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# The PCI News



## 2017 Building Bridges Award: Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon and East-West Center



*(Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon accepted the award and gave an address entitled “Transcending Identity Politics: Universal Values and the Power of Youth.”)*



EAST-WEST CENTER



*(Dr. Charles D. Morrison accepted the award on behalf of the East-West Center and gave an address entitled “The Power of Positive Public Diplomacy.”)*



*(PCI President Emeritus Kenneth J. Tugle awarded the 2017 Building Bridges Award trophies to SG Ban and the East-West Center)*



*(2016-2017 Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors with former UN SG Ban Ki Moon, Ambassador Donald Gregg, PCI Chairman at Intercontinental Hotel, Los Angeles)*

**SAVE THE DATE!**  
**2018 PCI Annual Award Dinner**  
**Date: Thursday, Feb. 22, 2018**  
**Venue: InterContinental Hotel, Century City**



## Board Member's Corner

## Message from new PCI Chair Kathleen Stephens



President Ray Burghardt and all the board, as well as PCI's com-

PCI's distinguished and dedicated chairman, Ambassador Donald Gregg, contacted me over the summer to talk about leadership transition on PCI's board. After six years as chairman, and in light of his family commitments, Don felt it was time for him to step back from the chairmanship. Following consultation with the PCI board, effective September 1 I assumed the PCI board chair position. I am committed to working closely with PCI

munity of supporters and friends, to continue and broaden PCI's work going forward.

The February 2018 annual board meeting will be especially important and meaningful. I will propose that Don Gregg be named Chairman Emeritus. We hope that Don and Meg will join us in February, and that we will continue to benefit from their wisdom and support in the coming years. I ask that board members make a special effort to join us in February. In the meantime I welcome your continued thoughts and support in our ongoing dialogue about shaping PCI's work during a particularly challenging time.

Kathleen Stephens

## PCI Welcomes New Board Members in 2017



Professor Jie-ae Sohn

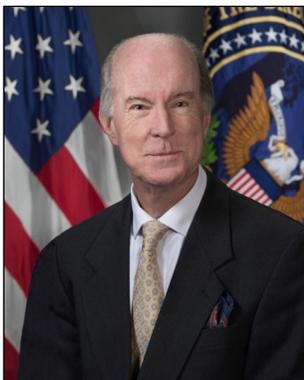
Now an invited professor at Ewha Womans University and a

**Jie-ae Sohn**

*"Greetings and a very happy  
"Nice-to-meet-you!"*

*Let me share with you a very brief formal introduction. I look forward to meeting all of you in person and disavowing every unfortunate impression you might gain from this straight-forward list of my past footsteps. "*

senior communications consultant at the World Bank's Korea Green Growth Trust Fund, **Jie-ae Sohn** is a career journalist with a unique background in helping Korea enhance its image in the global market. She was CNN's Seoul correspondent and bureau chief from 1995 to 2010, covering both South and North Korea. Then joined the Presidential Committee for the 2010 G20 Seoul Summit as a spokesperson. And went on to become the overseas public affairs secretary for then President Lee Myong Bak. She was the CEO of Arirang TV and Radio in 2011, becoming Korea's first female head of a major broadcasting station and successfully led the station until leaving for USC in 2014 as a visiting scholar for a year. Sohn is married with three daughters and her life goal is to do everything she can to make sure the world is as happy and wonderful place for her girls as it is for her.



Dr. Gregory F. Treverton

**Gregory Treverton** stepped down in January 2017 as Chair of the National Intelligence Council, which is the main provider of both strategic intelligence and more immediate intelligence support to senior foreign policymakers in the U.S. government. He is now Professor of the Practice at the University of Southern California, a senior fellow at the Swedish National Defense University, and at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, as

