



EAST-WEST CENTER

Building an Asia Pacific Community

# Observer

Burma, one of the world's most repressive regimes, has only one way out of its current political crisis, according to America's top diplomat to this isolated Southeast Asian country. "The only way forward is talks between the military (currently running Burma) and the protesters and democracy advocates," said Shari Villarosa, the U.S. Charge D'Affairs in Burma, during a presentation at the East-West Center in Honolulu in early October.

## Burma at a Crossroads, Change Due Says U.S. Envoy

Villarosa briefly left Burma for a series of meetings and consultations in Honolulu, before returning to Rangoon.

While the military has largely maintained control in Burma over most of the past 46 years, its time will eventually come, Villarosa suggested. "I don't think you can achieve stability out of a gun barrel," she told the East-West Center audience.

The current protests in Burma, initially led by widely respected monks, were stimulated by long-term dissatisfaction with the military regime and specifically sparked by broad public unhappiness with a sudden rise in government-controlled fuel prices.

Change, said Villarosa, is inevitable in Burma. And that change will not come purely by internal or domestic pressure. "We're not the only ones saying things," she said of U.S. pressure against Burma's



Shari Villarosa, U.S. Charge D'Affairs in Burma, gave an update on Burma at the East-West Center.

current leaders. "The way they are going is seen more and more as objectionable, even by their neighbors."

This is particularly true for China, Villarosa noted, "which has been more critical on this crisis than ever before." At the same time, she said, India (perhaps for its own strategic reasons, such as access to Burmese resources), "has been quiet."

Burma's military leaders don't seem to be in touch with the lives of ordinary citizens, Villarosa added. The

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## Asia Pacific Experts Chart Challenges for China-U.S. Interests and the Region

Building a sustainable, steady relationship with China just may be the greatest challenge American foreign policy has ever faced, maintains U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, former envoy to South Korea and the Philippines and current dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

"It is much more difficult, much more complicated than dealing with the former Soviet Union after World War II, simply because we interact with China in so many different ways," he said at a public program at the eighth EWC Senior Policy Seminar in Honolulu in August.

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Spencer Kim, chairman of CBOL Corporation (L), and Laurence Lau, president and professor of Economics of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (R) at the Senior Policy Seminar.

# Burma at a Crossroads

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fuel price hike, for instance, which might have made sense from some sort of national policy perspective, resulted in a spike in bus fares from around 20 cents to 50 cents a ride, out of reach for many workers. That led to protests not just in Rangoon, but around the country. "There are uprisings all over the country," she said. "Everything's not OK."

Meanwhile, the 400,000-member-strong Burmese army, the fundamental source of control for the

current leadership, is plagued by desertions and internal dissent, Villarosa said. "The leaders don't have a feeling for what it is like to be an ordinary citizen," she said. "Change is going to happen in Burma. I just don't know when."

*(In October, the East-West Center created the website weblog "Burma Views" to help facilitate communication with, among and about the people of Burma. To access the blog log on to: <http://forums.eastwestcenter.org/ewcblog13/>)*

## The East-West Center Observer

is a quarterly newsletter published by the East-West Center, a public non-profit institution established in 1960 to foster mutual understanding and cooperation among the governments and peoples of the Asia Pacific region, including the United States.

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*Participants in the Senior Policy Seminar discussed issues ranging from security to economics to soft power.*

## Asia Pacific Experts Chart Challenges for Region

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Security, economics, the U.S. role in the Asia Pacific region, China-U.S. relations and "soft power" dominated the discussion among the 28 diplomats, analysts, scholars and business leaders at the seminar.

At the public program Bosworth noted that because of the rise of China, which was preceded by the economic rise of its Asian neighbors, "we are in the midst of a phenomenon which will be of greater historical importance than the Industrial Revolution. Hundreds of millions of people are rising in the space of one generation or less from a life of pure drudgery to a middle-class existence," he said.

The former ambassador also regards as positive the building of regional institutions in Asia, due in part to concern about China's growing power. By bringing China into a web of commitments and mutual obligations comes reassurance for the rest of the world that China will behave in a manner that relies on cooperation and consensus building, he said.

Ambassador Wu Jianmin, president of the China Foreign Affairs University in Beijing who has served as China's ambassador to the United Nations and in posts in Europe, emphasized the common interests rather than differences that have influenced relations between Beijing and Washington. "China is going through the most important stage of its modern history," he said. "To develop, China needs peace."

During the three-day seminar participants assessed the trends and shifts in the following areas:

**Security.** Relations among the major regional powers are generally positive and no significant regional power is fundamentally dissatisfied with the status quo. The response of regional governments to changes in the

distribution of power is best described as efforts at "engagement" and multiple "partnerships," rather than "hedging" or more traditional alliances.

While these new regional security institutions are emerging — such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Asian Summit meetings, these are not yet able to deal with the most critical issues. But it was suggested that over time — with or without active U.S. participation — they will become stronger and develop their own "rules of the game" to manage challenges.

