

## One Year Into Fiji's Fourth

"interim government" rule, day-to-day issues continued to consume the regime's energies, leaving little time for attention to major long-term structural issues such as land tenure, notes Gerard Finin, deputy director of the EWC Pacific Islands Development Program. "However, there remains a small window of opportunity for Fiji's prime minister, Commodore Vorege 'Frank' Bainimarama, and his colleagues to find a path that will lead the South Pacific nation toward a brighter future," he says.

As Fiji approached the one-year anniversary of

On Dec. 5, 2006, OUD Bainimarama as Fiji's military leader instituted

a coup. Citing rampant corruption and the doctrine of necessity to justify military intervention, Bainimarama dismissed the government, dissolved Parliament and appointed an interim administration.

In a December 2007 EWC Insights publication, Finin describes how the coup, Fiji's fourth since independence, was largely peaceful. It essentially involved soldiers visiting government offices, demanding officials surrender keys to their official vehicles and cease reporting to their offices. Communications, including telephone lines and the Internet, remained open.



Gerard Finin

"One year into the coup, the verdict is still out," he says. "There remains considerable support for the current military leadership, which has brought stability and has led a deliberate attempt to lessen ethnic tensions.

"Fiji today stands in a far more favorable light than many countries which simply, because they hold elections, claim to be highly

democratic. One may reasonably argue that, at least in the short term, Fiji is managing better than some other Pacific island nations where elections are held on a regular basis but fail to produce governments capable of advancing the quality of life."

However, he points out that the record of military rule in Fiji indicates there are legitimate reasons for growing concern. "By most measures, the situation over the past 12 months has deteriorated," Finin says. "Fiji's continued on page 2

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## Road Blocks on the Way to Democratic Change in Contemporary China

U.S. policymakers should not assume that China's dramatic economic growth and liberalization will lead to Anglo-American-style democracy, cautions Teresa Wright, EWC Visiting Fellow and Scholar.

'If the Chinese people have anything to say, what's more likely to come next is a regime that we might call social democratic in orientation," she says, "committed to economic guarantees like social security and welfare. But at the same time we have to recognize that the population may be willing to accept a new and different authoritarian regime if it attends to these kind of social democratic benefits."

Wright spoke on "Disincentives for Democratic Change in Contemporary China" at an AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing in early November sponsored by Bank of Hawaii. A professor of political science at California State University, Long Beach, her research focuses on protest, dissent and democratization in China and Taiwan.

While there is an assumption that capitalism and democracy go hand in hand, and that the emergence of capitalism in an authoritarian country will lead to a strain between society and the ruling regime, she explained why China may be the exception.



Teresa Wright

She acknowledges that three decades of dramatic economic reforms have privatized and liberalized the Maoist planned economy and brought great changes in state-society relations to China. "Yet contrary to many expectations, relations between the ruling Chinese Communist Party and society do not seem to

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## One Year into Fiji's Fourth Coup

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economy is stagnant or even declining. Human rights abuses continue to be a serious issue, with ongoing reports of beatings."

He is troubled by signs that the judicial branch of government is in disorder, with lawyers and judges in limbo. "Without a vibrant and vigorous system of institutional checks and balances, there is little optimism that the regime will achieve the honest and effective government it desires," he warns.

While Fiji's post-coup "honeymoon" period has some striking parallels with the early days of martial law in the Philippines under President Ferdinand Marcos, Finin reports there is no indication that Bainimarama wishes to enrich himself in the style of the Philippines' dictator.

"By almost all accounts, the Commodore lives modestly, works hard and wants to see a future where all the people of Fiji enjoy a satisfying standard of living in which their children have bountiful opportunities," Finin says.

The recent promise of national elections by March 2009 is a hopeful sign, but Finin worries that much can happen before then. "Waiting another 15 months poses a distinct danger that the absence of effective checks and balances could well result in a burgeoning of the types of corruption and economic decline the coup leaders decry."

Finin believes much can be done to advance national unity, increase accountability and address major issues such as the future of the sugar industry. "With hard work, bold decisions and the right forms of assistance from the international community," he says, "the question becomes: Can Bainimarama restore genuine democratic rule and possibly once again become the *Fiji Post's* 'Man of the Year?'"

### 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 11, Number 3 Fall 2007

Charles E. Morrison, President Karen Knudsen, Director Office of External Affairs

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## Road Blocks on the Way to Democratic Change

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have become increasingly strained," she says. "To the contrary, over the past 15 years most citizens of China seem to have come to accept — and even support — Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule."

