing distribution of global power, alliance structures, and political ideologies.

READ MORE // stanford.io/2lzka96



“We decided it would be useful to gather those doing various types of research, quantitative and qualitative, to think about what we don’t know of Chinese politics but would like to know and how we might possibly go about conducting that research to contribute to the broader field of comparative politics.” Jean Oi

Advancing the Fields of Chinese Politics and Korean Studies in the 21st Century

Two major conferences held in fall quarter 2018 shone light on Shorenstein APARC’s commitment to promoting undergraduate- and graduate-level interdisciplinary study of the politics, economies, and societies of contemporary Asia.



In November, the Korea Program’s two-day conference “Future Visions” drew distinguished Korean studies scholars from twelve North American institutions to consider the state of the field, assess its challenges, and carry forward a vision for

its future direction and potential. Cosponsored by the Seoul-based Foundation Academia Platonica, the conference featured six unique panels, focusing not only on the major disciplines of Korean Studies — history, literature, and the social sciences — but also on language education, library collections and services, and the

Korean Wave, featuring a closing session with K-pop star Siwon Choi of the Korean boy band Super Junior. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2DhJGG2](http://stanford.io/2DhJGG2)

In the following month, the China Program gathered preeminent scholars of Chinese politics and comparative politics, primarily from North American institutions, to examine the state of the discipline, Xi Jinping’s impact on Chinese politics and its concomitant influence on what and how scholars study Chinese politics, and where the field might go next. The two-day conference included presentations by seven working groups, a plenary session, breakout discussions, and responses by Stanford scholars of comparative politics to the group memos. [READ MORE // stanford.io/2mlyRw9](http://stanford.io/2mlyRw9)

ABOVE (l-r) Professors Kellee Tsai, Jean Oi, Mary Gallagher, and Margaret Pearson confer at the China Program’s conference on Chinese politics. INSET The “Future Visions” conference’s Korean Wave session featured K-pop star Siwon Choi of Super Junior.



APARC Fellows Shed Light on Electoral Competition and Political Power in Malaysia

The opposition's historic win in Malaysia's 2018 general election that ended 61 years of one-party rule in the Southeast Asian nation stunned the world and returned to power 92-year-old Mahathir Mohamad, the former authoritarian ruler who had left office in 2003. "Malaysian people were facing a crisis of political legitimacy and financial pressure," explains political anthropologist Sophie Lemière, a specialist in Malaysian politics and APARC's 2018–19 Lee Kong Chian National University of Singapore–Stanford Fellow on Southeast Asia. "An extraordinary situation requires an extraordinary leader, and Mahathir was the one. Mahathir has an image of a strong man, and the way he came back to politics — that he had actually never really left — was portrayed as the coming back of a savior."



Lemière gained a rare, firsthand look into Mahathir's electoral campaign as she joined his inner circle, following him along the campaign trail. During her time at the Center, she worked on an upcoming political biography of Mahathir based on that experience and on a book manuscript about complicit militancy

that unveils how gangs in Malaysia have been creating umbrella NGOs to offer political services to political parties. **VIDEO: SOPHIE LEMIÈRE** // stanford.io/2ljRXTB



Shorenstein APARC hosted another expert in Malaysian politics, 2018–19 Postdoctoral Fellow in Contemporary Asia Sebastian Dettman, who completed his book manuscript on opposition party emergence and growth in Malaysia. This diverse Southeast Asian nation, says Dettman, is an interesting and important case study of electoral competition in authoritarian regimes, not only because Malaysia's opposition parties gradually built up electoral power to the point of unseating the dominant ruling coalition, but also because they had to overcome formidable challenges while seeking support across ethnoreligious lines. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2lkgcB5

ABOVE Mahathir Mohamad came out of retirement and returned to power in Malaysia at the age of 92. INSET Fellows Sophie Lemière and Sebastian Dettman both focused their research on Malaysian politics.