**Economics.** Rising levels and greater dispersion of prosperity around the region, including shifts toward consumption and domestic investment as drivers of growth, could make for stability in the long-term. However, at the moment interdependence is increasing far more rapidly than the development of institutions which could help manage disruptions such as volatile financial flows. This increases the vulnerability of economies in the region to each other's crises.

Managing economic problems is more difficult because leaders and political systems tend to respond to short-term interests rather than the requirements of building a stable and mutually beneficial system for the long run.

**Soft power.** Use of soft power to advance foreign policy requires careful management. It can be ephemeral and can even backfire. U.S. soft power has been to a degree squandered by its widely criticized intervention in Iraq. And in many parts of Asia there remains distrust of China's ultimate goals and impact in the region.

## Leach Cautions 'Crisis Brewing in U.S.-China Relations'



Jim Leach

A crisis is brewing in U.S.-China relations based in part on tangible issues and in part on mutual misunderstanding, warns Jim Leach, former chair of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. The former congressman shared his observations in a discussion of current challenges in U.S.-China relations with the United States Asia Pacific Council (USAPC) at East-West Center Washington in June.

He attributed growing tensions to difficulties both nations have understanding the other's political system, changes in U.S. party politics and public fears about globalization.

"It is important to bear in mind that China and the United States view the world in profoundly different ways," Leach said. "China has adopted an 'economics first' policy, which it claims is a doctrine of non-interference rooted in the notion of equality of nations. American foreign policy, by contrast, emphasizes political issues and ethical values rooted in the notion of equality of the individual."

From a Chinese perspective, the American emphasis on the dignity of the individual rather than respect for the state too easily legitimizes "self-righteous interventionism," including military action, Leach said. From an American perspective, the Chinese "equality-of-nations" approach may in some circumstances be quite reasonable, but in others appears to disguise a willingness to consort with oppressive governments, he said.

He elaborated on the mutual misunderstanding he sees fueling this crisis in relations. "We have a tendency to overlook the economic challenges China faces and the rapidity of change in Chinese society," he said. "The Chinese are trying harder to understand us than we them, but their state-centered approach makes dealing with our separation-of-power system difficult. It defies Chinese sensibilities. The Chinese, like other foreigners, particularly wonder about the relationship between the Executive (Branch) and Congress in foreign policy."

He sees a general trend toward greater activism in Congress on foreign policy issues, a trend likely to accelerate rather than reverse. "This will particularly be the case on trade matters," he added. "If lawmakers perceive constituent interests are being harmed by foreign commercial practices, it should come as no surprise to trading partners that Congress will attempt to flex its muscles."

Leach does not anticipate this trend will change as an election year nears in the United States. "I have no doubt Congress is going to consider legislation that will challenge China significantly in this Congress," he said, "and that the trade issue potentially could be strident in the coming presidential campaign."

*(The United States Asia Pacific Council, founded by the East-West Center, is a non-partisan organization composed of prominent American experts and opinion leaders, whose aim is to promote and facilitate greater U.S. engagement with the Asia Pacific region through human networks and institutional partnerships.)*

## EWC Awarded \$300,000 for U.S.-Indonesian Muslim Teacher Exchange Program

The East-West Center received a \$300,000 grant from the U.S. Department of State for a new exchange program for teachers from the United States and Indonesia. The program, titled "Partnership for Schools Leading Change" will bring 45 teachers from Indonesian *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) together with

teacher-representatives from the hosting 15 U.S. secondary schools.

"U.S.-Indonesian Muslim ties will be strengthened through the building of professional, institutional and personal relationships as the educators work together and share their expertise," said Namji Steinemann, EWC director of the AsiaPacificEd Program for Schools, which

developed this new exchange program. "The relationships formed will help dispel negative stereotypes and will have a direct impact on their schools and communities."

Both groups will spend a week together at the Center in Honolulu, examining "best practice" teaching methods, including the development of critical thinking skills, the adaptation of instruction to address different student needs and the effective use of educational technology.

The Indonesian teachers will travel in small groups, spending 10 days with their U.S. host schools supplemented by home stays to gain cultural understanding of American lifestyles and community life. The school visits will enable Indonesian teachers to observe "best practices" being implemented in U.S. classrooms while also fostering an exchange of ideas and cultures.

The new exchange program builds on the success of the EWC's AsiaPacificEd "Best Practices" Teaching Program. Over the past five years the AsiaPacificEd Program has worked with more than 400 schools in the United States, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Japan, China and Korea and supported thousands of teachers in developing their ability to prepare their students for life in the ever-changing and increasingly interconnected Asia-Pacific region.



## News in Brief

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**\$10,000**

### EWC, Korea Institute Team on Energy Policy and Planning

The EWC signed a three-year agreement with the Korea Energy Economics Institute (KEEI) to participate in an exchange of research and joint projects on energy policy and planning.

Ki-Yual Bang, CEO and president of the KEEI, said the new agreement will play a significant role in promoting energy cooperation through joint studies, information exchanges and the exchange of research personnel between Honolulu and Seoul. He added "by working jointly the EWC and KEEI can develop much needed energy policy options."

