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# The PCI News



## PCI Delegation Visits North Korea



*(PCI Chairman Gregg and Pete McCloskey arrive in Pyongyang, February 10, 2014)*

A delegation from PCI visited Pyongyang, DPRK February 10-14 this year. Chairman Donald Gregg was accompanied by PCI co-founder Spencer Kim, PCI board member Lynn Turk, and PCI 2014 Building Bridges Award winner Pete McCloskey.

The main purpose of the visit was to meet with the newly-formed State Economic Development Commission, which is a supra-cabinet coordinating body to implement the DPRK's economic development plans, beginning with the creation of thirteen special economic zones. PCI offered its good offices in arranging for training in international business and in exploring economic development possibilities should future political conditions lead to the end of international economic sanctions on the DPRK.

The delegation also had in-depth talks with the Foreign Ministry on the state of US-DPRK relations and on possibilities for Track II programs. The DPRK has recently formed a "USA Institute" which may be a useful partner with PCI on Track II.

Mr. McCloskey, a decorated Korean War hero who was wounded twice in the conflict, had a moving meeting with retired North Korean General Ji Yong-choon, who fought in the war as a teenager and is a deco-

rated hero, wounded three times. The two veterans found they had fought in the same battles on at least two occasions. They saluted each other's courage but agreed that war is a horror and should not be repeated and expressed hope that their grandchildren should not experience it. This groundbreaking meeting was the first such event of its kind.

PCI has begun its work on supporting economic development training for North Koreans, working so far with partners on programs being held in Hong Kong, Dalian (China) and in North Korea.

*This was contributed by PCI Board Member Lynn Turk.*



*(Two veterans agree on the horror of war, Pyongyang, February 13, 2014)*

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Korean War veteran and former U.S. Congressman Paul Norton "Pete" McCloskey, Jr., received PCI's 2014 Building Bridges Award on February 27, 2014, at the Hyatt Regency Century Plaza in Los Angeles. For Congressman McCloskey's biography, and recent interview, please visit [www.PacificCenturyInst.org/news.html](http://www.PacificCenturyInst.org/news.html).



## Chairman's Activities

### Dealing with Tragedy

As a youngster in the 1930s, I remember being taken by my parents to hear a Methodist minister named E. Stanley Jones give a talk on life and how to live it. His theme has stuck in my mind, all these years. It was "It's not what happens to you, it's how you take it that matters." When I heard Jones speak, I was dealing with tuberculosis, and did not feel very good about myself. Jones's thought helped me a lot.

That same theme comes strongly to my mind today as I watch how differing countries are dealing with sudden tragedies that have taken the lives of hundreds of innocent people: Malaysia's loss, "into thin air" of a fully loaded modern jet aircraft; South Korea's loss of an overloaded, mishandled ferry boat; Nigeria's loss of hundreds of young women, stolen out of their school by Muslim fanatics; and Turkey's loss of hundreds of coal miners trapped below the surface of the earth. No government measures, or heroic individual actions taken in the wake of tragedy, can fully compensate or console the families who have lost loved ones. But life goes on, and how it goes on is shaped by actions taken by those in authority. As I apply the E. Stanley Jones yardstick to the four tragedies mentioned above, Korea comes out relatively well.

Malaysia still seems baffled by its loss, reluctant to admit incompetence, and fearing the possible revelation of culpability on the part of the jet's crew. The Nigerian government's reaction to the stealing of its girls is revolting. The Nigerian military is fearful and incompetent. The corruption that suffuses Nigeria has produced human trafficking on a staggering scale. This week's TIME magazine says that the UN Office on Drugs and Crime calls Nigeria "one of the top countries of origin for human trafficking," and

that "Some estimates suggest that that 60% of the prostitutes in Italian brothels come from Nigeria."

Turkey's troubles today remind me in a way of South Korea in 1987, when massive political protests forced the despotic Chun Doo-Hwan to allow a direct presidential election to take place. The late and great Kim Kyong-won, often referred to as "Korea's Kissinger," put it this way in a 1994 speech in York, Ontario; "*Democracy comes only if the bricks are laid one at a time, and are accompanied by economic modernization. Eventually it becomes inevitable, the only possible choice. In South Korea, authoritarian government became untenable because the Korean bourgeoisie would no longer tolerate being treated like children.*" How Turkey's authoritarian government reacts to today's massive protests is not at all clear.

