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### Message from the President

This year's U.S. presidential election is business as usual for those of us concerned about America's role in world affairs. Like recent elections, domestic issues and personality traits seem destined to be overwhelmingly paramount to the press and voters through November—good news in the sense that this indicates the nation is at peace, but bad news because more than ever the nation's prosperity and security are linked to its relations across the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and up and down the Americas. This inward preoccupation is no surprise; it is the American electoral tradition in times of peace.

Because the country's borders are increasingly porous and the flow of commerce, communication, and diplomacy through those borders so important, organizations with an international relations mission like NBR have a special responsibility. NBR intends again this year, as it did four years ago, to sponsor the Presidential Campaign Debate on Asia Policy. The first-ever Asia debate, which was held at the National Press Club in October 1996, was televised on C-SPAN and covered by the international press. Former under secretary of state and ambassador, and current Brookings Institution president, Michael Armacost served as questioner and moderator. Senior advisors to the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates engaged in an in-depth debate on tough and controversial issues such as North Korean weapons development and China policy. We anticipate this year's debate will prove to be just as stimulating.

Turning to more immediate news, I am honored to announce the appointment of Professor Rajan Menon as direc-

See *President's Message* pg. 2 ▶

## U.S. China Policy at the Crossroads


China is neither an enemy nor a partner to the United States, and long-term China policy should reflect this reality, Michael Kantor, former commerce secretary and U.S. trade representative, said at an NBR press briefing on October 13, 1999, in Washington, D.C. Former National Security Advisor Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, former Undersecretary of State Robert Zoellick, and several prominent Asia specialists also spoke on policy and trade issues at the event.

The briefing, entitled "U.S. China Policy at the Crossroads: The Intersection of Trade, Foreign, and Defense Policy," ad-



*Former Commerce Secretary and U.S. Trade Representative Michael Kantor addresses the audience at NBR's U.S. China policy press briefing.*

ressed U.S. China policy following a trying year for relations between the two countries. Nearly 100 journalists, business executives, scholars, and government officials attended the event held at the National Press Club. Speakers at the press briefing were unanimous in their opinion that China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) would be beneficial to the United States.

On the following day, Senator Slade Gorton and Representatives Norman Dicks and Douglas Bereuter led separate off-the-record briefings for senators and representatives. 

## Security Implications of Economic and Political Development in the Russian Far East

NBR held the first working group meetings of its year-long research project "Security Implications of Economic and Political Development in the Russian Far East" on October 20–21, 1999, at the Intourist Hotel in Khabarovsk, Russia.

Hosted by the Institute for Economic Research, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the conference included fifty scholars, local government officials, and representatives from businesses and nonprofit organizations. Conference participants examined economic and political developments in the Russian Far East (RFE), asking how these forces impact the security of Pacific Russia and the stability of Northeast Asia.

Specialists from the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Korea surveyed key issues that influence the prospects for regional integration, including Russia's institutional environment, the framework of its economic and political governance, social problems, and Moscow's relations with its neighbors in Northeast Asia. They exchanged views on the perceptions and concerns of policymakers and voters in Russia and abroad, seeking to identify risks and opportunities that lie ahead. The goal of the workshop was not to find answers but to identify the common issues that underlie the many different questions facing Russia.

See *Security Implications* pg. 4 ▶

## Meetings Conclude Korea Reunification Project

In October 1999, participants in NBR's Korean Reunification project met with policymakers in the State and Defense Departments and the National Security Council.


Reunification, if it comes, will have a direct impact on America's national interests in Northeast Asia. The aim of the project was to provide policymakers with a variety of scenarios under which reunification might take place and the policy options to deal with each.

In assessing the strengths of this project, participants identified the ability to work closely with all agencies of government and the ability to look at long-term developments because short-term crises often command a great deal of policymakers' resources leaving little for long-term planning. As an example of this, one policymaker discussed how the alleged massacre of

Korean civilians at No Gun Ri by U.S. troops during the Korean War has put a crimp on the progress of reunification talks in South Korea.

Government officials at the meetings also discussed the necessity of the current "sanctions-for-nukes" policy while conceding that though it was less than ideal, there currently is no better alternative.