"We each bring different strengths to the table," EWC President Charles E. Morrison said. "The KEEI is a strong partner in the energy sector in Korea and the EWC offers a broad network of research and political contacts throughout the Asia Pacific region, in addition to our own expertise in energy and environmental policy."

### Partnering with Vietnam on Avian Flu, Emerging Infectious Diseases

The EWC is partnering with leading public health researchers in government and universities in Vietnam to address prevention and control of emerging infectious diseases (EID) in Southeast Asia. Focusing on avian influenza and dengue fever, the team will employ a community-based ecosystem approach, which examines the interaction of both social and ecological factors that contribute to the emergence of disease. An initial workshop was held in Hanoi in early September.

The partners in Vietnam include The National Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology and Hanoi Agricultural University.

### 'Living Angkor' in the Spotlight at EWC Gallery

"Living Angkor," photographs of Cambodia's Angkor Wat, its nearby structures and the people who live among them, by National Geographic Photographer Paul Chesley, are featured at the East-West Center Gallery, September 30 to January 17.

Curated by Gallery Coordinator Michael Schuster, the exhibition focuses on the continuity of culture found in Angkor Wat and its surroundings, with images of 13th and 14th century sculpture. Works from the Institute of Traditional Khmer Textiles are on display, as well as puppets and masks from private collections. Chesley's extraordinary photographs depict both the monuments and the people who live among them.

PHOTO: PAUL CHESLEY



**1970s Alumni Reunion at EWC.** More than 150 alumni from the 1970s gathered at the East-West Center for a reunion and conference addressing "Continuity and Change in the Asia Pacific U.S. Region," August 24-27. Alumni reminisced about their experiences in the '70s and participated in sessions on the challenges the region faces in the future.

### Lewis Named Vice President of Pacific Science Association



Nancy Lewis

Nancy Lewis, director of the EWC Research Program, has been elected vice president of the Pacific Science Association (PSA). Founded in 1920, the PSA is the oldest interdisciplinary science organization in the Asia Pacific region. The group facilitates international research and collaboration throughout the region.

### Asia Pacific-Focused Sports Summit at EWC in November

The East-West Center and Sports Marketing Japan will hold the first East-West Sports Summit at the Center's Imin International Conference Center in Honolulu, Nov. 7 to 9.

Designed for sports marketing executives, media professionals and others working in sports-related enterprises in government, NGO and business sectors, the conference will bring together the industry's top leaders in the field to discuss the changing dynamics of sports markets in the Asia Pacific region.

They will address the Asia Pacific sports scene and the globalization of U.S. sports in the region and present a comprehensive 2008 Beijing Olympics update. Participants will find opportunities for increased sports and business-related interchange and professional networking in the field.

Information and online registration is accessible at: [www.eastwestsportssummit.org](http://www.eastwestsportssummit.org)

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## 1970s Alumni Endowment Campaign Closing in on Ambitious Goal

1970s alumni raised more than \$30,000 in pledges and cash during the 1970s reunion this August. “Making A Difference” was the theme of the closing luncheon which featured major scholarship donors Toufiq and Ulrike Siddiqi, Stephen Haus and Pat Loui, who spoke about giving back. Scholarship recipients Qiong Jia from China and Tutii Chilton from Palau spoke movingly about their experience coming to the EWC

and thanked the alumni donors who made it possible. Established to help future generations of students participate in EWC education programs, the Alumni Endowment Fund is now within \$21,000 of reaching its \$200,000 goal! Call Gary Yoshida (808-944-7196) to discover meaningful ways to give back. Donations can also be made online by using our secure website [www.eastwestcenter.org/giving](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/giving).

## 2007 Asia Pacific Breakfast Briefing at the Bank of Hawaii

### January 9

In “**Asia Pacific Outlook 2007**,” EWC President **Charles Morrison** kicked off the year by discussing elections in various Asian nations and highlighting other key political, economic and security issues.

### March 13

“**The Impact of Population Aging on the Economy**” was the topic of EWC Senior Fellow **Andrew Mason**’s talk describing the fascinating results of an international study on the rapidly changing demographics of North Asia and their current and future impact.

### May 8

In “**The China Dilemma: How China’s Rise Could Wreck the Global Order**,” EWC Research Fellow **Chris McNally** explored the dilemmas and pitfalls of China’s rise.

### July 10

During his talk on “**Broadening the Pacific Islands Region’s Engagement with the United States**,” Deputy Director of the EWC Pacific Islands Development Program **Gerard Finin** provided an overview and “behind the scenes” insights of the recent Pacific Islands Conference of Leaders. Now in its 8th year, the Conference brings together top representatives from 20 Pacific nations and territories and convened in May of this year in Washington, DC for the first time.

### September 11

For the first time in history, in 2008 more than half of the world’s population will live in urban areas. **Allen Clark**, EWC Senior Fellow, discussed the global implications of this massive shift in populations from rural to urban during his talk, “**Asia’s Emerging Urban Crisis**.”

## Donors

On behalf of the East-West Center, we would like to thank those individuals, corporations, businesses, foundations, and organizations that have generously contributed to the East-West Center Foundation.

