





# OUR FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS



THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ASIAN RESEARCH

*Seattle and Washington, D.C.*



*NBR Chairman George Russell and NBR Founding Chairman  
and current Vice Chairman Larry Clarkson*

May 17, 2004

DEAR FRIENDS,

Our mission at NBR is to inform and strengthen Asia-Pacific policy. Why this region? Because power, opportunity, and risk are concentrating there, highlighted by the rise of China. As a result, the stakes in the region for Americans—and all peoples—are tremendous. These stakes include no less than the core values of freedom, democracy, security, and prosperity.

We believe that facts and ideas matter in the public realm, hence the need for producing the best possible information. And we know that governmental decisions matter, hence the need for conveying this information effectively to those responsible for Asia-Pacific policy.

This tribute is both retrospective and prospective. It sheds some light on NBR's first 15 years, but just as importantly reflects our steadfast commitment to addressing issues as critical to humanity's future as any.



GEORGE F. RUSSELL  
*Chairman*



RICHARD J. ELLINGS  
*President*



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# NBR TIMELINE: BEGINNINGS TO 1993



## BEGINNINGS



University of Washington Professor Kenneth Pyle seeks Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson’s help with strengthening the UW School of International Studies (later named after the Senator).

Jackson enlists United Airlines’ Eddie Carlson and Boeing’s T. Wilson to assist in creating a national center for the study of China and Russia.

Following a federal appropriation, the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, chaired by Mrs. Helen Hardin Jackson (pictured with Ken Pyle above) funds the feasibility and planning study for a national research institute.

Ken Pyle asks Richard Ellings, also with the UW’s Jackson School of International Studies, to conduct a survey of think tanks in the United States and to draft the feasibility and planning study.

## 1989



On May 17, with founding grants from the Jackson Foundation and The Boeing Company, The National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research (NBR) opens doors adjacent to the University of Washington at 715 Safeco Plaza, Seattle.

NBR establishes a governing structure, led by an interim executive committee of distinguished civic leaders and by a permanent board of advisors whose membership includes many of America’s premier scholars in Asian and Soviet studies. The IEC is chaired by Richard Ford. The advisory board’s first member is UC Berkeley Professor Robert Scalapino (photo).

The advisory board meets in Seattle to explore how NBR can best fulfill its mission. It concludes that NBR should also serve as a clearinghouse of research and expertise.

The Jackson Internship Program is established.

The Foreign Relations Discussion Group, an off-the-record meeting format, is launched.

## 1990



NBR holds its inaugural conference in Seattle on the significance of domestic reform in East Asia. It is co-sponsored by the International Research and Exchanges Board. (Photo: Douglas Paal sharing a laugh with Vladimir Lukin.)

NBR debuts at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., with meetings on Great Power relations in the Pacific.

UW Professor Herbert Ellison founds Russian Asian Studies at NBR, later named Eurasia Policy Studies.

Thirty-two members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives are recruited to the board of advisors.

The *NBR Analysis* publication series debuts with a study by Professor Harry Harding on the prospects for reform in China.



1991



NBR organizes an interagency meeting on post-Tiananmen, U.S.-China policy for the State Department and National Security Council.

Meetings in the U.S. Capitol are held on the policy implications of the transformations taking place in East Asia as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet empire. One of the presenters is Congressman Norm Dicks, pictured above.

An international symposium on East Asia is held in San Francisco in collaboration with The Asia Foundation.

In fulfilling its clearinghouse mission, the first *AccessAsia Guide* is published, providing the field with a directory of specialists on contemporary Asia and their current research.

1992



In view of the demise of the Soviet Union, NBR's Interim Executive Committee debates renaming options and decides on The National Bureau of Asian Research, following the recommendation by Herb Ellison (photo).

Meetings in various cities in Japan are organized in cooperation with the United States Information Agency (USIA). The topic is Russian-Japanese relations.

Again with the USIA, meetings are held in Japan, China, and the Republic of Korea on the future strategic environment in Asia. They are a precursor to NBR's Strategic Asia Program.

Under Professor Sheldon Simon's leadership, an NBR team conducts studies for the Department of Defense's East Asia Strategic Initiative.

1993



Boeing's Larry Clarkson (photo), NBR's founding chairman, convenes the inaugural meeting of the Board of Directors, replacing the Interim Executive Committee.

Herb Ellison's New Russia/CIS in Asia project commences three years of meetings in Moscow, Almaty, Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo, and Washington, D.C.

The first special edition of the *NBR Analysis*, "Americans Speak to APEC," is published for the delegates to the APEC summit in Seattle.

NBR assembles its team of leading Southeast Asia specialists for briefings at the Department of Defense and National Defense University.

NBR Senior Advisor Nicholas Eberstadt completes an extensive study for the Department of Defense on North Korean issues, later to be published as an NBR book.

## THE VISION OF HENRY M. JACKSON

*Kenneth B. Pyle*

HE HELPED BUILD THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES AND WORKED TIRELESSLY  
TO KEEP IT VIGOROUS AND SECURE.... FOR THOSE WHO MAKE FREEDOM THEIR CAUSE,  
HENRY JACKSON WILL ALWAYS INSPIRE HONOR, COURAGE, AND HOPE.

*President Ronald Reagan upon posthumously awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Senator Jackson in 1984*

The genesis of The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) lies in the concerns and thinking of Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson. The Senator, who served in Congress through the terms of nine presidents from F.D.R. to Reagan, a period encompassing more than one-fifth of the entire existence of the American republic, will be long remembered as perhaps the key figure in rallying the nation to stay the course in the successful outcome of the Cold War. It was his belief in the need to mobilize expertise on Asia to achieve a more effective foreign policy that led to the establishment of NBR.

In 1978, shortly after I was appointed to head the University of Washington’s School of International Studies, I contacted Senator Jackson to seek his help in fundraising and rebuilding the school’s programs. It was a good time to approach him because, having dropped out of the presidential race, he had turned his

full attention back to foreign policy and was deeply engaged behind the scenes in the normalization of U.S. relations with China. He responded to my request with endless energy and enthusiasm. From that time until our return from the last trip to China in 1983, a few days before he died, my association with the Senator was like being swept up in one of those twisters whirling across the Nebraska plains. There was a flurry of high energy activities—phone calls, letters, meetings, trips, and plans. I traveled extensively in Asia with him, joined him in meetings with Deng Xiaoping and other Asian leaders, and became deeply familiar with his thinking about the geopolitical issues of that time.

He was the best informed member of Congress on both China and Russia. His fascination with China went far beyond Cold War strategy. He foresaw the impact that China’s emergence would have on the region and on the American place in Asia. He recog-

NBR EMBODIES SCOOP’S LEGACY AND HIS CORE CONCERNS ABOUT ASIA.  
I’VE WATCHED THE INSTITUTION FROM ITS INCEPTION FOCUS ON THE ISSUES THAT  
WERE IMPORTANT TO SCOOP, AND IT CONTINUES TO WORK IN A BIPARTISAN  
FASHION THAT REFLECTS THE WAY SCOOP OPERATED.

*Congressman Norm Dicks*

nized that it would be a challenge to bring this newly emerging power smoothly into the international system. From the start it was the Senator's aspiration that the University of Washington (his alma mater), which had a well-earned reputation for national leadership in Russian and Far Eastern studies, would take the initiative. He remarked repeatedly on how poorly the government was prepared, partly as a result of McCarthyism, to deal with Asia. It was essential to train expertise on the region and bring it to bear on the policymaking community. He saw the need for a "National Sino-Soviet Center" because he believed that the relationship of the communist powers held a key to the outcome of the Cold War.

In our conversations we talked of the ways in which this might be done. With the help of University of Washington Professor Herbert Ellison we began organizing national conferences that brought together leading thinkers on issues relating to Russia and Asia. We were exploring mechanisms to bring expertise around the country into the policymaking arena in Washington, D.C. The Senator was groping for a means to bridge the gap between those who were responsible for decision-making in these critical foreign policy areas and the

specialists located in universities and research institutes here and abroad.

At the time of the Senator's death in 1983, we had not yet come up with a means to bridge the gap. But it was his thinking that later led the board of directors of the newly established Henry M. Jackson Foundation to ask for a proposal for an institution to serve the

purpose he had in mind. The result was a grant to establish The National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research in 1989. NBR became the means for scholars at his alma mater and beyond to reach out to leading experts wherever they were to study key issues in policymaking regarding U.S. interests in Asian and Russian affairs. I have no doubt that he would be pleased with this organization, including the young graduate student interns from the renamed Henry M. Jackson School of

International Studies sharing in this work and participating in public service. The steadfast support that the Jackson Foundation has provided for NBR over the past 15 years has allowed it to build its programs of research and gain support from the private sector, government, and other foundations. NBR is an important embodiment of the Jackson legacy.



*Senator Henry Jackson discusses the Sino-Soviet Center with Professor Ken Pyle, Former Chairman of United Airlines and Westin Hotels Eddie Carlson, and Former Chairman of Boeing T. Wilson.*

## AN INSTITUTE WITHOUT WALLS



IT IS AN ENORMOUSLY EFFECTIVE WAY OF HAVING LOW OVERHEAD AND OPTIMAL PRODUCTION OF FIRST-CLASS ANALYSIS ON TOPICS OF PUBLIC INTEREST.

*George F. Russell, Chairman Emeritus, Russell Investment Group*

NBR's business model was designed around a simple organizational imperative: how to bring the nation's—and the world's, for that matter—premier expertise to the people who make Asia-Pacific policy. The model had to stress bipartisanship, and enable NBR to focus on the major international issues of the day. NBR's founders were realistic, understanding that any effort to relocate in one institution all or even a majority of the world's Asia hands would be an expensive act of futility.