In Korea, steps are being taken to hold those directly responsible for the sinking of the ship, its captain and crew, fully accountable. Next will come those responsible for the overloading of the ship, causing it to founder. Finally, and most importantly, steps need to be taken to restore those safety regulations, removed by the Lee Myung-bok administration in response to pressure from the "chaebol," that contributed directly to the ferry's loss.

Kim Kyong-won's terminology is helpful here: Lee Myung-bok removed some of the regulatory foundation for economic modernization in Korea, ("bricks laid one at a time") and took Korea back toward its authoritarian past. Park Geun-hye needs to put those regulations back in place. If and when she does, Korea will move on, still wounded, but healing.

*This op-ed by Chairman Gregg appeared in the Korea JoongAng Daily on May 21, 2014.*

### Chairman's Circle in New York

PCI and Sandor Hau of Nomura Holdings hosted a event Chairman's Circle in New York on June 12, 2014. The audience was about 40 people and 90% Korean Americans who work in finance in New York. Questions for Amb. Gregg ranged from what would he advise the President to do with North Korea to how long does he think Kim Jon Un can remain in power. Here are remarks by Ambassador Gregg who spoke to the group:

*Let me add my voice in appreciation of the meeting last night. I had been very much looking forward to it, as I sensed that it would be my introduction to an emerging group of young Korean-Americans who can bring a new dimension to what PCI is trying to do. In 1993, when I took on The Korea Society, there were a number of Korean-Americans on the board. But they were almost completely defined by what they had been in Korea, as part of its recovery from the Korean War. They were steeped in hostility toward North Korea, based on their memories of the war, and of things that North Korea had more recently undertaken, such as the Rangoon bombing, tunnels under the DMZ, Madame Park's assassination and the blowing up of the Korean airliner.*

*Since 1989, when I became ambassador, my objective has been "to change the Korean--American relationship from a military alliance into an economic and political partnership."*

*The Korean-Americans on The Korea Society's board*

*were willing to give lip service to that, but were not willing to really "dance to that music." Many of them were uncomfortable with my close relationship with Kim Dae Jung, and what that led me to do in terms of visits to North Korea.*

*Last night's group was different; confident, curious, open-minded and interested in hearing a "different" approach to North Korea. They were all young people I would look forward to meeting and working with. And they seemed to respond to my suggesting that "In five years North Korea will be a place many people will want to become involved with in terms of its economic development; PCI offers a way to become involved now.*



*(Sandor Hau and Amb. Donald Gregg during Chairman's Circle, New York, June 12, 2014)*



## Board Members' Corner

### PCI Welcomes a New Board Member in 2014

#### Greetings from New Board Member Fumio Matsuo



It is a great honor for me to be admitted to the board of PCI, thanks to the recommendation of my long-time mentor, Chairman and former Ambassador Donald Gregg, with whom I have been acquainted since my assignment in Washington DC as bureau chief of Kyodo News in the early 1980s, during the first term of President Ronald Reagan.

As you may have seen from my materials translated into English and contributions to the U.S. media I, as a member of the generation that suffered and narrowly survived incendiary bombings by B29s, still believe that Japan has not yet been able

to achieve closure of its unfortunate past with our east Asian neighbors, or even with the United States.

My basic position is as follows: The nation and people of Japan cannot allow themselves to disregard how deeply the historical unease toward Japan has penetrated Chinese and Korean minds. For this situation to be rectified, Japanese should imagine how they would feel if they were Chinese or Korean.

I sincerely hope for the day when Mr. Shinzo Abe, Japan's current prime minister, recognizes the crucial importance of the need for historical reconciliation.

After completion of my current work in progress --- a book on the theme of "US-China relationship, which started 69 years earlier than that of the US-Japan" --- I would like to visit the PCI headquarters in LA and make the acquaintance of other board members in person.

At the PCI Board meeting on February 28, 2014, I nominated Fumio Matsuo to become our new Japan Representative. After discussion, the Board voted unanimously to make Mr. Matsuo a new member of the Board. Here are a few things you ought to know about him.

Born in 1933, Matsuo covered the United States for forty years as a journalist with Kyodo News. He was Kyodo's Washington Bureau Chief in late 1983 when I first met him. He invited me to a luncheon at his home, where Kim Dae Jung, then studying at Harvard, was the guest of honor. It was on that occasion that I first met Kim. Matsuo took the picture of Kim telling me about the horrors of his 1973 kidnapping that will be on the cover of a new book shortly to be published in Korea by the Kim Dae Jung Presidential Library.

