The Pacific Century Institute’s Annual Awards dinner took place on Thursday, February 24, 2022 at the Beverly Hills Hotel in Beverly Hills, CA. PCI President Ambassador Raymond Burghardt served as the master of ceremonies, the welcoming remarks delivered by PCI Chair Ambassador Kathleen Stephens, and closing remarks by PCI Vice President Professor Tom Plate.

The 2022 Institutional Building Bridges award was awarded to Loyola Marymount University (LMU). Founded in 1911, LMU is a Catholic, Jesuit, and Marymount university that fosters diversity, equity, and inclusion with an academic community rich in opportunity for intellectual engagement and real-world experience. LMU was designated as a National University/High Research Activity (R2) by Carnegie Classifications and an elite top-ranked national university by U.S. News and World Report. LMU President Timothy Law Snyder, Ph.D., accepted the award on behalf of the institution, its faculty, and its students.

The 2022 Individual Building Bridges award honoree was Glyn Ford, Director of Track2Asia and former Member of the European Parliament (1984-2009) for his efforts and exemplifying PCI’s vision of building bridges of understanding. When he left the European Parliament in 2009, Glyn Ford founded the consulting company Polint, which he still leads today. In parallel, he continued his political and academic engagement with the DPRK and the East Asian region in the framework of his Brussels-based NGO Track2Asia. Thanks to his engagement with the DPRK and his close to 50 visits to the country, he is now considered one of the most pre-eminent European experts on the Korean peninsula in particular, and East Asia in general. During the dinner event, Mr. Ford’s address, entitled, "The Hermit Kingdom as seen from Europe" was very well received by the attendees.

The Pacific Century Institute would like to thank our corporate benefactor, 3Plus Group, corporate sponsors and supporters.

For more info, please contact Angie Pak at pci@PacificCenturyInst.org.

David I. Steinberg receives Building Bridges Award

David I. Steinberg was previously a representative of the Asia Foundation in Korea and was recognized by the PCI for his work while at the Asia Foundation. PCI Chair, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens presented his award in person in Washington, DC.
A Black Sea Humanitarian Food Corridor to Odessa

By Charles E. Morrison

The Korean Air flight from Los Angeles landed at Incheon Airport early dawn the last Monday of November. I was on it, and I was nervous. I hadn’t been in Korea — or anywhere outside the U.S. — in almost two years. When I last departed Seoul in February 2020, a Korean friend gave me a small gift bag filled withKF-94 masks, saying, “You might need these.” What an understatement that turned out to be.

One of the many tragic consequences of the war in Ukraine has been its impact on world food supplies and prices, and since this is a lag effect, it will only become worse over the next few months. David Beasley, former governor of South Carolina and current head of the World Food Program (WFP), has sought to spotlight this looming crisis. On CBS’ 60 Minutes this past week, he noted that Ukraine is a breadbasket that helps feeds some 400 million people globally and called for world leaders to open a sea lane for food from Odessa. Although he avoided suggesting how, it is a timely idea that should be pursued, especially by those countries and organizations most affected.

Ukraine is the world’s largest producer and exporter of sunflower seeds used for edible cooking oil and the fifth-largest exporter of wheat. It also is a significant supplier of corn. The Rome-based WFP buys from Ukraine about half the grain it supplies to the world’s neediest. Ukraine is also among the largest suppliers of foodstuffs to the volatile Middle East, as is Russia. Thus, the stakes involved in a food corridor are not just about protecting people from hardship and starvation, but also maintaining political stability across the Islamic world and beyond.

Since Ukrainian exports are prevented by the Russian blockade, a proposal for a Black Sea humanitarian food corridor seeks to carve out a workable exception for agricultural exports as humanitarian goods. Ironically, as Ukrainians trapped in cities or fleeing in the war-torn eastern part of the country desperately search for food, the storage facilities elsewhere in Ukraine are stuffed to capacity from last year’s bumper harvest that farmers cannot bring to market today. Some supplies trickle out through ports in Rumania and Bulgaria, but this is an expensive and logistically difficult route and can hardly substitute for the long-established direct route from Odessa. Moreover, Russia has repeatedly been striking at the Zatoka bridge carrying rail tracks over the Dniester Estuary on the coastal route to Rumania south of Odessa.

