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# PERSPECTIVES

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EAST-WEST CENTER  
1601 EAST-WEST ROAD  
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# EAST-WEST PERSPECTIVES

THE EAST-WEST CENTER is an international educational institution established in Hawaii by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. Each year more than 1,500 men and women from many nations and cultures work together in five problem-oriented institutes or on "open" grants as they seek solutions to problems of mutual consequence to East and West. For each Center participant from the United States, two participants are sought from the Asian/Pacific area. Although the principal funding continues to come from the U.S.

Congress, more than 20 Asian and Pacific governments now provide financial contributions for Center programs, and the number of cooperating governments and private organizations is growing. The Center is administered by a public, non-profit corporation with an international Board of Governors.



Cartography by Gregory H. Chu

*Names and international boundary representation on this map are not necessarily authoritative.*

The views expressed in the magazine are those of the authors and not necessarily of *East-West Perspectives*, its editors, or the East-West Center.

Cover: Victor Li, president of the East-West Center, presents a sculpture entitled "The Pacific Bridge" to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki. The sculpture is by Honolulu artist Bumpei Akaji.

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# The Coming of the Pacific Age

Zenko Suzuki  
The Prime Minister of Japan

*This is the text of a major address on the Pacific Basin which was delivered by the Prime Minister during his visit to the East-West Center on June 16, 1982.*

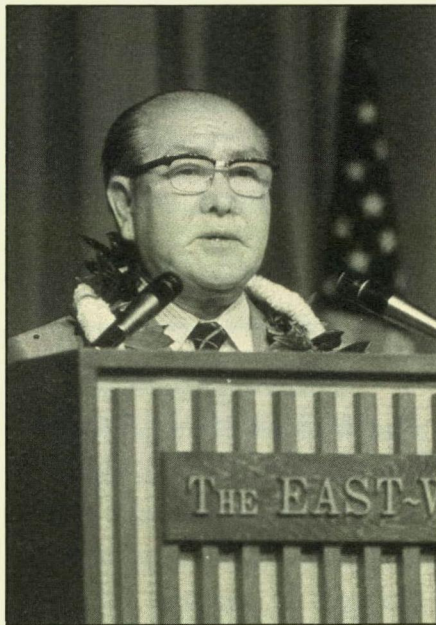
## Introduction

I am greatly honored to have been given this opportunity to address such distinguished leaders from various sectors, here at the East-West Center, an institution known for its unique research accomplishments.

Hawaii is my last stop on what has been a rather long journey that began with my departure from Tokyo on June third. On this trip I participated in the Versailles Summit and the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in New York. Following these events I travelled to Latin America, where I visited Peru and Brazil.

At Versailles, I had frank and friendly discussions with the leaders of the industrial democracies on how best to reconstruct the greatly troubled world economy. I called on all the countries to work hard in cooperation to revitalize the world economy and to preserve and strengthen the free trade system.

In New York, I stressed the urgency of promoting effective disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament, and I called on the world to divert the resources gained as a result of disarmament to the development of the world economy, in the spirit of mutual assistance. I also stressed the urgent need to strengthen and



*Prime Minister Suzuki delivers his address at the East-West Center.*

reinforce the United Nations' peace-keeping functions.

In Latin America, I witnessed first hand the strenuous efforts to build their economies at a time of world economic difficulty. My visit to Latin America brought home to me the importance of deepening the relations of mutually beneficial cooperation between the advanced industrial nations and the developing nations.

Through my journey, I have gained a renewed awareness that the nations of the world are making devoted efforts to battle adversity and danger in pursuit of

a peace and prosperity that can last long into the future. I arrived here today with my mind full of the harsh realities that confront us, the human race.

Here in Hawaii, the white-capped waves of the Pacific I have known since childhood charge against the sand! The sea breezes bear the tang of the ocean. These brilliant sunlit scenes leave my heart cleansed whenever I encounter them. Yet especially today, they strike me as a glittering symbol of a great future we must reach for by cutting through these troubled times.