Popular discontent does exist. She noted that the number of protests continue to climb. "But what is important to note is that almost none of these protests challenged CCP rule," she says. "Instead, demonstrators typically have directed their anger at local employers and/or officials and expressed support for central authorities."

Wright presented recent surveys that indicate remarkably high levels of popular support for the CCP-led authoritarian political status quo. In a 2001 World Values Survey, a national sample of public opinion showed:

- 97% expressed "quite a lot" or "a great deal" of confidence in the national government.
- 92% expressed "quite a lot" or "a great deal" of confidence in the CCP.
- 88.5% were "quite satisfied" or "very satisfied" with "the way democracy is developing in China."

Wright argues that this popular acceptance lies in large part to China's unique combination of a socialist past, the fact that it embraced capitalist reforms under the direction of the government, and that it entered the global capitalist system when the world "is already industrialized, commercially integrated and highly competitive."

She also noted that in recent surveys Russian citizens believe that although their current government is more democratic than the old, they still view the pre-perestroika political system more favorably than they do the current one. "In China, we see similar attitudes, especially among laborers whose socioeconomic status has declined with the emergence of capitalism," she says.

Wright presented a quick look at China's major socio-economic sectors — which she identified as rising, declining, dependent and exploited — and assessed how each sector viewed the central government:

- **Rising sectors** (private entrepreneurs, skilled and unskilled private enterprise workers, semi-employed migrant workers and farmers) have no incentive to rock the status quo.
- **Declining sectors** (state-owned enterprise workers and laid-off state-owned enterprise workers) have nowhere to turn but the CCP.
- **Dependent sectors** (private entrepreneurs, stateowned enterprise workers and laid-off state-owned enterprise workers) fear that liberal democratic political reform might threaten their economic prosperity and privileges.
- **Exploited sectors** (unskilled private enterprise workers and semi-employed migrant workers) have nowhere to turn but the CCP.

"In this way, China's somewhat unique combination of state-led late development and a socialist legacy give most socio-economic sectors an interest in maintaining the political status quo," Wright believes.

That said, she did suggest circumstances "under which Chinese citizens might develop incentives to support systemic political change." One might be an economic crisis that undercuts the well-being of rising sectors, as well as the ability of the ruling CCP to provide benefits for the economically disadvantaged. The other factor would be a decline in economic inequality, which is ironically being promoted by the regime now and could lead to its undoing.

"As a result, the regime's current success in co-opting the population may prove to be both transitory and fragile," she says. "Even so, what comes next is not necessarily Anglo-American style, free-market democracy." The new ASEAN Charter was created to serve as an impetus for economic integration and provide minimum standards for good governance. However, speakers at a forum in Washington D.C. on the current state of U.S.-ASEAN relations, differed on the extent to which the charter will transform ASEAN as an organization and compel political and economic reforms by members.

leaders of the

Nations prepared

to meet in

Singapore

organization's

annual summit

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scholars and

in late November

for the

Association of

Southeast Asian

# As ASEAN Celebrates Its 40th Year, Reflections on the State of U.S. Relations



EWC in Washington Director Satu Limaye (center), U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asia Scott Marciel (left) and ISEAS Director Ambassador K. Kesavapany discuss U.S.-ASEAN relations at the Oct 25-26th EWC forum.

The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia:



officials gathered in Washington, D.C., in late October for a discussion before an audience of U.S. government officials, congressional staff and Southeast Asia policy experts.

The forums, sponsored by the East-West Center in Washington, the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies and the Stanley Foundation, included speakers Ambassador Rodolfo Severino, former secretary-general of ASEAN; Ambassador K. Kesavapany, director of the Institute for Southeast Asian Studies; Muthiah Alagappa, EWC Distinguished Senior Fellow; and Mark Borthwick, director of the U.S. Asia Pacific Council.

Participants discussed the charter (which was subsequently approved at the November summit by all ASEAN members but must still be ratified). One participant noted it would have been unthinkable five years ago for an ASEAN governing document to set forth principles governing human rights. The development of the charter therefore represents an organizational transition and reflects members' "awareness of the outside world."