In the meantime, food prices in the Middle East are reaching record highs. Inventories of Ukrainian supplies exported before the war are now running low, and the outlook for next year would be bleak even in the unlikely event that the war soon ends. With fertilizers, fuels, and manpower in short supply and export markets mostly blocked, there are few incentives for Ukrainian farmers to plant new crops. Moreover, food shocks are reverberating around the world as other agricultural surplus countries are now husbanding supplies to protect domestic customers. For example, rising prices for vegetable oils have caused Indonesia to ban exports of palm oil, of which it is the world’s largest supplier. Droughts in other world food producing areas have also tightened markets. International initiatives to bring more food onto the market are urgently needed.

As a practical measure, Russia’s agreement would be required, just as it is for humanitarian corridors within Ukraine. Commercial shippers and, importantly, their insurers, must be convinced that ships, crews, and cargoes can move safely within a war zone. But since the purpose of Russia’s blockade is to cripple the Ukrainian economy and since high food prices benefit Russian exporters, why should Russia agree?

Russia should be challenged. It is, of course, heavily invested in Syria, where the WFP has forecast food price inflation could reach 100-200% in the coming year. Russia also seeks to cultivate ties elsewhere in the Middle East and Africa, which it needs today more than ever. Enough pressure from these regions may give Vladimir Putin some incentive to accept the humanitarian food corridor concept. If he does, Russian farmers will still enjoy high prices. Moreover, if Russia chooses to resist heightened pressure, it will suffer public relations and diplomatic consequences, providing more evidence of its callousness toward the world in its quest to revive its former empire.

The corridor would require largely symbolic naval escorts from perhaps Turkey, Egypt, or some other Middle East buying countries to assure shippers and insurers that it is for real. Russia would likely insist on inspections to ensure that military supplies were not reaching Ukraine through the route. Russia might also demand a funding mechanism to prevent Ukrainian foreign exchange earnings from going to its military

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Board Member’s Opinion Editorial

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effort. It could negotiate such details forever to give the appearance of cooperation, while in truth preventing agreement. The United Nations or other acceptable sponsoring entity, then, must strongly and visibly advocate the scheme with tight deadlines and efficient safeguards, forthrightly calling out petty delaying tactics.

The humanitarian food corridor should be a priority for developing countries, and it is they, not NATO, who must lead the initiative. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency for many such countries to see the war as a European or East-West conflict distant from their direct interests. Yet aside from the flagrant disregard for UN Charter principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity that help protect smaller nations, international food as well as energy prices are among the many ways the war is relevant to their needs and futures.

A food corridor, of course, would provide no solution to the many other global challenges that Putin’s aggression has caused or aggravated. Small steps, however, can sometimes lead to larger actions. The international community should not just react to Russia. It should proactively and urgently act on proposals that ameliorate the consequences of the conflict and bring it to an early and acceptable conclusion. A food corridor is a proposal worth pursuing.

This opinion piece featuring PCI Vice President, Tom Plate was published in the South China Morning Post on May 3, 2022.

Threat of Russian nuclear attack shows why China’s no-first-use policy should be global standard

By Tom Plate

The topic of nuclear war is no joking matter, but I was rather tempted to cry out “Get me rewrite!” while dipping into my old book on the nuclear arms race. So much is changing now. My published tome had been premised on the nuclear-age dynamics between the US and the Soviet Union. But that was five decades ago; China is now included in the top tier.

As times change, sometimes profoundly, so must our thinking and analysis, sometimes radically. Once, it was axiomatic that the use of nuclear weapons of any sort — any crossing of the clear red line between conventional and nuclear warfare in conflict — would escalate into apocalypse.

Now the world has to take into account a leader of a major nuclear power who has indicated the red line will be crossed if he feels the need.

To be sure, for all Russian President Vladimir Putin’s atomic arrogance (or bluff), the United States remains in history as the first user and, so far, the only one. This occurred at the end of the war against Japan, and an unforgettable tragic ending it was.

The only sliver of a silver lining was the birth and surge in the United States of a substantial anti-nuclear intellectual class that has brought moral force to US thinking.

Those in China or elsewhere who believe Americans are imperialist warmongers might take special note of organisations such as the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, committed to reducing the possibility of nuclear warfare and, over time, national nuclear arsenals.

Founded by Albert Einstein and University of Chicago scientists who worked on the Manhattan Project that helped develop the first atomic bombs, the organisation’s contributing physicists, engineers and other scientists, have, in their writing, speeches and interviews, campaigned against risking nuclear combat in any way whatsoever.