It is with this feeling that I should like to turn to the heart of my speech today, "The Coming of the Pacific Age."

## The Coming of the Pacific Age

Looking back on the history of the Pacific region, we find various traces of the great migrations of our ancestors in the distant past, as they entrusted themselves to the winds and the ocean currents to cross the rough waters. In regions widely separated by the reaches of the ocean, there are not a few languages, dwellings, tools, folklore and legends that share a common origin. In that sense, we might say that the peoples of this region already have a basis for sharing a sense of affinity—a sense that can





be called a "heart-to-heart communication."

Yet, at the same time, it is true that in ages past this vast Pacific also hindered free exchange among us. In every corner of the Pacific we find that peoples differing completely in language, religion and ways of life have independently created the distinct cultures in keeping with their own environment. Even after humankind began to cross the ocean on the transportation systems created by modern civilization, the countries of this region remained "distant lands" to each other.

However, with the recent remarkable progress in transport and communications, made possible by modern advances in science and technology, people now cross the Pacific by jet in about ten hours. Communications satellites allow people to converse instantaneously over great distances, while large container ships transport huge cargoes across the ocean in a few weeks. Isolation by distance has indeed become a thing of the past, and as a result, the peoples of the Pacific, always rich in enterprise, have unleashed a flood of exchanges. Despite their political, economic and cultural diversity, the Pacific nations are deepening their mutual interdependence and understanding at an ever-accelerating rate.

We are today standing at a historic crossroads, a moment in history when the many civilizations encounter each other and come together in this Pacific region. We are witnessing the birth of a civilization fertile with the vitality that nurtures ideas and creativity, precisely because it is so rich in

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**"...I have gained a renewed awareness that the nations of the world are making devoted efforts to battle adversity and danger in pursuit of a peace and prosperity that can last long into the future."**

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diversity. This is the beginning of the Pacific Age, an age that will open the doors of the 21st Century.

In this vast region, joined by an ocean that covers some 50 percent of the ocean surface of the planet, there are bountiful human resources. The gross national product of the Pacific region now constitutes a considerable share of global GNP, and the region is blessed with abundant food and natural resources. Today, even the Pacific Ocean itself has come to be

seen as an inexhaustible treasure trove of resources. The Pacific region, among all, is displaying the most dynamic growth on earth.

These facts suggest the great future potential of the Pacific region. It is no exaggeration to say that our success or failure in making these possibilities real will shape the future of development, not only in this region, but also throughout the entire world.

### **The Principles Promoting Pacific Solidarity**

If the tremendous potential of the Pacific is to be given full rein and the region's accomplishments are to be made even more solid, nothing can be more important than that the countries of the region join together in cooperation. The nations of the Pacific need to make efforts, based on an awareness of the coming of the Pacific Age, to raise today's incipient cooperation into regional solidarity.

I believe that the principles to bring about this solidarity are the following five:

First, the Pacific must be, as its name implies, an "ocean of peace." Peace is the foundation of the continuing existence and prosperity of every people. We must cooperate and redouble our effort to maintain peace.





*More than 650 persons from the East-West Center and the community heard Prime Minister Suzuki's address at the John F. Kennedy Theatre.*

Second, the Pacific must be an "ocean of freedom." It is the free exchange of people and goods that will accomplish the development of this region. We must be vigilant against any developments that would hamper this free exchange.

Third, the Pacific is an "ocean of diversity." It is essential for us to cultivate a spirit that respects and accepts the originality and independent initiative of every Pacific nation.

Fourth, the Pacific must be an "ocean of mutual benefits." We must actively use every means at our disposal, be they political, economic or cultural, to increase our mutual interdependence and understanding, and thereby work for the development of all Pacific nations.

And fifth and last, the Pacific should be an "open ocean." Just as the waters of the Pacific connect with the waters of every other ocean, so must our circle of solidarity be linked with every other region of the globe.

