

THE JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ

The Official Journal for the FAOs, International Relations Specialists,
and Partners associated with the FAOA Korea Chapter



FOREIGN AREA OFFICER ASSOCIATION

외국군교환장교협회

KOREA CHAPTER

한국지부



"Producing the premier leaders of the Republic of Korea-United States Alliance since 2020"

"2020년 이후한미동맹의 최고의 리더 양성"

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A Message from the Senior Army FAO

Dear fellow Foreign Area Officers of the FAOA Korea Chapter,

FAO Newsletters and Journals often highlight different aspects of FAO development and advise on how FAOs can support the Army's mission. For instance, in 2016, then Major General Charles Hooper wrote about understanding the culture and language of the Joint, Interagency, Intergovernmental and Multinational (JIIM); and in 2020, Colonel Paul Schmitt wrote a "Welcome to the FAO Profession" article. Many others have written about the leadership traits and language capabilities necessary for success. However, one topic that I think requires more discussion is the importance of networking and relationships, critical components of access and influence that provide value to the Combatant Commander.

I departed from Korea a couple months back and had the opportunity to once again go through personal files gathered from over 24 years as a FAO working across multiple areas of concentration and geographic regions. As I repacked the trunks, cramming memorabilia and documents into two 1979-issue footlockers, I came across several old and weathered business card holders, still stuffed with cards collected from my first assignment in the Philippines in 1997. I flipped through the leather folder remembering the places and people behind the yellowed plastic inserts; people I had not thought about for years, but some whose names I still occasionally saw in e-mails. One name in particular triggered a chain of thoughts on the importance of networking and just how small and interconnected our JIIM community and the greater global political-military community, of which FAOs are merely one piece, actually is today.

For FAOs, the first step to building a network within the JIIM community is to understand their role in the community. According to [Department of the Army Pamphlet 600-3](#), Army FAOs are soldiers grounded in the profession of arms; deliberately accessed, trained, educated, and developed to provide leadership and expertise in diverse organizations in JIIM environments; who advise senior leaders as regional experts; and who offer unique warfighting competencies—cross-cultural capabilities, interpersonal communications, and foreign-language skills—that are critical to mission readiness of the Army in today's dynamic strategic environment.

The FA 48 "Smart Book" states that only senior FAOs have both the duration and depth of regional experience and academic credentials to provide level four (Senior Professional) and level five (Expert) regional competencies to the U.S. Army and the Department of Defense. FAOs attain these advanced regional proficiency skill levels through a series of repetitive FAO assignments in diverse FAO functions and through structured self-development. Working within the three domains of leader development—institutional training, operational



assignments, and structured self-development—how do FAOs develop a "unique combination of strategic focus, regional expertise (including cultural awareness and foreign language proficiency), and professional military skills and experiences" in order to provide the Combatant Commander the "requisite war fighting capabilities to achieve success on the non-linear battlefields of the future"? How do FAOs "...provide liaison with foreign militaries operating in coalitions with U.S. forces, to conduct political-military activities, and to execute military-diplomatic missions"? These are questions FAOs should strive to answer in every capacity.

Today, as FAO proponents move to consolidate areas of concentration, more FAOs will have opportunities to work in multiple countries and develop a broader set of counterparts. I urge all FAOs to leverage these opportunities to establish enduring relationships and a strong professional network. I know such efforts are important from personal experience. The relationships I established with my British, Australian, Mongolian, Philippine, Vietnamese, and Cambodian counterparts in previous assignments benefited me greatly when I was the Defense Attaché in Beijing.

I twice served in embassies with interagency colleagues I met at a previous post: A Consular Officer in Haiti became my Management Officer in Mongolia, and

a Regional Security Officer served with me in both Cambodia and Beijing. The former U.S. Ambassador to Cambodia, whom I worked with on North Korea issues when I was the Deputy Director of Strategic Planning and Policy (J5) at U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, continues to serve honorably in the Department of State. More recently, a senior official with the U.S. National Nuclear Security Administration, whom I met in Burma years past, contacted me last month to discuss expanding a program with the Egyptians.

One learning point with all the aforementioned examples: Be professional, courteous, and kind to everyone you meet and work with because it truly is a small world. Second, establish a good relationship with the host nation military. I recommend that all FAOs, if given the opportunity, attend the host nation military's Professional Military Education to gain immediate access and influence, in addition to a more enduring relationship. While serving in the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command J5, I was privileged to work with liaisons and counterparts in various countries, including Australia, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, and Cambodia. My relationship with these folks granted me immediate access with key officials in their respective militaries or governments. Therefore, in addition to the "detailed knowledge of the regions of the world gained through in-depth study and personal experience," I possessed the ability to "liaison with foreign militaries operating in coalitions with U.S. forces, to conduct political-military activities, and to execute military-diplomatic missions." These skill sets are invaluable to the Combatant Commander in the accomplishment of the mission, and a FAO's value to the Army is so much greater when the FAO has a strong network of host nation officials, military attachés, and U.S. interagency partners.

This brings me back to the name on the aforementioned business card, which belonged to an Assistant Army Attaché assigned to his country's embassy in Manila in the late 1990s. His name evoked memories of mornings at the driving range and Attaché adventures throughout the island of Luzon. It also made me remember the professionalism of a young Major tasked with building a relationship not only with the Philippine Army but also with the military attachés from other countries, in particular the U.S. Why did this man's name stand out from all the



Left: "Ball on the Wall" China-Australia Chamber of Commerce dinner on the Great Wall

Below: Beijing Military Attaché Corps, Yunnan Province, China

the others? In 2014, that Major, now a senior Colonel, arrived in Beijing, with the same mission to build relationships with the host nation and, of course, the U.S. Our previous relationship, despite no contact for 15 years, provided a solid basis for dialogue. This senior Colonel understood the importance of developing a solid network and the importance of shared experiences. He showed up to our first meeting in Beijing with a framed picture taken of him and my family—a picture he had kept for more than 15 years. When I meet him again we will have a deeper relationship built on more shared experiences.

Relationships are everything, and maintaining a strong network is key to success as a FAO.

Best of luck in all your future endeavors.

Cheers,

Major General Mark Gillette



A Message from the President



Dear Members, Partners, and Leaders of the FAOA Korea Chapter,

Since our establishment in July 2020, we more than doubled our membership and hired a dedicated staff. Page 27 has the full list of our staff.

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In the last few months, we assembled a team of luminaries and subject matter experts to be Distinguished Members for our organization. Pages 25–26 have the complete list. We encourage members to submit requests for mentorship, education, research, and connection with our Distinguished Members!

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The Joint Communiqué is now a professional journal for all of you to get your voices heard. Consider publishing with us for the next quarter!

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The FAOA Korea Chapter will hold the next FAO Conference with guest speaker retired Lieutenant General H. R. McMaster on April 15, 2021 at 1200-1300 KST. See page 24 for details.

Happy (belated) New Year! Although we start 2021 with many of the uncertainties and challenges associated with the pandemic, I am confident that the membership of the FAOA Korea Chapter can rise to the occasion and make 2021 a year of great accomplishments.

I would like to take this opportunity to highlight our incredible growth as an organization. When my colleagues and I founded the FAOA Korea Chapter in July 2020, we had approximately 20 Regular Members. Today, only seven months later, we have over 50 Regular Members, 25 Partner Members, dedicated staff, and hundreds of followers on social media. The FAOA Korea Chapter is now a fully-established non-profit 501(c)19 organization, capable of raising funds and hosting everything from small and intimate Zoom sessions to “big-ticket” guest speaker events. More importantly, we have a clear mission and vision that provide purpose and direction for everything we do.

With each passing day, the reputation, network, and influence of the FAOA Korea Chapter grow stronger. One good indicator of the organization’s tremendous potential is its cast of Distinguished Members, who are some of the most accomplished strategic thinkers, policy analysts, intelligence specialists, and leaders known worldwide. It is truly humbling to know that each of these luminaries are committed to advising and assisting the officers of the FAOA Korea Chapter. I encourage all members to take advantage of these commitments by submitting requests to meet Distinguished Members on specific topics of interest related to research or development as a leader.