## **EWC Washington Launches New Publications**

EWC Washington introduced new publications, expanded outreach efforts and other initiatives this fall:

- The Washington office launched a new publication, the *Asia Pacific Bulletin* (APB), which features the work of their Congressional Study Groups, conferences, seminars and visitor roundtables. Also included are short analytical and op-ed articles.
- Its *Policy Studies Series* provides policy-relevant analysis of key contemporary and domestic and international political, economic and strategic issues affecting Asia. The series was expanded with 12 volumes published in 2007.
- Also new is the United States Asia Pacific Council's (USAPC) November 2007 Washington Report, featuring an interview with U.S. Rep. Eni Faleomavaega (D-American Samoa), chair of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and the Global Environment.

For the latest programs, publications, and announcements from the East-West Center in Washington, sign up for e-mail updates at: http://www.eastwestcenter.org/about-ewc/help/email-updates/ According to one view, the fact that ASEAN states still have different outlooks on sovereignty suggests they will resist the evolution of a "supranational" authority. It also remains to be seen whether the principles set forth by the charter will be implemented or simply remain on the books.

Others said the new charter is best viewed as a "tool" for decision-making and promoting compliance with agreed-upon commitments, but it will not alter the character of ASEAN overnight.

#### **U.S. engagement with ASEAN**

Participants also expressed divergent views on whether the United States is sufficiently engaged in Southeast Asia. Some faulted the U.S. for inattention to Southeast Asia at the highest leadership levels. A "presidential presence" in the region, they said, is a necessary complement to diplomatic and trade initiatives.

Others said the U.S. should complement its spokes-and-hub alliance system in Asia with greater direct involvement in regional institutions. This will enable Washington to become deeply involved in shaping the agendas of such groups, they said, which will serve U.S. interests far better in the longer term than staying at the periphery.

Speakers recommended ASEAN do more to increase its attractiveness to multinational corporations by, among other things, improving trade practices. A cooperative ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), they said, would create a strong incentive for U.S. multinational corporations to invest in ASEAN nations which, in turn, would boost overall U.S.-ASEAN economic activity.

#### **Burma and ASEAN**

A number of the participants observed that while the Burmese military definitely is the problem, it also must be part of the solution because it effectively holds together a country of more than 100 ethnic groups. Some expressed concern that pressure from the U.S., European Union and other countries to end the junta risks "creating another Iraq."

The best hope for Burma's future, they said, may be via a "middle way," which would involve incremental changes rather than a wholesale dissolution of the ruling junta. However, it could be difficult to win broad support for such an approach, since U.S. policymakers likely would regard efforts to forge a "middle way" as backing down.

#### **ASEAN** as a regional integrator

Although ASEAN's external relations have evolved as the global system has changed, discussants said it still does not possess the political cohesion or degree of economic integration to serve as an effective driving force for Asia-wide regional integration — particularly in view of the economic power and global stature enjoyed by neighbors such as China, Japan and South Korea.

For ASEAN to serve as something more than the default hub for dialogue, they said, it must achieve deeper region-wide economic integration and greater political cohesion.

#### News in Brief

#### Supporting the Center

RECENT GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

#### RESEARCH/ **POLITICS & SECURITY**

Canadian International Development Agency/ Southeast Asia Regional Cooperation in Human Development

#### \$19,935

Government of United Kingdom Foreign & Commonwealth Office \$30,688

#### RESEARCH/ POPULATION & HEALTH

Nihon University Population Research Institute

#### \$127,000

UN Programme on AIDS \$434,632

U.S. Agency for International Development/Family Health International \$178,973

#### RESEARCH/ **ENVIRONMENT**

National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences/ University of Arizona \$5,335

#### **EDUCATION**

Corporation for National & Community Service/ UH Hawaii Pacific Islands Campus Compact \$18,000

U.S. Department of Health & Human Services Centers for Disease Control & Prevention \$13,230

#### **EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

EWC Foundation/ Atherton Family Foundation \$20,000



EWC Alumnus and IPCC Working Group Chairman Rajendra Pachauri (center) with IPCC Working Group III Co-Chairs Ogunlade Davidson (L) and Bert Metz. The IPCC received the Nobel Peace Prize on Dec. 10.

#### **EWC Alumnus Leads Nobel Peace Prize-Winning Organization**

Dr. Rajendra Pachauri, an EWC alumnus, chairs the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which shared the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize with former U.S. Vice President Al Gore.