Moreover, there was a bipartisan model in another field of study—economics—provided by the National Bureau of *Economic* Research (NBER), which was founded in 1920 for the purpose of studying the business cycle. Moved eventually from New York to Cambridge, it drew upon top professors from the economics departments of universities across the United States, sponsored their research, and pulled them together for conferences. It also published influential studies to the benefit of scholars and policymakers alike. Although not engaged in the policy process to the extent NBR's founders envisioned, NBER nonethe-

less provided a compelling structure. It was one of 17 research institutions Founding Executive Director Richard Ellings visited during NBR's planning phase.

The choice was an obvious one, given the shortcomings of the competing options. As conceived in the original strategic plan and followed to this day, NBR would combine the attributes of NBER and the venerable in-house think tanks located in Washington, such as the Brookings Institution and American Enterprise Institute. NBR would operate efficiently and flexibly, drawing upon the very best specialists from academe and elsewhere, and it would engage government in every effective way—through working closely with executive branch officials, holding meetings and briefings for members of Congress and their staffs, assisting with congressional hearings, and even competing selectively for government contracts. NBR would work closely with other research institutions that contained top Asia programs. Through such a collaborative strategy, this “institute without walls” would draw most fully upon the knowledge, advice, and influence of the nation's and world's best.

I JOINED NBR'S FOUNDING BOARD OF DIRECTORS. WHAT HAVE STOOD OUT TO ME OVER THE YEARS ARE THE ORGANIZATION'S FLEXIBILITY, INDEPENDENCE, EFFECTIVENESS, AND ABILITY TO PULL TOGETHER TREMENDOUS PEOPLE.

*Charles W. Brady, Executive Chairman, AMVESCAP PLC*



## CONGRESS

From the beginning, one of NBR's principal constituencies has been Congress. Indeed, without congressional action, there wouldn't be an NBR.

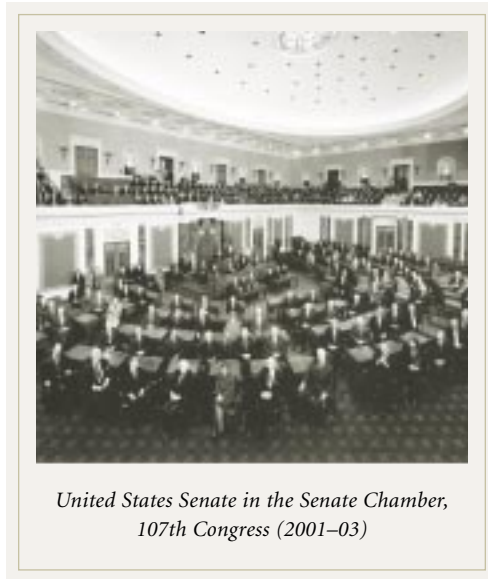
A core group of Senator Jackson's loyal friends in Washington, D.C., including some of his former colleagues in the Senate and House, worked together in 1986 to obtain an appropriation of \$10 million for the endowment of the Henry M. Jackson Foundation. Senator J. Bennett Johnston, with the support of Senators Ted Stevens and Daniel Inouye and Congressman Norm Dicks, did the heavy lifting, with former senior Jackson staffer William Van Ness coordinating from downtown. Their hope was that Senator Jackson's unfinished agenda, including his work on Russia and Asia, could be continued under the programs of this new foundation. The item was part of the fiscal year 1987 defense

appropriation, which was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Reagan in October. In a letter to Helen Jackson in March 1988, Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci gave his endorsement on the

use of the grant to honor her husband's legacy. "I would lend my encouragement to your current consideration of a center for research on Northeast Asia and the Pacific. I believe that such a center could contribute substantially to our understanding of that region's increasing strategic importance and its implications for our foreign and security policies."

The following year Senator Slade Gorton and Congressman Dicks helped NBR orga-

nize as members of a small body of civic leaders called the Interim Executive Committee. The IEC was an unofficial entity, the precursor to NBR's Board of Directors, and its biannual meetings were convened



*United States Senate in the Senate Chamber,  
107th Congress (2001-03)*



A HISTORIC SHIFT OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER TO ASIA IS UNDER WAY,  
AND THUS THE MORE WE UNDERSTAND THIS REGION, THE BETTER WE WILL  
BE ABLE TO CRAFT A SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY. NBR'S RESEARCH IS EXTREMELY USEFUL  
TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GUIDING OUR COUNTRY'S POLICY IN ASIA.

*Lee H. Hamilton, President, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

around Slade's and Norm's schedules. Great issues were debated at these meetings as the Soviet empire collapsed, some of Scoop's dreams were attained, and Europe and Asia were transformed.

One of their principal contributions was the recruitment of the founding congressional membership of NBR's advisory board. Slade got the process under way late one evening in a solo effort on the Senate floor. He called the next morning and listed off the first ten members, including the entire Republican

leadership. Norm had his work cut out for him.

Today that bipartisan board comprises about one-third of the Senate and fifty members of the House. Over the years Slade and Norm, together with newer friends of NBR such as Senators Joe Lieberman, Patty Murray, and Chuck Hagel and Congressman Jim Leach, have assisted in the development of the board and participated in a great variety of NBR programs. They have helped make Senator Jackson's original vision of an effective "Sino-Soviet Center" a reality.

NBR ADDRESSES A VITAL NEED TO ANALYZE KEY DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA  
BY RECRUITING THE BEST SPECIALISTS.... I ENCOURAGE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,  
POLICYMAKERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION, AND LEADERS IN BUSINESS TO  
DRAW UPON NBR'S OUTSTANDING REPORTS FOR GUIDANCE.

*Senator Chuck Hagel*

THE WHITE HOUSE AND FOGGY BOTTOM:  
GETTING ONE CHINA POLICY

*Richard J. Ellings*

CHINA'S COOPERATION IS ESSENTIAL TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS THAT THREATEN HUMANITY: ENVIRONMENTAL AND HEALTH ISSUES, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, ... AND SO ON. ITS CONSTRUCTIVE ENAGAGEMENT IN REGIONAL ISSUES (KOREA, INDOCHINA) IS ESSENTIAL TO ATTAINMENT OF REGIONAL STABILITY. AND IT IS NOT IN AMERICA'S INTEREST FOR ITS CHINA POLICY TO DRIFT FAR FROM THAT OF JAPAN OR WESTERN EUROPE.

*Michel C. Oksenberg (1938–2001), April 1991*

Early one morning in the spring of 1991 I received a call from Douglas Paal, who held the top Asia position at the National Security Council and had recently given the dinner speech at an NBR conference. Because of changes under way in China and the persistence of differing views within the first Bush administration on America's China policy in the wake of the Tiananmen Square debacle of 1989, he asked me to work with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon on a sub-

cabinet meeting. The idea was to bring in outside specialists to help officials dig deeper and come together on key issues: U.S. interests; the Chinese leadership; China's strategic position in Northeast Asia; and the status of economic reform, which some believed had ground to a stop, even reversed, since the tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square.

Tiananmen, indeed, continued to haunt U.S.-China relations in spite of efforts by both sides to move

...SINCE ALL COUNTRIES EXCEPT THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOW LIFTED THEIR SANCTIONS AGAINST CHINA AND RESUMED THESE PROGRAMS OF CONCESSIONAL AID AND SUBSIDIZED CREDIT, U.S. EXPORTERS MAY NOT PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE RENEWED GROWTH OF CHINESE IMPORTS THAT IS ALMOST CERTAINLY UNDER WAY.

*Nicholas R. Lardy, April 1991*



forward. The basis of the relationship was shifting in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet empire. Where it had been driven by an overwhelming, common interest in containing Soviet power for 20 years, in the early 1990s it comprised a range of lesser motivations, with no single one providing a compelling, strategic rationale. And assessments of China's leadership and policies varied. Some experts and practitioners were convinced, for example, that reform in China would remain on hold until a new leadership took power.

Twenty people participated in the conference that day, including "outside" experts Michel Oksenberg, David (Mike) Lampton, Nicholas Lardy, Kenneth Pyle, Kenneth Lieberthal, Harry Harding, and myself. Principals from all relevant agencies of government attended, as did former U.S. Ambassador to China Arthur Hummel. Dick Solomon hosted, holding the first half of the meeting in the State Department's East Asia and Pacific

conference room. Lunch and the afternoon discussion took place on the eighth floor.

The presenters stressed the breadth of United States interests compelling engagement. Levers of U.S. influence were hotly discussed. Of several contentious issues, certainly a major one was the state of economic reform in China. Nick Lardy attacked the conventional wisdom. He argued, "There was much less retrogression ... after the Tiananmen tragedy than was perceived at the time. Reform has continued on a broad front, and in ... key areas it has actually accelerated.... China remains the only reforming socialist (or formerly socialist) economy to become a more significant participant in the world economy."

His and others' views for carefully expanding engagement held the day. Through 1991 and 1992 the Bush administration deepened U.S.-China ties, through the election campaign, when the President was repeatedly accused of "coddling dictators in Beijing."



*Then Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon leads the interagency meeting*

## (ALMOST) PRESENT AT THE CREATION

*Sheldon W. Simon*

NBR HAS ALWAYS BROUGHT THE BEST SCHOLARSHIP ON ASIA TO BEAR ON THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS THAT FACED THOSE OF US WHO SERVED IN SENIOR MILITARY POSITIONS IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. WE GAINED INSIGHTS ON HOW TO THINK ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS, AND MANY USEFUL SPECIFIC IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO MOVE FORWARD.