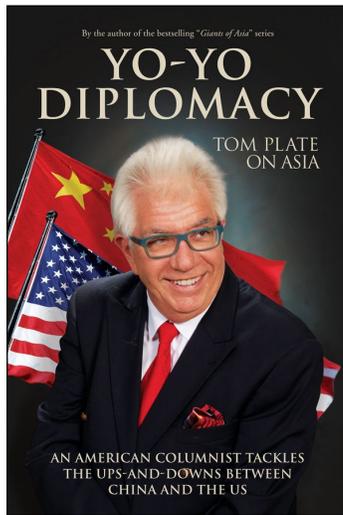
**Dr. Gregory F. Treverton**

*"After three good years chairing the National Intelligence Council in the Obama Administration, it is very good to be back in southern California. I've been an admirer and fellow traveler of the Institute for years, since Spencer Kim and I started working together. It is an honor to be on the Board, as well as a personal pleasure to be with so many old friends."*

well as an advisor to several companies. Earlier, he directed the RAND Corporation's Center for Global Risk and Security, and before that its Intelligence Policy Center and its International Security and Defense Policy Center, and he was associate dean of the Pardee RAND Graduate School. He has served earlier in government for the first Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, handling Europe for the National Security Council and as vice chair of the National Intelligence Council, overseeing the writing of America's National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs). He has taught at Harvard and Columbia universities, in addition to RAND, been a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and Deputy Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. He holds an A. B. *summa cum laude* from Princeton University and an M.P.P. (Master's in Public Policy) and Ph.D. in economics and politics from Harvard. His latest books are *Dividing Divided States*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014; and *Beyond the Great Divide: Relevance and Uncertainty in National Intelligence and Science for Policy*, (with Wilhelm Agrell), Oxford University Press, 2015. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the Swedish Royal Academy of War Sciences.



Board Member’s Corner



The third of the “Tom Plate on Asia” series, Yo-Yo Diplomacy compiles the compelling and insightful columns on Asia by award-winning journalist Tom Plate over the past two years. From tensions in the South China Sea to China’s stock market turbulence and Hong Kong’s bookseller saga, the veteran columnist continues to examine the rise of Asia and the role of America in this dynamic and diverse region.

The collection is enlivened with thoughtful retrospectives and personal comments providing vivid back stories.

The result is an informative and readable anthology that would prove valuable not only to political and current affairs commentators, but also to the layperson wishing to learn more about pivotal developments in the Asia-Pacific region.



Mr. Fumio Matsuo

PCI board member and renowned journalist Fumio Matsuo received the 2017 Japan National Press Club (JNPC) Award on May 29, 2017 for his efforts in calling on U.S. and Japanese leaders to pay respective visits to Hiroshima and Pearl Harbor in symbolic acts of postwar reconciliation. Mr. Fumio’s lifelong desire had been fulfilled when in May 2016, then President Barack Obama visited Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima followed

by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s visit to the USS Arizona Memorial in December. JNPC Award recognizes journalist through journalism, coverage or criticism, and honors individuals who have increased the credibility and authority of journalism.

Director’s Trip Report



**Report on NEATTF**  
by PCI board member and East-West Center senior fellow Dr. Charles D. Morrison

This is a report on a brief trip that included Beijing, Changchun, and Seoul. The Sixth Northeast Asia Think Tank Forum (NEATTF) in Changchun was the main stop on the trip, and while the other stops were associated with institutional business, they also provided some opportunity to speak with individuals interested in Asia-Pacific international relations.

The one-day NEATTF was the shortest ever, and the program appears to be on an every other year, rather than the original annual basis. Although the hotel was a new Sheraton in an upscale park-like district on the northwest side of the city, the hosts were clearly working under severe budget constraints. Interpretation alone must be a major and expensive feat since each language was being simultaneously translated into the other five<sup>1</sup>. The NEATTF is one of four regional forums sponsored by China, the others, in different locations, are for ASEAN, Central Asia, and South Asia.

For the first time and with the co-sponsorship of the China Foreign Affairs University, there was a session on regional political and security issues although most participants were from economic sector. The other thematic issues were the Belt Road Initiative (BRI), the China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor

(a part of BRI), and the China-Japan-ROK FTA. Individual presentations within these thematic areas at time had nothing to do with the themes they were grouped under. Principal invitees included two Japanese, three South Koreans, three Russians, a Singaporean, and one other American (Prof. Gi-Wook Shin from Stanford’s APARC). An American Shenyang economics consular official was on the participant list, but I don’t believe he was able to come. There were no North Koreans, and apparently have not been since the second NEATTF in 2011. The Chinese seem to have made no special effort to get them.