Pachauri, originally from Nainital India, was a Visiting Senior Fellow with the EWC Resource Systems Institute in 1982 and received EWC participant awards (1981-83) for his contribution to energy studies meetings. Pachauri also participated in a major EWC Workshop on Climate Change in 1989 and conducted an EWC field study on energy sector performances in 1987.

#### **EWC Asia Pacific Journalist Conference Set for Bangkok**

Blogging in China, 2008 Olympics coverage, inside views on Burma, and outlooks on North Korea's latest moves will be among the highlights at the first EWC Asia Pacific Iournalist Conference in Bangkok,

January 20-23, 2008.

Journalists will hear from keynote speakers and experts on the big



Surin Pitsuwan

stories in the Asia Pacific region, as well as the lesser known but important emerging issues.

Among the speakers will be Surin Pitsuwan, Secretary General-Designate, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and former foreign minister of the Kingdom of Thailand; Sheila Coronel, recognized for developing investigative journalism in the Philippines and head of investigative reporting at Columbia University; and Aung Zaw, editor and director of The Irrawaddy magazine, a foremost publication covering Burma.

A pre-conference trip will take pre-registered participants to the Thai-Burma border area where Burmese refugees and migrants have found refuge. The conference, sponsored by the EWC Media Program, will be at the Novotel Siam Square Hotel.

For more information and online registration: www.EastWestCenter.org/mediaconference2008.

#### **Townswick at EWC** as Diplomat-in-Residence

Mary Townswick, a 20year veteran of the U.S. Foreign Service, joined the EWC as Visiting Fellow and Diplomat-in-Residence until July 31, 2008. Townswick brings extensive experience and knowledge of South Asia, where she was previously posted as head of the Economic Section at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan.



Mary Townswick

Prior to that she was deputy political counselor in Kabul, vice consul in Karachi and served several years in New Delhi. She also has been posted to the Central African Republic, Berlin and the U.S. Mission to the U.N. in Geneva, primarily on economic and traderelated assignments.

#### **Human Rights Challenges for International Courts in Cambodia**

As Cambodia prepares for a United Nations-backed Khmer Rouge tribunal, it's important to educate the Cambodian people about the process, emphasizes Michelle Staggs, coordinator of the Asian International Justice Initiative (AJII).

"We need to ensure that expectations are realistic," she advises. "Ultimately this is just one of several processes that need to be going on in



Michelle Staggs

tandem in order for things to really change in Cambodia."

AIJI is a collaboration between the EWC and the War Crimes Studies Center at the University of California, Berkeley. Staggs, an attorney from Australia, is establishing the initiative's regional trial monitoring project at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. In October, she spoke of the human rights challenges facing the U.N.-backed tribunal at a public program at the East-West Center.

Among the challenges is educating the Cambodian people, who have little knowledge of the rules of international justice or that "international criminal justice is not social justice," she said. "You really need to understand the limits of prosecution. Prosecuting senior leaders responsible for atrocities will not bring about economic and social reform, will not mean that widespread corruption that exists in Cambodia ceases to exist overnight."

Staggs said the tribunal is one of many avenues that can bring change in the Southeast Asian nation, but that it is important for Cambodians to understand continued on page 5

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## Sumi Makey Scholars Awards

Sumi Makey, former EWC Dean of Student Affairs and Open Grants, has established a \$100,000 scholarship endowment. It is thanks in large part to Sumi's leadership, that both the 60s and 70s alumni endowment campaigns generated such remarkable support from our alumni — many of whom still consider Sumi a good friend and mentor.

Her intent with the Sumi Makey Awards is to benefit the most worthy degree candidates who have a background and interest in the arts and humanities, with a preference for women from Southeast Asia. Sumi says that, "The humanities play a vital role in our individual lives and in making the world a better place to live. The role of the arts and humanities is to broaden peoples' perspectives, to add beauty and richness to our lives, and to be intellectually and spiritually uplifting." Qualified students will benefit from this generous gift for many years to come.



EWC President Charles Morrison and Sumi Makey signing the endowment agreement.

## 2007 East-West Sports Summit

Mahalo!

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Our sincere thanks to the businesses and individuals who contributed to making this event a success.



Konishiki, retired sumo wrestler; Bobby Valentine, Manager, Chiba Lotte Marines; and Dr. Edison Miyawaki.

Left: Duane Kurisu, Chairman & CEO, Hawai'i Winter Baseball

Charles Morrison,
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for the Olympic Games;
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## An International Affair

You are invited to join the festivities at this year's annual dinner, *An International Affair*, on Friday, February 29, 2008 at the Hilton Hawaiian Village Coral Ballroom.