On another note, you will see that this issue of *The Joint Communiqué* has a different look and feel compared to the last issue. In fact, *The Joint Communiqué* is no longer a casual newsletter intended for limited email distribution; rather, it is a professional journal published and archived on the FAOA website on a quarterly basis. This is a significant change that requires the support of dedicated staff, which is one of the main reasons why the FAOA Korea Chapter hired an Editor in Chief, Mr. Hedd Thomas, and a crew of capable Assistant Editors.

Additionally, we now employ several Associate Researchers to research and write on topics relevant to the Indo-Pacific and the ROK-U.S. Alliance. They are led by the organization’s Senior Researcher, Mr. Amos Oh, who is well-known for his expertise in strategic policy and national security issues. With continued contributions from the membership, partners, and affiliates, I firmly believe that *The Joint Communiqué* will endure as a reputable journal that provides engaging and thought-provoking content.

The Board Members, staff, and I are always open to input and feedback from the membership of the FAOA Korea Chapter. How can we better serve you? What can we do to improve the organization? Please feel free to contact any one of us to voice your thoughts. Finally, on behalf of the leadership and staff, I sincerely wish everyone health, happiness, and success in this new year of promise. I hope to see all of you very soon.

Warm Regards,

Jacob Kim

A Message from the Editor

Dear Readers,

2020 was a year few will ever forget. As the COVID-19 Pandemic swept across the globe, it forced us all to adapt to new rules and unfamiliar ways of working and living. Borders shut, travel plans were disrupted, jobs came to an end, and far too many suffered sickness and bereavement.

Last year will also be remembered for the way in which political differences were amplified and acted upon on either side of the Pacific Ocean. Elections took place in both the Republic of Korea and the United States. Although Koreans and Americans exercised their democratic right and privilege to vote, the results of their decisions will have an impact far beyond their own shores. In their own different ways, politics and the pandemic have laid bare that, for better or worse, we are more interdependent and interconnected than we ever thought.

There is, however, one unquestionable highlight of 2020: the founding of the FAOA Korea Chapter. In its short seven months of existence, this organization has grown significantly stronger. Today, it counts dozens of individuals among its members along with seven Distinguished Members, each of whom bring their own unique insights and invaluable experiences to the table.

With this publication, the Korea Chapter is taking yet another step toward growing its reach and reputation. Previously a newsletter, *The Joint Communiqué* is now an authoritative yet approachable professional journal. Its purpose is to advance the conversation around the ROK-U.S. Alliance and its regional impact, while also providing a space for FAOs to connect with each other and the wider world.

In this issue, our contributing authors address several timely topics. Michael Brodka asks whether now is the right time to restart negotiations with North Korea, while YoonJeong Choi and Emily Stamp look at the future of ROK relations with the U.S. and Japan, respectively. Adrian Romero explores how the 210th Field Artillery Brigade and its counterfire weaponry help to



maintain peace on the Korean Peninsula, while Benjamin White and Daniel Bae each reflect on the legacies of their grandfathers. Finally, Jason Halub gives his thoughts on two monographss about the making of modern-day China, and Schuyler Webb shares his expert advice on how and why FAOs should embrace mentorships to hone their leadership skills.

The Joint Communiqué welcomes submissions from FAOs, serving and retired military personnel, diplomats, policy makers, foreign affairs analysts, and anyone else with a contribution to make toward the conversation on ROK-U.S. relations and security in the Indo-Pacific region. Please email EditorFAOAKC@gmail.com for further information. We also welcome comments, corrections, and Letters to the Editor.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue of *The Joint Communiqué* as much as my team and I enjoyed putting it together.

With best wishes,

Hedd Thomas

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Restarting Negotiations with the DPRK

Now is a timely opportunity for multilateral diplomacy.

By Michael Brodka

The recent Eighth Congress of the Workers' Party of North Korea (WPK) concluded on January 12th and heralded several new policy changes. Kim Jong Un, the enigmatic leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), introduced a new economic plan in response to a declining national economy. Recent hardships stressed the DPRK, forcing the regime to rethink its economic policies. International sanctions, COVID-19 mitigation measures, and devastating typhoons strained food supplies, shuttered tourism, and led to fluctuations in currency exchange rates. Notwithstanding these events, Kim Jong Un continues adhering to his *byungjin*[i] policy, prioritizing the simultaneous advancement of the nuclear program with the national economy. The DPRK has not changed its nuclear rhetoric amid an economic crisis, showing the Biden administration that the status quo continues regardless of hardships. The United States (U.S.) should look past the repetitive narrative and embrace the opportunity to open dialogue with Kim. President Biden can leverage the DPRK economic crisis to make "mini-deals" for incremental and calibrated diplomatic steps. These steps can help build mutual trust and may jump-start negotiations, demonstrating early successes toward an agreement. The U.S. cannot do this alone and should continue to enlist the help of regional allies while reconsidering limited Chinese cooperation.

The economic outlook for the DPRK was favorable when Kim Jong Un unveiled his first five-year economic plan in 2016. Initially, the plan was successful as 2016 ended on a historical high note: "The DPRK's economy grew at its fastest pace in 17 years" despite international sanctions. Further hope for economic growth came with the promise of diplomacy through an announcement from the White House in March 2018: President Trump would accept an invitation to meet with Kim Jong Un in Pyongyang, the first by a sitting U.S. president. The DPRK seemed poised to depart from its past economic hardships and emerge as an international

trade partner—until talks broke off between Kim and Trump in early 2019, ending hopes of inter-Korean commerce, denuclearization, and formal U.S.-DPRK relations. Instead of sanctions relief, the economy deteriorated further as trade bans impacted textile, seafood, and coal exports, some of Pyongyang's most lucrative goods.

Kim Jong Un admitted in August 2020 that his five-year plan was falling behind expectations and that some projects would be delayed. *Rodong Sinmun*, the state newspaper, noted that the DPRK's "economy was not improved in the face of the sustaining severe internal and external situations and unexpected manifold challenges." According to a Korea International Trade Association report, "trade between the DPRK and China in October fell to an all-time low, decreasing 99.4% compared to the same period last year." The drop in trade was compounded by an estimated \$175 million loss in tourism revenue in 2020, further souring the economic outlook. The final blow came from five typhoons that struck the DPRK in rapid succession during the storm season, flooding at least 39,296 hectares of crops and causing severe food shortages. The price of cabbage, a staple in the annual kimchi-making season, rose 25%, "making a large batch of kimchi cost more than a government provided monthly salary." Unfortunately, international aid has been scarce, as COVID-19 concerns forced the departure of foreign aid workers, further worsening the humanitarian situation.

The darkening economic outlook in the DPRK presents an ideal opportunity for Washington and Seoul to act, and both administrations should consider multilateral talks to restart negotiations. Some of the initiatives agreed upon in the Pyongyang Joint Declaration of September 2018 between Kim Jong Un and Republic of Korea (ROK) President Moon Jae-in are noteworthy to consider. To cease "military hostilities" between the two countries, to advance economic, humanitarian, and cultural "cooperation and exchanges," and to pursue the "complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" are issues the Biden and Moon administrations may consider revisiting.

Recent actions show Washington and Seoul may be preparing for future talks. President Biden's nomination to lead the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), William Burns, was one of the architects of the Iran nuclear agreement and has been vocal about restarting negotiations with the DPRK. Likewise, in his 2020 New Year's address, President Moon reaffirmed his commitment to diplomacy, saying "a show of force and threats are not helpful to anyone." Optimistically for both the U.S. and the ROK, DPRK delegates at the Eighth Party Congress recently discussed growing international relationships "on a full scale." That declaration is uncharacteristic for the traditionally isolated country, so the DPRK may be signaling their openness for future summits.

The timing is right to consider restarting negotiations with Kim Jong Un. However, the difficulty will be in leveraging for complete denuclearization. Kim Jong Un views nuclear weapons as a security guarantee to ensure state survival, which is at odds with U.S. policy that demands the DPRK relinquish its nuclear weapons, making a full denuclearization agreement improbable. To compound issues, Kim recently doubled down on his anti-U.S. sentiment at the recent WPK Congress, stating, "No matter who is in power, the true nature of [U.S.] policy against North Korea will never change." Given that an agreement on denuclearization is unlikely, the Moon and Biden administrations should consider negotiating for more realistic near-term goals. A moratorium on ballistic missile and nuclear testing through tangible incentives is a starting point. Halting the advancement of these technologies, even for a few years, would be a significant diplomatic achievement. It would require developing an open dialogue with Pyongyang to help steer it toward cooperation and mini-deal negotiations.

