

# Observer

## Hagel: Asia Pacific Region Is Critical 'Anchor' in U.S. Policymaking

The critical importance of the Asia Pacific region to the United States will provide an "anchor" in U.S. policymaking for "as far as the eye can see," said Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Nebraska), chair of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations International Economic Policy, Export and Trade Promotion Subcommittee. In terms of trade, policy and security, it is important for President Bush, his Cabinet and the U.S. Congress to "see the world in a wider lens," Hagel said, and to realize that if other parts of the world are in trouble, "we are in trouble."

Hagel addressed the U.S. relationship with the Asia Pacific region at the 2nd United States Asia Pacific Council Conference in Washington D.C. on November 10. U.S.-Asia Pacific relations beyond the war on terrorism, East Asian regionalism, and trade liberalization were among the issues discussed by American and Asian speakers.

The senator said the United States is learning that it "can't dictate our will on other sovereign nations" and that a common denominator must be found for U.S. policymaking to "bring nations together...to lead by force of purpose, not force of power." As an example, he said, the United States cannot impose human rights on China, but must work with the Chinese.

Hagel noted a "dangerous protectionist streak in Congress," adding that the United States needs new



*U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel*

markets and value-added products, not subsidies. And he said immigration policy should be reformed to minimize difficulties foreigners face obtaining U.S. visas.

### Attention to Human Rights

Muthiah Alagappa, director of East-West Center Washington, suggested a number of points for consideration by the Bush administration in formulating foreign policy in its second term. Protection of human rights and

*continued on page 2*

### Inside

As U.S.-Asia  
Security Alliances Shift  
So Does Public Opinion  
*Page 3*

Indonesia's  
New President  
Takes Office Amid  
High Expectations  
*Page 3*

Lou Cannon:  
Reagan's Enduring  
Conservative Imprint  
on U.S. Politics  
*Page 5*

## Democracy and the Future of Regional Governance in Russia

The democratization of Russia is going to take a long time and will have its own distinctive features, predicts Pamela Spratlen, diplomat-in-residence at the East-West Center. "Just like the rivers of the country, flowing in all directions, the trajectory of democratic development is not going to be straight," she said. "It's going to have all kinds of twists and turns."

Spratlen shared her observations on democracy and the future of regional governance in Russia at an AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing, sponsored by Bank of Hawaii, in November. Prior to coming to the East-West Center in the fall, she served as consul general in

Vladivostok. Earlier she was coordinator for U.S. technical assistance at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

"The profile of democracy (in Russia) is probably going to look a little different than it looks in other places," she said, just as the architecture in Moscow doesn't resemble architecture in other European capitals. "Despite the fact that President Putin at every opportunity likes to reinforce his vision of Russia as a European country, it's always going to have its own special features and, in my view, that will be true of democracy as it develops in Russia as well."

*continued on page 2*



*Pamela Spratlen*



L-R Mark Borthwick, director of U.S. Asia Pacific Council, Ambassador Peter F. Allgeier, Deputy United States Trade Representative, and Charles E. Morrison, President of the East-West Center at the USAPC conference.

### 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.

Volume 8, Number 4  
Fall 2004

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## Asia Pacific Region Is Critical 'Anchor' in U.S. Policymaking

*continued from page 1*

minority rights is crucial, he said. While the sovereignty of states must be respected, there is a burden on the international community to pay more attention to human rights and not just focus through the "lens of terrorism."

Support of authoritarian leaders has long-term negative consequences and there should be pressure on them to democratize, he said. In addition, he advised:

■ The United States, with the rise of Asian countries such as China and India, has a role in the management of relations among major powers.

■ Security includes more issues than nuclear power and should not be addressed only with respect to non-proliferation. Developing peace and security also involve issues such as economic interdependence and common values.

### The Korean Peninsula

Han Sung-Joo, ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the United States, addressed the changing political and security dynamics. Despite a diversity of views within the Bush administration, Han said Bush had accepted the six-party talks on North Korea's nuclear weapons program. With the U.S. president's re-election, there is some concern in South Korea that Bush will veer more toward a hard-line and less accommodating policy on North Korea.

"I don't think that is in the works," Han said. "It depends on how North Korea responds." North Korea, he believes, is now waiting to see how the next Bush administration moves forward but, he added, waiting was not in Pyongyang's best interest.

In the last couple of years, talks between South Korea and the United States have been "ambiguous"

on establishing a "red line" that North Korea cannot cross and on establishing time limits, the ambassador said. He indicated that it is an open question whether bilateral talks will involve "more depth" on those points.

### East-Asian Regionalism

In discussions of East-Asian regionalism, Ambassador Yukio Satoh, president of the Japan Institute for International Affairs, enumerated several possible reasons for the rise of regional organizations in East Asia. These included the desire to be more self-reliant since the 1997 Asian financial crisis, a growing awareness of human-security threats in the region, and the rise of the European Union. But excluding the United States from economic or security issues would be counterproductive, he said.