In addition to the meetings with policymakers, project participants also presented original research papers and reviewed a draft of a monograph, intended as a reunification handbook for policymakers, written by project codirectors Nicholas Eberstadt and Richard Ellings.


NBR and the University of Washington Press will co-publish the monograph and an edited volume of articles by the project participants. Both books are expected to be available in fall 2000. 

## AccessAsia Intern Visits Taipei

NBR continued its highly successful AccessAsia Global Consortium Internship Program this past December when it sent Anne Wang, University of Hawaii graduate student, to Taipei, Taiwan to aid the Institute for International Relations at National Chengchi University with its local AccessAsia operations.

The internship program was established in 1998 with support from the Freeman Foundation and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation to strengthen the efforts of the AccessAsia Global Consortium, a multinational enterprise that tracks Asia specialists and their current policy-relevant research worldwide. Each year, two graduate stu-

dents of Asian affairs are chosen for the program, which involves interning at NBR in Seattle to learn about and work on the AccessAsia project and then traveling to the selected Global Consortium member institution to assist with its AccessAsia efforts.

Previous AccessAsia interns have spent time at member institutions in Japan, Korea, and Indonesia. Anne, who will complete her internship in April, delved into her work in Taiwan by visiting various institutions to recruit specialists for the database and by promoting the use of the online version of the AccessAsia database ([www.accessasia.org](http://www.accessasia.org)). 

## NBR and the Asia Society Collaborate on Database of Asia Specialists

In September 1999, NBR and the Asia Society announced their collaboration in providing a free, online repository of information on the world's leading Asia specialists.

Since 1990, NBR's AccessAsia project has tracked the current research and expertise of specialists on contemporary Asian

affairs and policy-relevant issues. The Asia Society's recently-launched AsiaExperts database complements this effort by providing information on specialists in Asian arts, culture, history, and society. Through hypertext links on the projects' web sites, users now have seamless access to both databases.

### ► *President's Message (cont.)*

tor of NBR's Eurasia Policy Studies program. Raj is the Monroe J. Rathbone Professor of International Affairs at Lehigh University. Professor Herbert Ellison, who developed the Eurasia Policy Program from its inception ten years ago to its international standing today, insisted over our objections that we recruit a successor so that he could concentrate on major book projects and a PBS documentary. Herb will retain his position on NBR's board of directors, and we look forward to his leadership in future projects as well.


I am also pleased to express our sincerest appreciation to the Henry Luce Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the team of the W. Alton Jones Foundation and the United States Institute of Peace, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for their recent grants to support NBR projects on, respectively, state-owned enterprise reform in China, social cohesion in Russia, Track II diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region, and energy wealth and development in the Caspian region. Each of these topics is enormously important in America's relations with Asia, and is thus of keen scholarly and policy interest. For a complete list of recent funders see page 5.



Richard J. Ellings  
President

In addition to information on Asia specialists, both sites offer a host of other valuable services such as information on upcoming Asia-related conferences and events, extensive links, and news.

NBR's AccessAsia Database, focusing on contemporary Asian affairs and policy-relevant issues, is located at <http://www.accessasia.org/database/quick/>.

Asia Society's AsiaExperts Database, focusing on Asian arts, culture, history, and society, is located at [http://www.asiasource.org/experts/ax\\_mp\\_01.cfm](http://www.asiasource.org/experts/ax_mp_01.cfm). 

# NBR Welcomes New Board Members

Three new members were elected to NBR's board of directors: David Tang of Preston Gates & Ellis LLP, Thomas Fisher of the Unocal Corporation, and Vaughn Koshkarian of the Ford Motor Company.

David Tang is a partner at Preston Gates & Ellis LLP in Seattle. His practice entails a wide range of domestic and international commercial transactions including: structuring of joint ventures; foreign operations; real estate investments; equipment and trade financing; and acquisitions.



David Tang

In addition to his law practice, Mr. Tang serves as a board member on the Pacific Council on International Policy, as a governor of the National Center for APEC, and as a nationally elected trustee of the Harvard Alumni Association. Mr. Tang has published numerous articles on international legal topics and serves in several professional and local associations.

Mr. Tang graduated with an AB, *magna cum laude*, from Harvard University in 1975. Following graduation, he attended The Hague Academy of International Law (1976), received a JD from Columbia University (1979), and received a Certificate with Honors from the Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law (1979).