On the previous trip in 2013, I was struck how many Jilin people seemed to have first-hand knowledge of North Korea and the forum seemed dominated by the provincial hosts, but this was less evident to me this time. With such a short time, only one person from Jilin, the very last presenter, was given a substantive speaking role, and I considered this a loss. What was more evident was that while the forum is “an international academic platform for the six Northeast Asian countries,” the core Chinese definition of Northeast Asia seems to be the “Plus Three” of China, Japan, and South Korea (“trilateral cooperation” as reflected in the “Jilin Trilateral Cooperation Studies Center, one of the cosponsors), while the fuzzy edges included Russia, Mongolia, and even the United States. The closing dinner seated Prof. Shin and myself on either side of the hosts, perhaps because we had come the furthest even though not from Northeast Asia.

The Chinese hosts were basically polite to everyone, and I felt that they went out of their way not to criticize the United States (President Trump was hardly mentioned in the meeting)

*(continued on page 7)*

<sup>1</sup>The Mongolian, Bayasakh Jamsran, seemed conversant in all the other languages and kept slipping into English during his presentation, but said he had been urged to speak in Mongolian. Maybe this was to justify the interpreters!



## PCI Sponsored Programs— 2017 Korea US Journalist Exchange

by PCI President Ambassador Raymond Burghardt

The 2017 Korea-US Journalist Exchange program took place at a time of deep interest in US-Republic of Korea (ROK) relations and in the threatening words and actions coming from North Korea. New governments in Seoul and Washington were proposing policy shifts that caused considerable anxiety in the other country's capital. North Korea's missile tests and bellicose language were headline news around the world.

The July 16 - 22 program, jointly sponsored by PCI, the East-West Center (EWC) and the Korea Press Foundation (KPF) brought six American journalists to Korea and six South Korean journalists to the United States. The twelve reporters then met at the East-West Center in Honolulu on July 23rd to exchange views about their experiences.

I accompanied the American journalists and will focus on their trip. We had extraordinary access to officials, political figures and experts connected to the new government of President Moon Jae-in. A highlight of our program in Seoul was an in-depth discussion on policy toward North Korea with PCI board member Moon Chung-in, now special advisor to President Moon for unification and national security affairs. Other key events arranged by PCI and KPF included a wide-ranging discussion at the American Embassy with Charge d' Affaires Marc Knapper; a Blue House (presidential officer) meeting with Kim Hyun-chul, Adviser to the President for Economic Affairs; and meetings at the National Assembly with key lawmakers from the ruling and opposition parties. A meeting with Joo Seong-ha, defector from North Korea and columnist for Dong-a Ilbo newspaper, provided illuminating insights into life today in North Korea. A welcoming luncheon by the KPF Chairman gave the American visitors a good overview of challenges faced today by Korean media. Media star Sohn Suk-hee, anchor and president of JTBC's new reporting division, provided a vivid and dramatic account of how he led his reporting team to break stories that ultimately led to the Candlelight Revolution that brought down the Park Geun-hye government.

Outside of Seoul, the group visited the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) to understand the reality of a divided Korean peninsula and traveled south to Gwangju to understand the origin of South Korea's progressive political movement that has recently regained control of the country's government. In Gwangju, the American group visited the May 18th Cemetery and key historical sites of the 1980 democracy demonstrations and their violent repression. At a luncheon with young local journalists and activists the journalists heard views about American responsibility for the 1980 Gwangju massacre and about the direct historical connection between the 1980 demonstrations and the recent Candlelight Revolution, including the presence of many former Gwangju demonstrators in the Moon government.

Key issues that were explored in discussions in Korea and then in the bilateral forum in Honolulu included:

-- Differences in typical American and South Korean attitudes toward North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons, with young South Koreans seemingly relaxed about any DPRK threat and

relatively indifferent toward the idea of reunification.

-- The role of China in the North Korea issue, including China's pressure on Seoul over the installation of the THAAD anti-missile system.

-- The trilateral relationship among the ROK, Japan and the US, including how to deal with history and the effect of the close US-Japan alliance on the ROK's relationship with China.