Edward J. Lincoln, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, said it was a good idea for close geographic neighbors to talk on a government-to-government level without U.S. involvement. However, Lincoln said, the United States should not be excluded from discussions on regional issues.

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*The U.S. Asia Pacific Council, formed with the support of the U.S. Department of State, comprises American corporations and citizens who have made outstanding contributions to the advancement of the U.S. relationship with Asian and Pacific nations. The Council is hosted and administered through the East-West Center. Mark Borthwick is director of USAPC. For more information: info@usapc.org*

## Democracy and the Future of Regional Governance in Russia

*continued from page 1*

Spratlen pointed out that historically it has always been a challenge to govern a country as enormous as Russia — twice the size in landmass of the United States. "To suddenly ask a group of people who have never had any true democratic responsibility before to suddenly undertake self-governance was very difficult," she said. At the regional level, some leaders were able to build their own "authority structures" and others had a difficult time.

In the past, whether a leader has tried to offer more authority to the electorate or tried to take it back, she said, Russia has had problems controlling corruption, and managing communication and infrastructure to promote effective government and economic development of the Far East region. This is of significance because the region is rich in resources, including gold, minerals, fish and timber, while the bulk of Russia's population resides in the western regions of the country. The challenge for the central government becomes how

to manage the resources of the region to benefit the economic development of the nation, she explained.

While controversial, Putin has proposed nominating regional governors from the Kremlin instead of having direct local elections. "It is tough to manage this territory," Spratlen said, acknowledging the region's history of fiefdoms and corruption.

"It's not just a matter of adopting the principles of democracy — which on an intellectual level many people in Russia understand — but the organic part of democracy, where in your being you just assume this is the way things should be run, that hasn't happened yet," she said. "There's very little experience with it. And I think until they get more, they're going to continue to have this push-pull between the region, which is dysfunctionally run, and Moscow, which is aggressively attentive, which is going to result in a certain amount of ineffectiveness at the regional level regardless of what form of governance is chosen."

# As U.S.-Asia Security Alliances Shift So Does Public Opinion



Sheila Smith

With the United States restructuring military forces and reshaping its strategic priorities in the Asia Pacific region, terms of security alliances with its partners are shifting, says Sheila Smith, an EWC specialist on Japanese politics and foreign policy, and regional security issues. While official relations between the U.S. and its allies in Asia are quite healthy, she said, public opinion in these countries is increasingly critical of U.S. commitment to security in the region.

“We’re asking allies’ societies to do new things and they are doing them democratically,” Smith said, at an AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing, sponsored by Bank of Hawaii, in September. “But the perception is we’re moving way beyond the terms of

our original security agreements and we’re moving beyond the kinds of activities that have a direct bearing on the national security of allied countries.

“The agenda is no longer about the Japanese people’s safety or the South Korean people’s safety, but it’s about a broader agenda,” she added. “And it’s raising significant concerns about whether the alliances are going to be viable over time and if we are paying close enough attention to the concerns of our friends in the region.”

Originally these alliances were military treaties between countries that would go to war together because of common threats and common security agendas. “We’re in a very different world today and we

use this term ‘alliance,’ either as academics or as policymakers, in ways that are quite different,” she said.

Smith noted that in a time of great change in Northeast Asia, public response in the region has grown more critical of government policy that supports U.S. actions. In almost every country, there was public opposition to its government’s decision to deploy troops to Iraq. To the public in these countries, the kidnappings in Iraq of foreigners from the Philippines, South Korea, and Japan raised the question, “Is this alliance really about our security interests or is it really about Washington’s needs and Washington’s agenda?” she said.

“There is a much more subtle perception — and this is one I’m a little more troubled by — that cooperation with the U.S. today is the price of U.S. protection of their country in case of some contingency with North Korea,” she said. “Many people think that if their government hadn’t sent troops to Iraq then America will not abide by its security commitments to defend Japan or South Korea.”

Smith suggests that neither the U.S. or its allies has presented policy in language that convinces the public that the governments are working together on serious problems that need common solutions. As a result, she said, the public perception about why their government is supporting the U.S. in Iraq, is raising “some very fundamental questions about whether these alliances are really for the security of these countries and the region. And that is a very difficult perception to deal with if you’re a policymaker in Japan or South Korea.”

*Sheila Smith is the project director of a new EWC project, “Shifting Terrain: The Domestic Politics of the U.S. Military Presence in the Asia Pacific,” that looks at the impact of U.S. strategic realignment on local communities and citizens in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines. For more about the project, please visit the website: [www.shiftingterrain.com](http://www.shiftingterrain.com).*

## Indonesia’s New President Takes Office Amid High Expectations

The 2004 elections in Indonesia were a significant step forward, says Richard Baker, an EWC specialist on Indonesia, despite the hurdles the new Southeast Asian president faces. “Indonesia has been progressively moving from a highly authoritarian, centrally controlled political system into a genuinely pluralistic, participatory system in which a variety of voices can be heard and regions can be represented politically,” he suggested.