Thomas Fisher is senior vice president of commercial affairs at the Unocal Corporation in El Segundo, California. Mr. Fisher began his career at Unocal in 1966 and held various domestic and international engineering and management positions until he was appointed division vice president in 1987. In 1994, Mr. Fisher became corporate vice president of commercial affairs, a position responsible for all major marketing aspects of Unocal's resources.



Thomas Fisher


Mr. Fisher graduated from Texas A&M

University in 1966 with a BS in mechanical engineering and is a registered professional engineer. Mr. Fisher serves on various technical and professional associations and community and volunteer organizations.

Vaughn Koshkarian is vice president of Asia-Pacific Operations at the Ford Motor Company. Prior to that, he served as vice president of public affairs at Ford.



Vaughn Koshkarian

Mr. Koshkarian has worked permanently at Ford since 1968 and has been engaged in a number of internationally oriented positions including acting as president of Ford Motor (China) Ltd. in Beijing, as director of the International Automotive Operations (IAO) Strategy and Associations, and as director of finance for Ford Asia-Pacific, Inc. Mr. Koshkarian holds a BA and an MBA in finance from Northwestern University. 

## Colleagues and Friends

NBR co-founders **Dr. Kenneth Pyle** and **Dr. Richard Ellings** were elected founding president and president of NBR, respectively, at NBR's October 19 board of directors meeting. For ten years, Dr. Pyle, professor of Japanese history and international studies at the University of Washington, served as NBR's president, while Dr. Ellings served as executive director. In his new capacity, Dr. Ellings will continue to run NBR's day-to-day operations. Professor Pyle will serve as an advisor to NBR.

After a decade of tremendous leadership, **Dr. Herbert J. Ellison**, professor of Russian history and international studies at the University of Washington, stepped down as director of NBR's Eurasia Policy Studies Program. The new director is **Dr. Rajan Menon**, Monroe J. Rathbone Professor of International Relations at Lehigh University and academic fellow and advisor for the International Peace and Security Program at the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Ambassador **John J. Maresca**, a member of the NBR board of advisors, has taken on a new role as president of The Business-Humanitarian Forum, a non-profit organization that encourages communication and cooperation between business and humanitarian organizations.

Effective January 1, 2000, **Henry Wallace** was elevated to chief financial officer of the Ford Motor Company. His duties as a director on NBR's board were assumed by **Vaughn Koshkarian**, vice president of Asia-Pacific Operations at the Ford Motor Company.

**Dr. Mark Frazier**, former director of research at NBR, is now an assistant professor of political science at the University of Louisville. With extensive expertise on Chinese politics, Professor Frazier continues to work closely with NBR as a senior advisor.

**Bruce Acker**, former codirector of Eurasia Policy Studies Program and managing editor at NBR, is now a freelance editor

in Buffalo, New York. Mr. Acker also serves as a senior advisor and continues to work closely with NBR.

**Dr. Donald Emmerson** assumed the position of senior fellow at Stanford University's Asia/Pacific Research Center. Previously, Dr. Emmerson was a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Professor Emmerson, a member of NBR's Board of Advisors, testified on September 9, 1999 before the House Subcommittee on International Relations on his experience as a Carter Center monitor during the recent referendum in East Timor. Professor Emmerson's trip to Washington, D.C. was sponsored by NBR.

**Ray Robinson** was recently appointed senior research associate for NBR's Eurasia Policy Studies Program. Mr. Robinson, who retired in Sequim, Washington, had a distinguished career analyzing Soviet arms collections for the Central Intelligence Agency

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## NBR at a Glance

### The Many Faces of Asian Security

NBR, in cooperation with The Goldwater Chair of American Institutions and the Program for Southeast Asian Studies at Arizona State University (ASU), will hold a conference at ASU entitled "The Many Faces of Asian Security: Beyond 2000" on April 27, 2000. The conference will assemble leading scholars and practitioners to assess the many types of, and approaches to, Asian security that are emerging in the post-Cold War era, including traditional security, financial and economic security, environmental security, transnational crime, human rights issues, and the issue of sovereignty.