Matsuo saw his first foreigner on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1942, when he was playing in his Tokyo schoolyard as a boy of nine. He heard explosions and the roar of airplane engines, and looking up he saw a low flying brown bomber with a star on its tail, and a pilot with a huge nose looking down out of the cockpit window. This was one of James Doolittle's B-25 bombers, and the officer Matsuo saw was Lt. Richard Cole, affectionately known as "Cyran" by his comrades. Matsuo and Cole met 62 years later at a reunion of the Doolittle Raiders held in Mystic, Connecticut. It was a deeply moving experience for both men.

A descendant of samurai, Matsuo's father and grandfather were both high ranking officers in the Japanese Imperial Army. He grew up in a shattered Japan, wondering how and why the U.S and Japan had come to make war. His book on

America, *Democracy with a Gun*, published in Japan in 2004, and in the U.S. in 2007, is as vivid a description of the military aspects of American "exceptionalism," as anything I have ever read. Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney and the other neoconservatives who led us into our war of choice with Iraq, are clearly limned.

Matsuo's depiction of Curtis LeMay, and quotes from him, are truly horrifying. I had a direct encounter with LeMay, which I describe in my forthcoming book. I end with the comment "We are lucky to have survived him." Matsuo and I are in full agreement on this and many issues. With Tokyo under heavy fire bombing attacks, Matsuo and his family moved to his ancestral home of Fukui City, 300 miles west of Tokyo. On the night of July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1945, over 100 B-29 bombers attacked the city, dropping thousands of incendiary cluster bombs loaded with napalm. Over 90 percent of the city was destroyed by fire. Matsuo, then 12 years old, ran into a field away from his house, which was burned. A cluster bomb fell into a pond near where he lay, having failed to explode 300 feet in the air. Had it functioned properly, Matsuo would have been incinerated.

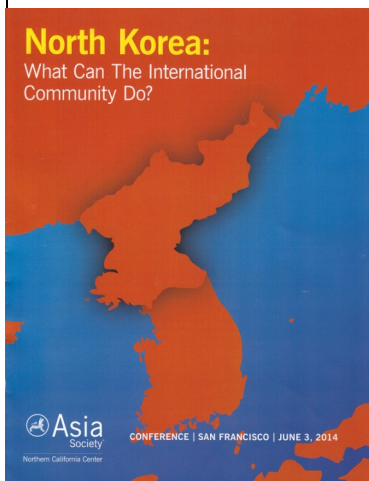
Matsuo is deeply concerned by China's rise, and is finishing a book on that subject. He brings with him a balanced perspective on Japan, embodying deep concerns about Prime Minister Abe's strident nationalism. I believe he will be a significant addition to PCI's Board.

*This was contributed by PCI Chairman Donald Gregg.*



## Board Members' Activities

### PCI at Asia Society Event, San Francisco



The Asia Society sponsored a major event on North Korea June 3 in San Francisco. It focused on the domestic situation there as well as steps the international community might take regarding the DPRK.

PCI Fellow Kathy Zellweger, who has worked on international aid programs to the DPRK for nearly twenty years, recounted the changes she has seen as a result of the "6 Ms.": Markets, Money, Mobile phones, Motorcars, Middle class, and Mindset changes. North Korean defector Lee Seong Min described the changes that are going on in everyday life. Michael Kirby, Chairman of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the DPRK recounted the impact of the Commission's report.

PCI board member Lynn Turk briefed the participants on the PCI delegation's trip to Pyongyang in February and what it had learned of the DPRK's economic development plans.

All participants, including Robert King, US Special Envoy for North Korean Human Rights Issues, and Chun Yung-woo, former National Security Advisor to ROK President Lee Myung-bak, generally agreed there was no silver bullet for dealing with the DPRK and there should be engagement across a broad range of issues.

*This was contributed by PCI Board Member Lynn Turk.*

### CFR Roundtable Discussion

#### North Korea: Universal Human Rights and Political Realities

On April 16, 2014, PCI Chairman Donald Gregg and PCI Board Member Jerome Cohen attended the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) roundtable discussion, "North Korea: Universal Human Rights and Political Realities," with the Honorable Michael Kirby, AC CMG, former chair of the United Nations Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. About 45 people attended this discussion. Chairman Gregg was a commentator and he described the PCI delegation's February trip to Pyongyang, highlighting Congressman McCloskey's making peace with General Ji, and the encounter with the State Economic Development Commission.