They make the compelling case that global doomsday could arise from strategic miscalculation, a command-and-control accident, or an impulsive order from a maniacal leader. As former British prime minister Winston Churchill warned, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence “does not cover the case of lunatics or dictators in the mood of Hitler when he found himself in his final dug-out”.

Among the US’ most notable anti-nuclear intellectuals is Siegfried Hecker, one of those inspiring scientists who rise above the forbidding peaks of their disciplines to ponder moral and humanitarian implications.

A professor at Stanford University, Hecker is also director emeritus of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, having served as its head from 1986 to 1997. The laboratory was founded during World War II to coordinate the work of the Manhattan Project. He is an expert on North Korea’s nuclear programme and has worked for nuclear stability with Russian scientists since the end of the Cold War.

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Threat of Russian nuclear attack shows why China’s non-first-use policy should be global standard
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In an interview with the Bulletin, Hecker said that the major question right now is “whether Russia, meaning Putin, is going to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine”. Admitting that he didn’t really know, he added that “the chances are certainly non-zero”.

Hecker continued: “But what I do know is that he’s blown up the global nuclear order that has been developed over the last 70 years, for the most part by the United States and Russia.

“That order has helped to allow the world to take advantage of the benefits of nuclear energy – such as nuclear electricity and nuclear medicine – while avoiding the worst potential consequences, everything from nuclear weapons use, to lots of countries seeking nuclear weapons (we have fewer than 10 today), to nuclear terrorism, and nuclear accidents. The global order has allowed us to have the benefits outweigh the risks of nuclear energy.”

Hecker pointed out that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was the central element around which the current global nuclear non-proliferation regime was built, and that “it is embedded in a fabric of other agreements, practices, and norms that require international cooperation – and leadership from the big nuclear powers”. He highlighted the key role that Russia has played in the non-proliferation regime and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

“It’s going to be difficult to see how we’re going to live with an international system, where we have a formerly responsible nuclear state that’s now become a pariah state – a country we can no longer count on to be responsible in nuclear matters – but is still so actively involved in the nuclear arena…”, Hecker said.

By contrast, consider China’s present doctrine: to never use nuclear weapons unless someone fires first on China. The Xi Jinping government hasn’t changed this, yet. This policy should remain the standard.

The US policy, which is to maintain and build its arsenal for deterrence, does not occupy the same moral high ground.

While nuclear weapons use is often labelled unthinkable, since Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, that very option has been receiving a frightful amount of thought. This change in the air is not good.

Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who was director of the Los Alamos laboratory when the first atomic bomb was tested, caricatured “mutually assured destruction” as “two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at great risk to his own life”.

But what if three scorpions are in the bottle, and one is a deathstalker-type, itching to strike. What should the other two do? According to Hecker, we are at a turning point in world nuclear affairs as momentous as the dissolution of the Soviet Union. One might add that not just citizens of China but all citizens of the world have an existential interest in Xi’s scorpion strategy.

PCI Board Members, Founders and Fellows often contribute to the media. The opinions expressed are solely those of the individuals involved and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Pacific Century Institute.

PCI Sponsored Programs

Global TechnoPolitics Forum

Cyber Governance Dialogue in South Korea

The Global TechnoPolitics Forum, in collaboration with the Korea Internet Governance Alliance (KIGA) hosted, “Cyber Governance Dialogue in South Korea”, a three-part seminar on March 25, 2022. It brought together leaders and experts in the field from the U.S., Europe, and South Korea to broaden the scope of dialogue and to create trust and peer-to-peer intimacy among participants as they developed a shared diagnosis of problems and a common analytical framework.

With opening Remarks by Dongman Lee, Gregory Treverton and Parine Esfandiari, the seminar offered seven presentations and three panel discussions.

Part I offered a historical background on the evolution of global Internet governance and its institutions involved and discussed the geopolitical implications as well as discussing the complexity of the system. Part II explained the development of the Internet and its governance in South Korea. And finally, part III discussed the instruments of governance and geopolitics. These included privacy, content, trade, and security.

www.pacificcenturyinst.org
Cyber Governance Dialogue in South Korea

Speakers included Gregory Treverton, Pari Esfandiari, Wolfgang Kleinwächter, Olivier Crepin-Leblond, Dongman Lee, Boknam Yun, Eungjun Jeon, KS Park, and Jiyoun Choe.