Alumni Reunite in Asia

In September 2018 at reunions in Beijing and Tokyo more than a hundred former Global Affiliates Program alumni and Center visiting fellows gathered to reconnect with their past peers and get acquainted with new ones. The long-running program is at the heart of Shorenstein APARC's commitment to further U.S.-Asia collaborations. For four decades, the program has hosted a cohort of qualified personnel nominated by our affiliate members, who send their talent to Stanford as visiting fellows for a year of research and enrichment. Fellows get involved in the many aspects of research and education at Shorenstein APARC and contribute to the intellectual exchange at the Center and the university



at large. We value the long-standing relationships with our affiliate organizations (see "Honor Roll" on page 23) and are delighted to welcome 18 Global Affiliate fellows for the 2019–20 academic year.

LEARN MORE // stanford.io/2IVjfa7

ABOVE Global Affiliates Program alumni, former visiting fellows, and Center faculty and staff reunite at SCPKU in China (top) and in Tokyo (inset).

SHORENSTEIN APARC FACULTY COURSES

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

2018–19 COURSES

Chinese Politics *Jean Oi*

Chinese Society in the Reform Era *Andrew Walder*

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

Health and Healthcare Systems in East Asia *Karen Eggleston*

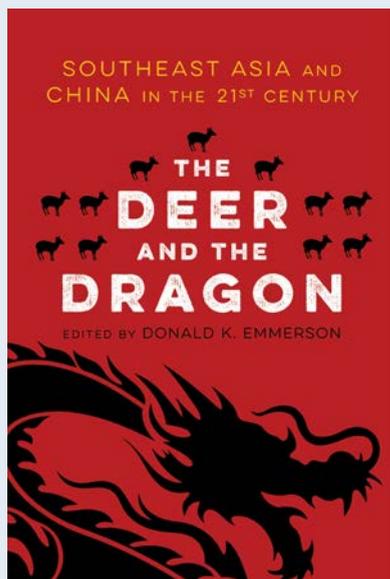
Japan and the World: Innovation, Economic Growth, Globalization, and International Security Challenges *Takeo Hoshi and Phillip Lipsky*

State and Society in Korea *Gi-Wook Shin*

U.S. Policy toward Northeast Asia *Michael Armacost and Thomasingar*

SEE THE COMPLETE LIST OF APARC COURSES // aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/education/courses

How Southeast Asian Nations Negotiate Relationships and Policy in the Shadow of China’s Influence

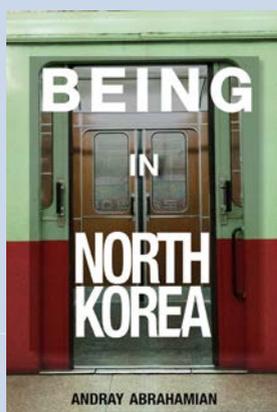
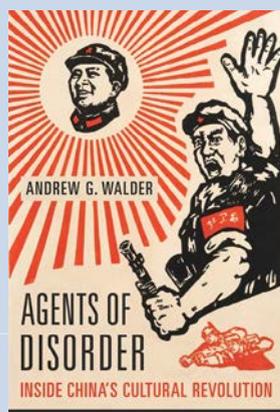


In the upcoming book *The Deer and the Dragon*, editor Donald K. Emmerson and his co-contributors look at the political relationships between Southeast Asian nations and the People’s Republic of China, relationships that are to some degree influenced by the inherent inequalities of size and power between those nations and the PRC. While the asymmetries themselves are undeniable, the resulting interactions do not necessarily translate into a case of China dictating policy across Southeast Asia. The book’s contributors look at historical and economic contexts, the perceptions that the various parties hold of one another, strategies Southeast nations use in their approach to China, and how China works to expand its influence in the region. *The Deer and the Dragon* tells the complicated and sometimes surprising stories of, for example, how Singapore has been able to maintain policy autonomy from Beijing; how Beijing takes advantage of its “overseas Chinese” networks in Southeast Asia to spread its policy gospel; and how Cambodian tycoons have profited off deals with China in the poorest state in Southeast Asia.