### 2014 International Media Conference Yangon, Myanmar

PCI cosponsored the 2014 East West Center International Media Conference in Yangon. PCI advisor Spencer Kim attended the conference March 10-12. The Conference offered a rich, diverse, and interesting choice of more than 50 programs. More than 350 journalists from Asia, the Pacific and the United States gathered in Yangon for this conference.

Distinguished keynote speakers and panels of working journalists discussed challenges facing press freedom in their countries and shared strategies they use for newsgathering. Featured speakers included: Umar Cheema, Jake Lynch, Alan Pearce, Scott Pham, and U Win Tin.

They covered numerous issues including "Courage in Journalism: Stories of Bravery and Determination", "Peacebuilding and Media: Reporting Conflict", "Civic Media's Challenges and Opportunities", "Mapping Possible Futures for a New Myanmar Media", "Myanmar Media Reforms in a Regional Perspective", and "Great-Power Relations: US, Chinese and Southeast Asian Perspectives".



*(Aung San Suu Kyi, Spencer Kim, U Win Tin, Myanmar, March 10, 2014)*

### Amb. Kathleen Stephens leaves for India



"I have been recalled to U.S. diplomatic service with a posting to India as Chargé. During this period I am taking a leave of absence from the PCI Board but will continue to follow PCI activities with great interest, and to look forward to seeing many of you in New Delhi!"



## PCI sponsors the Sarus Exchange Program

PCI has been a key supporter of Sarus, a Cambodia-based non-profit established in 2010. The mission of Sarus is to inspire and empower the next generation of leaders to build a peaceful and prosperous Asia. Sarus programs seek to achieve this mission by creating a diverse, international network of adaptive leaders who act as catalysts of change by fostering the development of open, inclusive, and resilient communities in Asia. Sarus currently has four programs that bring together young leaders from Bangladesh, Cambodia, Japan, Myanmar, the United States, and Vietnam for transformational, collaborative service-learning experiences.

The centerpiece of the Sarus' Exchange Program is a one-month exchange in which Sarus Leaders from the two countries converge to collaborate on self-designed service projects for disadvantaged communities in the two countries. The program has a

proven track record of success to date as demonstrated by the following impact points:

- ◇ 45 Sarus Leaders have left their country for the first time
- ◇ 10,800 international service hours completed by Sarus Leaders
- ◇ 2,135 community members reached through community education projects completed by Sarus Leaders upon completion of the program
- ◇ 61 independent research projects completed by Sarus Leaders
- ◇ 10 alumni have gone on to join the Sarus staff

Upon this foundation, Sarus has begun to scale its impact regionally over the last two years. In 2013, Sarus partnered with Stanford University-based Volunteers in Asia (VIA) to establish the first-ever three-way sports exchange program linking university students from Cambodia, Vietnam, and the



United States. The students, or coaches as they are referred to in the program, administer soccer camps in rural Vietnam and Cambodia for children at risk of human trafficking. Sarus also piloted an internship program last year for young women leaders from Bangladesh and Myanmar that will eventually develop into a full exchange program between the two countries that will seek to address the religious and ethnic conflict currently taking place in Myanmar. Finally, in 2013, Sarus designed and implemented a new study tour in Cambodia for young women leaders from six countries in partnership with Hiroshima Jogakuin University as part of their annual Peace, Global Studies, and Leadership Summer Seminar.

implemented a new study tour in Cambodia for young women leaders from six countries in partnership with Hiroshima Jogakuin University as part of their annual Peace, Global Studies, and Leadership Summer Seminar.

The Pacific Century Institute will provide partial seed funding for a new program suite under development by Sarus to link young leaders from Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. In addition to building greater understanding and collaboration between young leaders from these two critical regions, revenue gener-

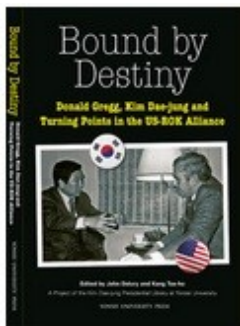
ated from program fees for higher-income Northeast Asian students will subsidize scholarships for lower-income Southeast Asian students and play a key role in Sarus' transition to a financially sustainable social enterprise funding model.