“It’s a situation that promises a great deal more stability in the long term for the success of the country, even though it makes things more exciting in the short term,” he said, at a public program in late October, co-sponsored by the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council, the East-West Center, and Friends of the East-West Center.

In September, Indonesia held its first and the world’s largest direct presidential election. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, a retired general and former security

minister, defeated incumbent president Megawati Sukarnoputri by a margin of 61% to 39% of the vote.

“This is a truly extraordinary event,” Baker said, noting that the voters’ choice of leaders “trumped the power of political organization.” Indonesian voters chose Susilo over candidates with money and incumbency. “The Indonesian people voted for change,” Baker added.

They also supported secular nationalist and moderate Muslim parties and leaders, he said. The incumbent vice



Richard Baker



## News in Brief

### Supporting the Center

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**\$21,638**

Ford Foundation/  
Institute of  
International Education

#### Research/ Population & Health

**\$291,020**

U.S. Agency for  
International  
Development/  
Family Health  
International

#### Research/Environment

**\$550,000**

National Science  
Foundation

#### Pacific Disaster Center

**\$40,500**

National Aeronautics  
& Space Admin/  
Research Corporation  
of the UH

**\$14,000**

U.S. Department of  
State

#### Pacific Islands Development

**\$173,000**

U.S. Department  
of State

#### Education

**\$187,365**

National Endowment  
for Humanities

#### Seminars

**\$86,500**

U.S. Department  
of the Interior

#### External Affairs

**\$48,400**

EWC Foundation

### 4 New Members Join EWC Board of Governors

Secretary of State Colin Powell appointed two new members to the EWC Board of Governors. Joining the EWC board are Nancy Kassebaum Baker, a former U.S. senator from Kansas and wife of former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Howard Baker, and John E. Osborn, senior vice president, general consul and secretary at Cephalon, Inc., a Philadelphia-based company.

The EWC Board also elected two Asia Pacific members to three-year terms during their meeting in Tokyo in August. They are Dr. Edgar W.K. Cheng, chair of the Worldwide Investment Co. Ltd; and Tadashi Yamamoto, founder and president of the Japan Center for International Exchange.

### Former U.S. Ambassador to Lead Seminars Program

Raymond Burghardt, recently retired U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, will join the Center as director of East-West Seminars in January 2005. The ambassador, who also served in Taiwan, Korea, the Philippines and Shanghai, is the highest-ranking diplomat to join the Center since the 1960s.

"We are excited by the prospect of Ambassador Burghardt joining the East-West Center team," said EWC President Charles E. Morrison. "He brings a wealth of high-level international experience to the position and we expect his dynamic leadership to substantially raise the profile of the Seminars program."

The Center's conference activities, as well as seminars for journalists, young leaders and women leaders, are part of the program.



*Raymond Burghardt*



**EAST-WEST CENTER**  
**Headlines**

### EWC Headlines: Online Newsletter Debuts

East-West Center Headlines, an on-line newsletter that provides concise coverage and photos of recent events at the East-West Center debuted in August. The HTML-only newsletter will be distributed by Email monthly and will also list upcoming activities presented by the Center.

To subscribe to EWC Headlines, visit:  
[www.eastwestcenter.org/newsletter.asp](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/newsletter.asp)



*U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz meets with senior Asian journalists in Washington, D.C.*

### Senior Asian Journalists Meet on U.S.-Islam Relations

Ten Asian journalists from countries with large Muslim populations participated in the 2nd Senior Journalists Seminar, Aug. 21-Sept. 5. Participants, from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia traveled to Washington, D.C., Atlanta and Los Angeles.

They met with U.S. government officials, academic experts, journalists, and representatives of American non-government organizations and community organizations to exchange perspectives from Asian Islamic communities and the United States. They also attended a meeting with Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. deputy secretary of defense.

### EWC Researcher Awarded \$550,000 NSF Grant

Jefferson Fox, EWC senior fellow and specialist on the environment, received a \$550,000 grant from the National Science Foundation to study the impact of changes in land use in Southeast Asia.

The funding supports a 42-month project exploring the impact of new roads and markets on traditional land-use practices and livelihoods in mountainous regions of mainland Southeast Asia.



*Jefferson Fox*

### International Education Week in Hawai'i

Hawai'i public and private school students and teachers participated in programs to promote global awareness during International Education Week, Nov. 15-20. Patricia Harrison, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, welcomed students at opening ceremonies in the EWC's Imin International Conference Center on November 19.

The U.S. Department of State has recognized Hawai'i for taking the lead in organizing International Education Week activities since the first programs in 2000.