“The ‘ASEAN Way,’ whereby votes are avoided and consensus is required before action can be taken on controversial matters, abets Beijing’s strategy of division. A case in point is China’s success in co-opting Cambodia into service as a proxy whose veto, if wielded, can block any ASEAN statement on the South China Sea that China dislikes.” Donald K. Emmerson

RECENT AND UPCOMING TITLES

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





Shorenstein Journalism Award Bestowed on *Washington Post*'s Anna Fifield

“I learned long ago to never predict anything about North Korea.” So began the keynote address by Anna Fifield, winner of the 2018 Shorenstein Journalism Award. Headlining the award panel discussion, “How North Korea Is, and Isn’t, Changing under Kim Jong Un,” Fifield, the Beijing bureau chief for the *Washington Post*, shared some of the observations she had made since she first began covering North Korea in 2004, shedding light on the lives of ordinary people there.

Throughout its history, experts have predicted the demise of the so-called Hermit Kingdom, yet the pariah state continues to prove them wrong. In September 2018, the DPRK marked its 70th anniversary with an enormous parade that underscored leader Kim Jong Un’s emphasis on economic development. “There are now more than 400 established, state-sanctioned markets in North Korea,” said Fifield. “That’s more than double the number that existed when Kim Jong Un took over at the end of 2011.” A side effect of this nascent market economy has been the emergence of new elites in North Korea’s purported “classless” society.

Make no mistake, however, Fifield reminded the audience: “Kim has not allowed these markets to flourish because he cares about the people and their well-being. There’s only one thing he cares about and that is staying in

“The single biggest reason for Kim Jong Un’s success so far, and the single biggest change in North Korea since its inception 70 years ago, has been in the emergence of a dynamic market economy.” Anna Fifield

power. He’s a smart tyrant who’s been operating in a calculating way. To treat him as a joke or a madman is to underestimate the threat of him.”

Fifield was joined at the award panel discussion by Barbara Demick, New York correspondent of the *Los Angeles Times* and the 2012 Shorenstein award winner, and Andray Abrahamian, the 2018–19 Koret Fellow in Korean Studies. **VIDEO AND AUDIO** // stanford.io/2nezhVN

This October, the Center recognizes 2019 award winner and internationally esteemed journalist Maria Ressa, the CEO and executive editor of *Rappler*, a Philippine independent news platform known for its critical investigative reporting on the Duterte administration’s policies and actions. **READ MORE** // stanford.io/2WjUEov

ABOVE Journalist Anna Fifield once thought North Korea could not survive the death of Kim Jong Il; now she sees the growth of markets under Kim Jong Un as key to the regime’s continued survival.

OUTREACH & EVENTS



ABOVE (l-r) Prof. Adam Johnson, FSI senior fellow emeritus Sigfried Hecker, and 2012 awardee Barbara Demick share a moment at the Shorenstein Journalism Award ceremony.

Annual Events and Conferences

South Asia Colloquia

2018–19

PERSPECTIVES ON INDIA

For the third year, Shorenstein APARC and the Center for South Asia collaborated on this public lecture series on policy challenges facing contemporary South Asia, with a focus on India, including the country's health policy, its 2019 general elections, and its secularization.

Shorenstein Journalism Award

NOVEMBER 14, 2018

HOW NORTH KOREA IS, AND ISN'T, CHANGING UNDER KIM JONG UN

The award recognizes outstanding journalists who have helped global audiences to grasp the complexities of the Asia-Pacific region, alternating between recipients working mainly in U.S. news media and those working primarily in Asian news media.

Eleventh Annual Koret Workshop

MARCH 15, 2019

NORTH KOREA AND THE WORLD IN FLUX

The workshop convenes international experts in Korean affairs to examine pressing peninsular issues and U.S.-Korea relations, focusing this year on roadblocks on the path toward sustainable solutions to the persistent conflict on the Korean Peninsula.

Oksenberg Conference

MAY 17, 2019

ON THE BRINK: A NEW COLD WAR WITH CHINA

Honoring Michel Oksenberg's legacy, this year's conference featured experts discussing the causes of the intensified U.S.-China conflict and considered the future of the strategic competition between the two powers.