Listed are the gifts received between December 1, 2006 and August 31, 2007.

*The East-West Center Foundation has made every effort to present an accurate listing of donors. If your name has been omitted or erroneously listed, please call the EWC Foundation at 808-944-7105.*

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## Building an Asia Pacific Community: *Unity in Diversity*

**PROGRAM:** Program speakers will include leaders from the government, education, and business sectors. Conference participants are encouraged to submit abstracts for inclusion in panels, discussion and poster sessions. *The deadline for submission of abstracts is June 30, 2008.*

**VENUE:** The Sanur Paradise Plaza Hotel, the largest four-star convention center in Bali, is offering special reduced rates from \$52 to \$130 inclusive of tax, service and daily buffet breakfast. Several nearby hotels ranging from five-star to economy will also provide special rates for our delegates.

**TOURS:** See website for tours of Bali, Indonesia, and Southeast Asia.

**REGISTRATION:** Includes Opening Ceremony, Welcoming Reception, Balinese Cultural Presentation, Aloha Dinner, Luncheons, Coffee Breaks, all Program Sessions and Conference Materials. *Early Bird Registration for EWCA members: US \$175.* Rates will increase on July 1, 2008.

### **MORE INFORMATION & ONLINE REGISTRATION:**

Check the conference website at [www.eastwestcenter.org/bali2008](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/bali2008)

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Stephen Lane	Monarch Insurance Services,	Mary Francis Huth Robey	Ms. Nan Streeter	William M. Wise, III
Avrum D. Lank	Inc.	Dean Vance Roley	Proserfina A.B. Strona	Greg Wolf
Gary & Bach-Mai Larsen	Marie A. Monsen	Jean E. Rolles	Barbara Lee Bornet Stumph	Sara Banaszak & Anny Wong
Betty Lou Larson	Randolph G. Moore	Royal Contracting Co., Ltd.	A. F. Sukowatey	Terrina & Michael Wong
Daniel B.T. Lau	Charles E. Morrison	Joan Rubin	Patrick K. Sullivan	Vivien M. Wong (Seah)
Merton S. Lau	Cecile L. Motus	SAFECO Insurance	Edward Sultan	Jai Ho Woo
M. D. Lauterbach	Yoji Nakamura	Nancy Gail Sagafi-Nejad	Christine K. Sutow	Theodore P. Woodin
Stephen G. Leahey	Edwin M. Nakasone	Patricia F. Saiki	Harold & Marilyn Swanson	Kang Wu, Ph.D.
Harlan Lee	Bob & Wakako Nakasone	Stanley Saiki	Harumi Tanaka	Hank C.K. Wuh, M.D./
Major General	Katherine T. Nakata	Joichi & Yoko Saito	Khamtan & Chou L.	Cellular Bioengineering,
Robert G.F. Lee	Dr. Xavier J. Nampiaparampil	Junko Sakaba	Tanhchaleun	Inc.
Tai Young Lee	Joan M. Natalie '67	Masaro Sakashita	Nancy Taylor	Bobbie Wygant
Ted & Doris Lee	Seiji & Jane Naya	Il SaKong	Okada Techitong	James T. Yamamoto
Man-Kam Leung	NCL America	Ambassador Charles B.	Sri Puspasari Kasiman	Glenn T. Yamashita
John & Reiko Lewis	Yuk-Bun William Ng	Salmon, Jr.	Kasiman TenCate	Huiying Yang
Nancy Lewis &	Jack B. Nicholson	Puonpun & Thanh Lo	Gek C. Thai	Zijin Yang
Michael Herb	Kenneth Nishihara	Sananikone	The Kobayashi Group/	Susan Yim & John Griffin
Peter C. Lewis	Mr. & Mrs. Clinton Nonaka	Dr. Ben Schlesinger	The MacNaughton Group	Jai-Ho Yoo
Dr. Marilyn M. Li	Anita Nordbrock	Richard Theodore Schultz	The Queen's Medical Center	Christopher C. York
Suzanne Brown Little	Karen R. Nunan	Carl W. Schwartz	Mrs. Hazel Tominaga	Gary & Adele Yoshida
Wendy Littlefield	Michael E. O'Neill	Ronald G. Scronce	Theodore	Jitsuri Yoshida
Lockheed Martin	Oceanic Time Warner Cable	Dr. Genshitsu (Soshitsu XV)	Pirith Thipphavong	Peter F. Young
Corporation	Nobuko M. Ochner	Sen	Visith Thipphavong	Janice J. Yu
Tim & Zenaida Logue	Dr. Setsuo Ogasawara	A. Seshan	John & Donna Thomas	Tun Daim Zainuddin
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Philip H. Loughlin, III	Okinawa Tourist Service	A. F. Shaikh	Helen & Jan Ting	Zephyr Insurance Company,
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John B. Lum, Ph.D.	Alfred & Ruth Ono	Stephanie A. Shapiro	Top of Waikiki Restaurant	
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Luther				

## An International Affair

Mark your calendar for a regal evening! *An International Affair*, the East-West Center's annual dinner, will be held on Friday, February 29, 2008 at the Hilton Hawaiian Village Coral Ballroom.