These five principles express the character of the vast blue ocean which extends before us. It is my firm belief that the peoples of this region, considering their long familiarity with the ocean and the natural affinities born of common origins, can cooperate on the basis of these principles for the advance of the great Pacific Age.

## **An Ocean of Peace**

Let me speak first of the Pacific as an ocean of peace.

It is said that he who loves the ocean loves peace. There can be no doubt that the peoples of the Pacific all desire to create a region free from war and conflict. This

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**"The failures of the concept of closed blocs of nations in the past are still fresh in our memories."**

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region has gone through trials in the past, yet today peace and stability are maintained in the Pacific through the efforts of all the people of the Pacific.

When we speak of maintaining peace and stability in the region, we cannot forget the important role the United States has played as a Pacific nation in the political, economic and security spheres. I should also mention that Japan has come to be an important stabilizing power in the region, growing as an advanced democracy and building an unshakable relationship with the United States. The cooperation of the advanced democracies of the region—Canada, Australia and New Zealand as well as Japan and the

United States—strengthened the solidarity of the ASEAN nations, the steady growth of the Republic of Korea, and China's pursuance of a moderate foreign policy path, these have been, among others, major contributory factors to the peace and prosperity of this region.

Yet regrettably there are factors that bring tensions to this region.

It is a matter of especially serious concern to us that the Soviet Union has continued to build up its military forces in Asia and the Far East in recent years. In Japan, the Soviet military build-up on the Northern Territories, the inherent sovereign territory of our nation, and the increased activities of Soviet forces in the waters around Japan, have heightened the apprehensions of our people. If the Soviet Union similarly desires to contribute to the peace and stability of the region, I would call upon the Soviet Union to demonstrate it by concrete actions.

Meanwhile, the conflicts on the Indochinese Peninsula and the continuing confrontation between North and South on the Korean Peninsula remain as causes of tension. I hope for the early and peaceful resolution of the conflicts and for the easing of the confrontation. We Japanese are ready to contribute to these ends, in any way we can, in cooperation with the countries concerned.



*President Li introduces the prime minister to Dr. Fujio Matsuda (right), president of the University of Hawaii, and to Hawaii Governor and Mrs. George R. Ariyoshi.*



### **An Ocean of Freedom**

The second principle I cited was that the Pacific be an ocean of freedom. Here I would particularly like to stress that free exchange among nations should be assured if the vitality and dynamism of the Pacific basin economy are to be strengthened further in the future. Protectionist tendencies have begun to emerge in various parts of the world that are suffering domestic economic slump in the aftermath of the oil crisis. We cannot overlook the fact that similar protectionist tendencies are beginning to be felt also in this region.

I believe, first, that it is necessary to encourage the exchange of people and goods in the Pacific region, seeking to promote technology transfers and investment, to upgrade industry, and to strengthen the economic foundations. If by these means we can achieve energetic development in all our countries, we will be contributing not only to the prosperity of the region, but also to the revitalization of the world economy as a whole.

We in Japan have already introduced a series of measures to open our market wider as a contribution to revitalizing the world economy. Japan intends to continue to make contributions, commensurate with its ability, toward this end.

### **An Ocean of Diversity**

Third is the principle of diversity.

There are all manner of races, languages and religions in the Pacific basin; there are peoples gathered in this region who possess distinct lifestyles and customs. Truly, the interplay of this rich diversity is the wellspring of the region's vitality and fertile

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**“It is said that he who loves the ocean loves peace. There can be no doubt that the peoples of the Pacific all desire to create a region free from war and conflict.”**

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creativity. Continuity of the dynamic life of the region requires that we guarantee the flourishing of this diversity.

There are times when diverse values invite misconceptions and hamper mutual understanding. Yet we should work to bridge these pitfalls, seeking instead to deepen our mutual understanding, and striving to lay secure foundations for our regional solidarity.