The most obvious area to consider leveraging is economical. Kim Jong Un's newly unveiled five-year economic plan calls for increased self-reliance by expanding the DPRK's industrial capabilities. Unfortunately, many of the initiatives in his plan do little to address the shortages in crucial goods such as crude oil, foodstuffs, and fertilizer, which are in low supply due to sanctions on imports. Further, Kim plans to invest in the tourism industry; however, it remains affected by travel bans to the country. Without reforms or clear points to address areas impacted by sanctions, the new plan is unlikely to slow the economic decay. That is bad news for DPRK citizens, but it provides ample opportunity to restart negotiations with Pyongyang. Previous inter-Korean commercial cooperation, such as the Kaesong Industrial Complex, may not be immediately feasible. However, providing a financial incentive, similar to the Iran nuclear deal framework, could help the DPRK meet some of its economic goals while simultaneously providing diplomatic leverage to the U.S. and the ROK. An example of this is investing in DPRK hydroelectric plants, a key feature in Kim Jong Un's plan, in return for a freeze of nuclear operations at the main nuclear complex at Yongbyon.

After China recently reaffirmed its relationship with the DPRK, the U.S. should examine the possibility of restarting attempts to cooperate with Beijing on their mutual interest in DPRK stability. Some of China's interests and objectives on the peninsula differ, so cooperation with the U.S. and the ROK may be limited and is by no means guaranteed. Still, the Moon and Biden administrations should consider including Chinese President Xi Jinping as a partner. Chinese enforcement of sanctions is necessary for the U.S. and the ROK to use economic leverage for diplomacy. Additionally, Zhu Feng,

위대한 수령 김일성동지와
위대한 평도자 김정일동지
혁명사상만세!

로동신문

우리 당과 국가,
무력의 최고령도자
김정은동지 만세!



The front page of *Rodong Sinmun* on Aug. 20, 2020, reported the DPRK economy had not improved since 2016

Director of the Institute of International Studies, argues that a status quo, unilateral approach toward the DPRK is unsustainable. The U.S. and the ROK should then embrace the rationale that China is an important teammate on the path to normalizing relations with the DPRK. Beijing showed interest in multilateral talks in 2014 and 2019 and recently promised to engage the ROK on the DPRK when the COVID-19 pandemic in the region stabilizes, so multilateral engagement is possible. Given the DPRK's economic strife and political atmosphere, now is a timely opportunity for the Moon and Biden administrations to act.

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the FAOA, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

[i] Byungjin is the DPRK parallel development policy of nuclear weapons and the economy enacted by Kim Jong Un during a plenary session of the Worker's Party Central Committee on March 31st, 2013. Byungjin highlights the Kim regime's priorities by providing a "strategic guideline for the construction of a strong and prosperous nation where the people can enjoy the wealth and splendor of socialism through strengthening defensive capacity and focusing on economic construction."

Some website references may not be accessible from the ROK.

Michael Brodka is an intelligence professional specializing in geopolitical affairs. He holds a Master of Professional Studies degree from George Washington University and is currently pursuing a Master of Professional Studies degree at Georgetown University. He is an Associate Researcher for the FAOA Korea Chapter.



ROK Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha speaks during a virtual conference with the Aspen Security Forum on December 11, 2020. Credit: ROK Foreign Affairs

The Future of the ROK-U.S. Alliance

Foreign Minister Kang urges greater cooperation and concrete steps to achieve peace and denuclearization.

By Yoon Jeong Choi

On December 11, 2020, the Republic of Korea (ROK) Foreign Minister (FM) Kang Kyung-wha was the guest speaker for a [webinar](#) hosted by the Washington-based Aspen Institute and provided her perspective on North Korea's nuclear program and developments regarding COVID-19.

"The South Korea-U.S. Alliance deters North Korean aggression and maintains the fragile peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia," FM Kang told the audience. "For nearly seven decades, the

Alliance has successfully undertaken this role managing intermittent periods of military tension and buttressing political dialogue with a solid defense posture beyond the peninsula."

The top ROK diplomat said U.S. military, economic, and technological support had been instrumental to the ROK's national development, allowing it to rise from the ashes and build a thriving economy and vibrant democracy.

FM Kang touched on the unresolved issue of the Special Measures Agreement, arguing that the ROK has continuously expanded its contribution to the Alliance by providing military assistance to the U.S. in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq; anti-piracy assistance in the Middle East and Africa; and peacekeeping operations around the world. Additionally, she cited the ROK's assistance in paying for costs associated with building the U.S. military base of Camp Humphreys in Pyeongtaek and emphasized that the ROK's defense expenditure relative to its GDP is higher than any other U.S. ally.

FM Kang promoted recent auto-motive component investments in the U.S. by Korean

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companies such as Samsung, LG, Lotte, SK, Hanwha, and Hyundai, highlighting that major Korean companies have expanded economic cooperation with the U.S. in areas such as innovation technology, communication, and energy. She stated that these investments have created 52,000 jobs and resulted in 1.1 billion dollars of investments in the U.S. through the Free Trade Agreement. FM Kang mentioned that the ROK and U.S. are enlarging partnerships for investments in energy infrastructure and human development in coordination with other Asian countries involved in the New Southern Policy and Indo-Pacific Strategy.

Regarding the Alliance's approach to North Korea, FM Kang urged close cooperation and coordination between China, Japan, Russia, the ROK, and the U.S. for the goal of complete denuclearization and permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula. She acknowledged that the efforts of the Trump and Moon administrations to achieve a breakthrough were not successful but asserted that North Korea had not closed the door on negotiations and was willing to continue the dialogue.

"They are willing, if we read their statements accurately, and I think we have; they are willing to continue the negotiations. Given that this is perhaps their only leverage, they will want the most out of this going forward, which is sanctions relief," FM Kang said.

Furthermore, FM Kang emphasized the need to understand the perspective of North Korea with regard to denuclearization.

"We do not expect North Korea to do everything all at once. But as long as we have the full picture of where they are in terms of nuclear development,

then we can work and synchronize what they want and what we seek in terms of the concrete steps toward denuclearization," she said, adding that, "What North Korea seeks is what only the United States can suggest.

"FM Kang noted that she was "very encouraged" by the signs coming from the Biden administration and expects to work closely with her U.S. counterpart toward the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the establishment of peace. However, she noted that

business-related travel.

The ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that the purpose of this meeting was to demonstrate the outlook for ROK-U.S. Alliance relations in 2021 and beyond, to include the joint approach to North Korea's nuclear program and COVID-19.

"In today's event," stated the ministry following the conclusion of the webinar, "ahead of the inauguration of the new U.S. administration, FM Kang has directly conveyed the

The ROK-U.S. Alliance has much hard work ahead. Most of all, keeping our sights on the ball towards the goal of complete denuclearization and permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula will require a great deal of focus, patience and nerve.

*—Foreign Minister Kang Kyung-wha,
Aspen Security Forum, December 10th, 2020*

clear expression of "political will" would be vital in moving these efforts forward—whether or not President Biden decides to personally engage with North Korea.

Regarding joint efforts to curb the ongoing pandemic, FM Kang stated her belief that the ROK-U.S. Alliance can lead the global public health effort by sharing medical information and equipment to defeat COVID-19. She discussed ways to improve the functions and processes of international missions overseas to better adapt to the changing economic and diplomatic environments. One of her ideas was to keep borders open for only ROK and U.S.

Korean government's commitment to continuing to expand and strengthen the Alliance by emphasizing the historic and strategic value of the Alliance by presenting future direction for development."

Editor's note: On January 20, 2021, ROK President Moon nominated Chung Eui-yong to replace Kang Kyung-wha as Foreign Minister.

YoonJeong Choi is a student pursuing an Associate in Business degree at Bellevue College in Washington State. She is an Assistant Secretary for the FAOA Korea Chapter.