You are invited to join the East-West Center in honoring His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej and celebrating the culture of Thailand — a country that occupies a central place in the Southeast Asia community and plays an influential role in the broader Asia Pacific region. Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn will represent His Majesty and receive the **Asia Pacific Community Building Award** in

*The Royal Thai Sala rests gracefully in the middle of the EWC campus.*



PHOTO: PAUL CHESLEY

recognition of the dedicated work of the King and the Royal Family on behalf of the people of Thailand.

More than 3,000 Thai citizens have participated in East-West Center programs, and the Center continues to be very active in Thailand, working in areas such as HIV/AIDS, environmental protection, disaster mitigation and prevention, tsunami relief, and understanding Muslim minorities.

It is in recognition of the importance of the East-West Center to U.S.-Thai relations that His Majesty and the Queen gifted the East-West Center with a Royal Thai Sala and visited here to dedicate it in 1967. Age and weathering have required the Center and Royal Thai Government to work together to restore the Sala — one of only three outside Thailand bearing the Royal Crest, and the only one personally dedicated by the King. Forty years later, in a public ceremony at the East-West Center on Saturday morning, Princess Sirindhorn will dedicate the new Royal Thai Sala. Please come and bring your family and friends.

The Asia Pacific Community Building Award recognizes outstanding leaders whose vision and professional and personal accomplishments exemplify the mission of the East-West Center. Past recipients include the Honorable U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye; Houghton "Buck" and Doreen Freeman of the Freeman Foundation; Her Excellency Corazon Aquino, former president of the Philippines; Dr. Genshitsu (Soshitsu XV) Sen, former Grand Master of the Urasenke Tea Tradition; and Mr. Ratan Tata, chairman of Tata Sons Limited, the holding company of the Tata Group, India's largest private industrial conglomerate.

Dinner chairs are Jean Ariyoshi and Don K. Kim. Sponsored tables of ten range from \$2,500 to \$25,000 with individual seats at \$200. Friday evening's festivities will include a silent auction featuring exotic items from Asia, the Pacific and the U.S. Proceeds from the dinner and the auction provide support for the East-West Center's outstanding international students and distinctive leadership programs.

## Shaman Arts of Vietnam Exhibition, Arts 'Ohana Event

Guest Curator Nguyen Thi Nhung of 54 Traditions Gallery in Hanoi gave a personal tour of the *Shaman Arts of Vietnam* exhibition to Arts 'Ohana members and guests on July 2nd. Helping viewers to understand shamanic rituals were five categories of arts objects: paintings, costumes, musical instruments, written materials, stamps and printing blocks, and power objects.



PHOTO: WILLIAM FELTZ



Asia, with 11 of the world's 22 largest cities, faces serious challenges regarding security, environmental degradation, food supply and sustainability for the long-term, cautions Allen Clark, senior fellow in the

EWC Research Program.

More than 44 million people move to the cities every year, almost 100 individuals

per minute, requiring 20,000 new dwellings and 150 miles of new highways daily, he noted at a recent presentation on "Asia's Emerging Urban Crises." Clark, who specializes in policy and decision-making for sustainable development in developing countries, spoke to business and community leaders at an AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing sponsored by Bank of Hawaii in early September.

He discussed the global implications of this massive structural shift in populations from rural to urban living. Most of the urbanization in Asia is taking place in coastal areas, which raises all kinds of issues, he said. "How do you develop an urban environment which

can accommodate all of the social, cultural, economic and developmental changes that are going on and still provide a secure environment for the populace of these areas?"

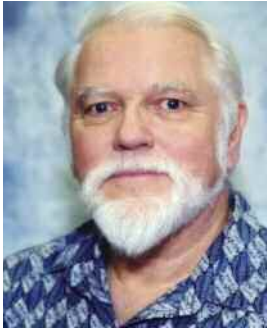
Clark enumerated key problems of Asian urbanization, including: a widening gap between rich and poor, migration, governance, land ownership, poverty and environmental degradation. In addition, a rapidly growing percent of the population in Asia live in coastal areas that tend to have the least access to water — for drinking, farming and industrial purposes.

"Shoreline development raises the problem of putting undue stress on an area which is water deficient, so it has to be dealt with," he said.

To address these issues, the East-West Center with the Pacific Disaster Center is looking at the growth of 42 cities from satellite photographs "to figure out how they've grown, where they're growing and where they can grow in the future primarily to provide data for more effective urban planning," Clark said.

"Urbanization is an opportunity and a crisis we need to pay attention to and we're starting to do this at the East-West Center."

## Implications of a Rapidly Growing Urban Asia



Allen Clark

The EWC welcomed 155 new students from 37 countries for the fall semester. More than 481 students representing 55 nations are enrolled in the Center for this fiscal year, the largest student body since 1973.

The new arrivals include fellows in the EWC Asia Pacific Leadership Program (APLP) as well as degree students in undergraduate to doctoral programs.

"You don't have to buy a plane ticket to meet people from so many different countries," said Lucas

Serrao Lopes, a student from Timor Leste and president of the EWC Participants Association. "You can meet 10 people from 10 different countries in one day at the East-West Center."