I also believe it desirable that the existing intra-regional organizations in the Pacific, formed

through their own initiatives, be further developed.

By strengthening their interdependence and mutual trust, the ASEAN nations have taken on the challenge of achieving independent political stability and self-reliance, and have successfully created a resilient framework for cooperation among themselves. I have the highest praise for their success. Last year I visited the ASEAN countries, and was impressed by the nation-building enthusiasm of the leaders and peoples of these countries. They are rich in the spirit of self-help. It is of the greatest significance to the development of the entire Pacific region that the ASEAN nations further strengthen their solidarity, walking the road of independent development as an important nucleus of this region.

The island nations in the Pacific have already achieved or are now in the process of achieving their independence. Despite their tiny populations, their limited land mass and their distance from foreign markets, these countries have chosen the democratic form of government, and are strengthening dialogue and cooperation through such organizations as the South Pacific Forum. I find their wholehearted devotion to nation-building of great interest.





*Prime Minister Suzuki planted a Weeping Callistemon tree during the ceremony in the East-West Center's Japanese Garden.*

Various movements toward national integration in Latin America, bordering the Eastern Pacific, are their response to the new era and are also worthy of our attention.

### **An Ocean of Mutual Benefits**

The fourth principle is that of mutual benefits.

Cooperation in the Pacific region must, under any condition, not be for the benefit of only one party, but for the mutual good of all concerned. Moreover, such cooperation should not be limited to the economic sphere, but should also include cultural, academic and other areas.

There is probably no need to point again to the development of mutually beneficial economic interdependence in the region. The fact that many Pacific nations conduct more than half their trade within the region speaks clearly of this progress. We in Japan also intend to continue our vigorous efforts to expand our economic relations with Pacific countries.

Moreover, the Japanese government is directing approximately half its official development assistance to nations of the Pacific in order to assist their economic and social development, and to help bring greater stability to the lives of their

peoples. In the years ahead we will continue to emphasize economic aid to the Pacific region. In particular, we plan to extend our aid in the fields of technology transfers and human-resource development to meet the needs and special conditions of the developing nations while respecting their diversity.

Japan also hopes, as an advanced technological nation, that science and technology—the common heritage of all humankind—will be utilized to further the economic development and welfare of the region. To this

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**“It is of the greatest significance to the development of the entire Pacific region that the ASEAN nations further strengthen their solidarity, walking the road of independent development as an important nucleus of this region.”**

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end, we will work to promote scientific and technological cooperation at every level with other Pacific nations.

At the same time, broader

cultural exchanges among the nations of the Pacific are vital to deepen our mutual understanding, and to enrich our respective cultures. In this connection, I believe it especially important to promote the exchange of youth, since the future of the Pacific Age will fall on their shoulders. One good example of this type of project is the “Working Holiday” system established between Japan and Australia. Under this arrangement young people from each country are issued tourist visas with labour permits, so they may travel around the other country as they work. Japan wishes to further encourage the exchange of people at all levels.

### **An Open Ocean**

Finally I should like to comment on the fifth principle, that the solidarity of the Pacific be an open relationship.

The failures of the concept of closed blocs of nations in the past are still fresh in our memories; these blocs have led to economic decline on the one hand, and have opened the path to war on the other. Pacific solidarity must lead to world peace and prosperity through achieving regional development. Metaphorically speaking, it is like the ocean currents that surge around the



Pacific Ocean, pulling together the nations of the region by centripetal force, while at the same time transmitting this energy outward into connecting oceans through centrifugal force.

Today, when all nations on this planet are bound together in close, mutually interdependent relationships, there is no other way to bring about global peace and prosperity except through promoting cooperative relationships predicated on the diversity of nations. In this sense, I believe the concept of Pacific solidarity can serve as a model for global cooperation.

### **Prospects for the 21st Century**

I am well aware that many leading thinkers from the Pacific region are searching for the forms Pacific solidarity should take in a long-term perspective, looking toward the 21st Century.