The results of the conference will lead to an edited book for both policymakers and the academic community. Professor Sheldon

Simon of ASU, who is also director of the Southeast Asian Studies program at NBR, will edit the volume, which will be designed for use as a standard text in college courses on East and Southeast Asia and in U.S. foreign policy courses with substantial focus on the region.

### Japanese Security: Perceptions and Decisionmaking

NBR will conduct a new study on Japanese security, focusing on elite views and decisionmaking processes related to key strategic issues. Ambassador Michael Armacost, president of the Brookings Institution, Dr. Michael Green, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Dr. Kenneth B. Pyle, founding president of NBR and professor of Japanese history and international studies at the University of Washington, will travel to Japan for field

interviews with Japanese lawmakers, government officials, and academics. The project will result in two papers that will be published in the *NBR Analysis*. The Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies is providing funding for this project.

### Chinese State Owned Enterprise Reform

This summer NBR, in conjunction with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, will conduct a survey of 800 state owned enterprises in four provinces in China. The survey is designed to build on and update U.S. understanding of the structure and functioning of Chinese state owned enterprises in the 1990s and to begin to explore related processes in private and privatizing firms. Given the importance of the state sector in China, the transformation of these enterprises is likely to bring substantial, far-reaching social and economic changes. The outcome of this process will largely determine the overall structure and direction of China's economy, society, and trade policy.

Professor Barry Naughton of the University of California at San Diego is serving as principal investigator, and Professors Lisa Keister of Ohio State University, Mark Frazier of the University of Louisville, and David Li of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology are the project's core researchers. The project is made possible in part by a generous grant from the Henry Luce Foundation.

### ► Security Implications (cont.)

Pavel A. Minakir, director of the Institute for Economic Research, opened the conference with a brief ceremony. Judith Thornton, professor of economics at the University of Washington and one of the principal investigators for NBR's project, was presented with an honorary doctorate by the Scientific Council of the Institute for Economic Research in recognition of her "notable contributions to the research of problems of economic cooperation in Russia and Northeast Asia."


Most participants in the conference scheduled extended visits in the region for interviews and field research. Project participants conducted research in seven of the ten regions in the Russian Far East. These trips gave researchers access to key administrative, legislative, and business leaders, allowing them to make site visits and collect local data.

Over the next several months, project

participants will conduct additional research supporting their final studies. Full-length conference papers will be presented in Washington, D.C. on May 7-8, 2000. Government officials, representatives from

businesses and non-governmental organizations, and other specialists will be invited to attend the final conference as speakers and discussants. Final papers will be published in the *NBR Analysis* and other NBR journals. Discussion is also taking place about the publication of a selected set of papers in a volume edited by co-principal investigators, Judith Thornton and Charles Ziegler, professor of political science at the

University of Louisville.

NBR is very grateful to the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the United States-Japan Foundation, and the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute for International Studies for their generous support of the project. 



*The working group members tour the concert hall in Birobidzhan, Jewish Autonomous Oblast.*

## Recent NBR Publications

### NBR Analysis

- *Asian Armed Forces: Internal and External Tasks and Capabilities*, by Sheldon W. Simon, vol. 11, no. 1 (April 2000).
- *South Korea, China, and the Global Economy*, essays by Gifford Combs and Joseph Fewsmith, vol. 10, no. 5 (December 1999).
- *The People's Republic of China at Fifty*, by Robert A. Scalapino, vol. 10, no. 4 (October 1999).
- *Energy, Wealth, and Development in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, essays by David I. Hoffman, Pauline Jones Luong, and Nancy Lubin, vol. 10, no. 3 (August 1999).

### NBR Executive Insight

- *Local Government Disclosure Systems in Japan*, by Lawrence Repeta, no. 16 (October 1999).

### AccessAsia Review

- *Weapons Proliferation and Export Controls in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Strategic Stability in Asia*, by Gary K. Bertsch and Anupam Srivastava, vol. 3, no. 1 (December 1999).

### NBR Briefing

- *Indonesia in Transition: The 1999 Presidential Elections*, by Eric C. Thompson (December 1999).
- *Coming to Terms with the "WTO Effect" on U.S.-China Trade and China's Economic Growth*, by Mark W. Frazier (September 1999).
- *China's Accession to the WTO: A Candid Appraisal from U.S. Industry*, by Mark W. Frazier and Peter M. Hansen (September 1999).
- *The Impact of the Kosovo Conflict on China's Political Leaders and Prospects for WTO Accession*, by Joseph Fewsmith (July 1999).