-- The Moon and Trump governments' differing views on the value of dialogue with Pyongyang and on renegotiation of the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement.

-- The Moon government's progressive economic policies, including a sharp raise in the minimum wage, measures to redistribute wealth, Chaebol reform, and phasing out nuclear power.

These issues -- as well as lighter topics such as Korean pop culture and the rapid growth of Korea's cosmetics industry -- provided material for many articles and reports by the six American journalists. They represented national media -- Washington Post, USA Today, Politico Magazine -- as well as the NPR station for Southern California, the CBS affiliate in Indiana, and the McClatchy Newspaper chain. The journalists expressed gratitude and appreciation for PCI's leadership role, alongside the indispensable roles of EWC and KPF, in providing this learning and reporting opportunity on a very important current topic.



(Top: 2017 KUSJE at East West Center, Honolulu, HI  
Bottom: Amy Brittan doing honors at May 18th National Cemetery, Gwangju, Korea)



PCI Sponsored Programs — Meeting Korean War Veterans

by PCI Fellow Hannah Y. Kim

After serving as chief of staff and communications director to Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) before he retired, Hannah Y. Kim traveled around the world across six continents to 27 countries that participated in the Korean War, including China, Russia and even North Korea. She had the honor of interviewing 200 Korean War veterans, whom she referred to as her Grandpas.

Prior to her journey, Hannah founded Remember727, which has hosted an annual commemoration of the Korean War Armistice Day (July 27th) since 2008. Hannah also spearheaded the historic passage of the Korean War Veterans Recognition Act (Public Law 111-41), which was signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009.

She has maintained that Remembrance, Recognition and Reconciliation are necessary to achieve Reunification. Remember727 aims to help people remember the so-called Forgotten War, so that they can honor the sacrifices and work towards establishing peace. She recognized early on that few people know about the grand scale and global impact of the Korean War:

*The Korean War started on June 25, 1950, and halted in a ceasefire agreement on July 27, 1953. Nearly 1.8 million American men and women served in the Korean War, including 600,000 African Americans, 25,000 Japanese Americans, 20,000 Chinese Americans, and 148,000 Hispanic Americans. The U.S. suffered 54,246 casualties and 8,176 plus POW/MIAs. In total,*

*the Korean War involved people of different backgrounds from a total of 25 nations in 6 continents. Even after almost 70 years, the Korean War has technically never ended and the Peninsula remains divided.*

After meeting with Korean War veterans from both sides of the war, Hannah concluded that everyone ultimately wants to see peace

on the Korean Peninsula, and perhaps a Unified Korea in their lifetime. While Hannah does not know when and how that vision might be fulfilled, she believes that if more people are aware, they will care more about the future of the two Koreas. She will continue to do her part in raising people’s awareness to promote peace and reunification on the Peninsula.



(Hannah Kim with Korean veterans)

PCI Sponsored Programs — Summer ‘17 Interns



**Noori Kim, MIA ‘18—Korea Economic Institute (KEI), Washington, D.C.**

“KEI is a nonprofit educational organization and my summer internship was both stimulating and rewarding. One of the highlights of my experience was assisting in the planning and execution of many conferences, in particular, its Opinion Leaders’ Seminar. This year, KEI and the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy jointly co-hosted the event that focused on U.S.-Korea relations, and served as a means to draw together key Korean and American opinion leaders in government and think tanks for a frank discussion. I helped the staff by creating the booklet for the event and taking notes during the discussions. Since all the discussions at the seminar were conducted on an off-the-record and non-attribution basis, I was able to hear the real opinions of the scholars and the experts, which were all thought-provoking. In August, I will be assisting the staff with their research and writing my own blog post that will be published on KEI’s blog called The Peninsula. Aside from all the major tasks as the summer intern at KEI, living in D.C. was also an amazing experience. I was able to learn about the policy environment “



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**Diana Chung, MIA ‘18 — East Asia Institute (EAI), Seoul, South Korea**

“During my EAI internship, I have been tasked with research on civil society capacity in Myanmar, while assisting in proofreading and formatting grant proposals. Part of my research includes improving civil society capacity through policy design and implementation by looking at relevant case studies on government procurement, citizen budgeting, urban planning and minority education in Southeast Asia as well as China and Africa. I am also involved in the Korea Friendship Program, which brings together international students to further discuss common topics of interests on Korea. In addition, I am able to cultivate my own research with the help of many faculty members.”