Activities for kindergarten through 12th graders were organized by the East-West Center and EWC AsiaPacific Ed Program, Pacific and Asian Affairs Council, and Wo International Center at Punahou School.

## Lou Cannon: Reagan's Enduring Conservative Imprint on U.S. Politics



Lou Cannon

The rise of Ronald Reagan to the U.S. presidency marked a turning point in American politics, a conservative imprint that has dominated the political landscape that continues into this century, observed journalist and Reagan biographer Lou Cannon at an East-West Center public presentation in October.

He cited political analyst Michael Barone's observation that there were more New Deal Democrats in the U.S. Senate in 1958 than when FDR was president, and many more Reagan Republicans in the U.S. House today than during the Reagan presidency.

"Reagan also turned the Democratic Party toward the center," Cannon said, citing the rise of "New Democrats" such as Bill Clinton and his 1992 campaign promise "to end welfare as we know it."

"The subsequent competition between President Clinton and congressional Republicans produced welfare reform, which Reagan had

pioneered as governor of California," Cannon said.

Cannon's speech came at the conclusion of his participation in the Jefferson Fellows Program this fall which brought 12 journalists from 12 countries to the East-West Center to discuss the U.S. presidential election and campaign. During the week at the Center, Cannon spoke to them about the American cultural divide, electoral system, and the presidential candidates. They also watched and discussed the third presidential debate together. From Hawai'i, the journalists traveled to Boston, Austin, and Los Angeles, where they covered election night events. Two days later, they met with Cannon in California and traded observations on the election.

In the session on the cultural divide in the United States, Cannon presented a look at the "underlying motives of the candidates and parties." He spoke of the "great division" in the United States that is cultural rather than political, including dialogue that is "coarser" than it was four years ago. Party preference is along cultural lines, he suggested, influenced by factors that include level of education, racial and ethnic background, and religion.

At his public presentation, Cannon acknowledged that President George W. Bush is widely seen as the apostle of Reagan, more than of his father. "I think there is truth to that in some of his domestic policies, particularly on taxes, and his effort to expand the conservative base," Cannon said.

However, he disagreed with the argument that Bush is doing in Iraq what Reagan would have done. "Reagan was no imperialist and he was militarily more cautious than either President Bush," Cannon said. "Even Reagan's controversial covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras was undertaken as an alternative to direct U.S. military intervention suggested by his first secretary of state, Alexander Haig."

While he sent U.S. troops into Lebanon as part of an international military force, the Reagan administration began the process of troop withdrawal soon after 241 U.S. servicemen were killed by a suicide bomber in 1983. And he rejected a proposal near the end of his presidency to send U.S. troops into Panama to topple strongman Manuel Noriega. "Reagan said this would cost the lives of U.S. troops and innocent Panamanians, as it subsequently did when the first President Bush carried out the operation," Cannon said.

While it is difficult to predict how Reagan or any other president would have responded to the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the journalist said, "It is hard to believe he would have done better in this circumstance than President Bush but equally hard for me to see him leading the nation into a larger war." Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev feared that the United States and the Soviet Union might "blunder into a nuclear exchange with incalculable consequences. Reagan's great goal as president was to end communism as he knew it — but not through war."

At home and abroad, Reagan believed in the power of freedom and in the strength and character of the American people, Cannon added. "He believed in the alliances of free nations that had won World War II and that he was convinced could also win the Cold War. It was Reagan's commitment to freedom that shaped his legacy, not a commitment to war."

## Indonesia's New President Takes Office Amid High Expectations

*continued from page 3*

president, a Muslim candidate who openly courted radicals, got 3% of the vote. "These numbers provide reassuring evidence that extremism and terrorism do not have serious political traction in Indonesia," Baker said.

The new president comes into office with a clear, strong mandate for reform, but Baker cautioned that Susilo begins his presidency with such high expectations, people may expect reform faster than is realistically possible.

Among the tough challenges facing Susilo, Baker listed:

- n Embedded corruption.
- n A legal system badly in need of reform.
- n Foreign investment that is still leaving the country.
- n Regional unrest, in Aceh and Ambon, as well as Papua New Guinea.

Baker described Susilo as a cautious planner rather than a bold, flashy leader, which was reflected in the new leader's cabinet appointments. For his cabinet, Susilo named — not reformers and professional experts — but a balance of individuals from various political parties and political groups who can help him build relationships with members of the Parliament, Baker said.

Although it's too early to predict whether the Susilo government will surmount the hurdles facing the country, Baker regards the election as a significant step in consolidating the democratic transition in the world's fourth most populous and largest Muslim nation.