The East-West Center is 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 recognition of the

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

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. Silent auction chairs are Amy Agbayani, Lyn Flanigan and Thanh Lo Sananikone. Proceeds from the dinner and the auction provide support for the East-West Center's outstanding international students and distinctive leadership programs.

## East-West Center Foundation Programs

## AsiaPacific Breakfast Briefing at the Bank of Hawaii

In her talk, "Disincentives for Democratic Change in Contemporary China" on November 13, Teresa Wright, EWC Visiting Fellow and Scholar, described the phenomenon of China's dramatic economic growth and liberalization, and the need for accompanying political reform.

## Living Angkor Exhibition and Arts 'Ohana Event

Ms. Pav Pak, master weaver and ikat textile dyer for Siem Reap, Cambodia gave a special demonstration to Arts 'Ohana members on October 2nd. The *Living Angkor* exhibition features impressive 13th and 14th century sculpture, textiles, puppets, and masks, accompanied by the stunning photographs of *National Geographic* photographer Paul Chesley.

#### **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 September 1, 2007 and December 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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The Asian Studies Development Program (ASDP), a joint program of the East-West Center and the University of Hawai'i, presented a two-day workshop on China at the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) headquarters in Atlanta in mid-December. The CDC

## ASDP Branches Out With New Initiatives

for CDC,

Southeast

Asia

briefings were just one of the new initiatives of ASDP, now in its 18th year.

ASDP was asked to present sessions on Chinese culture, contemporary history, traditional ideas

about health and healing, as well as the political economy and its impact on the nation's health care. Christopher McNally, EWC Fellow and a China specialist, and Roger Ames, University of Hawai'i professor of philosophy, were among the presenters.

It's a new dimension for us," said Betty Buck, co-director of the ASDP program and special assistant for Education to the EWC President. "It's not the usual college or university setting and the audience was not academic but CDC officials."

Another new ASDP initiative, Asian Studies in Asia (ASIA), will launch next year. The first five years of the 10-year project will focus on providing faculty at Southeast Asian universities and colleges with undergraduate curriculum on East Asia.

The initiative is in response to the need at Asian colleges and universities for curriculum about their Asian neighbors. Three or four regional workshops will be offered each year in Southeast Asia, in collaboration with 10 universities in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

The inaugural workshop will be held in Honolulu in May, with two-thirds of the 30 participants coming from universities in Southeast Asia. The remaining participants will be from U.S. colleges and universities.

"This program arose in response to the Center's new strategic plan to internationalize our programs," said Buck. "We're taking the model of what ASDP has been doing with universities in the U.S. and applying it to ASIA."

In addition, ASDP this fall presented workshops for U.S. college and university faculty at Georgia



A planning meeting for the new Asian Studies in Asia program was held at the East-West Center in August.

Southern University in Savannah, Georgia, and at Portland Community College in Oregon. The workshops were supported by funds from the Freeman Foundation.

The workshop in Savannah looked at Islam in South Asia, Southeast Asia and China. ASDP education specialist Peter Hershock explained that the ASDP workshops on "Islam in Asia" are designed to correct the misconception U.S. educators may have that most Muslims live in the Middle East, when the reality is that the large majority live in Asia. "The workshops look at the distinctive way Islam is practiced by a majority of the population and also focuses on the diversity of Islamic tradition," he said.

In Portland, Oregon, the community college system — which reaches 125,000 students on five campuses — hosted a workshop in October on "Understanding the Old and New China." Hershock noted that because of business and trade relations with China in the Pacific Northwest, "China is on people's minds. They wanted to get a more complex picture of China than is typically presented by the media."

The presentations by Asian experts provided participants with teaching material and interaction with the scholars. "What makes the workshops distinctive is there's more interaction, more of an exchange than just 'a sage on stage'" type presentation," Hershock said. "The presenters are not just telling what they know, but sharing what they know, so everyone is learning together. It makes the workshops a shared endeavor."

## Human Rights Challenges for International Courts in Cambodia

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the limits of the process and what the court can and cannot do.

Seventy percent of the population is also illiterate, 30 years or younger, and has little knowledge of the atrocities committed during the Khmer Rouge regime. She also noted that the Cambodian legal system was only formed in the mid-1990s, so there is a whole class of lawyers with no formal legal education and training.