Though the majority of students are from Asia, the Pacific and the United States, each year the range of nations represented expands. This year, for the first time, students are enrolled from Croatia, Germany and Tanzania.

A new scholarship, established by landscape architect and artist Stephen

Haus, awarded its inaugural grant to Julian Aguon, a Chamorro indigenous rights activist and author from Guam who is studying at the University of Hawai'i Richardson School of Law. Reflecting on his experiences at the Center, Aguon said, "It's exhilarating to come together with people who are passionate about justice but who are also pragmatic, realistic and politically in-tune. Here people can come together to have a conversation that can be candid and challenging about where the world is going. I welcome this experience."

For the second year Siddiqi scholarships, established by EWC Adjunct Senior Fellow Toufiq Siddiqi and his wife, Ulrike, were awarded to students

## EWC Begins Fall Semester With Enrollment at 481 Students



*New EWC students brought the total number of students to 481 — the largest student body since 1973.*

from South Asia. Ajay Pandey, a doctoral student in sociology focusing on population and health, said he was attracted to the Center because of its reputation for leading research in his field.

Padmendra Shrestha from Nepal, also a Siddiqi fellow, will pursue a master's degree in urban and regional planning. He is particularly interested in the interplay between rural migration, urban poverty issues, informal economies in Asia and social capital. Though he values the knowledge gained from the classroom, he anticipates that "the real learning will take place within the EWC community and the mingling of students from the region."

## Publications in Review

### Introducing a new East-West Center series . . .

**East-West Dialogue**, a project of the East-West Center, fosters discussion and debate of key issues in Asia-U.S. economic relations. The Dialogue seeks to develop and promote innovative policy, business and civic initiatives to enhance this critical partnership. Peter A. Petri, senior fellow at the East-West Center and the Carl Shapiro Professor and former dean of the Brandeis International Business School, is the convener of the Dialogue. This publication is produced with the support of the EWC Research Program and Publications Office. We welcome ideas for future issues and projects. This is first and foremost an online publication and discussion forum at <http://forums.eastwestcenter.org/eastwestdialogue/>.

In Issue 1, **Renewing the Pacific Partnership**, Charles E. Morrison and Peter A. Petri argue that the chemistry of Asia-U.S. relations is failing and suggest strengthening regional institutions and public diplomacy to invigorate it. Commentaries by Taeho Bark (South Korea), Peter Drysdale (Australia) and Shen Dingli (China) support the importance of a partnership, but see different priorities for it. *Paper. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org.*

**An APEC Trade Agenda? The Political Economy of a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific**, edited by Charles E. Morrison and Eduardo Pedrosa. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007. 256 pp. The proposal for an Asia Pacific-wide free trade agreement is one of the oldest ideas for promoting mutually beneficial regional cooperation dating back to the mid-1960s. This book assesses the political feasibility of the Free Trade Area of the Asia Pacific proposal and looks at alternative

modalities for achieving free trade and investment in the Asia Pacific. The report includes trade policy perspectives from the three largest economies of the region: the United States, China and Japan; lessons from similar proposals such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas; possible convergence among the many preferential trade agreements in the region; and alternative approaches to regional economic integration. *Paper, electronic; \$29.90. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg.*

**Changing Education: Leadership, Innovation and Development in a Globalizing Asia Pacific**, edited by Peter D. Hershock, Mark Mason, and John N. Hawkins. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong, 2007. xii, 348 pp. This book addresses the inadequacy of most current educational systems and programs to meet the demands of fast-changing societies and

focuses on doing the right things to prepare students for a fast-changing interdependent world. Unlike most books on educational policy, this volume does not focus on improving existing educational systems but on changing them altogether. *Paper, \$32.00. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org; available in Asia from CERC at www.hku.hk/cerc.*

**Asia Pacific Security Survey 2007 Report**, by Jim Rolfe. Honolulu: East-West Center, 2007. iv, 41 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2139](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2139). This report—and the series—bring together and compare responses from a variety

of perspectives and nationalities to a set of questions on Asia Pacific regional security. This report presents the results of a survey completed by 104 security analysts from 17 countries across the Asia Pacific region as well as European specialists in this field.

**Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment**, by John T. Sidel. *Policy Studies* 37 (Southeast Asia). Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington; Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 74 pp. In recent years, a steady stream of reportage and commentary has spotlighted a dangerous “Islamist threat” in Southeast Asia. This study, by contrast, offers a very different account. In descriptive terms, this study suggests that such an alarmist picture is highly overdrawn, and it traces instead a

pattern of marked decline, demobilization and disentanglement from state power in recent years for Islamist forces in Southeast Asia. This overarching alternative framework not only provides a very different explanation for the “Islamist threat” in Southeast Asia, but also suggests very different policy implications from those offered by specialists on terrorism working on the region. *Paper, electronic; \$10.00. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/bookmarks/PS37/.*

### Also published:

**State of Strife: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Burma**, by Martin Smith. *Policy Studies* 36 (Southeast Asia). Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2006; Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 96 pp. *Paper, electronic; \$10.00. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/bookmarks/PS36/.*