ROK–Japan Relations in the Biden Era

Potential pathways to resolving tensions through trilateral diplomacy. *By Emily Stamp*

The Trump administration of the United States (U.S.) presided over a period that saw a deteriorating relationship between the Republic of Korea (ROK) and Japan, and utilized a transactional approach to alliances that offended both. The new Biden administration is expected to ensure that its “Linchpin” ROK and “Cornerstone” Japan, longstanding regional allies, remain committed to the trilateral alliance and its geo-political strategy. President Joe Biden will conduct foreign policy with an internationalist mindset, facilitating and reinvigorating—both publicly and privately—enhanced bilateral and trilateral alliances with Japan and the ROK. Trilateral cooperation is an important force multiplier, key to regional security and vital to solving mutual issues such as relations with China and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) and regional development. The U.S. has repeatedly acted as a facilitating bridge to secure the East Asian security system for over 55 years, during which time both countries put aside historical issues and worked together for mutual economic and security interests. Under President Biden it will continue in that role.

Current ROK–Japan Tensions

The 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations, facilitated by the U.S., began the incremental improvement of ROK–Japan relations. Yet, the ROK’s Judiciary ruled in 2018 to seize and liquidate assets of Japanese companies, responsible for forced

labor practices during Japan’s colonization of the Korean Peninsula, in order to personally compensate the workers. This ruling brought into question the validity of the Treaty. In January 2021 it also ruled in favor of compensation from Tokyo for former so-called comfort women, a judgement that the ROK government accepts. Tokyo maintains that this was resolved in a 2015 bilateral agreement, but the Moon administration dissolved the resulting Japan-funded foundation in 2016.

The appealing Japanese firms facing asset seizure state that the 1965 Treaty had already settled all claims to compensation. In response to the 2018 ruling, Japan created tighter export controls and moved the ROK, its 3rd largest trading partner, from its trading whitelist, citing a lack of trust. The ROK countered by removing Japan from its own whitelist and threatening to not renew the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), a military intelligence-sharing agreement signed between the two countries in 2016, important in regard to the DPRK missile and nuclear threat. It was only after the U.S. intervened and applied considerable pressure that the ROK and Japan renewed the GSOMIA in 2019.

However, the economic tensions and relational damage have not dissipated since 2018. This marked the first time since the 1965 Treaty that the countries’ parallel histories threatened their economic and security realms.

Moreover, due to the already fragile ROK–Japan relationship, any tension risks the potential undoing of decades of diplomatic work, and affects regional security, each country’s economy, and the ability of the trilateral alliance to provide coordination and cooperation. Importantly for both bilateral and trilateral alliances, being at odds is only better for their mutual competitors. Historic tensions are revived regularly in domestic politics, marring the ROK and Japan’s relationship, but a future-facing U.S. can provide nuance and facilitation.

Potential Pathways

The ROK and Japan should have strong bilateral relations due to their geo-political positions, shared values of democracy, openness, and transparency, economic outputs, and common threats. However, with politically weaponized parallel histories creating public and governmental distrust, their trilateral partner, the U.S., has been trusted as a neutral third party and engaged publicly and behind the scenes as a facilitator and mediator to navigate difficult discussions and situations.

Biden, in his pre-presidential career and while campaigning for the presidency, vouched for international cooperation and the importance of strengthening and honoring pre-existing alliances. As Vice President, he took a personal interest in Asia, and as President-Elect appointed Antony Blinken as Secretary of State. Blinken facilitated quarterly trilateral talks between the ROK, Japan, and the U.S., deepening relations as former President Barack Obama’s



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Deputy Secretary of State. If these talks are resumed, the routinization of high-level meetings will provide a space to rebuild trust and understanding, attain common goals, and air grievances. The aim of a mutually successful bilateral relationship based on trust may potentially be decades away, but until then, the U.S. can act as an ally and friend to both the ROK and Japan in order to strengthen regional alliances.

Japan and the ROK have proven their ability to collaborate and operate at a strategic level when needed. A key threat is the DPRK and its increasingly enhanced missiles of all ranges that could strike both countries. If a crisis occurred on the Korean Peninsula, then Japan (and the U.S. forces stationed there) would be a prime candidate to help the ROK. Therefore, security cooperation is vital. Yet, whilst the GSOMIA is a basic agreement on information-sharing, it is infrequently used. The role of the U.S. as a mediator is beneficial for communication and the alignment of priorities, but long-term risks include miscommunication, lack of coordination and inefficiency. It is important for ROK and Japanese defense officials to meet, share information, and plan to increase preparedness for a potential crisis.

Military readiness occurs over time, and the routinization of bilateral and trilateral joint exercises will inevitably create trust between officials and troops. Both Japan and the ROK have engaged in previous multinational and trilateral exercises, and creating regularity will foster positive relationships, make postponement more difficult than with ad-hoc exercises, and reduce mistrust in the ROK towards Japan's increased militarization at home. Thus, with normalization and consistency



the defense partnership will improve, which encourages important bilateral engagement away from historical issues. The U.S. could begin facilitating more exercises and meetings in order to increase regional security and revitalize bilateral military relations.

Japan, the ROK, and the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific are threatened regionally by a competitive China, both militarily in the case of Japan's Senkaku Islands, and economically. The U.S. under Biden will facilitate cooperation, actively promoted liberal democracy and utilizing the shared values of diplomacy, and freedom to safeguard security, improve regional prosperity and counterbalance China's initiatives. Japan is increasingly engaging in this, although the ROK faces higher pressured economic ties with China. Given the ROK and Japan's regional prominence they will be important U.S. allies for promoting shared values, requiring successful cooperation that would benefit both trilateral and regional relations.

Collaboration is also imperative in economics. The signing of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, a 15-nation agreement that includes Japan and the ROK, is important for their bilateral relationship. The Partnership eliminated 81% of tariffs, proving that both countries can be committed to multilateral trade integration and bilateral trade agreements. Given this, the restoration of whitelist statuses for both countries seems logical for the benefit of each of their highly advanced technological industries. Moreover, the asset seizure of Japanese companies is impeding high-level talks, causing Prime Minister Suga to cancel a ROK visit for a trilateral summit with China. It is important to conduct damage control to normalize business relations, traditionally stable despite historical grievances. The U.S. could best facilitate this contentious issue, potentially by suggesting a citizen, victim-led solution as opposed to a state-centric approach.

Finally, meetings between new officials could help improve relations. Seoul saw former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe unfavorably as a right-wing ultra-nationalist with revisionist views. Current Prime Minister



Top right:
U.S. President Joe Biden (left)
and Secretary of State Anthony
Blinken (second from left).
Credit: Jonathan Ernst, Reuters

Left:
ROK President Moon Jae-in
(left) and Japanese Prime
Minister Yoshihide Suga (right)
Credit: Yonhap

Suga, despite his ties to Abe and apparent distrust of ROK President Moon Jae-in for not upholding the 2015 'comfort women' agreement, is viewed as pragmatic. There have already been encouraging exchanges between the two heads of government, including a telephone summit, removing a level of distrust in high-level political endeavors. Due to the narrow window before the ROK's and Japan's upcoming elections (2022 and 2021 respectively) and the potential use of nationalism to appeal to base support, acting now is imperative. Biden's internationalist, alliance-based foreign policy is likely to enable normalization of relations. If regular trilateral meetings are restored, this would also allow high-level personal relationships to form, which are beneficial when navigating difficult histories.

Given Biden's willingness to strengthen alliances, his administration will play a role in facilitating relations and reconnecting the two East Asian countries through economics, security, and personal relationships. A complete breakthrough should not be expected as grievances will remain, but history must be separated from current and future priorities. To enhance trilateral considerations the hope would be for relations to normalize to the point that no intermediaries are necessary for a strong positive bilateral relationship, but it is up to either the ROK or Japan to take the initiative to be forward-facing and sincerely engage with the other.

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210th Field Artillery Brigade 2nd Infantry Division–ROK/U.S. Combined Division

An essential force to the ROK–U.S.
Alliance. *By Adrian Romero*

K *atchi Kapshida* is a Korean phrase that is well understood within the Republic of Korea (ROK) and United States Alliance and translates to “We Go Together”. Following the Korean War and the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement on July 27th.