The East-West Center, through the AIJI, is assisting in organizing workshops in Cambodia for judges, prosecutors and defense attorneys. Phil Estermann, EWC grants officer, has made regular trips to Cambodia for this purpose and also played a role in

the production of videos about the Khmer Rouge and why the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia were created.

The first two videos have aired on Cambodian television and Estermann is working with non-governmental organizations to show the videos in rural villages. The videos were produced with \$135,000 in grants from the British Embassy in Phnom Penh.

Staggs holds out hope for positive domestic change over the long run. "Even though we see how difficult the processes are in these U.N. courts, I still think it's worth confronting these challenges and moving through them, rather than not facing them at all," she said.



The Publications Office now sends e-mail announcements of new publications to interested readers. If you would like to receive such announcements, please send a message to ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org with the word "subscribe" in the Subject field. Please include your name, title, organization name, and e-mail address.

#### **Publications in Review**

Asia's Energy Future: Regional Dynamics and Global Implications, edited by Kang Wu and Fereidun Fesharaki with assistance by Sidney B. Westley. Honolulu: East-West Center, 2007. xiv, 150 pp. www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2461. Concerns about energy security affect economic performance and political stability all over the world. Yet nowhere is this issue more critical than in Asia and the Pacific. The United States and Asia have much in common in terms of their basic energy situation. Both regions have substantial coal reserves, but both must import large quantities of oil and natural gas, creating a worrying level of dependency on the volatile Middle East. The United States has an economy and a life style highly dependent

upon imported energy, and increasingly, so does Asia. This publication provides Asians and Americans with the factual information they need for clear understanding, informed policy dialogue and effective cooperation on issues related to energy security. Fereidun Fesharaki and Kang Wu are leading international energy experts based at the East-West Center. They have brought together an outstanding team of Asia Pacific specialists to describe recent trends and future challenges and to lay out a set of policy recommendations designed to strengthen the region's overall energy security. Paper, \$30.00. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org.

Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China's Territorial Integrity, by Alan M. Wachman. Studies in Asian Security. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007. xviii, 254 pp. Why has Taiwan retained its salience for more than half a century as the principal unresolved territorial claim of the People's Republic of China? The author presents the official perspective of the current Beijing government, its predecessors in the Republican period, and the last imperial dynasties. He demonstrates that a careful look at the historical record casts

doubt on the incontestability of Taiwan's status as part of China, and that the general principles used to justify the claim to Taiwan could just as well be applied to other peripheral territories that China no longer attempts to rule. Rather, he argues, Taiwan's distinctiveness derives mainly from its critical geopolitical location. This is the seventh title in the East-West Center book series, *Studies in Asian Security*, published by Stanford University Press. *Cloth, \$65.00; paper, \$24.95. Available from www.sup.org or Chicago Distribution Center, 800.621.2736.* 

How Does Son Preference Affect Populations in Asia? by Sidney B. Westley and Minja Kim Choe. AsiaPacific Issues, No. 84. Honolulu: East-West Center, September 2007. 12 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2236. The preference for sons has deep social, economic and cultural roots in many East and South Asian societies. Historically, son preference has resulted in unusually high death rates for female infants and girls. Over the past 30 years, the introduction of prenatal screening

technologies combined with widespread access to abortion has made possible the selective abortion of female fetuses. Resulting gender imbalances have led to concerns that a shortage of women will make it difficult for men to find wives. However, population projections and survey data suggest that falling fertility and women's reluctance to marry have a much larger effect than sex-selective abortion on the availability of women in the marriage market. *Paper, \$2.50. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org.* 

China in Oceania: New Forces in Pacific Politics, by Terence Wesley-Smith. Pacific Islands Policy, No. 2. Honolulu: East-West Center, 2007. 35 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2287. In this policy paper, Terence Wesley-Smith explores strategic, political and economic dimensions of Beijing's heightened interest in Oceania. He challenges the disingenuous threat discourse pervading the existing literature, and argues that China's rise offers island states opportunities not available

under established structures of power. He also argues that China's rise in Oceania largely parallels developments in the Caribbean, and disturbs a situation where a small number of allied powers exercise enormous regional influence. Wesley-Smith concludes that China's rise broadens the options for island states, whose leaders are accustomed to operating in a world controlled by great powers. Paper, \$10.00. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org.