**Rebellion in Southern Thailand: Contending Histories**, by Thanet Aphornsuvan. *Policy Studies* 35 (Southeast Asia). Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington; Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 90 pp. *Paper, electronic; \$10.00. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/bookmarks/PS35/.*

**And available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org:**

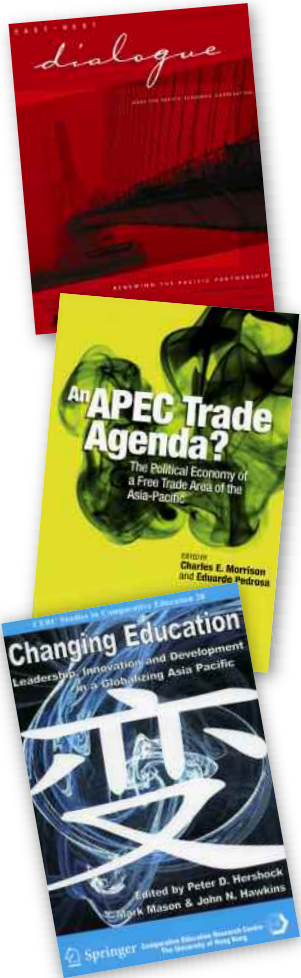
**Creating a New Nepal: The Ethnic Dimension**, by Susan Hangen. *Policy Studies* 34. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2007. ix, 87 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2202](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2202). *Paper, \$10.00.*

**Postfrontier Blues: Toward a New Policy Framework for Northeast India**, by Sanjib Baruah. *Policy Studies* 33. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2007. ix, 83 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2173](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2173). *Paper, \$10.00.*

**Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Changing Dynamics**, by Jayadeva Uyangoda. *Policy Studies* 32. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2007. ix, 83 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2172](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2172). *Paper, \$10.00.*

**Viable and Environment-Friendly Sources for Meeting South Asia's Growing Energy Needs**, by Toufiq A. Siddiqi. *Asia Pacific Issues*, No. 83. Honolulu: East-West Center, August 2007. 8 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2233](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2233). *Paper, \$2.50.*

**Energy Economics and Policy in Mainland China and Taiwan**, edited by ZhongXiang Zhang and Yunchang Bor. Beijing: China Environmental Science Press, June 2007. ix, 299 pp. *Paper. Available from China Environmental Science Press at [www.cesp.com.cn/tscs/hjlx\\_show.asp?bookid=3947](http://www.cesp.com.cn/tscs/hjlx_show.asp?bookid=3947).*



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South Korea's "new generation" will have a strong influence in the nation's presidential election in December, predicts Park Sun-Young, an International Affairs reporter at *Hankook Ilbo* in Seoul. Within this generation she expects those between the ages of 26 and 35, who represent 17% of the national population and 24% of the working population, "will hold a deciding vote."

## Shinsedae: Conservative Attitudes of a New Generation in South Korea



Park Sun-Young

This "new generation" — known in Korea as *Shinsedae* — "was born during a time of rapid economic growth, spent their childhood in a prosperous environment and experienced the 1997 Asian financial crisis," Park explains in an issue of *EWC Insights*, published in early September. "And they are the first generation who went abroad for travel and study with the liberalization of overseas travel and the advent of an era of information and communications."

Park's commentary, "Conservative Attitudes of a 'New Generation' in South Korea and the Impact on the Korean Presidential Election," was presented at an EWC seminar in which journalists from Northeast Asia discussed regional challenges.

She believes "the Asian financial crisis changed the mindset of this new generation in Korea to put the economy before anything else." In a joint survey of students by her newspaper and newspapers at four leading Korean universities, more respondents answered they were conservative than liberal, 23% to 21%. While a majority responded they are moderate, when asked if they would participate in a democratic movement as in June 1987, more than 60% answered no.

She believes that the conservative attitude of the new generation is also apparent in their changing preference for political parties. Lee Myung-bak, former Seoul mayor, led all presidential candidates, garnering support from more than half of those polled nationwide by a monthly magazine for college students.

### Practical nationalism

In her commentary, Park also discusses the emergence of "confident nationalism" for the first time in Korea "among this new generation full of national

pride." "If there is a conflict between nationalism and pragmatism, the former never trumps the latter," she adds. "Such a tendency is even more visible when it comes to North Korea issues."

In a 2005 survey by the *Chosun Daily* of young people, close to two-thirds said they would support North Korea if a war breaks out between Washington and Pyongyang. Less than one-third said they would be on the U.S. side. "The survey suggests that young people today no longer view North Korea as an enemy or competitor," Park says.

However, college students also indicated they were unwilling to bear the cost and burden of reunification. In a January poll, 80% of students answered unification should take place cautiously to avoid a negative impact on the national economy or preferred North and South Korea remaining divided.

Park also discusses the *Shinsedae*'s shifting support from the United States, a traditional ally, to China. When asked which nation will help Korea's development most in the next decade, twice as many university students said China than the United States.