1953 the U.S. has maintained a continuous presence on the Korean Peninsula pledged to support the United Nations Command and defend the ROK. To this day, 67 years after its signing, the armistice remains a framework to limit provocations from the North and mitigate hostilities on the Korean Peninsula. At the forefront of sustaining this delicate balance is an unsung but strategically critical unit known as the 210th Field Artillery Brigade.

Historic events such as the sinking of the Cheonan ROK Navy vessel, artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong Island, numerous disputes along the Korean Demilitarized Zone, and constant missile provocations over the years, had the potential to spark conflict leading to an all-out war again. Should the armistice fail or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) escalate tensions, the United States Forces Korea has roughly 28,500 U.S. troops stationed in the ROK to respond to provocation and deter external aggression. At the tip of the spear is a vital contingent of those troops: soldiers of the 210th Field Artillery Brigade (FAB) dedicated to protecting and defending the ROK should tensions arise.

As part of the U.S. Army on the Korean Peninsula, the 210th FAB, under the 2nd Infantry Division, ROK-U.S. Combined Division, is comprised of M270A1 Multiple Launch Rocket Systems (MLRS) and AN/TPQ-53 radar systems. The brigade supports the ROK Combined Forces Command (CFC) as the most forward-deployed U.S. field artillery unit in the Indo-Pacific region. On order, according to its mission, the 210th FAB, it “alerts and assembles; uploads and deploys; and provides fires in support of Combined Forces Command and the Ground Component Commander Counter Fire Task Force to destroy enemy Long-Range Artillery.” It is a vital component of the CFC in providing additional field artillery forces to uphold security within the Korean Peninsula and deter North Korean aggression.



Units of the 210th Field Artillery Brigade conducting training with an M2701A Multiple Launch Rocket System. Credit: 210th FAB PAO/Michelle Blesam

If deterrence fails, the 210th FAB is trained to “Fight tonight” and deploys U.S. field artillery forces in support of the Ground Component Command (GCC) and aids the Air Component Command. The [MLRS Launcher](#) provides 24-hour, all-weather, lethal, close- and long-range precision rocket and missile fire support. It is a versatile launcher designed to fire twelve Guided MLRS rockets at ranges of 70 kilometers or two Army Tactical Missile System missiles at ranges up to 300 kilometers. With the launcher’s vast fire power, it can fire all rockets in under one minute, saturating a target area with submunitions and striking strategic targets at great distances with precision. In terms of firepower, the brigade brings a significant capability to compliment the GCC’s counterfire fight.

Counterfire is used to destroy, neutralize, or suppress the enemy’s indirect firing capabilities. It is an integral component of the Army’s targeting methodology by detecting enemy artillery and defeating the enemy with responsive yet effective fires to seize the battlefield initiative. Detection of these positions is used to create a pattern analysis to provide the commander with a visualization of the battlefield while anticipating the enemy’s likely course of action. The objective of counterfire is to gain accurate and timely intelligence on enemy artillery positions and deliver artillery to neutralize or destroy the enemy with the least risk and expenditure of resources. Enemy artillery systems are detected and located using AN/TPQ-53 radar systems. Using the radar to detect enemy artillery systems provides rapid engagement with effective rocket fire to gain freedom of maneuver on the battlefield. When it comes to destroying enemy long-range artillery, 210th FAB’s launchers are an invaluable asset and a force multiplier in supporting the Counterfire Task Force to achieve strategic objectives.

For the 210th FAB to execute its wartime missions and meet operational requirements the organization remains steadily focused from planning to preparation and training. To ensure the strategic interests of the ROK-U.S. Alliance remain a priority during armistice, the brigade follows three core lines of efforts to achieve mission success.

First, training ensures soldiers receive the instruction, skills, and knowledge necessary to complete individual and collective tasks. As always, the soldiers must be thoroughly trained, equipped and proficient in their assigned tasks. The unit consistently builds and maintains a high standard of training, so when soldiers are expected to perform their tasks, they do so seamlessly and without hesitation. The more frequently the unit executes training, from the soldier to the staff, the easier it is to achieve mission success.

Second, the field artillery brigade constantly maintains a high level of readiness. As a force multiplier to the CFC, the unit must ensure that from field artillery battalions to the lowest echelons, formations can successfully transition from armistice to war-time operations and fight, move and sustain operation during hostilities. The focus of the unit’s readiness ranges from mission preparation to rehearsal to execution, ensuring that each section and individual is well-versed in their crew capabilities and support requirements. As one of the most vigilant and lethal U.S. forces in the Alliance, readiness is critical at every rank; thus, the commander’s staff must also be well trained and prepared to plan, train, and execute organizational tasks in order to deter provocations at a moment’s notice.

The key to ensuring the ROK-U.S. Alliance remains the most lethal force on the peninsula comes down to interoperability

with our alliance partners. Due to the nature of multinational operations and the unique organizational structure of the 2nd Infantry Division, ROK-U.S. Combined Division, there are challenges that present themselves, such as language barriers and integrating capabilities into an effective and ready force. The combined staff is vital when it comes to integrating, synchronizing, and executing missions with our counterparts. Without the support of the staff, the unit would not be able to conduct training and operations with the ROK Army. This integration of capabilities is imperative to ensure the unit can protect both forces. Interoperability demands that our ROK counterparts are entirely involved from the start of planning to the execution of combined operations. ROK officers are hand-selected to serve in the combined staff and contribute a high level of technical expertise in their respective

On order the 210th Field Artillery Brigade alerts and assembles; uploads and deploys; and provides fires in support of Combined Forces Command and the Ground Component Commander Counter Fire Task Force to destroy enemy Long Range Artillery.

—Mission of the 210th Field Artillery Brigade

fields. That allows the FAB to coordinate, integrate, and synchronize efforts to support the GCC, such as integrating combined planning processes and sharing information to conduct effective counterfire and defeat any potential threats.

As part of the CFC Forces and Counterfire Task Force, the 210th Field Artillery Brigade is consistently training to be a ready and lethal force to “Fight Tonight.” The strategic capabilities it brings and its combined operations are crucial to defending the Korean Peninsula against potential threats. Embracing the high operational tempo and complexity of the combined mission with the Alliance, the brigade consistently strives to achieve ever-higher levels of training, readiness, and interoperability from armistice to contingency operations. Most importantly, the relationship with ROK Army counterparts is the key discriminator enhancing the brigade’s combat power and ensuring it remains unmatched in the region. “Katchi Kapshida! - 같이 갑시다!”

The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the FAOA, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

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Units of the 210th FAB secure an ammunition pod into the M270A1 Multiple Launch Rocket System at Camp Casey. Credit: Carlos R. Davis/210th FAB PAO

Mentorships

Part I: A Vital Tool for FAOs.

By Schuyler C. Webb

As FAOs know, mastering the demands of intense language training immersions is a must-win. Immersion teaches culture and language. When speaking with people of another culture, FAOs must understand the foreign language and their body language and the context of what they are saying within that culture. These aspects often become lost through the prisms of interpreters. FAOs, both new and experienced, are encouraged to mentor and motivate each other to strive for "perfect" fluency, albeit fluency requires protracted time commitment, unbridled enthusiasm, and unrestricted dedication.

Mentors should always take the opportunity to reiterate that a FAO's career is a career-long journey of professional and personal discovery. Speaking a foreign language and understanding someone else's culture is a perpetual *gift* that they take with them throughout their life. The experience broadens their life experience, but it takes commitment.

As in all officer ranks, part of a FAO's job is to lead. That is an essential part of officership and should always be paramount and the foundation of any officer's career. The variation in the In-Region Training (IRT) experience between and within Areas of Concentration partially accounts for some foundational discrepancies. For example, a FAO may spend 18 months in an East European country, while a sub-Sahara Africa IRT FAO could spend a year working for a Defense Attaché in West Africa or as

an intern at a strategic research center in Washington, DC. Another factor is that the IRT FAO often works for an already overwhelmed Senior Defense Official or Office of Security of Cooperation Chief and thus gets less supervision, guidance, and mentorship than expected. The result is that while IRT provides invaluable experience in exposing junior FAOs to their region and preparing them for future assignments, in practice IRT is more like on-the-job training than formal training.