## Publications in Review

***Rethinking Security in East Asia: Identity, Power, and Efficiency***, edited by J. J. Suh, Peter J. Katzenstein, and Allen Carlson. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=AsianSecurity001](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=AsianSecurity001). xiv, 273 pp. *Rethinking Security in East Asia* is the first monograph in the Studies in Asian Security series sponsored by East-West Center Washington and published by Stanford University Press. Calling it “analytical eclecticism,” the authors demonstrate the failure of the prevailing paradigms in international relations theory to anticipate or explain how events have unfolded in Asia using case studies of China, Japan, the alliance between the U.S. and South Korea, and Southeast Asia. They conclude that the prospects for peace in

East Asia look less dire than conventional — in many cases Eurocentric — theories of international relations suggest. At the same time, they point to a number of potentially destabilizing political developments. *The Studies in Asian Security* monograph series aims to promote analysis, understanding, and explanation of the dynamics of domestic, transnational, and international security challenges in Asia. For more information about the series, please contact Editor, Asian Security, at [publications@eastwestcenterwashington.org](mailto:publications@eastwestcenterwashington.org). Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$24.95. Order this publication online at [www.sup.org](http://www.sup.org) or from Stanford University Press, c/o University of Chicago Press Distribution Center, tel (800) 621-2736 / fax (800) 621-8476.

***An India-Pakistan Détente: What It Could Mean for Sustainable Development in South Asia and Beyond***, by Toufiq A. Siddiqi. *AsiaPacific Issues*, No. 75, August 2004. Honolulu: East-West Center. Also available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=api075](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=api075). 8 pp. India and Pakistan have had volatile relations ever since they became independent of Britain in 1947. Frequent hostility has

stifled cooperation between the two countries and inhibited development in the region. Recently, however, tensions show signs of easing. Peace could bring a wide range of benefits not only to India and Pakistan but to the wider region as well. These benefits could spread far beyond India and Pakistan into the wider west, central, and south Asian region. Paper, \$2.50. Available from the East-West Center, [ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org](mailto:ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org).

***The Moro Conflict: Landlessness and Misdirected State Policies***, by Eric Gutierrez and Saturnino Borrás, Jr. *Policy Studies* 8. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2004. Also available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt008](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt008). xi, 69 pp. The continuing war, the persistence of poverty and landlessness, and the emergence of “entrepreneurs in violence” are mere symptoms of something that has not been sufficiently addressed by a succession of Philippine governments or by mainstream Moro revolutionary organizations: the highly

skewed distribution of ownership and control over land resources in the southern Philippines. This study contends that landlessness and the continuing weakness of state institutions in implementing agrarian reform and enforcing ancestral domain claims are fundamental issues whose resolution may hold the key to establishing long-term peace in the southern Philippines. Paper, \$5.00. Available from the East-West Center, [ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org](mailto:ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org).

***The HDC in Aceh: Promises and Pitfalls of NGO Mediation and Implementation***, by Konrad Huber. *Policy Studies* 9. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2004. Also available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt009](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt009). ix, 101 pp. What lessons can be learned from the experience of third-party mediation in a failed peace process? This study examines the unprecedented role played by a nongovernmental organization, the Henry Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HDC), in brokering negotiations and implementing an agreement reached between

the Indonesian government and the armed Acehese separatist movement GAM. Based on interviews and review of the literature on third-party facilitation and mediation roles in internal conflicts, this analysis tries to understand what caused the eventual breakdown by looking at the strengths and weaknesses of a nongovernmental institution like HDC in mediating and then attempting to guide implementation of complex, risk-prone accords between battle-hardened adversaries. Paper, \$5.00. Available from the East-West Center, [ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org](mailto:ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org).

***Secessionist Challenges in Aceh and Papua: Is Special Autonomy the Solution?*** by Rodd McGibbon. *Policy Studies* 10. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2004. Also available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt010](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt010). ix, 107 pp. This analysis investigates whether special autonomy can resolve the secessionist challenges in Aceh and Papua. It covers the background of the decision to grant special autonomy and the shifting dynamics that resulted in

Jakarta ultimately backsliding on both laws. At a bare minimum, a link must be established between the unilateral concessions offered under the laws and a systematic bargaining process between Jakarta and the regions to build support for resolving the conflicts. Without linking concessions to dialogue, Aceh and Papua are likely to represent a continuing source of conflict and secessionism for the Indonesian state. Paper, \$5.00. Available from the East-West Center, [ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org](mailto:ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org).

***Autonomy in Xinjiang: Han Nationalist Imperatives and Uyghur Discontent***, by Gardner Bovingdon. *Policy Studies* 11. Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington, 2004. Also available online at [www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt011](http://www.EastWestCenter.org/find.asp?it=PolicySt011). ix, 77 pp. This study examines the sources of conflict in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It considers international influences, militant Islam, and enduring

ethnonational hatreds, all identified by some observers as causes of unrest. While these factors have affected politics in Xinjiang, none is the prime source of friction. The study argues that the system of regional autonomy itself, while billed as a solution to the region's political problems, has instead provoked discontent and violence. Paper, \$5.00. Available from the East-West Center, [ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org](mailto:ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org).