(Upper: Noori Kim with members at KEI; Bottom: Diana Chung at EAI)



Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors 2016-2017



(Youth Ambassadors at Seonunsa Temple, Gochang-gun, South Korea)



(Youth Ambassadors at Busan fish market, Busan, South Korea)



(Youth Ambassadors embracing cultural exchange at Poongsan High School in Andong, South Korea)



**Josue Gomez:** “This was also really a chance for me to reflect as a student and see whether I really do take advantage of my education and if the work I was doing was just as hard as some of

the work these students had.”

**Shea Husband:** “There are no words to describe how amazing my experience as a Project Bridge Youth Ambassador and my time in Korea was.”

**Faith Kim:** “As a Korean-American who came to Project Bridge with no prior knowledge of my own culture, it was a priceless and invaluable experience.”

**Sheila Milon:** “I hope to represent everything I learned and experienced when I pursue Asian-American relations in the future. Together, we can all achieve social progress and genuine change.”

**Lorena Magana:** “I hope to one day pass on my knowledge and advocate for cross cultural understanding in order for future generations to be more knowledgeable and respectful towards people of different cultures.”

one day pass on my knowledge and advocate for cross cultural understanding in order for future generations to be more knowledgeable and respectful towards people of different cultures.”

**German Rodriguez:** “I hope to use the tools that the program provided and taught me as I continue my quest as a Global Leader.”

**Alejandro Spino:** “I believe that I have grown in my social skills, my leadership skills, and my public speaking skills. The content that I learned I found to be quite compelling and thought-provoking.”

**Jessica Tran:** “Project Bridge was, all in all, a success in my eyes. I truly feel that I have found the importance of the connects—the bridge between all cultures, and it first embeds from compassionate perception.”

PCI Sponsored Programs — Korea Peace Studies School (KPSS) Program

The Peace Forum – PCI Academy, located in Seoul, launched its fourth Korea Peace Studies School on April 6, 2017. The two semester curriculum covers two main topics: “Search for a Method Change in Inter-Korean Relations” and “US-China Relations and Peace on the Korean Peninsula.” The program will run until December 14, 2017. The Peace Forum – PCI Academy is regarded in South Korea as a prestigious program and only one in five applicants are accepted. It gives an

opportunity for advanced strategic training for prospective government officials, academics and media practitioners who might otherwise not have the financial means to get such training.



## Director’s Trip Report Corner

### Report on NEATTF

(Continued from page 4)

nor say anything negative about Japan. (The local Jilin speaker was the only one who did both of these, and one of the Beijing funders apologetically described him to me as a “crazy guy.”)<sup>2</sup> One other speaker from Shanghai was very critical of South Korea on THAAD, without even mentioning the US or North Korea, but when Professor Shin asked him what else South Korea could realistically do given US pressure, he had no response. I heard no Chinese complaints about THAAD or South Korea in private.

On BRI, a main theme was that BRI is inclusive and open to Northeast Asia even though the two main geographically defined routes go west to Europe. Zhang Yunling of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences described the BRI as a “global platform” open “to all companies, countries, and individuals,” even if it has a regional focus. He said that since it is a long-term vision, China is talking about developing a permanent BRI group meeting every two years with a standing committee. Previous forms of south-south cooperation failed because of the lack of an institutional support structure. He also emphasized that BRI should be connected positively with other initiatives, such as Japan and South Korea’s own central Asian initiatives, and that it sought to do the easier activities on which there is consensus first and move forward as political conditions allow. In other words, it is a Chinese idea and vision, but not necessarily exclusively a Chinese project.

Despite the global platform concept, the thematic topic on the China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor suggested that it is still much more difficult to meaningfully connect South Korea and Japan (and even much of the Russian Far East) with BRI except as investors and, hopefully, beneficiaries. The corridor presentations made no mention of political aspects and emphasized the importance of infrastructure to drive growth across the central Asian space. At least three routes were shown as passing through Inner Mongolia from different starting points, all going west or northwest.