*Dennis C. Blair, Commander-in-Chief Pacific Forces, Admiral (Retired)*

Unlike Dean Acheson, who played such a key role in developing America's postwar strategy, I was not present at NBR's creation, but came on board within a year of its inception. Sitting in my office one day in 1990, I received a call from Rich Ellings, then NBR's executive director, whom I did not know at the time. Rich introduced himself and NBR's mission of providing the best policy-relevant analysis on Asian affairs to government, academia, the business community, and the informed public. Rich asked if I were interested in becoming involved in some of NBR's projects. He told me that the Department of Defense (DoD) was keen to obtain analyses by non-governmental Asian security specialists on the post-Cold War security challenges in that region. The study, which was sent out for competitive bidding by

DoD, was to become an essential input into the first Bush administration's effort to revamp its East Asia strategy—titled the East Asia Strategic Initiative (EASI).

Rich and I hoped to recruit a premier group of academic specialists who would undertake an examination of the East Asian security environment in view of the collapsing Soviet Union and consider the impact of that sea change on China's new role in the region; whether Japan would be viewed as an acceptable security partner; how the states of Southeast Asia would adjust to these developments; whether multilateral fora such as APEC (the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum), and ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) would assume a security role; and, finally, how the domestic politics of the region's major players impact-



*Joint exercise in the Pacific: the Abraham Lincoln Battle Group along with ships from Australia, Chile, Japan, Canada, and Korea*

ed their relations with each other and the major external great power, the United States.

We managed to put together a first-rate team of scholars on Southeast Asian, Chinese, Japanese, and American international politics. Don Emmerson, now at Stanford University, played a leading role. The result, much to our delight, was a contract to prepare a series of studies for the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD). This was NBR's first government contract and the beginning of its relationship with the Department of Defense. The most recent DoD study that I have conducted under NBR's auspices was in 2003 of the U.S. Pacific Command's cooperative programs with partner countries in East Asia, published as an *NBR Analysis* issue in August of that year.

After presenting the EASI studies to the OSD in 1992, Rich and I revisited the work a couple of years

later and thought that it could become the basis for a strong academic volume. The original authors agreed, and they prepared new contributions taking into account changes over the succeeding few years. In 1996 NBR and M.E. Sharpe released *Southeast Asian Security in the New Millennium*, which was adopted widely by colleges and universities, including U.S. military educational institutions, and helped to highlight NBR's role in providing up-to-date policy analysis.

My relations with NBR over the past 14 years have been the highlight of my professional life; the good friends I have made among its officers are highly prized. In sum, I am very glad I was in my office that day in 1990 when Rich phoned and asked if I were interested in working with a new Asian think tank, NBR. My affirmative reply was one of the best decisions I have made both personally and professionally.

IN THE MOST TEMPESTUOUS YEARS OF THE COLD WAR, WE FOUGHT MORE CONFLICTS  
AND LOST MORE LIVES IN ASIA THAN IN THE REST OF THE WORLD COMBINED.  
FOR FORTY-FIVE YEARS, OUR VIEW OF THIS REGION WAS SOLIDIFIED BY COLD WAR  
REALITIES. BUT WITH THAT ERA OVER IT [WAS] TIME TO FIND NEW BEARINGS. THE EAST  
ASIA STRATEGIC INITIATIVE BEGUN IN 1989 WAS INTENDED TO START THAT PROCESS.

AS THIS INITIATIVE RECOGNIZED, OUR INTERESTS IN THIS VIBRANT REGION ARE  
NOW SO GREAT THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO WITHDRAW OR TAKE A BACK SEAT....

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN AMERICANS VIEWED ASIA AS A DISTANT AND  
EXOTIC LAND FULL OF MYSTERY. IT IS NOW OUR BACKYARD—AND, SOME WOULD  
BE QUICK TO POINT OUT, IT MAY WELL BE OUR FRONT YARD IN THE NEXT CENTURY.

*John M. Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General (Retired), 1995*

## NBR TIMELINE: 1994–1999



1994



NBR begins five years of studies and meetings on the issue of Most Favored Nation status (later Normal Trade Relations) for China. A conference is held at the National Press Club featuring, among others, Michel Oksenberg (photo); through the spring and summer specialists work with a bipartisan caucus in Congress dedicated to informing members about China issues; and numerous reports are circulated throughout Washington's Asia policy community.

Seminars and meetings are held with the Chinese Institute for Contemporary International Relations in Beijing, China.

NBR undertakes extensive effort to focus the attention of specialists and foreign policy news writers on the theme and evidence presented in Herb Ellison's upcoming television documentary on the history of Soviet foreign policy and the Cold War.

NBR begins assisting the Russell 20-20 Association with its annual meetings and trips to emerging markets.

1995



Timed with the nationwide, PBS premier of Herb's series "Messengers from Moscow," NBR organizes a meeting for specialists and policy-makers at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

An NBR study on U.S. interests in Myanmar (Burma) prompts a flurry of debate in Congress and briefings at the Department of State and National Security Council, and for the NGO community.

In a joint program between NBR and UW, Jackson School professors Donald Hellmann and Kenneth Pyle hold conferences in Seoul and Tokyo on the topic of the dependency of economic growth in the Asia-Pacific on political and security arrangements.

NBR director Joachim Kempin proposes the organization's largest project to date, on intellectual property rights in China (photo).

1996



NBR establishes its website at [www.nbr.org](http://www.nbr.org).

The Japan Foundation's Center for Global Partnership helps NBR establish the AccessAsia Global Consortium. Leading research institutions in Asia, North America, and Europe participate. Co-chairing the meeting is Mikio Kato of the International House of Japan (photo).

NBR organizes a major conference, "National Strategies in the Asia-Pacific," in Monterey, CA.

Mike Armacost moderates and Bob Zoellick, Doug Paal, Bowman Cutter, and Steve Solarz debate in NBR's nationally televised "Presidential Campaign Debate on Asia Policy" at the National Press Club.

Representatives from the computer industry discuss intellectual property rights in China at an executive meeting hosted by NBR; a study on the topic by Mike Oksenberg, Pitman Potter, and Bill Abnett is published.

1997



Former China trade negotiator Bill Abnett launches NBR's first email discussion forum, on China WTO issues.

Board of directors elects Frank Russell Company Chairman George Russell as chairman of NBR.

The Russell 20-20 Association participates in the Task Force on Energy and the Environment in Chongqing, China.

NBR hosts a panel of specialists to review U.S.-China relations at separate events at the National Press Club, State Department, and Capitol as part of the MFN/NTR project. Participants include Senator Craig Thomas and Congressman Jim Leach, pictured above.

A team of senior foreign policy leaders and scholars briefs decision-makers in the executive and legislative branches on their findings with regard to the prospects for Korean reunification. The Smith Richardson Foundation provides principal support.

1998



NBR formally establishes the Southeast Asia Studies Program with a seed grant from the Henry M. Jackson Foundation.

George and Jane Russell's leadership gift, with those of the Jackson Foundation, Charles Brady, and Joachim Kempin, establishes the NBR endowment.

With Microsoft support, *AccessAsia* becomes available online.

NBR organizes a CEO roundtable with Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, respectively, Bill Cohen and John Hamre.

The Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College and NBR host a nationally televised conference on the strategic implications of the financial crisis in East Asia. Speakers include Bob Zoellick and Nick Eberstadt (photo).

NBR co-organizes a regional conference on intellectual property rights and economic development with the Chongqing Science and Technology Commission and Foreign Affairs Office.

1999



The Jackson Foundation sponsors NBR's new look and logo.

Pictured: NBR Director Thomas Fisher converses with senior congressional staffer George Behan in Washington, D.C.

NBR hosts a conference entitled "Intellectual Property Rights and Economic Development in Shanghai and the Lower Yangzi Region" with the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and Shanghai University.

NBR completes a year-long project on energy, weapons proliferation, and conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

A panel of America's leading experts reviews U.S.-China relations at events in Washington, D.C.

Scholars discuss Russia's economic and political transition at meetings throughout the Russian Far East.

NBR interns, supported by the Freeman Foundation, work in Asia in a multiyear program.

The Henry Luce Foundation supports an NBR survey of 800 state-owned enterprises in China.

## THE NEW RUSSIA IN ASIA

*Herbert J. Ellison*

With the collapse of the Soviet empire followed rapidly by the dismantling of the Soviet Union itself, international relations in Eurasia had to be reinvented. New nations were established, new relationships developed, and old ambitions, insecurities, and grievances surfaced. How, for example, would a sharply reduced Russia fit into a much more complex, rapidly developing Asia?

NBR's "The New Russia in Asia" was initiated in 1992 with the intention of tracking these enormous changes in diplomatic, security, and economic relations in Eurasia in the early and mid-1990s. In a series of six conferences in Moscow, Almaty, Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul, and Washington, D.C., delegations of American, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Kazakh scholars reviewed and analyzed the emerging structure of international relations in the region. In support of my role as coordinator of the program, other University of Washington faculty played crucial roles:

the economist Judy Thornton; the Central Asia specialist Ilse Cirtautas; Don Hellmann and Ken Pyle, both Japan specialists; and Steve Hanson, a Russia specialist now also serving as Senior Advisor to Eurasia Policy Studies at NBR. The extensive contacts of this group of specialists on Russia and Central and East Asia from UW programs were a vital factor in our ability to organize an extraordinary international network of specialists and to obtain crucial local support.