**The Korean Presidents: Leadership for Nation Building**, by Choong Nam Kim. Norwalk, Connecticut: EastBridge, 2007. 439 pp. This volume is the only global analysis of each individual Korean president and his presidency as well as the

only current assessment of the success of the institution of the Korean presidency as a positive role model for emerging nations. *Paper, \$29.95. Available from EastBridge at www.eastbridgebooks.com.* 

#### Also published:

Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalist Ideology: Implications for Politics and Conflict Resolution in Sri Lanka, by Neil DeVotta. Policy Studies 40. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2007. ix, 87 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2314. Paper, \$10.00. Available from the East-West Center, ewcbooks@EastWestCenter.org.

Assessing Burma's Ceasefire Accords, by Zaw Oo and Win Min. Policy Studies 39 (Southeast Asia). Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington; Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 91 pp. Paper, electronic; \$10.00. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/bookmarks/PS39/.

**The United Wa State Party: Narco-Army or Ethnic Nationalist Party?** by Tom Kramer. *Policy Studies* 38 (Southeast Asia). Washington, DC: East-West Center Washington; Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007. 99 pp. *Paper, electronic;* \$10.00. Available from ISEAS Publishing, bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/bookmarks/PS38/.

Meeting Regional Challenges in the Media. Honolulu: East-West Center, 2007. 18 pp. Free downloadable PDF file available online at www.EastWestCenter.org/pubs/2477.

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**Note:** These books are also available to walk-in customers at the EWC Publications Office.

Through a unique EWC media program, U.S. and Asian health reporters received firsthand knowledge about how Hong Kong, Vietnam and Indonesia are combating infectious diseases such as avian flu, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and dengue fever.

"You think you know all about the hot-button issues of bird flu and the threat of pandemic flu,

## A First-Hand Look at How Asia Combats

HIV/AIDS, dengue fever and other infectious diseases in Asia," said participant Mary Ann Benitez of the *South China Morning Post.*"But there's nothing like being on the ground, where

the battle is being fought, meeting, talking to the common folks about the impact of disease on their daily lives. It also made me appreciate and understand better the multi-faceted factors that impact health and medicine...and that there's no one cure for all. And the discussions on women's rights and Islam provided an

interesting dimension to health coverage."

Benitez was among 10 journalists who participated in the Health Journalism Fellowships program, co-sponsored by the East-West Center and the University of Hong Kong, in the early fall. They met with government and health officials to discuss what can be done to prevent global pandemics and the media's role in reporting on infectious diseases.

Nancy Lewis, director of EWC Research, assisted in planning the program

and then traveled with the reporters. "Journalists are critical in helping the public understand the risks associated with emerging infectious disease and other

health concerns," Lewis said. "Exploring the complex factors involved in the emergence of disease and the responses to it gives the journalists firsthand experience that will aid them greatly in interpreting reports of disease outbreaks. And, as with our other journalism fellowships, this program also provides a network of health reporters who continue to interact online."

At the University of Hong Kong, the journalists received an overview of infectious diseases, with a particular focus on China. Trips to a hospital, government public health offices, and market showed how Hong Kong is preparing for another pandemic based on its SARS experience — information journalists found very valuable for their home audiences.

In Vietnam, journalists visited both Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, with the latter taking the more aggressive public health approach toward infectious diseases. In Jakarta, they found the fight against infectious diseases has not been as effective as in Vietnam. They made field trips into the countryside to see how community involvement is educating children and adults about avian flu and other infectious diseases.

For Helen Altonn of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, the program was especially valuable because Hawai'i sees itself as an entry point for infectious diseases into the United States.

"I learned so much," said Altonn. "And now the challenge is to share it with our readers so they will understand the seriousness of infectious diseases and the problems those countries face in trying to contain them. The EWC and its Southeast Asia partners outdid themselves to make this fellowship as informative and memorable as possible. I will never again write about dengue, avian flu, HIV-AIDS, TB or any other infectious disease without thinking about what we saw and heard."



Infectious

Diseases

Journalists received first hand information from health care workers in the field.

**EWC** 

Explores the

in Sports'

'Asian Century

The Beijing Olympics in 2008 may signal the beginning of an "Asian Age," predicted participants at the first East-West Sports Summit, held in early November at the East-West Center in Honolulu, in partnership with Sports Marketing Japan.

Participants also speculated on whether the games will trigger a sea change in attitudes in China toward state control of the media and athletes, democratization

Sports Summit and human rights, and the pace of outside investment on the booming Chinese economy.