### ► *Colleagues and Friends (cont.)*

and the Defense Intelligence Agency. Mr. Robinson holds BAs in Soviet studies and economics from the University of Washington, and continues to use his interests in Russian history and intelligence as an advisor to NBR.

**Ken Nilsson**, chair of the Eureka Group, has recently joined NBR's board of advisors. Mr. Nilsson formerly served as vice chairman of the Cooper Companies, manufacturers of the Oral-B dental line, Permalens eye-care products, and Lasersonics/Cavitron medical devices, and holds an MA in political science from the University of California and a BA in telecommunications from the University of Southern California. Mr. Nilsson has lectured extensively on international affairs and speaks several languages. <sup>(NBR)</sup>

## Staff Changes

**Eiko Ikegaya** joined NBR as a program officer in August 1999. Ms. Ikegaya is responsible for management, development, and quality maintenance of projects conducted by NBR. Prior to joining NBR, Ms. Ikegaya worked as a political affairs officer for the United Nations in New York City. In April 2000, Ms. Ikegaya was named codirector of Japanese and Southeast Asian Studies.

**Erica Johnson** assumed the position of codirector of Eurasia Policy Studies Program and managing editor in June 1999. Her responsibilities include overseeing daily operations of NBR's Russia and Central Asia projects and editing the *NBR Analysis*, *NBR Executive Insight*, and NBR book se-

ries. Prior to her new position, Ms. Johnson was an intern for NBR after completing a graduate degree in Russian Studies at the University of Washington.

**Jennifer Linder**, formerly executive assistant and office manager, is now manager for information systems, grants and contracts, and publications. Some of Ms. Linder's responsibilities include overseeing NBR's website, its grants and contracts administration, and the *NBR Analysis* circulation.

**Meira Meek** was named codirector of AccessAsia in December 1999. Ms. Meek edits the *AccessAsia Guide* and the state-of-the-field journal the *AccessAsia Review* and oversees the maintenance and expansion of the AccessAsia database. Previously, Ms. Meek was assistant director of AccessAsia. <sup>(NBR)</sup>

## NBR Funders

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## YELTSIN to be Broadcast

Boris Yeltsin is one of the most significant figures of the twentieth century. Yet many people perceive him as at best impulsive and at worst a buffoon—drunken, autocratic, and erratic.

*YELTSIN*, a two part documentary film series produced by First Circle Films (London), Pacem Productions (Los Angeles), and NBR tells a different story. Made as Yeltsin's career draws to a close, the films show that Yeltsin has been the prime mover in the huge changes in Russia over the past fifteen years. They give a vivid portrait of what he has achieved and how he has done it.


Executive Producers Eugene Shirley, president of Pacem Productions, and Herbert Ellison, professor of international studies at the University of Washington and

founding director of NBR's Eurasia Policy Studies Program, and Series Producer Daniel Wolf, president of First Circle Films, used rare archival footage of Yeltsin in action and interviews with almost all the key movers and shakers of Yeltsin's time to create the only major documentary of this extraordinary man to be completed and made available as his public career comes to an end.

Recognizing the highly original perspective and interpretation of Yeltsin's career, PBS and the Television Department of the Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (WETA) in Washington, D.C. have accepted the films for national broadcast as a PBS Special presentation at 9:00 PM on August 28, 2000. 

## Energy Wealth and Development in the Former Soviet Union

In January, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded NBR a grant to develop a project that will assess the impact of energy wealth on state building in the Caspian Sea Basin. In collaboration with the FAR Centre for Economic and Political Research (Baku, Azerbaijan) and the Policy Research Center of the Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics, and Strategic Research (Almaty), NBR proposes to draw lessons from the experiences of other energy-rich countries,

such as Norway, Venezuela, Iran, and Nigeria, in order to identify and promote policies that will encourage sustained economic growth and stability in the Caspian states as they absorb (or in some cases prepare to absorb) a large influx of energy revenue. The primary goal of the project is to initiate a policy dialogue among scholars, business leaders, policymakers, nongovernmental organizations, and other interested parties in the Caspian region and the United States. 



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