The first meeting was held in Moscow, where, with the help of a very distinguished company of Russian scholars and officials, the focus of attention was on the changes under way there. We looked at the dramatic geopolitical changes that followed the dismantling of the Soviet Union, such as the 59-percent reduction of Russia's population in Asia, carrying with it the need to establish relations with five newly independent successor states in the region (containing an ethnic Russian population of 9.5 million). We also examined

THE NEW RUSSIA IN ASIA PROJECT IS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE ONE RELATED TO THIS AREA THAT I HAVE SEEN.... THE [ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS] FUND HAD HOPED FOR TWO OUTCOMES, A PRODUCT OF SUBSTANCE AND RELEVANCE TO ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONCERNS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND ... THE BEGINNING OF A NEW NETWORK OF CONTACTS AMONG INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS IN ASIA, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS CLEAR ... THAT BOTH OF THESE OUTCOMES HAVE BEEN HANDSOMELY REALIZED. MY HAT IS OFF TO NBR AND TO HERB....

*Russell A. Phillips, former Executive Vice President, Rockefeller Brothers Fund*

the sharp divisions of opinion on foreign policy objectives among the Russian elite, particularly those among democratic reformers, communists, and nationalists. Finally, we also looked at the impact of domestic economic reform on foreign policy, especially on the efforts of economic reformers to build a new Russian economic relationship with Asia.

In each of the subsequent conferences, attention focused on analyzing the changes, recent and current, in the relations of the host country with Russia, and seeking the views of local scholars and governmental leaders on the new Russian role in the region. The choice of Kazakhstan as an example of one of the Soviet successor states in the region proved very useful, and the meetings in Beijing, Seoul, and Tokyo produced thorough reviews of each country's bilateral relations with the new Russia. In all cases we found impressive evidence of improved relations and much expanded contact and dialogue on differences. The conference series was summarized for State Department and intelligence personnel during a final conference in Washington, D.C.

The improvements in Russian-Chinese relations

were found to be particularly impressive, including a large expansion of bilateral trade, weapons reductions, and troop withdrawals on the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia, and vigorous diplomatic interchange. The improvement of Russian relations with Japan, and access to the U.S.-Japanese East Asian security

partnership, continued to be blocked by Japanese insistence on return of the southern Kurile Islands taken by the Soviet Union in World War II. The period brought the establishment of Russian-South Korean diplomatic relations, and Russian cooperation with the United States and Japan in efforts to control development of North Korean nuclear weapons. But hopes of Russian economic cooperation with both Japan and South Korea continued to be constrained by the turbulent economic and political conditions in Russia during the early post-communist transition.

NBR proved that it was up to the task of pulling together top specialists and policymakers from across Asia and Russia, organizing a remarkably ambitious series of meetings, and conveying the results effectively to those in Washington, D.C.





## AN AMERICAN WHO'S WHO SPEAKS TO APEC

*Marie Pielage*

The security and economic structure that would emerge in Asia following the collapse of the Soviet empire was unclear in the early 1990s. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, which got its start during the first Bush administration in 1989, was elevated to a meeting of national leaders by President Clinton in November 1993 in Seattle. The meeting provided an opportunity for thoughtful Americans who knew something about the region to offer their advice on the potential of this fledgling organization and other arrangements that might be constructed in the post-Cold War period. For this occasion, NBR published a special edition of its *Analysis* series, 32 original essays by remarkable Americans, including ten senators and representatives such as Bob Dole, J. Bennett Johnston, Richard Lugar, and Lee Hamilton; other public policy and academic notables like Bob Zoellick, Mike Oksenberg, Doug Paal, Ken Lieberthal, and Winston Lord; and business leaders such as Boeing Chairman and CEO Frank Shrontz. The publication, "Americans Speak to APEC: Building a New Order with Asia," was included in the official press packets and delivered to each of the participating delegations.

The volume was prescient. It debated the merits of regional versus global arrangements, and whether APEC could or should perform a security function. Senator Slade Gorton advocated a regional free trade

agreement in the Pacific whether or not NAFTA was ratified or the Uruguay Round was completed successfully. Many authors focused on the institutional development of APEC, with concerns about its organizational weakness. Some saw APEC furthering U.S. access to protected Asian markets, while others, notably Bob Zoellick, placed APEC in a broader and integrated American strategy.

I worked at NBR in the early days, beginning just two years after its inception. I have fond memories of our office staff all pitching in to do whatever was needed, from stuffing envelopes to hosting esteemed visitors from abroad. We depended heavily on the hard work of many smart, motivated interns from the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies.

Publications have been NBR's core product, and my eyes still cross when I think about how many issues of the

*NBR Analysis* I proofread over and over again. Needing "Americans Speak to APEC" to be as up-to-date as possible, we were on an extremely tight schedule. The ambitious number of authors made the task something short of Herculean. For weeks our office buzzed with activity as draft articles were received, edited, and proofread repeatedly. Layouts were made and changed. Revisions from many authors were received and incorporated.

One particular author, who shall remain nameless, had promised to deliver his article and missed the



*On Blake Island, President Clinton with other leaders during the APEC summit*



From “Americans Speak to APEC: Building a New Order with Asia,” *NBR Analysis* 4.4, November 1993:

THE APEC FORUM IS THE MOST IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL GROUPING EMBRACING THE MAJOR ECONOMIES OF THE REGION.... I HOPE THAT DISCUSSIONS IN SEATTLE AND FOLLOW-ON MEETINGS WILL INCLUDE THE FEASIBILITY OF CREATING STRONGER REGION-WIDE APPROACHES TO PROBLEM SOLVING. SUCH DISCUSSIONS ARE A LOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE NEW POST-COLD WAR ENVIRONMENT AND TO THE REALIZATION THAT ASIA LOOMS EVEN LARGER IN THE DYNAMICS OF WORLD AFFAIRS.

*Senator Richard G. Lugar*

THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION GROUP, LAUNCHED IN 1989, CAN HELP CREATE THE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR ENHANCED ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE PACIFIC.... THE EAST ASIANS CAN BENEFIT FROM U.S. TRADE, INVESTMENT, TECHNOLOGY, AND KNOW-HOW; THE UNITED STATES CAN BENEFIT FROM THEIR GOODS, EXPANDING MARKETS, AND MODEL OF PERSISTENCE. TOGETHER, THEY WILL BE ESTABLISHING A SOUNDER BASIS FOR A MUTUAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP.

*Ambassador Robert B. Zoellick*

deadline. He promised it in a couple of days. Days passed, with nothing arriving. This pattern was repeated several times. We received absolutely nothing—no text, no title, no diskette in the mail. Then we called and found he was out of town traveling. Somehow we tracked him down. Nonplussed, he told us he was still writing and would send it soon. As our printing deadline approached we considered our two options. To delay printing was out of the question as the APEC meeting loomed and printers could only print so fast. At some point we had to move forward without the piece. Finally, at the absolute last moment, our fax machine started to hum and we began to receive the long-awaited article, page after page—in longhand.

Our excitement turned to dismay as we realized the task ahead. We had literally just a few hours to get edited and proofread copy to the publisher. All of the available interns rose to the occasion. As the pages of the article printed out of the fax machine, they were handed in batches to waiting interns. Each one worked on one-sixth of the article, typing madly. Once the sections were typed, we quickly consolidated the files, printed up a copy, and everyone began to edit and proofread. Corrections were made page-by-page, printed out, and proofread again. At one time we were proofreading three versions simultaneously. We *drove* the disk to the printer to make our deadline. Hope remained for multilateralism in Asia!

## “THE HARDLINERS HAD IT RIGHT”

“Messengers from Moscow” was a four-part television series, conceived and carried to its successful culmination by Professor Herbert Ellison of the University of Washington. It was first broadcast in 1994 by the BBC and PBS (sponsored by WETA New York for nationwide broadcast).

The series traced the history of the Cold War, covering the expansion of international communism from World War II through the collapse of East European and Soviet communism in 1989–91. Told exclusively through the voices of key Russian, Chinese, and European communist figures, it provided new insights into the origins of the confrontation with the United States and its alliance partners in the post-World War II expansion of communism in Europe, China, Korea, Vietnam, and many Third World countries; and the collapse of Soviet and East European communism in the Gorbachev years, including the

inside story of the crucial impact of President Reagan’s policy on that process.

At the time “Messengers” was broadcast, NBR undertook the job of organizing a conference at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C.,

and urging major American newspapers to grapple with the series in their editorial, rather than entertainment, pages. Given the enormous historical significance of its theme and the long history of controversy in the West about the causes of the Cold War, the series captured national attention. Major reviews appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*,



and in syndicated columns across the country. Perhaps the most significant was the editorial by Stephen Rosenfeld, a leading specialist on the Cold War, in the *Post*. He argued that he and the other revisionists had been wrong: Stalin and his communist collaborators

caused the Cold War, which had to be countered by the West with resolution. His editorial was entitled, “The Hardliners Had It Right.” *The Wall Street Journal* review by Dorothy Rabinowitz lauded the series as “an intimate history of the Cold War from the

Soviet point of view—and spectacular history it is.” “Messengers from Moscow” became an important part of the teaching about the Cold War in U.S. colleges and universities. It is a historical treasure with lessons for future generations.

“MESSENGERS FROM MOSCOW” IS A STUNNING ACHIEVEMENT, PROVIDING MORE INSIGHT INTO THE COLD WAR THAN ANY OTHER TREATMENT, WHATEVER THE MEDIUM. INTERVIEWS WITH FORMER COMMUNIST OFFICIALS DEMOLISH THE MYTHS THE SPEAKERS HAD THEMSELVES HELPED CREATE. THE SERIES IS MUST VIEWING FOR ANYONE WHO WANTS TO UNDERSTAND WHY THERE WAS A COLD WAR AND WHAT ITS END MEANS TO US.