“The truly great leaders are skilled at building healthy relationships.”

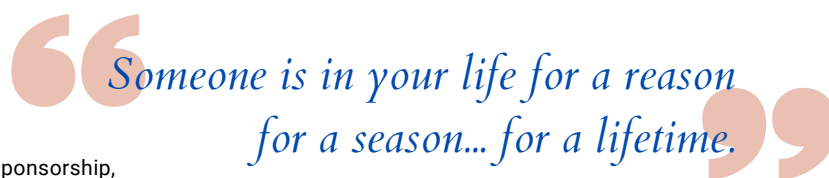
—James C. Hunter, leadership expert, author, speaker

The brief discussion captures the concept and application of mentoring, an age-old method of training and learning that has existed in all societies throughout recorded history and continues to influence virtually everyone across their lifespan. Moreover, it illuminates how mentoring has been indelibly institutionalized, embedded, wrapped and weaved, and advanced throughout our past and contemporary history and culture.

Experience best measures knowledge, though not necessarily by years. Moreover, time alone does not make individuals more knowledgeable, but learning does. Therefore, mentoring is a learning vehicle for personal development for the mentor, mentee, and their respective organization's

evolution. Mentoring relationships and experience cross a spectrum of organizations. It may provide a type of "stimulus package" for engaging in the mentoring process on a higher level, improving the mentoring processes across the organization or discipline, and facilitate progressive, positive outcomes. This article offers a timely, diverse, and thought-provoking perspective to assist mentors and mentees in the world of work or any organization administration, education, training, research, non-profit, corporation, youth programs, military, sports to understand the dynamics, application, and benefits of mentoring. This article also advocates for the transformational benefits attributable to the dyadic relationship between mentors and mentees. It offers provocative paradigms about the utility of mentoring and mentoring programs as well as timeless, inspiring quotes and insightful anecdotes and experience of the dynamic process. To that end, this article encourages sharing the advantages of mentoring tools and methods that affect trajectories toward more positive outcomes across diverse groups.

The U.S. military is arguably the largest and most diverse organization in the world. Indeed, the military's present composition and related personnel policies may be an indicator of what U.S. organizations may look like in the future. The 21st century will have profound effects on the military as well as on business. The Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Coast Guard, and Space Force enviably will face the mission of rapid team response to limited and focused flashpoints throughout the world. This complex, uncertain, and potentially life-threatening response capability will require FAO community members that possess highly diversified technical skills, team-oriented skills, and interpersonal abilities.



*Someone is in your life for a reason
for a season... for a lifetime.*

*—Karen Russel, attorney, political
strategist, author, and mentor*

Maintaining and improving skill sets

Mentoring will be an essential means of acquiring and maintaining this crucial skill mix in such an environment. Indeed, military studies find that most successful officers have had mentors who serve the various functions of role model, advisor, champion, and motivator. However, the military provides unique challenges to mentoring. This article looks at these unique challenges and then examines various military solutions for these problems. Finally, we explore several ideas explored by organizations in the business world to improve their mentoring efforts.

In examining the roles and functions of mentoring, we know that mentoring comes in many "flavors." For instance, the Office of Research, Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the U.S. Department of Education, offers key roles in the mentoring process. Consider the following examples:

Facilitating

The process of "making things happen" can involve an individual providing guidance or advice, recognizing, and alerting another to potential barriers, preparing a path for learning to occur. As the facilitator, the mentor helps young mentees to learn and to pursue their career goals.

Networking

The process of leveraging or adding value through existing informal channels. We all have our network of contacts we utilize to get things done, which can be very valuable. Networking arises from an understanding and appreciation of the benefits of the informal organization.

Mentoring researchers and practitioners forward two basic roles that a mentor perform: career functions are those aspects of a relationship designed to enhance career advancement through

sponsorship, exposure-and-visibility, coaching, protection, and challenging work assignments. Psychosocial functions improve the mentee's sense of professional competence, identity, and effectiveness. It includes role modeling, acceptance-and-confirmation, counseling, and friendship. Mentoring can best be understood by highlighting what mentors do. Subject matter experts generally agree that ten behaviors translate into the mentoring process in the FAO community:

1. Teaching

Instructing the mentee in a specific skill and providing FAO knowledge necessary for successful job performance and assisting in the person's career development.

2. Guiding

Orienting the novice FAO in learning some of the community's tacit and "unwritten" rules. Learning the command's informal rules lessens the risk of being professionally compromised and even ostracized.

3. Advising

Usually initiated by request from the FAO mentee. The type of advice is different from the advice given by other officers (i.e. military occupational specialties or designators) due to the FAO mentor's high degree of competence and extensive experience.

4. Counseling

Providing emotional support in stressful times, listening to the mentee's concerns, clarifying career goals, and assisting in developing a plan of action to achieve those goals.

5. Sponsoring

Providing growth opportunities and

mere association with the mentor opens a window of opportunities for the neophyte FAO; however, it should not be confused with a "free ride." Once the doors are open, it is the mentee's responsibility to prove themselves.

6. Role Modeling

Someone whom the mentee tries to emulate because of a mentoring relationship. Typically occurs subconsciously as the mentee attempts to pattern the traits and behaviors of the mentor.

7. Validating

Occurring when the mentor evaluates, modifies, and endorses the mentee's goals and aspirations. If the mentor does not accept these goals, it is doubtful the relationship will be maintained.

8. Motivating

Providing encouragement and impetus for the mentee to act toward achieving specific goals. The FAO mentor can assume one of two roles: drill sergeant or cheerleader—the result is action.

9. Protecting

Acting as a buffer to minimize risk-taking and providing a safe environment where the FAO mentee can make mistakes without losing self-confidence. This critical aspect makes it easier for the mentee to make decisions when faced with uncertainty.

10. Communicating

Establishing open communication lines where concerns can be addressed—the key to the successful

implementation of the other nine mentoring behaviors. As mentioned above, mentors' expertise is insignificant if it is not adequately communicated.

Benefits of Mentoring

Much of the interest in mentoring lies in the multiple benefits it provides. In general, there is a fair amount of reciprocity as these relationships evolve. Many researchers concluded that the formation of a mentoring relationship positively affects the mentee, and mentorship is positively correlated to advancement, organizational influence, salary attainment, and job satisfaction with salary and benefits. In this case, understanding the availability and quality of mentoring relationships is of considerable importance to those concerned with a FAO's career mobility. Hence, FAOs who develop mentoring relationships fare better in their assigned billets than those who do not. Moreover, leadership experts have discovered that mentored FAOs are more satisfied and committed than those who are not.

The benefits of mentoring for FAO mentees appear to be more substantial than mentors since they gain much more professionally and personally from the relationship. Benefits for mentees include increasing professional opportunities, career advancement, and practical advice. Mentors can provide mentees with socioemotional support, facilitate higher levels of self-awareness, self-esteem and confidence, and let their mentees know they believe in them.

For example, mentors can provide path-goal clarity for their mentees. The activity and route to career benefits deal with clarifying how a mentee can achieve career goals and build the mentee's self-efficacy and motivation in achieving these goals.

Mentor functions by operating in this path are role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship.

Another mentee benefit is gaining political information and exposure by the mentor who enhances the mentee's awareness of the political environment and the importance of networking. The mentee may also gain a sense of power and confidence by having a high status of primary developmental relationships or significant opportunities for challenging assignments and visibility among key leaders in their respective service. Realizing the importance of networking and strategically dealing with key players, mentees may engage in self-monitoring and other

“There are no misunderstandings; there are only failures to communicate.”
—Senegalese proverb

influence tactics and increase network behaviors.

Senior FAO mentors and practitioners understand political networks in their respective service. Although an organizational chart diagrams who reports to whom, it does not explain who has what information and how information is disseminated. FAO mentors can help the mentees become familiar and understand the underlying relationships in their service organizations so they can tap

into different perspectives.

Final Thoughts

The tool of mentoring matters. Several decades of empirical research confirm that mentorships in nearly any setting offer measurable benefits to both mentees and those who hire them. Compared to their non-mentored peers, mentees are more rapidly promoted, better compensated, more confident, more competent, more likely to achieve leadership positions, and more inclined to serve as mentors as they become senior officers.