Select Events, 2018–19

Shorenstein APARC is a gathering place for leaders from academia, business, government, and the social sector, as well as for community members to examine together timely, policy-relevant topics that shape contemporary Asia and are of mutual importance to the United States and Asian nations. Each year the Center and its programs host dozens of seminars, colloquia, conferences, and workshops in support of our research and outreach goals. **FULL EVENT LISTING** // aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/aparc-events.



LEFT Shorenstein APARC creates a space for members of the university and the greater Bay Area to learn from international academic, business, and government leaders.

The ASEAN Secretariat in Comparative Perspective
Deepak Nair

Fukushima Accident and Its Aftermath
Naomi Hirose

Health Policy in Nepal: The Role of Community Health Workers
Sarita Panday

Hedging Our Allies: Australia and the Battle Line for Strategic Competition with China
Ambassador Jeffrey Bleich

On Hostile Coexistence with China
Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr.

How China Can Lead the Way Towards Cooperative Innovation
Ambassador Craig Allen

How and Why Did the Opposition Win in Malaysia? Lessons for Semi-Authoritarian Asia
Sebastian Dettman and Sophie Lemière

Japan in the Bay Area: From Competition to Collaboration
Japan Program conference

Indonesia: Democratic Hopes, Institutional Woes
Kevin O'Rourke

Killing the Chicken to Scare the Monkey: Explaining Coercion by China in the South China Sea
Ketian Zhang

North Korea: Five Numbers You Need to Know
Victor Cha

North Korean Human Rights and Transnational Activism
Andrew Yeo

Is Preventive Care Worth the Cost? Evidence from Mandatory Checkups in Japan
Toshiaki Iizuka

Public-Private Partnerships in Health and Long-term Care in China
Alan M. Trager

Rediscovering Internationalism? Japan and the Liberal International Order in the Heisei Era and Beyond
Takako Hikotani

Shadows on the Wall: Legislative Politics in Post-Reform Vietnam
Paul Schuler

U.S.-China Diplomacy: 40 Years of What's Worked and What has Not
James Green

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

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

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Ms. Jennie Kim

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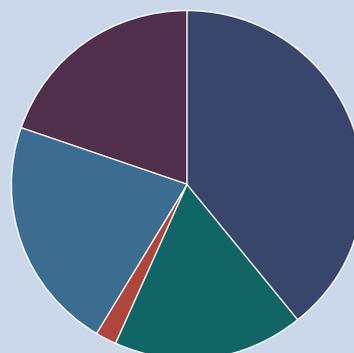
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Below is an overview of Shorenstein APARC's revenue and expenses for fiscal year 2017-18 (the most recent figures available):

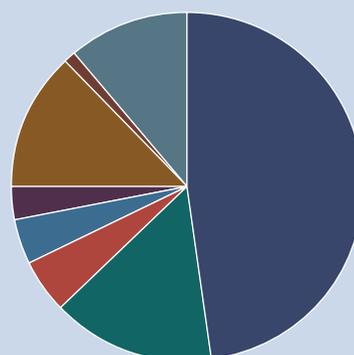
REVENUE

Endowment Payouts	\$2,779,431	40%	■
Gifts	1,253,042	18%	■
Grants	169,385	2%	■
Income	1,538,096	22%	■
Interdepartmental Unit (<i>transfer in</i>)	1,380,500	20%	■
External Department Support (<i>transfer out</i>)	(125,919)	-2%	
Net Revenue:	\$6,994,534	100%	



EXPENSES

Faculty, Research, and Administrative Staff Salaries	\$3,024,344	48%	■
Fringe Benefits	959,523	15%	■
Indirect Costs	296,570	5%	■
Postdoctoral Scholars and Visiting Scholars	267,992	4%	■
Student Support	170,704	3%	■
Conferences, Workshops, and Research Travel	842,464	13%	■
Research Materials and Other Research Expenses	32,535	1%	■
Operations, Materials, and Services	713,007	11%	■
Net Expenses:	\$6,307,139	100%	



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