The late Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, my predecessor and my colleague through many long years in politics, was a firm advocate of Pacific basin cooperation. His advocacy was one of the major factors stimulating the interest and activities of this region.

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**"If the Soviet Union similarly desires to contribute to the peace and stability of the region, I would call upon the Soviet Union to demonstrate it by concrete actions."**

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The Pacific Basin Economic Council, an organization comprised mainly of business leaders, has been actively working on this issue, and I am much impressed by the steady progress they are making. A number of research studies have been carried out, and a series of international seminars have been held in recent years by those in the

private sector interested in this problem. These are the signs of steadily growing interest in the issue of Pacific cooperation.

Early this month, a seminar on Pacific cooperation was held in Bangkok. This was the second, following the seminar held in Canberra in 1980. I understand that, at the seminar, the need for Pacific cooperation was stressed and an agreement was reached on matters relating to future activities for promoting Pacific cooperation. I find the achievements of the seminar to be significant as they constitute a constructive step toward our common goal of consolidating Pacific solidarity.

I am confident that if this kind of initiative and vitality on the part of the private sector results in the creation of greater wisdom, and if the nations of the region use this new wisdom as the basis for continued assiduous efforts, then we will definitely see the way open to Pacific solidarity.

In 1961, the year after the founding of the East-West Center, then U.S. Vice President Lyndon Johnson had this to say about the Center:

"The East-West Center is here to serve the world. To this Center we shall bring the wise men of the west and we shall invite the wise men of the east. From them we shall hope that many generations of young scholars will learn the wisdom of the two worlds, united here, and to use that wisdom for the purposes and the ends of mankind's highest aspirations for peace and justice and freedom."

These words do not differ from the spirit of Pacific solidarity that I have been advocating here today. The East-West Center has been established in Hawaii, a place well suited to that mission. These islands are not merely in the center of the Pacific Ocean, at mid-point among the American and Asian continents and the nations of Oceania. Here also, people who came from the lands clustering around the Pacific have built hand

in hand a vibrant community with a dynamism born of ethnic diversity. It is no exaggeration to say that Hawaiian society is itself symbolic of the future of Pacific solidarity.

Now is the time for us to embark into the Pacific Age on a course set for the 21st Century.

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**"...Hawaiian society is itself symbolic of the future of Pacific solidarity."**