Desaix Anderson is the PCI sponsoring member of Sarus. The Pacific Century Institute has played an important role in the early development of this impressive young organization, one whose mission, vision, and values line up so closely with those of the Pacific Century Institute. For more information about Sarus' work, please visit their website at [www.sarusprogram.org](http://www.sarusprogram.org).

*This was contributed by Wesley Hedden, Founder and Director of Sarus.*

## Book News

### Bound by Destiny: Donald Gregg, Kim Dae-jung and Turning Points in the US-ROK Alliance



PCI supported Yonsei University Press with the publication of *Bound by Destiny: Donald Gregg, Kim Dae-jung and Turning Points in the US-ROK Alliance*. The Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library, Museum of Yonsei University, and PCI jointly held a full-day conference in March 2013 focusing on US-Korea relations and Northeast Asian diplomacy in the aftermath of the Cold War; its high-

light was a keynote address by PCI Chairman Donald Gregg,

supported by discussions with leading figures in South Korean politics, foreign relations, academia and journalism. This book serves as a record of the proceedings and includes related essays by the editors, Yonsei University professor John Delury and veteran journalist Kang Tae-ho. It also includes an excerpt from Chairman Gregg's forthcoming autobiography and contemporary source documents that shed light on US attempts to save Kim from execution.

*To order this book, please e-mail [KDJLibrary@yonsei.ac.kr](mailto:KDJLibrary@yonsei.ac.kr) or [Judy.Choi@PacificCenturyInst.Org](mailto:Judy.Choi@PacificCenturyInst.Org).*



### Project Bridge 2014 Study Tour

Project Bridge 2013-2014 culminated in a ten-day study tour of Korea, where Youth Ambassadors explored Korea's cultural, political and economic centers, accompanied by four group leaders and two program coordinators. Project Bridge Los Angeles had 9 workshops before the Study Tour took place from April 10 to April 20, 2014.



*(Youth Ambassadors with Banpo High School Students, Seoul, April 10, 2014)*

The purpose of the tour was to enable the students to see Korea and meet Koreans in their own societal context. The trip also enabled the students to explore the spectrum of cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, as Korea remains one of the most ethnically homogenous of the world's nations.

Thus, the tour enhanced the intercultural objectives of the program as a whole. Furthermore, by bringing two groups of participants from disparate areas of the U.S. together during the tour, Project Bridge extended the exploration of the meaning of diversity—both within America and with a nation different from their own.

During the study tour to Korea, Project Bridge students visited many places in Korea of historical and social significance, stayed with a host family, and engaged in open dialogue with Koreans.



*(Youth Ambassadors during temple stay, Seonunsa Temple, Jeollabuk-do, April 14, 2014)*

Sites Project Bridge 2013-2014 visited are: Banpo High School, Chong Kun Dang Pharmaceutical Company, US Embassy, Ewha Woman's University, Gyeongsangbuk-Do Provincial Government, Hyundai Heavy Industries, Jeollabuk-Do Provincial Government, Korea Financial Investment Association, Seonunsa Temple, Korea International Trade Association, National Assembly, Poongsan Corporation, POSCO, Samsung Electronics, Yonsei University and Folk Village.



*(Youth Ambassadors and Leslie Bassett, Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy, Seoul, April 17, 2014)*

### Project Bridge 2014 Graduation

After the study tour, the Youth Ambassadors met several times more to reflect on the program's significance in their lives and their personal growth during the program. They prepared for their community presentations for the graduation. Youth Ambassadors' family members and friends, as well as PCI Board Members were invited to the graduation which took place on June 14, 2014 at the PCI Headquarters. Eight Los Angeles-based Youth Ambassadors shared their experiences, including stories from a ten-day study tour to Korea with their New York

partner-organization participants.

Youth Ambassadors presented their expert topics which included Buddhism and Three Ancient Kingdoms, Economic Take-off and *Chaebols* in Korean Economy, People's Lives in the Caste System of Joseon and Traditional Korean Music, The DMZ and the Korean War, Education in Korea, Kimchi and Korean Cuisine, Korean Government and National Assembly, and Royal life in Joseon Kingdom.