As the Indo-Pacific emerges as the world's most strategically consequential region and competition with China intensifies, the United States must adapt its approach to preserve its power and sustain regional stability and prosperity even though the area is riven with uncertainty. FAOs will be summoned to use their unique toolbox to maintain the region's unprecedented peace and prosperity.

At a time of profound geo-political change and increasing competition in the Indo-Pacific, FAOs are team players for protecting vital U.S. economic and security interests in the region. They will use all of the instruments of influence — diplomatic, economic, military, and our “soft” power — to engage and empower our regional allies and partners to shore up the foundations of the regional order. Moreover, their mission will start a senior FAO's thoughtful and meaningful mentoring.

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A Legacy of Service on the Korean Peninsula

Honoring my grandfather and other veterans at Turn Toward Busan. *By Benjamin K. White*

In November 2020, I was fortunate to attend Turn Toward Busan with fellow descendants of Korean War veterans, colleagues from the United Nations Command (UNC), and soldiers from the UNC Honor Guard, my current unit. Turn Toward Busan is an annual event that strives to remember the sacrifices of United Nations State Service Members during the Korean War. In total, 22 nations joined the effort to safeguard freedom and peace on the Korean Peninsula—an endeavor that continues to this day through the UNC.

Last year's edition of Turn Toward Busan was especially poignant as it coincided with the 70th Anniversary of the Korean War alongside the Republic of Korea (ROK) government's designation of November 11, 2020 as "International Memorial Day for UN Korean War Veterans." This observance was on full display at the UN Memorial Cemetery where veterans, families, and UNC members braved the global COVID-19 pandemic to converge in Busan and pay their respects to the fallen.

On the first night of the event, the UNC delegation was treated to an outdoor performance by a symphony orchestra and a stunningly choreographed drone display. Veterans from Thailand, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and other countries were shown on video re-visiting the ROK and speaking about their experiences during the war. The following day saw Prime Minister Chung Sye-kyun deliver the keynote address. As he gave his opening remarks, the skies above roared with the sound of jets performing acrobatic maneuvers and spelling out "11.11.11" to mark the hour, day, and month when the countries around the world collectively pause to remember the sacrifices of their soldiers, including those who fought for peace and freedom on the Korean Peninsula. For many veterans who were able to attend, Turn Toward Busan was an opportunity to be thanked for the sacrifices they made in defending a land they knew little of before they arrived on her shores. Time is precious and passes too quickly; events like this are important because they allow us to express our gratitude to these heroes and hear their stories first hand while they are still around to tell them.

Being able to attend Turn Toward Busan was a chance to see how respected the relationship is between our Sending State allies, the U.S., and the ROK. It was a time to cast aside trivial differences and collectively appreciate our mutual interests in remembering the warriors of old. To all veterans, past and present: Thank you; you are not forgotten, nor will you ever be.



The author at the United Nations Memorial Cemetery, Busan.

It is an immense privilege to be following in the footsteps of my grandfather, George T. White, who served here in the ROK. Assigned to the 2nd Logistical Command from 1952-1953, he would travel frequently throughout the Korean Peninsula. He vividly remembers the utter devastation he saw in places such as Seoul and Busan. Bombings destroyed the landscape with cities flattened, people having to sleep under what little cover was left, and children begging soldiers for food. My grandfather would always carry extra chocolate bars to give to the kids when they

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approached him and through his interaction with the Korean people, he developed a deep fondness for their culture.

Having told my grandfather about life in the ROK in 2020, he has been amazed by the country's economic progress, technological advancements, and cultural success. Our conversations always lead back to his remarkable stories from the Korean War. These are stories that will never be forgotten. My grandfather told me that he desperately wanted to bring orphaned children back to America but was not able to. Seventy years later, he has two adopted grandchildren—my sister and me.

I would not be here if it were not for him and his comrades in arms, which makes our relationship and shared history so special. This legacy of service is what motivates me to do my best every day while serving in the U.S. Army and continue to forge an ever-closer relationship with our ROK partners while assigned to the UNC. "Katchi Kapshida! Under one Flag!"

Benjamin K. White is a Captain with the Honor Guard Company, United Nations Command, United States Forces Korea. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Government and World Affairs from the University of Tampa.



Then-Corporal George T. White in Korea, c.1952-3

My Grandfather was from North Korea

How his legacy shapes my future.

By Daniel Bae

I never met my grandfather in person. He passed away when my mother was still a young child. But relationships are not confined to the physical realm of everyday life; they continue through spirit and memories. My family and I visit my grandfather's final resting place several times a year, and I keep a photo of him in my room. After all, although we never met, he will forever be my grandfather.

My grandfather was born in North Korea but moved to the Republic of Korea (ROK) during the Korean War. At that time, the People's Volunteer Army of China was determined to defend Northeast China and North Korea. My grandfather's hometown was directly affected by this military campaign and he was determined to escape not only the violence but also the influence of an emerging communist regime. If you have ever seen the movie *Ode to My Father* (국제시장), my

grandfather was one of the people who barely made it onto a ship heading south. Similar to what occurred in the plot of that movie, my grandfather was forever separated from his family and made the lonely journey down to the ROK to start a new life.

Starting a new life and making a living where you have no roots, however, is easier said than done. Above all else, my grandfather wanted stability. He decided that joining the military would be the best way to accomplish this and became determined to be a Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) officer. But, he did not have the financial resources to pay the college tuition fees for the full course, and so enrolled for one year then went on a leave of absence for a year to make money. My grandfather repeated this pattern until he graduated. His hard work paid off, and he became a member of the first generation of ROTC officers in the ROK.

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Because my grandfather's main motivation for enlisting was stability, he was not particularly excited about being in the military. Preferring not to use weapons, he decided to become a military engineer. He was deployed to Vietnam on several occasions, which allowed him to save up "danger pay" allowances to start a family. After returning from his final mission in Vietnam, he bought a new house, got married, and had three beautiful children. Unfortunately, his life was soon cut short by a tragic accident when my mother was still in elementary school. Ever since I was a child, I wanted to learn more about North Korea because it is where my grandfather grew strong. To that end, I decided to intern at the North Korea Strategy Center (NKSC) for two consecutive summers during my high school years. I got to translate interesting academic papers about topics such as illicit drug activity in North Korea and its government's response to the inflow of external information. But what really made my time at the NKSC memorable was the experience of translating excerpts of interviews with North Koreans and creating a video on how women there organize *Jangmadang* (informal capitalist marketplaces) to meet family needs.

Throughout the internship, I learned about infiltration programs that helped defectors escape from North Korea and smuggle forbidden media such as Bibles and world news into the "hermit kingdom". I even had the chance to listen firsthand to the stories of two North Korean defectors, who told me tales not only of abuse and betrayal but also of hope and conviction. It was impossible to hear about such experiences and not wonder about the suffering my grandfather must have endured when escaping North Korea. For the next few days, I continuously pondered about how I

could aid North Korean refugees.

At the start of my second internship season with the NKSC, I travelled to the city of Tumen in Yanbian, a Korean autonomous prefecture in Northeast China that borders North Korea. I made the trip to see for myself the dangers of the underground railroad used by North Korean defectors. One evening, as the sun set and a northerly wind blew, I strolled along the Tumen River Plaza and Dock, dreaming that one day I could stand with my Korean brothers and sisters on the other side of the river.

A little later, I boarded a vessel to take me down the Tumen River. During the boat ride, I spotted a North Korean soldier. Time seemed to slow at that moment, as I saw his rifle slung low across his left shoulder and his thin, veiny hand cradling the barrel. The red star on his cap was gleaming bright, but his face was dark as he scowled at us. If it was not for the gun, it would be hard to imagine the man on the opposite side of the Tumen as anything but a Chinese peasant, watching a vessel pass by his riverside farm. As I looked into the eyes of this lonely soldier with his red starred hat, I could only think of one person: my grandfather. He was also a soldier from North Korea, but unlike the man who stared back at me, my grandfather defected to the ROK and chose to live in a free and democratic country. Thanks to this crucial decision, I stand here today after two generations.