### Politics as a Product

Park expects the stronger conservatism of this generation will be a benefit to the Grand National Party. "Candidates enjoying high popularity among the public are all members of the GNP," she says, "whereas the ruling party has not even come up with candidates who are able to compete with them."

She sees the possibility that the image of candidates could lead to unexpected changes in votes among the new generation before the December 19th election. "Not only in politics but in commercial arenas, image now constitutes an important value that drives the sales of products," she concludes. "Yet, building an image that meets the pragmatic desire of the new generation will require more than fine-sounding rhetoric, especially after the serious disillusionment of voters who followed image and rhetoric in deciding their votes in the election of 2002."

(A PDF version of this EWC Insights commentary is available at: [http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/search-for-publications/browse-alphabetic-list-of-titles/?class\\_call=view&mode=view&pub\\_ID=2229](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/search-for-publications/browse-alphabetic-list-of-titles/?class_call=view&mode=view&pub_ID=2229))

At the EWC's sixth annual Changing Faces Women's Leadership Program, 14 participants focused on this year's theme, "Women and Peace Building in Asia, the Pacific and the United States." For the first time, women attended from Afghanistan and Papua New Guinea. Others came from Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia and the United States.

They heard presentations from two women leaders working

for peace in difficult situations. Alice Aruhe'eta Pollard from the Solomon Islands is a founding member of the Women for Peace Group active in the 2000 post-coup informal peacemaking activities and the second Solomon Islands woman to earn a Ph.D. Joining her was Theary Seng from Cambodia, a lawyer and executive director of the Committee for Social Development, which is active in promoting awareness and education regarding human rights law and the Khmer Rouge tribunals.

The Changing Faces program is designed to bring together women from the United States and the Asia Pacific region to participate in dialogue on leadership and issues specific to women in leadership around the region.

## 'Changing Faces' Focuses on Women Working Toward Peace

## Notes and Quotes

**From**  
**"Change in the Air for the**  
**APEC Leaders Club"**  
**In *Agence France Press***  
**September 3, 2007**

The APEC summit of Pacific rim leaders meeting in Sydney will include six men whose leadership is coming to an end — or at least looking that way. From U.S. President George W. Bush to Australian host Prime Minister John Howard, it could be time to think of that legacy.

But coming to a summit like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum can feel like a break from the harsh reality of political endgame.

"It's a unique position to be a leader," said Charles Morrison, director of the Honolulu-based East-West Center, which aims to strengthen relations in the Asia Pacific region.

"Even if they have their different philosophies and systems they still see each other as colleagues. I think there's a certain club atmosphere. I'm sure there's a kind of gallows humour."

**From**  
**"Military Casts Shadow**  
**on China's Soft Power**  
**Inroads in Asia"**  
**in *Gulf Times***  
**August, 13, 2007**

At a recent seminar on trends in the distribution of military, economic and "soft" power in the Asia Pacific hosted by the U.S.-based East-West Center, Chinese participants cited perceived U.S. attempts to build "counter-Chinese coalitions" in the region, an expert said.

"Responses to the Chinese arguments, both by Americans and some other Asian participants, were

that China's open and positive approach is welcomed and has improved China's image in the region," said Richard Baker, an Asia-Pacific expert at the center. But, Baker, a former U.S. diplomat, said the participants also noted "lingering uncertainties and skepticism as to China's future conduct" with its increasing "hard power."

**From**  
**"Losing Custody:**  
**The Odds"**  
**By Michael Hassett**  
**in *The Japan Times***  
**August 7, 2007**

In April 2005, Robert D. Retherford, coordinator of Population and Health Studies at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawai'i, and Naohiro Ogawa, deputy director of the Nihon University Population Research Institute, published a research paper titled "Japan's Baby Bust: Causes, Implications, and Policy Responses." In this paper, the authors use a scientific-sounding term called period parity progression ratios (PPPRs) to estimate the number of children we can

expect a woman to bear over her lifetime. The authors write, "The PPPRs for (the year) 2000, were they to remain constant in the future, imply that 19 percent of women (in Japan) would never marry, 12 percent would marry but remain childless, 16 percent would have only one child, 36 percent would have two children, 15 percent would have three children, and 3 percent would have four or more children."

**From**  
**"Behind the Line"**  
**By Gina Kim**  
**(participant in**  
**2007 EWC Korea-U.S.**  
**Journalist Exchange**  
**Seminar)**  
**in the *Sacramento Bee***  
**July 15, 2007**

A bright-green fence separates ox-pulled carts from construction cranes, villages of identically drab homes from Western-style hotels and shops, communism from capitalism.

Welcome to North Korea, or, more accurately, a South Korean resort that happens to be located north of the 38th parallel. This isn't just a vacation but a window into one of the most enduring of communist nations.

Mount Kumgang has everything a destination resort offers: luxury accommodations, duty-free shopping, hiking trails complete with cascading waterfalls and breathtaking views, and hot-spring thermal baths. Opening this fall is an 18-hole golf course.

What makes Kumgang, also known as Diamond Mountain, stand alone is its location in North Korea, the famously impenetrable and enigmatic nation.



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