*Jack F. Matlock, Jr., Former Ambassador to the USSR*

THE SERIES SEEKS TO SHED NEW LIGHT ON THE MOST HOTLY DEBATED FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE IN RECENT U.S. HISTORY: WAS THE WEST RIGHT TO COMMIT SUCH HUGE RESOURCES AND SO MANY LIVES TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOVIET ENEMY? WAS THE EFFORT A WASTE? OR WAS WESTERN POLICY DECISIVE IN CONTAINING SOVIET AGGRESSION—AND PROVIDING, IN THE END, THE CONDITIONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP IN THE SOVIET EMPIRE?

*Daniel Wolf, Series Producer, “Messengers from Moscow”*

## NORMALIZING TRADE RELATIONS WITH CHINA

... THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ASIAN RESEARCH (NBR) CONVENED AN EXTRAORDINARY PANEL OF EXPERTS ON CHINA, FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY, AND NATIONAL SECURITY TO DISCUSS MFN FOR CHINA AND THE CURRENT CHALLENGES TO STRENGTHENING AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD CHINA. WE BELIEVE THE DISCUSSION AND PAPERS PRESENTED WERE PARTICULARLY USEFUL AND STRONGLY RECOMMEND THEM TO YOU.

*Senators Joseph Lieberman and William V. Roth, Jr., in a letter to their Senate colleagues*

When the United States reestablished full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979, it also granted Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status, subject to the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. This amendment, introduced by Senator Henry Jackson in 1974, required the President to certify annually that certain non-market economies allowed freedom of emigration. Jackson did not envision China as a target of the legislation.

Nonetheless, following the Tiananmen Square tragedy of 1989, the annual review process triggered heated debate about America's relationship with China. Many policymakers in the White House and Congress, as well as most China scholars, contended that a significant cutoff of economic relations with China was not in American interests. But opponents of renewing MFN status for China argued that the threat of such a cutoff, and the willingness to follow through if necessary, were effective tools for getting China to release political prisoners and stop arresting dissidents. In this

view, denying MFN was seen as appropriate punishment for human rights abuses, market access restrictions, intellectual property violations, weapons proliferation, and a myriad of other concerns that plagued U.S.-China relations. Proponents, on the other hand, argued that denying equal trading status to achieve foreign policy goals would not bring about the intended result. It would, rather, destabilize the U.S.-China relationship; hinder the economic and social development of the Chinese people; jeopardize security; and cut off a growing market to American exports.

There were several pivotal years in the debate over the application of Jackson-Vanik to China. One of them was 1994, as the Clinton administration's emphasis on human rights collided with disdain and recalcitrance by Chinese leaders. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's entreaties in Beijing were sharply rebuffed, and the Congress prepared for a particularly acrimonious debate. Another pivotal year was 1997, when the annual MFN debate was complicated by

concerns over China's treatment of Hong Kong after the territory's reversion to Chinese sovereignty, as well as allegations of Chinese contributions to U.S. political campaigns.

NBR decided to address the issue head-on because of the near unanimity among China scholars—Republican, Democrat, and independent—that MFN needed renewal. And in 1997 and 1999 there was strong sentiment that the annual review process itself was seriously undermining U.S. interests. NBR organized extensive programs for Congress and the Clinton administration that brought to bear the best expertise and experience available. It convened at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., panels of the nation's leading China and foreign policy experts to discuss the strategic and legal issues associated with the annual review process. Among the participants were Michel Oksenberg, Harry Harding, David (Mike) Lampton, Nicholas Lardy, Kenneth Lieberthal, Kenneth Pyle, Douglas Paal, Brent Scowcroft, Laura Tyson, and Robert Zoellick. Richard Perle, who helped draft the

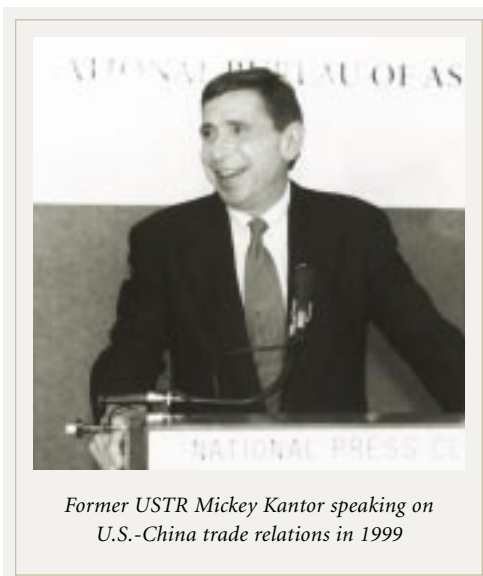
Jackson-Vanik Amendment while an aide to Senator Jackson, argued at the 1999 Press Club event that the amendment had been designed to pressure the Soviet Union to ease restrictions on emigration. Perle pointed out that the legislation was punishing China for a wide range of practices unrelated to emigration and that

China's human rights record, bilateral trade surplus, acquisition of dual-use technologies, weapons sales, and other practices raised by opponents of MFN renewal should be handled under more appropriate legal authority.

Senator Bill Roth, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, took the issue one step further at the same briefing by announcing his plan to introduce legislation to change the term "Most Favored Nation" to "Normal

Trade Relations," and to make normal trade relations permanent between the United States and China.

Roth's "Normal Trade Relations" bill eventually became law, and the annual Jackson-Vanik debate ended with China receiving permanent NTR status when China acceded to the World Trade Organization in 2001.



*Former USTR Mickey Kantor speaking on U.S.-China trade relations in 1999*

## PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN DEBATE, 1996

*Mark W. Frazier*

WE HAVE A VERY LARGE INTEREST IN ASIA, AND VERY OFTEN IN THE PAST THESE ISSUES HAVE BEEN CONSEQUENTIAL IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS. WE REMEMBER IN 1952 KOREA WAS A BIG ISSUE. IN 1960 QUEMOY AND MATSU FIGURED IN THE DEBATES. IN 1968, OF COURSE, THE VIETNAM WAR LOOMED VERY LARGE.... OUR PURPOSE TODAY IS TO HELP IDENTIFY [THE KEY ISSUES OF TODAY] AND DEFINE MORE CLEARLY THE POSITIONS OF THOSE RESPECTIVE CAMPAIGNS ON THEM.

*Ambassador Michael H. Armacost*

It's not unusual for presidential races to focus on domestic issues at the expense of foreign policy problems, but the 1996 presidential race between incumbent President Bill Clinton and the Republican challenger Bob Dole was particularly notable in this regard. To stimulate more discussion of U.S. foreign policy toward East Asia, NBR organized a debate between representatives of the two campaigns, an event that C-SPAN broadcast live from the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. "The 1996 Presidential Campaign Debate on U.S. Asia Policy" featured a cast of leading foreign policy analysts, including a future U.S. trade representative and a future secretary of defense. Robert Zoellick and Douglas Paal spoke on behalf of the Dole campaign team, and Steven Solarz and Bowman Cutter presented the views of the Clinton campaign. Michael Armacost moderated the debate, and soon-to-be Secretary of Defense William Cohen introduced the event to the national television audience.

In a highly charged debate before a packed Press

Club audience, the two sides voiced their stances and disagreements over Ambassador Armacost's questions. Many of the topics debated that afternoon in 1996 were major foreign policy issues for the Clinton administration and would be for President George W. Bush: the status of North Korea's nuclear program; the economic and security prospects for the ASEAN states; U.S. relations with China; and U.S. policy toward Taiwan.

The most dramatic exchanges came between Zoellick and Solarz—the brilliant debater versus the consummate politician and orator—over the issue of how to deal with North Korea. In a series of interchanges, Zoellick systematically built the case for a tougher U.S. position and an end to "appeasing" the North, while Solarz, using classic rhetorical flourishes, characterized his opponent as having an outmoded, Cold War mentality. It was penetrating substance and great theater, a model for what an independent institution can do to raise citizens' awareness and understanding of vital issues in their country's foreign relations.



*Michael Armacost, with Bob Zoellick and Doug Paal in the background*



## NBR TIMELINE: 2000 AND ONWARD



2000



Herb Ellison's second PBS documentary, "Yeltsin," is nationally broadcast as a PBS special.

In response to an initiative of the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission, NBR launches a public email discussion forum on U.S.-Japan relations.

*Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, by Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, is published jointly with Rowman & Littlefield.

NBR assembles Asia, Russia, and international relations scholars for a planning meeting outside Seattle to plan a program to track and forecast the strategic environment in Asia. The program is later named *Strategic Asia*.

Pictured: Former USTR Carla Hills speaks to the NBR board in San Jose, CA.

Sheldon Simon commences a study on the Track II security process in the Pacific for the W. Alton Jones Foundation and the United States Institute of Peace.

2001



Research and development begins on a television documentary on China and globalization.

James Fuller (pictured with Kristi Branch, both of the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory) spearheads development of a strategic partnership, which pulls together NBR's policy expertise and the lab's capacity in science and technology.

NBR conducts private meetings with National Security Council staff in the White House on a range of Asia-related issues.

Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and NBR Board Member John Shalikashvili, Congressman Norm Dicks, and Senator Chuck Hagel launch NBR's second permanent program, *Strategic Asia*, in Washington, D.C., a month after September 11. A special, updated executive summary that considers the repercussions of September 11 is published to accompany the first volume in the series. The *Strategic Asia* database goes on-line.