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## Globalization and Health as Indicators of Development



Nancy Lewis

Politicians, policymakers, academics, and activists have diverging responses to the question: Is globalization good for your health? “It can be argued that globalization is both bad and good for your health,” says Nancy Lewis, director of the EWC Research Program. “Much depends on who and where you are.”

Health, she adds, is not only an indicator of a country’s level of development, but a precondition of development. The health of a nation’s people affects factors like birth rates, mortality rates, the size of the labor force, and economic growth.

Lewis presented an overview of links between globalization and health and its impact on the role of women in the Asia Pacific region at a presentation for first-year students at the East-West Center. A social scientist, her primary research focuses on health, gender, development, and the human dimensions of global change.

“Looking at national level life expectancy and infant mortality statistics suggests that human health has improved over the past half century,” she said, “in part due to medical interventions such as childhood vaccination.” The cornerstones of globalization — transportation and information and communications technology revolutions — have made access to care available to more people.

But there is also evidence to suggest that globalization is increasing the disparities between and within countries,

she cautioned. In addition, noncommunicable diseases that are the result of lifestyle and diet changes — such as obesity, diabetes, hypertension, heart disease and cancer — are becoming increasingly prevalent in the developing world. Along with communicable or infectious diseases, this is resulting in a “double burden” of disease. “Poverty and lack of access to resources, in part a result of economic restructuring, fuels the HIV/AIDS crisis and modern transportation facilitates the rapid global spread of infections such as SARS,” she said.

Lewis enumerated population trends, among them the “feminization of aging,” that are already posing problems in the region. According to UN figures, women currently make up half of the world population. By 2025, they will account for more than half of the population age 60 and older, and 63% of people age 80 and older.

As globalization spreads, more women are entering the workforce for the first time, encountering low wages, poor working conditions, high levels of stress, and few labor rights. In addition, this aging trend is a real problem for countries where there is no social safety net in place, she said.

She, however, sees some good news, in the way the international health community responded to the SARS epidemic last year. “What is interesting,” Lewis said, “is how well the public health officials and laboratories around the globe collaborated” to combat the disease. “There was excellent collaboration, a harbinger, I think, of good things to come in global health.”

## Taking a Comprehensive Look at North Korea and the Kim Dynasty

North Korea’s future should be left largely to the Koreans to decide, argues journalist Bradley Martin. If the United States unilaterally adopts a policy of regime change, it risks losing South Korea as an ally and is unlikely to succeed in subduing the North.

Martin contends that the U.S. should find a way to negotiate with Kim Jong Il. “If we somehow persuaded the Chinese to inspire a military coup d’etat in North Korea,” he cautioned, “we cannot be sure that we would see a better regime replacing Kim Jong Il. There are people in the military there who are nastier than he is.”

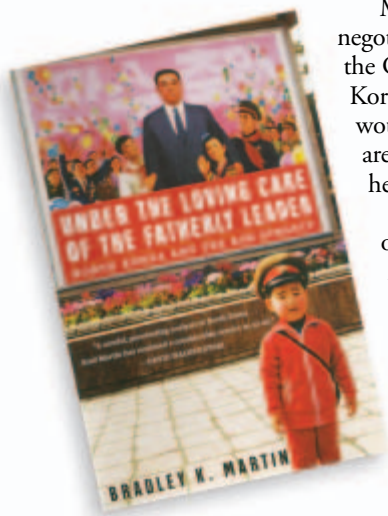
Martin, the author of “Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader: North Korea and the Kim Dynasty,” a comprehensive study of North Korea recently published by St. Martin’s Press, spoke at the East-West Center in late October. As a correspondent in Asia, he reported for Newsweek, the Asian Wall Street Journal, and The Baltimore Sun. He has made four trips to

North Korea, including his first in 1979 and his most recent in 2000, and began work on his book while at the East-West Center as a journalist-in-residence in 1991-92.

He described a few positive things going on domestically in North Korea. “It appears to me that they have more or less irrevocably decided to change the economic system,” Martin said. He spoke of “a new class of capitalists in North Korea,” comprised largely of traders and entrepreneurs.

“The ideology is changing,” he said. “Money is now recognized right up there with labor as something to be honored. I think Kim Jong Il is ready to let this happen, if it can happen.”

Martin also believes South Korea was “happy to put off reunification” of the two Koreas. “It will not only be an economic mess but a social mess,” Martin predicted, adding that North Koreans would be very unhappy about being treated as second-class citizens in a united Korea.



## Notes and Quotes

**From**  
**"China's Boom Economy**  
**Is Starved for Electricity"**  
**By Mark Magnier**  
**In the Los Angeles Times**  
**September 4, 2004**

**I**n China, power demand has far exceeded economic growth as energy-intensive industries ramp up and waste in the system becomes more apparent. Bureaucratic infighting, protected fiefdoms and top-down decisions have also left many utility companies less than responsive to customers. And grid and transmission problems mean that surpluses in one area can't easily alleviate shortages in others.