To see the webinar, please visit: https://youtu.be/Sq4w0FtRoxw

The Korea Peace Academy

In partnership with the Pacific Century Institute, the Korean Peninsula Peace Forum hosts the Korea Peace Academy annually to foster peacemakers. The program is designed to create alternatives for peace on the Korean Peninsula and the development of inter-Korean relations with the power of citizens through lectures and discussions by experts in inter-Korean relations and people from all walks of life who are concerned about peace.

During an eight (8) week program, the students will cover the following topics: Changes of North Korea 2022 and inter-Korean relations; History of the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula; Kim Il Sung and History of North Korea; Rise and Fall of inter-Korean agreements; How South Korean is covering North Korea in the era of New Media; Inter-Korean cultural exchanges; Inter-Korean integration into the mind; and Analyzing the concept of ‘Peace’ in two Koreas.

PCI Junior Fellow

Gene Kim

Gene Kim is a Ph.D. student in History and East Asian Languages at Harvard University. Gene’s research focuses on the political, diplomatic, and oceanic history of the two Koreas and Japan in post-1945 northeast Asia and the wider Pacific.

PCI Junior Fellow

Ella Kelleher

Ella Kelleher is a summa cum laude graduate of Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles (May 21), where she majored in English with a concentration in multi-ethnic literature, focusing primarily on East Asian literature. Ella is the book review editor-in-chief of Asia Media International and one of its contributing staff writers. Her portfolio consists of over twenty book reviews on famous and rising literary stars in Asia and several influential articles on sociopolitical issues in Central Asia. She has also edited over a dozen additional book reviews posted in the magazine. Ella has lived in Tokyo, Japan, where she studied abroad at Sophia University. Currently, Ella lives in Incheon, South Korea, where she works as an English foreign language instructor at a private language academy. As a speaker of English, Russian, and Japanese, Ella is devoted to language, and she hopes to master more in the future. Through her experiences living in Asia, Ella aspires to gain a greater understanding of journalism, Asian cultures, and literature.

The Quincy Institute

The Quincy Institute, with support from Pacific Century Institute, will hold a symposium that will feature short thought pieces that sketch how Anti-Asian Violence and anti-China Foreign Policy are connected.

This symposium will explore the role of elite messaging in fueling anti-Asian hate in the United States, the role of tech-
nology in fueling hate speech more broadly, and lessons from the Muslim American experience post-9/11 on how foreign policy can boomerang home in the form of minority hate. It will also discuss how these issues intersect and the need to broaden the debate around anti-Asian violence beyond the narrow framing of civil liberties and “random” interpersonal acts of aggression – to include U.S. foreign policy and elite discourse and framing, and how that moves through society.

For more information, please visit www.quincyinst.org

**William J. Perry Lecture Series**

The Pacific Century Institute has collaborated with Yonsei University’s Institute for North Korean Studies from 2016 to 2019, to host its annual William J. Perry Lecture Series at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea. The special lecture series then resumed in 2021 at Ewha Womans University where future lectures will take place.

The lecture brings outstanding individuals who are professionals in academia, business or other endeavors who have answered their country’s call to government service and then returned to their chosen professions. They share their experiences in government and provide insights on what can be done to promote peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula. Past lecturers include: Sec. William J. Perry (2016), Ambassador Robert L. Gallucci (2017), Dr. Siegfried Hecker (2018), Robert Carlin (2019), and Secretary Janet Napolitano (2021).

This year’s lecture will be given by PCI Chair, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens at Ewha Womans University on Thursday, September 15.

For more information about the WJP Lecture Series, please contact pci@pacificcenturyinst.org

*SOUTH KOREA: How a twenty-two-year-old American Woman lives in Incheon, South Korea*

By Ella Kelleher

Not everyone can admit they followed their childhood dream. In my case, it was traveling abroad to South Korea to be a language instructor.

During the age of COVID-19 and major job uncertainty, I felt suffocated in my hometown of Los Angeles after being quarantined for over a year. In a fit of frustration with my situation and being a travel-hungry twenty-two-year-old, I decided to make my dream a reality. After graduating from Loyola Marymount University and receiving my TEFL certificate (Teaching English as a Foreign Language), I began working with South Korean job recruiters. I found out that teaching abroad in South Korea is certainly not for everyone, but if you can make it work for you, it is entirely worth the effort.