*Korea's Future and the Great Powers*, NBR's best-seller, is published jointly with the University of Washington Press.

2002



The NBR Directors, including Charles Brady (pictured), meet with the Commander and Deputy Commander, military Asia experts, policy advisors, and university scholars at U.S. Pacific Command in Hawaii.

NBR, the United States-Indonesia Society, and Stanford University's APARC establish the National Commission on U.S.-Indonesia Relations, co-chaired by George Shultz, Lee Hamilton, and George Russell, and vice-chaired by Edward Masters.

NBR launches major initiatives on long-term development issues in Central and Southeast Asia.

Jointly with the University of Washington Press, NBR publishes *Russia's Far East: A Region at Risk*.

Studies commence on the U.S.-R.O.K. alliance and the Cooperative Security Program.



2003



The NBR Board of Directors establishes the Jane T. Russell Award for Leadership and Service.

Conferences are held in Tokyo (“Japan, the United States, and East Asia: Emerging Regional Challenges”) and Seattle (“Caspian Sea Basin Security”). The latter is a joint effort with the Army War College and UW’s Jackson School. Pictured are participants Gretchen Hund, Brenda Shaffer, Kathleen Collins, and Juli MacDonald.

The third volume in the *Strategic Asia* series is greatly expanded with five special studies ranging from the war on terrorism in Southeast Asia to demographic trends in major Asian countries.

NBR establishes its Center for Health and Aging, which tackles the major demographic and health issues in the region.

Rich Ellings drafts a new three-year strategic plan.

Marcia and Ken Dam host discussion on strategic issues in Asia with Linton Brooks, Aaron Friedberg, Carla and Rod Hills, Andrew Marshall, James Schlesinger, Marin Strmecki, and others.

2004



Chairman George Russell provides NBR with its largest grant ever, a multiyear commitment that will build institutional capacity and endowment significantly.

As a result of the “Russell Challenge,” new programs are organized on globalization and energy. The Globalization Project is developed as a partnership between The Russell Family Foundation and NBR.

NBR opens an office in Washington, D.C., plus an auxiliary office adjacent to the Seattle headquarters.

In restructuring its governance to bring in business perspectives and broaden its network, NBR launches the Chairman’s Council, led by Michael Gadbaw of General Electric and Robert Haines of ExxonMobil.

With seed funding from The Russell Family Foundation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, preparations commence for the Pacific Health Summit, an international endeavor that aims to move the emphasis in the health sector toward early detection and prevention. Bill Gates, Sr. (pictured), and George Russell serve as co-chairs.

ONWARD



Asia’s resurgence is a turning point in world history. It requires our understanding and attention. It requires informed and strong policy on both sides of the Pacific. In looking ahead we look back for guidance:

*In policymaking ... there is no substitute for sound judgment, and sound judgment depends not only on the relatively common quality of courage but also on the rarer quality of steadiness, on the capacity to consider in cool detachment the end of any road before starting out on it, on a sense of knowing when to act and when to be patient, and on skill in using advisers and expert help.*

— Henry M. Jackson

## AN AFTERNOON

WITH THE SECRETARY AND DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, 1998

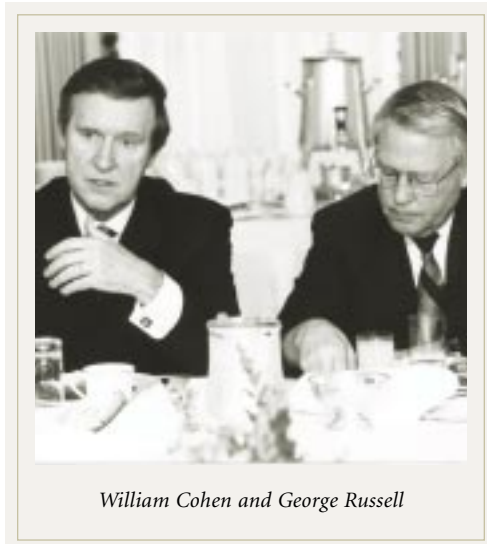
*Brigitte M. Allen*

The ramifications of the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98 extended far beyond the economic realm. Throughout Asia, from Thailand to Indonesia, governments fell, and an international debate erupted over the policies and role of the International Monetary Fund—and eventually over the nature of economic globalization itself. The financial crisis had implications for U.S. security policy in Asia. In January 1998, Secretary of Defense William Cohen toured ASEAN countries to send the message that they should heed the advice of international friends and allies and act boldly to end their financial crises and fix the causes. Indonesia presented a very special problem. Economic recovery depended upon a restoration of political confidence on the heels of growing discontent with President Suharto. Other obstacles to needed change stemmed from severe shortages of

food, medicine, and other necessities that could precipitate a social meltdown.

In May 1998 NBR received a call from the Secretary to help prepare him for another trip to Asia, in July. A follow-up to his two-week, seven-nation trip in

January, the July visit would be the first opportunity to meet face to face with Indonesia's new President B.J. Habibie. Cohen's message to the Indonesian leader would be that the United States supported political reform and acknowledged the importance of Indonesia as East Asia's second-most-populated country. Southeast Asia's security and stability would affect America's role in the region, and Cohen wanted



*William Cohen and George Russell*

to consult in private, and well before his trip, with key corporate leaders doing business in Southeast Asia to get their insights into people, issues, and trends.

NBR assembled a group of senior executives from

THE APPROACH OF HAVING A SMALL GROUP OF LEADERS AND A CANDID DIALOGUE AND INTERCHANGE WAS QUITE BENEFICIAL IN GETTING [COHEN'S AND HAMRE'S] PERSPECTIVE AND OUTLOOK ON KEY ISSUES IN THE REGION.

*Gary L. Tooker, Chairman of the Board, Motorola*

... A SIMPLE SUGGESTION MADE DURING OUR MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF DEFENSE BILL COHEN TURNED INTO MAJOR PRIVATE SECTOR SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA. HERE WE WERE, A GROUP OF BUSINESS LEADERS FROM SOME OF THE NATION'S LARGEST COMPANIES, TRULY CONCERNED ABOUT THE STABILITY OF A COUNTRY HALFWAY AROUND THE WORLD AND PULLING TOGETHER TO HELP IT THROUGH A MAJOR CRISIS. THAT'S WHAT I CALL "MAKING A DIFFERENCE."

*George F. Russell, Chairman Emeritus, Russell Investment Group*

twelve of America's top corporations—chairmen, vice chairmen, and CEOs from industry sectors ranging from defense to natural resources. Guests for the off-the-record lunch discussion in the secretary's private dining room included Wayne Booker (Ford Motor Company), Phil Condit (Boeing), George David (United Technologies), John Imle (Unocal), Gary Tooker (Motorola), Michael Smith (Hughes Electronics), Richard Simmons (Allegheny Teledyne), Steve Rogel (Weyerhaeuser), Michael Brown (Litton), James Hardymon (Textron), Mark Ronald (GEC Marconi), NBR Chair George Russell (Russell Investment Group), and NBR President Rich Ellings. Deputy Secretary of Defense John Hamre joined the lunch.

A secretary of defense taking two and a half hours out of his schedule to meet with a high-level group of business leaders was unusual, but so was the discussion on U.S. defense strategy in Asia as well as economic and political trends in the region. Indonesia and its many challenges consumed much of the group's attention.

In the wake of the financial crisis, a credible estimate was that six million children had failed to re-register for school because their parents could not afford it. George Russell suggested that the private sector form a group to help address Indonesia's problems, especially with regard to basic humanitarian needs such as food, clothing, and education.

Shortly thereafter, John Imle acted on this concern for Indonesia's future with a major corporate contribution to support children's education and the stability of their families. The gift went to a specially designed Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) project to keep Indonesian children in school by reinforcing family incomes and covering the direct costs of schooling, including uniforms, books, and other supplies. As the school year started and Indonesia's children returned to school thanks to the CARE grant, it became clear that NBR had helped facilitate a positive step in addressing the challenges in a country on the other side of the globe.

## BELGRADE EMBASSY BOMBED...

CHINA AND AMERICA KEEP TALKING

NBR'S IPR PROGRAM WAS CONCEIVED IN 1995 WHEN EFFECTIVE IPR PROTECTION WAS A MAJOR CAUSE OF FRICTION IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS. MAJOR CHINESE FIGURES PARTICIPATED AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT LAUNCHED NATIONWIDE PUBLIC AWARENESS PROGRAMS DURING THE FIVE YEARS OF THE INITIATIVE. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PLAYED A SUPPORTIVE ROLE, AND THE CONFERENCES AND AWARDS PROGRAMS RECEIVED LOCAL AND NATIONWIDE TELEVISION COVERAGE. KEY TO OUR SUCCESS WAS NBR'S NETWORK IN CHINA, WITH WHICH IT WORKED TO RUN CREDIBLE, PRESTIGIOUS FORUMS THAT INCLUDED THE LEADING IPR STAKEHOLDERS.

*David K.Y. Tang, Partner, Preston Gates & Ellis LLP*

Long before the trade deficit with China became an issue among policymakers—and years before China acceded to the World Trade Organization in 2001—American producers of intellectual property were pressuring the U.S. Trade Representative to apply U.S. trade law to sanction China for its failure to protect copyrights, trademarks, and patents. At the same time, many firms were fearful of losing access to the China market if they were perceived as hostile or if a trade war erupted.

In early 1996 NBR commissioned what would become a benchmark study meant for Chinese as well as American audiences. It sought to answer the question that U.S. policymakers raised repeatedly: Why wasn't China protecting intellectual property? To conduct and author the study, NBR selected two of the world's leading authorities on Chinese politics and law, Professors Michel Oksenberg of Stanford University and Pitman Potter of the University of British Columbia. William Abnett, a senior advisor to NBR, contributed to a survey of perspectives from U.S. industry.