The sports summit drew a wide range of

The sports summit drew a wide range of participants, including government sports officials such as Bin Yuan, director of Marketing for the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games and sports figure Bobby Valentine, manager of the Chiba Lottee Marines in the Japanese Pacific League and former manager of the Texas Rangers and

New York Mets. The conference also attracted sports marketing experts, both from Asia and the United States.

Ms. Yuan told conference participants that bringing the Olympics to China, a dream that the nation has pursued for 100 years, brings huge opportunities and challenges. China has built 37 dazzling new sports

venues from Hong Kong to Beijing and behind the many venues are a huge transportation network and a massive effort to clean up Beijing's air before the games open.

Discussion also addressed potential downsides for China and its ruling government as the result of the decision to host the Olympics. Among the questions raised were:

- Can China control the reporting efforts of some 20,000 to 30,000 members of the international press?
- Will the games end up serving as a barrier to reform because if they are successful, as expected, they will confer legitimacy on the current leadership and its current policies of control?
- Or will the huge economic, media and physical changes that sweep through China during the Olympics lead inevitably to additional reforms?

It was noted that because of its huge size, China has redefined global relationships in virtually every sphere from economics to international diplomacy. It is likely, then, conference participants heard, that these games could also forever change the relationship between Asia and the international Olympic movement.

Photos and more information about the Sports Summit appear in the Foundation pages.

#### Notes and Quotes

From Radio New Zealand International December 13, 2007 A Tonga academic is calling for informal discussions or *talanoa* talks between the government and the prodemocracy advocates to heal tensions in the country.

This week the government extended its emergency regulations brought in after the riot last year for the 14th time.

It said it had ongoing concerns about threats from people connected with the pro-democracy movement, to which the government had attributed blame for the riots. The director of the Pacific Islands Development Program at Hawaii's East-West Center, Dr. Sitiveni Halapua, says the government needs to recognize it is a political issue. "It doesn't mean they have to stop pursuing the legal process in law and order. No question that needs to be done as well, but they have to see and understand the underlying tension is a political issue that can only be resolved if the two sides, all sides concerned, are prepared to sit down and talk to each other."

From
"China's Power —
and Will — to Push for
Change in Myanmar
Limited at ASEAN,
Analysts Say"
The Associated Press

November 21, 2007

Wednesday,

SINGAPORE — There were hopes that China could use its clout at an Asian summit this week to get Myanmar to end its iron-fisted hold on dissent and allow democratic reforms in the impoverished nation.

But the expectations quickly fizzled, highlighting the limits of Beijing's power — and possibly desire — to push hard for change in the isolated country also known as Burma.

"I think the Chinese are careful to avoid pushing so hard that they alienate the target regime," said Denny Roy, a China expert at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Roy noted that Beijing had already publicly criticized Myanmar to stifle most of the criticism that China is part of the problem. But Beijing also has blocked the U.N. Security Council from imposing sanctions or taking stronger action.

From
"Up the Value Chain
in Vietnam"
By Dante Ramos
In The Boston Globe
November 11, 2007

I'm in Vietnam for the first time, with a group of journalists organized by the East-West Center in Honolulu. Video game design is not the sort of activity one expects to see in a one-party state where the gross domestic product per capita last year was just \$726.

Sure, it's a little odd that a city named for a communist revolutionary has become one of Southeast Asia's business hubs. Vietnam is attracting established foreign companies and new entrepreneurs, and not just those looking to make clothes on the cheap.

From
"China Pours
Aid to Islands"
By Julie Pendray
In the Washington Times
October 19, 2007

Former Deputy Secretary of State Richard L. Armitage was in Auckland in September as part of the U.S.-New Zealand Partnership Forum to discuss a possible free trade agreement. The strong Chinese investment in the region was a topic of conversation. *The New Zealand Herald* reported that this was interesting because China has been negotiating with the Kiwis about free trade. U.S. officials have linked the desired repeal of the ban of American nuclear ships from New Zealand's ports to a potential free-trade agreement between the nations.

Zhong Xiang Zhang, senior fellow at the research program of the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii, noted China's rise in the South Pacific.

"Whether China needs to increase its influence in very sensitive regions disproportionally, in particular those regions Western powers considered as their traditional sphere of influence, is a serious issue that deserves China's prudent consideration," he said. "For the South Pacific, there's no need for China to disproportionally increase its influence."



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