The crisis probably will put off any quick move to reform the industry or introduce more competition, analysts say.

"China has looked at the lessons from California carefully," said Kang Wu, an energy expert with the East-West Center in Honolulu. "It will focus on gradual change and trying to learn from California's mistakes."

**From**  
**"India, Pakistan Chart Out**  
**Roadmap to Peace"**  
**In the Financial Express**  
**(India)**  
**September 8, 2004**

**I**...in a new publication brought out by East-West Center, Toufiq A. Siddiqi, an adjunct senior research fellow at the Center, writes: "Peace between India and Pakistan could bring a broad range of benefits not only to the two countries but to the wider region. Benefits include cooperation on energy imports and

building an Asian highway network. Mr. Siddiqi says a lasting détente between India and Pakistan could benefit economic development, political relationships, resource management and trade patterns beyond South Asia to Central and Southeast Asia as well.

**From**  
**"Besides Iraq,**  
**Foreign Policy**  
**Gets Little Notice"**  
**By James O'Toole**  
**In the**  
**Pittsburgh Post-Gazette**  
**October 3, 2004**

**U**.S. officials, including Treasury Secretary John Snow, have expressed optimism about persuading China to revalue its currency in an effort to ameliorate the yawning U.S. trade deficit. But Christopher McNally, an expert on China and a fellow of the East-West Center in Hawai'i, argues that U.S. policymakers have yet to come to grips with the longer term implications of economic competition with China.

McNally noted that the current public debate focuses on the trade deficit and the outsourcing of manufacturing jobs, while virtually ignoring China's growing role as a major center of research and development. "The U.S. has an important foreign policy challenge in keeping us competitive in innovation in the business sector," he said, as "research and development is gradually becoming globalized."

**From**  
**"Experts**  
**Urge Washington**  
**Not to Ignore Asia"**  
**By Stephanie Ho**  
**Voice of America**  
**November 17, 2004**

**A**fter the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States, much of Washington's foreign policy focus has been on combating global terrorism.

Muthiah Alagappa, director of the East-West Center's Washington office, warns that viewing Asia solely with regard to the global war on terror is too narrow a view.

"It's an important issue, but it's not the only issue, and viewing it only through that lens does a

disservice," he said. "I'm not alleging that this administration does that, but it does receive high priority. I think that one has to look at Asia through inter-state competition, forging common worldview among the major powers, growing economic interdependence, proliferation of Asian regional institutions. All of these must be taken into account in formulating a policy towards Asia."



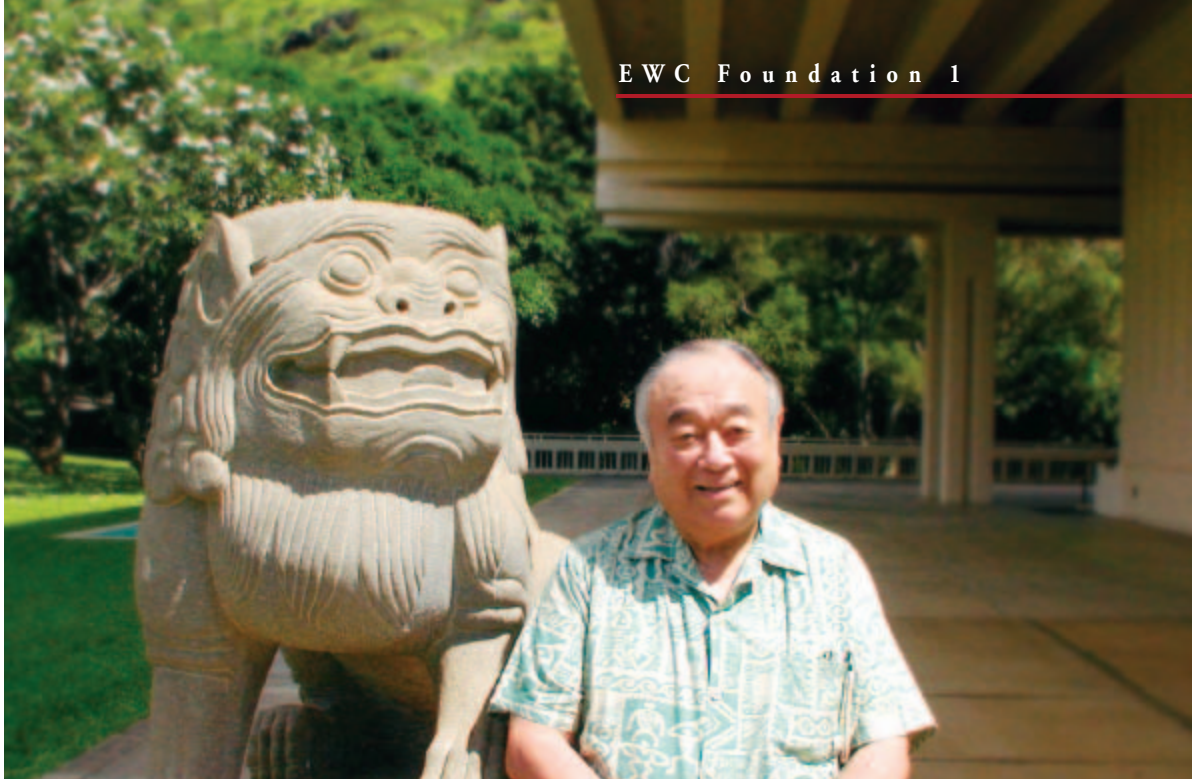
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*Haigo Shen*