The publication of "Advancing Intellectual Property Rights: Information Technologies and the

Course of Economic Development in China" in November 1996 formally launched a program of conferences, workshops, exchanges, research, and related activities in Chongqing, Shanghai, and Beijing in 1997–99 under the direction of Professors Oksenberg and Potter. The regional conferences in Chongqing and Shanghai drew upon a wide range of Chinese officials from relevant provincial and municipal leaderships, bureaucratic agencies, local legislatures, and the courts, as well as lawyers and local producers of intellectual property. The latter represented important future Chinese interests in intellectual property, and provided the discussions with domestic business interests that overlapped those of foreign firms.

A few days prior to the conference in Shanghai, in the heat of the Kosovo crisis, an American plane bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. U.S.-China cooperation abruptly stopped, Chinese demonstrators pelted the U.S. embassy with rocks, and the American business community in China headed for the airports or hunkered down—with one exception. Our Chinese hosts, led by Wang Daohan (mentor to Jiang Zemin and one of China's most senior leaders) decided that

this joint effort was worth pursuing. While an unofficial activity, it brought together senior people from the two countries' foreign policy establishments whose continued work in this conference in spite of the crisis would represent an underlying common interest in bilateral cooperation, and an underlying trust between old friends.

Mike Oksenberg led the opening session. In the auditorium crammed with tense Chinese officials and Americans, Mike spoke with deep, palpable emotion of his own longtime efforts to improve Sino-American relations, of the difficult obstacles that had been surmounted to normalize and improve relations, of how we must not allow one unfortunate incident to sidetrack the continuing development of ties. Then he asked for a moment

of silence out of respect for those who had lost their lives or been injured. Heads bowed and silence fell over the auditorium for what seemed to those in attendance an eternity. Finally Mike ended the silence, heads raised, and relief swept through the hall. The meeting proceeded as planned, with geopolitical events set

aside. For three days the participants focused on intellectual property rights and the important business of China's modernization.

The program on intellectual property rights culminated in a national conference in Beijing in mid-2000, hosted by NBR in conjunction with Peking University

School of Intellectual Property and Center for the Study of Rule of Law, and the European Union-China Intellectual Property Rights Cooperation Programme.

According to Mark Frazier, who as NBR Research Director worked closely with the program directors to administer the program, "These workshops and conferences were exceptional in that they involved local officials from different regions who may have worked in related agencies or even the same national

agency, but who literally weren't speaking to one another. This was their first chance to exchange ideas about how they dealt with IPR enforcement in their localities."

The effort was an important first step of many, many needed in advancing China's protection of intellectual property.



*Mike Oksenberg preparing for the conference with a Chinese colleague at Shanghai University, 1998*

I WOKE UP ONE MORNING AND WATCHED A REPORT ABOUT A WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONFERENCE IN THE PRC ON CNN, WITH HILLARY CLINTON BEING INTERVIEWED. FAMILIAR WITH THE PRC ON ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL PREVIOUS VISITS, I THOUGHT THAT IF SUCH A CONFERENCE CAN BE PUT TOGETHER THERE, WHY NOT DO AN IPR CONFERENCE AS WELL? NBR MADE IT HAPPEN!

*Joachim Kempin, Senior Vice President (Retired), OEM, Microsoft Corporation*

## LOOKING DOWN THE ROAD: STRATEGIC ASIA



Three epochal changes in the world's strategic landscape are transforming the fundamental risks and opportunities that America will face overseas in the 21st century. First is the exponential increase in the lethality of terrorists who are hostile to the United States. Second is the concentration of economic and military power in the Asia-Pacific region, after several centuries of advantage in Europe and North America. Third is the tremendous change in the balance of power *within* Asia, highlighted by the collapse of the Soviet empire, prolonged stagnation of the Japanese economy, the emergence of India, and the meteoric rise of the world's most populous nation, China.

To assess such changes and decipher what lies ahead, NBR planned an ambitious, national program

in 2000 with Professor Aaron Friedberg serving as Founding Research Director and General (Retired) John Shalikashvili as Senior Advisor. The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Department of Energy, and the Henry M. Jackson Foundation provided critical early funding. Beginning that year, top specialists from across the country have assembled each winter to discuss developments in the Asian strategic environment, and then through the spring and early summer drawn upon a robust research support staff to conduct forward-looking studies, sharing thoughts and drafts while producing an integrated volume published in the fall. Simultaneously, NBR has built a companion database that for the first time pulls together a wide range of strategic indicators—from economic

THE STRATEGIC ASIA PROGRAM IS AMBITIOUS, AND PROPERLY SO,  
BY DRAWING UPON THE BEST PEOPLE IN THE NATION TO INFORM ITS POLICY,  
BY ANALYZING KEY DYNAMICS OF ASIA, AND BY TRACKING CHANGES IN THE REGION.  
THIS PROGRAM IS PARTICULARLY URGENT BECAUSE OF THE CONTRADICTIONARY  
AND POTENTIALLY CONFLICTING TRENDS PREVAILING IN THE REGION.

*Robert A. Scalapino, University of California-Berkeley*

THE STRATEGIC ASIA PROGRAM PROVIDES A WEALTH OF  
VALUABLE INFORMATION AND TOP-RATE ANALYSIS ON SOME OF THE MOST  
CRITICAL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC.  
NBR IS TO BE COMMENDED FOR SUCH AN IMPRESSIVE ENDEAVOR.

*Ambassador Carla A. Hills, Hills and Company*

USING SOME OF THE MOST ABLE CONTRIBUTORS, NBR HAS PRODUCED A COMPENDIUM OF CURRENT AND FUTURE THINKING ON STRATEGIC DYNAMICS IN ASIA THAT IS VITAL TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GUIDING OUR COUNTRY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*Ambassador James R. Lilley, American Enterprise Institute*

... NO OTHER SOURCE MATCHES STRATEGIC ASIA'S COMBINATION OF ACCESSIBILITY AND SUBSTANTIVE RICHNESS.

*Kenneth G. Lieberthal, University of Michigan*

measures such as GDP and trade figures to military and demographic data—in a single, state-of-the-art website available to policy-makers, researchers, students, and the public at large.

The NBR staff frequently hears how unusual it is for a book of such extraordinary quality to be conceived, written, and published every year. Our answer, simply, is that we have no choice, as General Shalikashvili expects it!

Professor Friedberg, who coined the term “Strategic Asia” in the introduction of the program’s first book (“Strategic Asia” is an “identifiable zone of *strategic* interaction”), was key to establishing the program’s quality and reputation. He and others associated with the

research teams have, in various combinations, briefed the National Security Advisor and the NSC Asia staff (including former NBR Research Associate Michael Green), sub-cabinet officials from the full range of departments and agencies responsible for the nation’s foreign and defense policies, members of both houses of Congress and their staffs, as well as leaders from the private sector.

At the release of the book in the fall, NBR convenes a conference in Washington that enables officials and specialists to discuss the study’s findings. Strategic Asia, as much as any NBR program to date,

seeks to shed light on the core concerns that drove the institution’s founders.



*John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General (Retired), is an NBR director and senior advisor to Strategic Asia*

## COLLUSION OF THE BEST KIND

*William B. Abnett*

In July 1986, while working in the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), I received notification from the Chinese government that China wished to become an active participant in the international organization that made the rules for the world's trading system: the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade)—the World Trade Organization's predecessor. Back then, total U.S.-China trade was about \$7.9 billion a year. Less than 20 years later we did as much trade in two weeks. Much else has changed in China since that fateful day in 1986, especially reforms that have paved the way for China's continued growth and integration into world affairs. After 15 years of arduous and oftentimes confrontational negotiations, on December 11, 2001, the People's Republic of China formally became the 143rd member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). China's entry into the WTO is a historic event, signaling commitment to complete its transition from

a socialist command economy to a market-driven one that satisfies the general principles and rules of the global economic order.

China's accession hinged on the United States and China reaching a separate agreement first. To ensure

wide participation in the negotiating process from the U.S. side, getting the facts right, and solving issues as quietly and efficiently as possible, NBR launched a private email forum that brought together negotiators, top scholars, former government officials, and key business representatives. (The rules of the forum require that the names remain private.) Through the forum these "players" stayed on top of breaking developments,

sorted out facts, and compared assessments and strategies. And they did these things on a real-time basis (or very near real-time) around the globe. I served as moderator, and thus was able to observe the remarkable process unfold. Many complex questions needed to be



*Jon Huntsman, Jr., served on the NBR Board of Directors for six years*



answered; seemingly countless interests had to be incorporated into the agreement; and broader foreign policy concerns had to be considered.

Following accession, the forum continued with a focus on China's implementation of the WTO requirements. NBR welcomed then-Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Jon M. Huntsman, Jr., to serve as our first special guest moderator—in January 2003—to give forum members the opportunity to ask him any and all important questions related to assessing China's compliance (or lack thereof) with its myriad WTO commitments. For two-and-a-half weeks Jon interacted

with forum members with candid remarks and authoritative answers. To this day the China-WTO Forum remains an essential online discussion venue for those concerned with China's role in global trade.

The success of this innovative, moderated forum led NBR to develop others. A very similar one focuses on Russia's accession to the WTO. Another, open to the public and involving nearly a thousand specialists and practitioners, serves as the electronic "hub" of the field of contemporary Japanese studies, with moderators in Washington, D.C., and Tokyo. Participants are located in 25 countries in Asia, Europe, and the Americas.