On the other hand, the FTA session featured Japan and South Korea as opposed to Russia and Mongolia, but if there was any consensus it was that not much has happened as political constraints were preventing any serious headway. Keio Professor Yorizumi Watanabe noted (and I agree) that TPP had been in a sense driving both RCEP and the Plus Three scheme. He said that Japan is enthusiastic about moving ahead with TPP-11, but in the hopes that the United States will return to the game. While some countries want to relax or eliminate provisions agreed to under US pressure, Japan is concerned that a high quality agreement be maintained to encourage the US back in. It was also noted that Japanese and South Korean investment in plants in China had to some extent substituted for exports to China, diminishing trade flows in Northeast Asia.

At times, I have been impressed at how resistant people

<sup>2</sup>This was the only person I recall who referred to the Senkaku/Daiyotai dispute, and he blamed this on the United States, which he alleged is trying to keep the Northeast Asian countries from cooperating.

are to addressing the crisis at hand (e.g., APEC in Vancouver in 1997 or in Lima in 2008). Again in Changchun, despite external events (a North Korean missile test passing over the Japan the day before) and the addition of regional political and security to the agenda, there was no spirited or extended engagement on North Korea. This is partly because most participants were focused on economic issues, but may also reflect some Chinese weariness with this issue. The suggestions of Prof. Shin (that the Northeast Asia regional organization could help break North Korea’s isolation) or my own (that China could engage in a more robust diplomatic initiative as this is a global issue in its own neighborhood) provoked no discussion.

In general, in Changchun and Beijing, I had the feeling that the Chinese:

- Tend to regard the North Korean crisis as an American-North Korean bilateral dispute that has become a major inconvenience for China because of the unreasonableness of both the disputants. However, in speaking to me as an American, the Chinese interlocutors were much more inclined to blame North Korea, not the U.S. for the current crisis.
- Believe that China has really very little bargaining leverage over North Korea, and the North is only too willing to display this to the world. Trump has unrealistic expectations of China and is blaming China for his own policy failures.
- Believe that the new sanctions do need to be enforced more vigorously and that this time China will do so. But these need to be combined with diplomacy.
- Don’t see President Moon or Prime Minister Abe as independent actors.

Individual comments made on the side included:

- While there were initial positive expectations of Trump in China, he is now seen as unpredictable and unreasonable. However, some cling to the hope that he will change course.
- By a Chinese, that the missile launch over Japan was totally unacceptable. North Korea’s security concerns are understandable to some degree, but its behavior in the face of UN sanctions is provocative and dangerous.
- A Chinese complaint that Americans do not understand how much Chinese is already doing to apply sanctions, and the sanctions particularly affect the economy of N.E. China, which is already in recession. (There is migration out of N.E. China).
- South Korean complaint that the US does not appreciate how much the THAAD issue has cost the S. Korean economy.

Finally, while there has been some media speculation that China welcomes the destruction of American credibility and reliability, I did not hear that. While China clearly wants to expand its global influence, my impression is that it prefers a predictable security and economic environment, sees the US as instrumental to that, and is deeply worried about the diminution of the US role.



## PCI Sponsored Programs — UC San Diego Global Policy and Strategy



(Professor Moon Chung-in and Mr. Lynn Turk at UC San Diego, CA)

PCI co-sponsored, and PCI board members Moon Chung-in and Lynn Turk were panel members at a symposium at the University of California San Diego's School of Global Policy and Strategy on March 14, 2017. They joined Dr. Tai Ming Cheung, Director of UCSD's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, and Professor Shin Sung-ho of Seoul National University to discuss the Crisis of South Korean Politics and Prospects for Foreign Policy.

### Upcoming Event!!!

#### UC San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy

#### **Trump in Asia: A One-Year Retrospective**

October 19-20, 2017

The two day conference will commence with a public event covering the topic, "The Trump Administration and North Korea" with PCI board member, and South Korean presidential advisor Professor Moon Chung-in as one of the panelists.



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