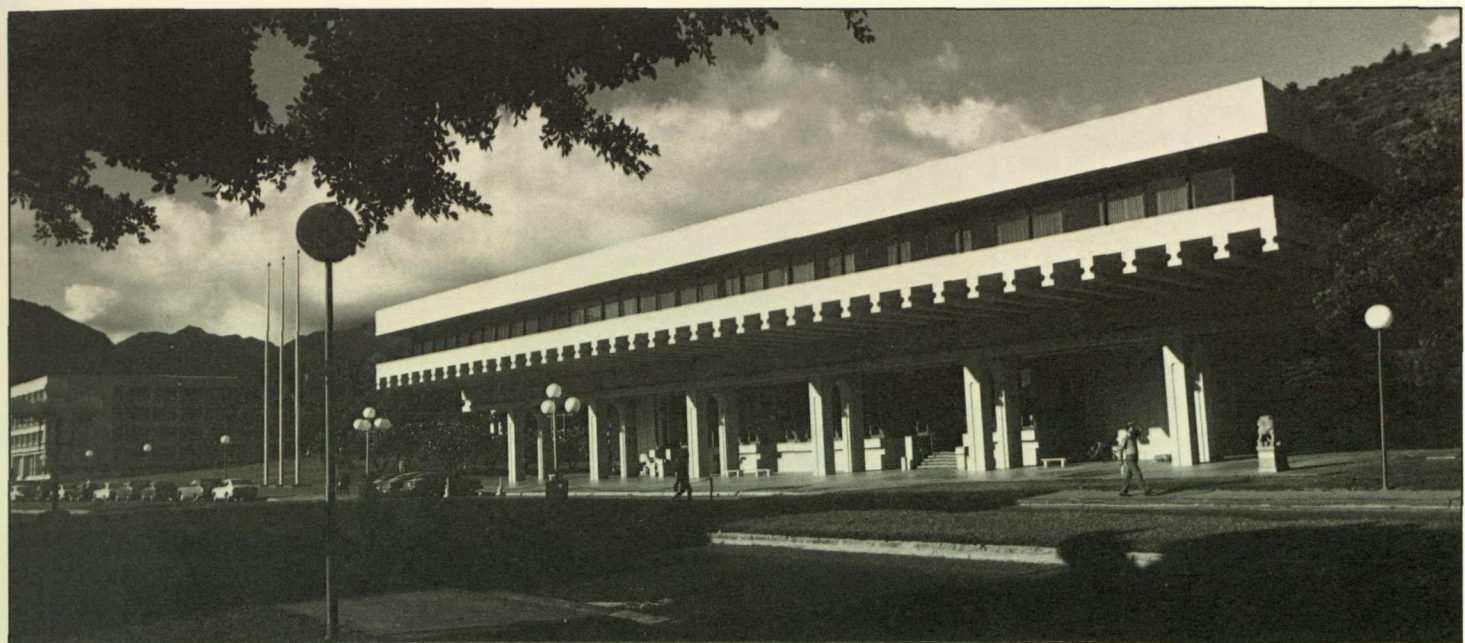
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Our sails billow in the wind; a full tide is running. Steering toward a grand future, and riding the same ship, we are full of the courageous spirit.

Shall we not join in this great endeavor of the century? Let us build a record of accomplishments for our nations and the Pacific region that will live in the annals of world history.

Thank you.





*The Thomas Jefferson Hall is the main conference facility at the East-West Center.*

## **East-West Center: Building a Pacific Bridge**

"Today's address marks another milestone in the history of the relationship between the East-West Center and Japan," commented EWC President Victor Hao Li in welcoming Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki. "Throughout the years, Japan has been a vital partner in our efforts to build a Pacific Bridge and foster cooperation among nations in the region. By working with each other and learning from each other, all sides have benefited."

President Li pointed out that since 1960, nearly 4,500 Japanese scholars, students, scientists, businessmen and policymakers have participated in the Center's cooperative programs of study, training and research.

Japan also has shown its support of the Center in a variety of other ways. One of the original Asian members of the EWC board was Masaru Ibuka, honorary chairman of the board of the Sony Corporation. Currently serving on the board is Yoshinori Maeda, co-chairman of the U.S.-Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Exchange and former chairman of NHK. The government of Japan has provided contributions

to assist the Center in program support, as have Japanese foundations and corporations.

A lasting contribution to the beauty of the East-West Center campus was made by Japan in 1963 when a group of 22 businessmen representing the Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) sponsored construction of a large Japanese garden along the Manoa Stream behind the Center's Jefferson Hall. Specialists were brought from Asia, the Pacific and the United States to learn from Japanese landscape architects as they constructed the garden. Since then it has become a most popular spot on the Center's campus — a place to relax and enjoy the beauty and serenity.

After his address, Prime Minister Suzuki participated in ceremonies that symbolized the partnership of Japan in the work of the Center. He planted a Weeping Callistemon tree in the Japanese garden, near the coral shower tree planted by Crown Prince Akihito when he blessed the garden in 1964. In recognition of the partnership the East-West Center has enjoyed with Japan, President Li presented the prime minister with a sculpture by Honolulu artist Bumpei Akaji, entitled "The Pacific Bridge."

Governor George R. Ariyoshi, an ex-officio member of the international Board of Governors, welcomed the prime minister on behalf of the people of Hawaii. "Our world is faced with monumental problems which frighten millions, and, therefore, the leaders of the great nations must carry awesome burdens," Governor Ariyoshi said. "So our first words are of gratitude to you for working so hard to bring greater peace, stability, and progress to our world."