TODAY, NBR'S DISCUSSION FORUM TACKLES THE SALIENT ISSUES SURROUNDING CHINA'S COMPLIANCE WITH ITS WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION OBLIGATIONS. IT BRINGS TOGETHER AN EXTREMELY KNOWLEDGEABLE GROUP OF INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE WHO REPRESENT THE VERY BEST MINDS IN THE CHINA TRADE BUSINESS. THERE IS NO COMPARABLE MEDIUM THAT CONTINUOUSLY SHEDS LIGHT ON CHINA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS, KEEPS U.S. CHINA WATCHERS UP-TO-DATE WITH INSIGHTFUL INFORMATION, AND ENCOURGES FRANK AND USEFUL EXCHANGES. IT'S AN INDISPENSABLE RESOURCE FOR ALL OF US CONCERNED WITH CHINA'S UNPRECEDENTED TRANSFORMATION INTO A FULL MEMBER OF THE WORLD TRADE COMMUNITY.

*R. Michael Gadbow, Vice President and Senior Counsel, General Electric*

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON  
U.S.-INDONESIA RELATIONS

THERE IS GREAT PROMISE AND POTENTIAL PERIL IN INDONESIA. PROMISE FOR A THRIVING DEMOCRACY IN AN IMPORTANT ISLAMIC COUNTRY; PERIL FOR THE KIND OF REGIONAL EROSION OF STATE CONTROL THAT ENABLES TERRORISM. A SUSTAINED AND COMPREHENSIVE U.S. POLICY OF ENGAGEMENT AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF DEMOCRACY CAN HELP ENSURE A SUCCESS STORY THAT MAY SOMEDAY BE LOOKED BACK UPON AS A WATERSHED FOR THE ISLAMIC WORLD.

*Lee H. Hamilton and George P. Shultz, in a joint statement released by the  
National Commission on U.S.-Indonesia Relations*

In the spring of 2002 members of NBR's Board of Directors and the Strategic Asia research team traveled to Honolulu to take part in a strategy session with senior officers of the U.S. Pacific Command. Over the course of the two-day discussion, it became apparent to all that Indonesia was going to play a critical role in U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, both during and beyond the

war on terrorism. It also became clear that Indonesia was a country about which the U.S. policymaking community still knew little, and toward which it required a stronger policy. At a subsequent NBR board meeting there was an urgent call for something to be done.

This was an instance where collaboration with other institutions was critical from the outset, and NBR

THOSE OF US WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON U.S.-INDONESIAN RELATIONS BELIEVE THE NEXT FIVE YEARS WILL BE CRITICAL FOR INDONESIA ... [AND] WILL DETERMINE WHETHER INDONESIA'S DEMOCRACY SUCCEEDS OR WHETHER THE NATION SLIPS BACK UNDER SOME FORM OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE OR MULTIPLE POWER CENTERS; WHETHER ITS ECONOMY PICKS UP SUFFICIENTLY TO PROVIDE JOBS FOR THE 40 MILLION INDONESIANS NOW UNEMPLOYED OR UNDEREMPLOYED AS WELL AS THE TWO AND A HALF MILLION ANNUAL ENTRANTS TO THE WORKFORCE; AND WHETHER MODERATE MUSLIMS PREVAIL.

*Ambassador Edward Masters, United States-Indonesia Society*

invited the Washington-based United States-Indonesia Society and Stanford University's Asia/Pacific Research Center to join in assembling the National Commission on U.S.-Indonesian Relations. Co-chaired by Lee Hamilton, George Russell, and George Shultz, the Commission developed a consensus report outlining the broad range of U.S. interests in Indonesia and recommended appropriate policy measures to improve bilateral relations. Over the course of a year, the commission's members—former policymakers, diplomats, military leaders, and top academic specialists—consulted widely with government officials in Washington and Jakarta (narrowly escaping the August 2003 Marriott Hotel bombing).

Covering a wide range of issues from democratization to trade, from security cooperation to governance and corruption, the commission's report concluded that improved education was key to Indonesia's successful transition to democracy and improved U.S.-Indonesian relations. The report recommended that this be a priority for U.S. assistance, calling for a major increase in U.S. aid for education. Commission Vice

Chairman Edward Masters consulted closely with officials in the Bush administration. On his October 2003 visit to Bali, President George W. Bush announced a \$157 million package of education assistance. The commission's report serves as the basis for policy discussion in various offices of the U.S. government, the

private sector, and among analysts. The U.S. Agency for International Development, the American Chamber of Commerce in Jakarta, and the Indonesian Embassy in Washington cite it to promote independent initiatives designed to enhance bilateral ties. Members of Congress are using it for guidance and calling upon commission members to testify at hearings.

The work of the National Commission on U.S.-Indonesian Relations exemplifies much of the NBR model—identifying an issue

requiring the attention of U.S. policymakers, reaching out to the best people to conduct a study (and in this case working closely with two other institutions in order to leverage the particular strengths of each), and consulting widely and frequently so that the resulting study is effective and has lasting impact.



*Ed Masters, Rich Ellings, Jim Leach, and Don Emmerson, following a meeting in the Rayburn House Office Building on the commission's report*

## BEHIND NBR



### THE NBR CULTURE

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There are alternative routes an institution might choose to reach the summit of its field. What culture drives it? Are its people happy as they pick their way around crevasses or up ridge lines? Or fulfilled when they stand on top for that handshake and 360 degree view? While extremely goal oriented at NBR, we're also concerned about how we go about fulfilling our mission. As we like to tell prospective employees, we look for tremendous talent and effectiveness—but also for hearts of gold with a sense of humor!

As she was for Frank Russell Company, Jane Thompson Russell, late wife of NBR Chairman George Russell, was the driving force and inspiration behind NBR discovering and deepening its belief system, one that nurtures personal fulfillment and organizational success. Because of her impact here, NBR established the annual Jane T. Russell Award for Leadership and Service. The competition, under the guidance of long-time Russell Associate Joan Sobba, provides a cash grant to a student intern who has made a positive impact through service and leadership to a nonprofit institution.

Everyone at NBR vividly remembers a particularly memorable winter afternoon with Jane ...

*What keeps you up at night? she asked.  
A project? Some unfinished task?  
Which values guide you through the day?  
What attitudes do you convey? ...*

*Precious hours she did share  
Hours in which we fell heir  
To pearls of wisdom and advice  
To which one can't attach a price.*

— Excerpts from a poem by NBR vice presidents  
Brigitte Allen and Karolos Karnikis

The NBR environment also seeks to emulate the best Congressional offices, flat in structure and where a mix of accomplished veterans and great young people—all full of energy—tackle problems that others more jaded or less optimistic might eschew. And it captures the humor that such people invariably possess.

NBR'S SUCCESS AS A GROWING AND THRIVING ORGANIZATION IS DUE,  
IN LARGE PART, TO ITS STRONG COMMITMENT TO A CORPORATE CULTURE THAT  
RECOGNIZES AND CELEBRATES ITS STAFF AND INTERNS AS PEOPLE WITH  
BOTH PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL NEEDS. I AM EXTREMELY PROUD OF WHAT  
WE'VE ACCOMPLISHED OVER THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS.

*Lawrence W. Clarkson, Founding Chairman, NBR*

Through its planning phase the organization was called the Jackson Research Institute, and when launched formally renamed The National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research, with the abbreviation NBR. The reasoning behind the short abbreviation wasn't rocket science. NBASR was a bit much, and, we declared, when (not if) the Soviet Union ceased to exist, we could rename the institution without changing the “handle.” (To be honest, we were thinking long term. No one associated with NBR's founding suggested, at least aloud in our presence, that the Soviet Union would crumble in just a couple of years!) At one of the last meetings of NBR's Interim Executive Committee, following the demise of the Soviet Union, NBR's leaders settled on simply dropping the words “and Soviet” from the name. The abbreviation was retained according to plan.



NBR Annual April Fool's Day "Bulletin"

THE MISSING "A"



NBR Mascot Contest Winner by Tracy Timmons-Gray

## THE FUTURE



IT HAS INDEED BEEN A PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH A WORLD-CLASS ORGANIZATION THAT OFFERS PROFOUND AND TIMELY INSIGHTS, STRATEGIES, AND SOLUTIONS IN ENGAGING A PART OF THE WORLD THAT IS SO IMPORTANT POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, AND STRATEGICALLY TO THE U.S.

*John V. Rindlaub, Wells Fargo*

**I**mportant issues compel our continued dedication:

- Power is again focusing heavily in Asia, repeating a historical pattern that derives from the persistent concentration of the world's population in the region. As we look to the future—the world our grandchildren will inherit—the two big issues should be familiar ones: China's integration into international affairs and America's leadership, shared increasingly with China and others, of globalization and regional security arrangements.
- Right below these issues will be the emergence of India, the renewal of Russia and Japan, the eastward or westward orientation of Korea, and the complex interactions—political, economic, and mili-

tary—among these and the other countries of the Asia-Pacific.

- America will need to understand and address the threats and risks to its interests in Asia, from major war, terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to financial panic, protectionism, and health crises.
- The opportunities, no less consequential, include capitalizing on the economic, political, and health benefits from globalization for all countries in the Asia-Pacific, constructing a new security architecture in the region, and developing and managing of world institutions.



*The future can be spotted at NBR every day. Jackson Interns: Jon Acuff, Mahin Karim, Allison Clarke, Tracy Timmons-Gray, Neil Beck, Julie Bennion, Rian Jensen, Rajeev Majumdar, Jay Juntti*

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