(Left to right: Brian Marroquin, Michillinda Yao, Toby Le, Sereno Reid, Makayla Matheu, Josiah Mejia, Esmeralda Garcia, and Bohesa Won, Project Bridge Graduation, Los Angeles, June 14, 2014)

### *Special Thanks to:*

**Caroline Kim**  
Intern and Korean Language  
Instructor

**Fernando Cardenas**  
LA Group Leader  
**Angie Pak**  
LA Group Leader

**Judy Choi**  
LA Program Coordinator

## Project Bridge 2013-2014 Group Leaders' Reflections

### **Angie Pak:**

As this year's Project Bridge group leader, I am truly thrilled and impressed by the amount of knowledge each of the Youth Ambassadors have gained through the program. While their initial knowledge of cultural awareness was limited, their curiosity and enthusiasm led them to be more aware of culture and diversity. Witnessing this transition was a blessed experience for me. Not only did I have the opportunity to guide and lead the Youth Ambassadors to understand historical and cultural aspects of Korean/Korean-American communities, I also had the opportunity to learn alongside our future leaders and gain new perspective.

I believe Project Bridge has inspired students by widening their perspective in cultural awareness and the importance of understanding between cultures in local, national, and global levels while developing relationships between people of diverse backgrounds.

One of the most memorable moments was seeing Youth Ambassadors integrating with each other as well as students from both New York and Korea, regardless of the color of their skin or background. Such integration reflected students at work in "bridging" the gap between cultures by sharing their knowledge they have learned through the program. I am proud to be part of an organization that will ultimately enhance students to promote individual and societal change in our communities.

### **Fernando Cardenas:**

Having gone to South Korea two times previously as a Group Leader, I have seen the palpable transformations that can occur to Youth Ambassadors: a shy student speaks up and lets his/her voice and ideas surprise and awe; a student that planned on majoring in psychology now considering International Studies or studying abroad; and, students that had never met before now forming cross-country bonds and friendships.

For me, this is the most rewarding part, watching 16 students from opposite sides of the United States not only work with each other, but they become friends, and also engage effectively with the tens of people that we meet during the Study Tour.

In my opinion, that is exactly what Project Bridge strives to do, to give these future leaders the tools and the experiences to work and succeed with others, regardless of ethnic or cultural backgrounds. What's more, they learn that having different backgrounds or points of view is, in fact, a critical advantage.

That was one of the most valuable lessons gleaned from our trip. We encouraged each student to do something that they would not ordinarily do, in a country that they were not familiar with, in front of people that they do not know. That level of courage (guts, really) comes from inside each Youth Ambassador and will only grow as they take the Project Bridge experience to college and beyond.

As a Group Leader, my goal was to make the Study Tour as productive and rewarding as possible for the Youth Ambassadors. From staying up late to help students iron their clothes, to encouraging students to perform a dance routine at the entrance to Chongyecheon River, the Group Leaders worked hard to create dynamics that was beneficial to each Youth Ambassador and the entire group.

I feel fortunate to be a part of this project for a long time. Before this trip, the last time I went was in 2005. Seoul continues to expand. The empty park that was in front our hotel in Busan in 2005, is now a shopping mall with a tall residential building behind it. Things may keep growing and changing, but what remains constant is the remarkable growth that is possible for every Youth Ambassador.



## 7th Korea-America Student Conference (KASC) BBQ with Congressman Mike Honda on June 29, 2014 at White Eagle Ranch

The 7th Korea-America Student Conference (KASC) students will be hosted by PCI at the White Eagle Ranch during their program in the Los Angeles area.

KASC, a student-led, academic and cultural exchange program was launched in 2008 to build closer ties between young leaders in both countries. Each year, an equal number of students from the U.S. and Korea are competitively selected to spend one summer month together, studying and analyzing Korea-U.S. relations while visiting four diverse regions in the host country. KASC alternates its host country every year, emphasizing the personal connections between two distinct cultures gathered together in one place.

Spencer Kim is a founding member of International Student Conferences, which operates both the Japan-America Student Conference (JASC) and KASC.

Honorable Mike Honda will also be attending this event. U.S. Congressman Honda represents the 17th Congressional District of California and has served in the U.S. House of representatives for over twelve years. In Congress, Rep. Honda is a member of the powerful House Appropriations Committee, Chair Emeritus of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus, Co-chair of the Democratic Caucus' New Media Working Group, and House Democratic Senior Whip.



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