The governor noted that it was appropriate that the prime minister selected the East-West Center as the setting for his major address, because the Center is "an institution which understands so well the importance and vitality of the Pacific and Asian community."

This concept, which has been the basis of the Center's programs, was first publicly suggested by then Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1959, the year Hawaii became the nation's 50th state, Johnson proposed the establishment of an international university in Hawaii as a meeting place for East and West. "For too many years," Johnson observed, "we have neglected the simple things that would break down the barriers between



ourselves and the people who should be our friends.”

In 1960 Congress created the Center and gave it the mandate to promote better relations and understanding among the nations of Asia, the Pacific and the United States through cooperative study, training and research.

The Center's basic philosophy is that understanding and cooperation are fostered by bringing together people from different countries, cultures and professions to work, study and conduct cooperative research on real-life problems of mutual concern.

A major objective of the Center is to generate and disseminate knowledge through programs of cultural and technical interchange, shedding new light on the major problems being faced by both eastern and western nations. The goal is to formulate alternative approaches that policymakers and other decision-makers can consider as they make the difficult choices that will have widespread effect on the lives of their peoples.

Research at the Center is conducted by five institutes that work in the areas of Communication, Culture Learning, Environment and Policy, Population, and Resource Systems (energy, food and raw materials). The Open Grants office offers awards to individuals in other areas of East-West interest, providing an opportunity to experiment with new issues and ideas.

The Center has a permanent research staff of more than 50 scholars who work closely with specialists and institutions throughout Asia, the Pacific and the U.S. Also emerging at the Center are new areas of interest such as international economics and various aspects of the humanities. In addition, the Center has established a Pacific Islands Development Program and a “diplomats-in-residence” program for senior foreign affairs specialists.

Intensive research is in



*The Japanese Garden at the East-West Center is a popular area for relaxing and enjoying the natural beauty.*

progress at the Center on such topics as the environmental consequences of greater coal use, the introduction of satellite communication within the region, problems of growing and migrating populations, the relationship between population trends, food production and food security, management of mineral resources, and the problems of contact among cultures.

Collaboration among institutes and research staff is stressed. Rampant urban growth, for example, poses problems that need attention by specialists from many disciplines.

Each year, some 1,500 men and women take part in East-West Center programs. Of this number, about 200 are visiting fellows (scholars and specialists in residence from one month to three years), some 300 are graduate students working toward master's or doctoral degrees at the University of Hawaii on East-West Center grants, approximately 20 are joint doctoral research interns from other educational institutions working with EWC

colleagues on projects relating to their dissertations, and another 800 to 1,000 are professional associates (scholars, practitioners or policymakers) who come to the Center for periods ranging from a week to a year to exchange ideas and test policy-related research results.

For its first 15 years, the Center was affiliated with the University of Hawaii. Since 1975, the Center has been an independent institution directed by an international board of governors with members from throughout the region.

Although the Center's major funding comes from the U.S. government, financial contributions for program support are received from more than 20 Asian and Pacific governments and from corporations, private foundations, networks of cooperating institutions and individual contributors.

Since the Center was established in 1960, more than 30,000 persons—20,000 from Asia and the Pacific and 10,000 from the United States—have participated in and contributed to East-West Center programs. To maintain a broad international mix, the Center admits two participants from Asian and Pacific countries for every one from the United States.

Among these alumni are current heads of state and government officials, prominent scholars, educators and journalists, and leading members of the business community. Participants come to the Center to expand their knowledge, learn new skills, and engage in action-oriented research. But equally important, they become teachers, helping others to increase their understanding of problems stemming from differences in philosophy, culture, and political and economic interests. These 30,000 alumni form the core of a network of cooperation and mutual assistance that links institutions and individuals throughout the world.



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East-West Center  
1777 East-West Road  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96848