## Shen's Gift Benefits EWC Scholarships

Haigo Shen, co-chair of the EWC Foundation Board of Directors, has pledged a **bequest of \$300,000** to the East-West Center. This gift will be given to the East-West Center following Mr. and Mrs. Shen's lifetimes. The Shen Foundation intends the gift to be used to fund scholarships for Chinese students (foreign nationals) studying at the University of

Hawai'i in the fields of Medicine, Education/Teaching, Architecture, City Planning or Civil Engineering. Mr. Shen has contributed generously to the East-West Center throughout his lifetime. The Shen Foundation's gift to the East-West Center will help to perpetuate his support and to advance the mission of the East-West Center.

## Six Students Receive Alumni Scholarships

Uddhav Bhandari (Nepal), Atsushi Ouchi (U.S.), Kyuseek Hwang (Korea), Enkhsetseg Dagva (Mongolia), Subir Kole (India) and Fu Shi (China) are recipients of the 2004 EWC Association Alumni Scholarships. Contributions to the EWC Foundation's annual campaign and proceeds from the silent auction

at the annual dinner make possible the Alumni Scholarship Fund. Because East-West Center scholarships only provide partial funding, it is very important to have additional financial assistance for qualified and deserving students.

*Subir Kole and Enkhsetseg Dagva*

**As a mid-career professional in a national NGO in India, I received a monthly salary of US\$300. I had decided not to accept the prestigious East-West Center fellowship because the cost-sharing amount was a huge amount of money for me. However, I have been able to come to the EWC because of the additional support from the Alumni Scholarship. I am thankful and grateful to such an institution that supports students like myself from developing countries. I think that this is the true spirit of building an Asia Pacific community.**

**Subir K. Kole**  
EWC grantee for a Ph.D. in Political Science

## 2004 Impulse Journal

*Impulse Journal* is an independent magazine published annually by EWC participants. Originally established in 1975 as an open forum interested in disseminating a wide variety of views within the East-West Center and the community at large, *Impulse Journal* currently focuses on publishing creative literary and artistic works inspired by an annual theme. Due to the financial support of Gerald and Tsue Ostermann and many of the EWC 1960s alumni, the *Impulse* staff was able to obtain its own desktop publishing equipment and acknowledged that “this support and generosity breathes new life into our project and truly empowers future generations at the Center to speak their minds.”



*Tsue and Jerry Ostermann have provided valuable support to Impulse Journal.*

## \$8,290 Received from McNerny Foundation

For the third consecutive year, a challenge grant by the McNerny Foundation was a valuable incentive that increased alumni participation in the 2003-04 Annual Campaign. The foundation matched all first-time gifts from EWC alumni and previous donors who increased their last gift by \$100 or more — up to \$100 per donor. During the spring portion of the

Annual Campaign, a total of \$31,822 was raised. **The matching portion of the \$20,000 goal for the McNerny Foundation challenge grant was \$8,290 (42%) from 107 donors.** Gifts were received from alumni in the United States, Japan, Thailand, Pakistan, India, Singapore, Korea and Malaysia.

## AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing at Bank of Hawaii

**Sheila Smith**, Fellow, East-West Center Research Program, spoke on “U.S. Strategic Realignment and the Changing Currency of Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Region,” on September 14, 2004.

**Pamela Spratlen**, East-West Center Diplomat-In-Residence, spoke on “Power Play: Democracy and the Future of Regional Governance in President Putin’s Russia,” on November 9, 2004.

*Alumni Endowment Fund donors in New York with Gordon Ring, EWC alumni officer, and Gary Yoshida, EWC development officer.*





## 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 May 1 and October 31, 2004.

*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 Judy Masters at 808-944-7102.*

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## New Members of the EWC Foundation Board of Directors

Newly appointed to the EWC Foundation Board of Directors were **Don K. Kim**, president, Sony Hawaii Company, and **Shaunagh Robbins**, chief financial officer, Robbins and Associates, Attorneys At Law.

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