These days, I call Incheon (the smaller city west of the capital, Seoul) my home. It is a lesser-known Korean city famous for its large international airport, massive underground shopping market, having the largest Chinatown, and fresh seafood. With the sea being so near to where I live, I feel comforted by the familiarity of the ocean’s proximity and the warmth of the local people, who remind me of smiling Angelinos from back home.

So, what is it like living in a quieter Korean city farther away from the bustling metropolis of Seoul? Overall, it offers a more authentic Korean experience. Fewer people speak English, which calls for a greater demand for native English-speaking teachers. This does not necessarily have to be a downside; one can find themselves able to immerse themselves in the local environment and pick up a new language relatively quickly. In smaller cities, not as many locals are obsessed with the latest fashion trends or designer clothing – so the pressure to look a certain way is somewhat eased.

Particularly for women, the societal pressure to be well-dressed and have a perfect appearance can be a terrible weight to shoulder. I noticed that where I live, the expectations of beauty are far less daunting. If I want to, I can wear jeans and a T-shirt to work and not be stared at with judgment. The pace of life is also much slower compared to the non-stop hustle one can experience in a highly competitive social and academic area like Seoul. There’s less competition and, consequently, less pressure to perform flawlessly in your job. Of course, the eccentric café culture and marvelous (and affordable) shopping in Incheon also serves as a significant...
In the very beginning, I found myself traveling to Seoul (about 40 minutes away by train) every weekend I could. It’s tempting to seek comfort in the foreigner-friendly bars and restaurants in fashionable districts like Hongdae or Gangnam. One begins to long for the company of other native English speakers and the taste of westernized food. However, I’ve found that it is essential to allow oneself to be uncomfortable and experience new and exciting things.

There is far more than just Seoul to explore in South Korea. Recently, I have been spending my weekends going westward, exploring more of what my own city offers. There is the gorgeous park and river in up-and-coming Songdo, the food and shopping haven one can find in Bupyeong, and even beautiful hikes in the hills surrounding the city. In seeing more of Incheon, I made friends and connections I never would have before.

From chatting with the local ajumma (grandmother) who runs the fruit stand and sells me the rippest apples to socializing with young, curious students I met in the subway who overheard me speaking English and wanted to practice their language skills – one can find that spending more time in an unknown and somewhat intimidating environment offers cultural riches that are hard to come by in places where foreigners are far more of a common sight.

In preparation of their upcoming Study Tour to South Korea (July 2-14, 2022), the Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors (YA) have been staying busy attending various joint zoom sessions with NY and MT counterparts along with regularly scheduled workshops, field trips, one-day retreat and more. The Youth Ambassadors were also invited as guests and participants of the Pacific Century Institute’s Annual Awards Dinner at the Beverly Hills Hotel located in Beverly Hills, CA and had a special meeting with this year’s awardees and PCI board members.

In recent months, the YAs had the chance to learn in-depth about the Korean War through joint Zoom session with special guest speaker, Jonathan Corrado from the Korea Society, a field trip to the SS Lane Victory with a guided tour of the ship, followed by a recent on-line simulation at the White House Decision Center, facilitated by the staff at the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum located in Independence, Missouri. They also had the opportunity to attend a special zoom session with Dr. Edward Park of Loyola Marymount University to learn more about the effects of SAIGU through his lecture, “From an Ethnic Island to a Transnational Bubble: Korean American Politics in Los Angeles from 1992 to 2020”.

The YAs continue to look forward to applying their new knowledge in Korea on their upcoming Study Tour to South Korea.

Follow us on Instagram @Project_Bridge_ to see what the Youth Ambassadors are up to!
## Upcoming Events

### Korea-US Friendship Dinner

The Korean Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Los Angeles with the Pacific Century Institute and the Friends of Korea will be honoring the 2022 Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors and Friends of Korea members on Thursday, June 16, 2022.

Please contact Angie Pak at angie.pak@pacificcenturyinst.org for more information.

### Jeju Forum

The Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity will take place September 14-16, 2022 on Jeju Island in South Korea. PCI was one of the founders of the Forum, which has grown to be one of the major annual international events in Asia. This year the theme is: "Beyond Conflict, Towards Peace: Coexistence and Cooperation." PCI will organize two sessions at the Forum, one on changes and opportunities in the US-ROK relationship, and one on the challenges to international journalists in covering South Korea.

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