I can never repay or express enough gratitude to my grandfather, who gifted me with the prosperous life I enjoy today. But I can use his legacy as motivation to fulfill something very meaningful in life. I am proud of my Korean roots and my grandfather's legacy. With the western education that I continue to receive, I hope to bridge the divide between the Asia Pacific and Western Hemisphere.

Still a young college sophomore, I am not yet sure exactly how I can contribute to the issue of peace and reunification on the Korean peninsula. But with an eye towards my grandfather's legacy, I will strive to create positive change and to one day look up to the sky, knowing that he is smiling proudly.

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The author looking across the Tumen River toward Namyang, North Korea

Making the Past Serve the Present

A review of Bill Hayton's *The Invention of China* and Rana Mitter's *China's Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism*.
By Jason Halub

The economic and military rise of the People's Republic of China (PRC) over the past four decades has raised concerns in both Asia and in the West about PRC regional and global intentions. How officials and people in the PRC interpret the history of China is an important factor in understanding the PRC's international behavior. This review essay examines two recent monographs that shed light on this factor and on how PRC officials view China and its place in the international community.

The first monograph is Bill Hayton's *The Invention of China*, which argues that "the idea of China as a coherent territory with a seamless [5000 year] history" is a recent invention that began to take shape only towards the end of the late nineteenth century with the influence of European concepts of sovereignty.[i] Late-nineteenth and early twentieth century intellectuals reimagined the multi-ethnic Manchu Empire into the Han-centered nation-state of modern China. The repercussions of this intellectual shift continue to unfold and affect present-day international relations between the PRC and countries in Asia, Europe, and North America.

Hayton divides his work into eight chapters that explore the evolution of Chinese thinking about the Han race/nation, history, language, and territorial claims. One of the highlights of *The Invention of China* is Hayton's discussion of Liang Qichao, an aspiring scholar-official turned journalist and political theorist in the late Qing

dynasty and the early Republic of China. Liang is one of the leading intellectual figures responsible for crafting and popularizing much of the national narrative of present-day China. He believed that civilizations are in constant competition for the survival of the fittest.[ii] As a journalist and political activist, Liang wrote extensively about China's plight at the turn of the twentieth century and endeavored to create national citizens (from imperial subjects). A major aspect of Liang's nationalist-activist agenda was the propagation of a national history that centered on the assimilative power of a singular Zhonghua Minzu (Chinese ethnic group). He papered over the political reality that the Manchu Qing Dynasty (1636-1911) was a diverse, multi-ethnic empire and instead placed the Han ethnic group at the center of Chinese History.[iii] Ultimately, this historical narrative paved the way for other political thinkers, geographers, and nationalistic educators in China to "[expand] 'Han' Chinese rule into places it had never reached before." [iv] The effect of this intellectual shift is highlighted in Hayton's chapter on PRC maritime claims in the South China Sea.

While Hayton shows how Chinese intellectuals and political activists wrote Chinese history into



being in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Rana Mitter's *China's Good War* highlights how the PRC today is attempting to rewrite post-World War II international relations to serve its current national agenda. Mitter argues "that there is a strong relationship between China's memory of its experience of World War II and its present-day nationalist identity at home and global role abroad."^[v] He points out how the PRC is revising its narrative about China's role during World War II to "provide an alternative genealogy for the contemporary order in Asia" that places China in a more central role and paints the United States as a threat to the peace and stability of Asia.^[vi]

China's Good War is divided into six chapters that describe the evolution of the Chinese historical memory surrounding China's role during World War II. One of the most compelling chapters concerns the Cairo Conference of 1943. PRC leaders use this event to highlight the significance of China's role in World War II. During the Cairo Conference, China's paramount wartime leader, Chiang Kai-shek, sat seemingly as an equal figure alongside U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Together, these leaders declared that Japan be stripped of all its Pacific territories seized since World War I and that Manchuria and Taiwan "shall be restored to the

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—Bill Hayton, *The Invention of China*

Republic of China [ROC].^[vii] Never mind the inconvenient fact that Chiang led a Nationalist regime bent on exterminating the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (which would later found the PRC in 1949). Chiang's role during the Cairo Conference proved useful to PRC sovereignty claims over Taiwan and the South China Sea.^[viii]

The CCP's revision of Chinese history over the past three decades is a notable shift from the original PRC national narrative, which portrayed the founding of the PRC in 1949 as a decisive break with a backward and weak China. However, following the CCP's legitimacy crisis in the 1980s and the PRC's regional and global expansion since the 2000s, PRC leadership has more thoroughly appropriated the nationalist lore of Liang Qichao and has revised its interpretation of China's role in World War II. As Hayton notes, "China's self-image as a wronged but virtuous civilization, the natural centre of a hierarchical arrangement of Asian states, is already causing it to act in ways that are oppressive to its people, worrying to its neighbors and destabilizing to regional peace and security."^[ix] Moreover, as Mitter points out, "China has not yet managed to find any sort of meaningful pan-Asian discourse using the wartime trope of resistance to Japan."^[x] Regardless, PRC leadership is likely to continue to reimagine China's past in an effort to serve its present-day interests.

The views and opinions expressed in this review are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the FAOA, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. government.

[i] Bill Hayton, *The Invention of China* (New Haven: Yale, 2020), 2-6, 8, 73, and 103.

[ii] *Ibid.*, 109.

[iii] *Ibid.*, 109, 114, 135, and 152.

[iv] *Ibid.*, 212.

[v] Rana Mitter, *China's Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 3-4.

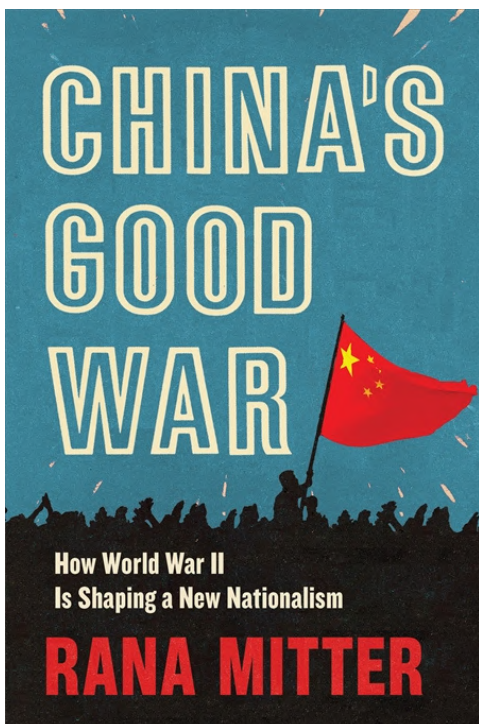
[vi] *Ibid.*, 10 and 260.

[vii] *Ibid.*, 226.

[viii] *Ibid.*, 222-224 and 232-234.

[ix] Hayton, 244.

[x] Mitter, 239.



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Calendar of Events

February 2021

Tuesday 2nd–Wednesday 3rd: INDOPACOM Commanders' Conference

Friday 5th: CFC DCDR Lunar New Year Event

Friday 5th: AMCHAM Fireside Chat with General Robert B. Abrams

Friday 5th: Hill 180 Ceremony (8th Army)

Saturday 6th: 7th Air Force Lunar New Year Event

Thursday 11th: Lunar New Year (ROK)

Tuesday 23rd: Senior Leader Seminar

March 2021

Monday 1st: ROK Independence Movement Day

Tuesday 2nd–Thursday 18th: ROK-U.S. Combined Training

Friday 5th–Saturday 6th: Reagan National Defense Forum

Monday 15th: Ambassador's Round Table

Friday 19th: Alliance Reception

April 2021

Thursday 1st–Friday 2nd: Civil Military Operations Workshop

Friday 2nd: ROKMC 71st Anniversary

Wednesday 14th: UNC Truck Ambush Remembrance Ceremony

Thursday 15th: FAO Conference LTG(R) H. R. McMaster

Thursday 15th: USO 6-Star Salute

Monday 19th: Ambassador's Round Table

Tuesday 20th: Korea Integrated Defense Dialogue

Tuesday 27th–Wednesday 28th: Commanders' Conference

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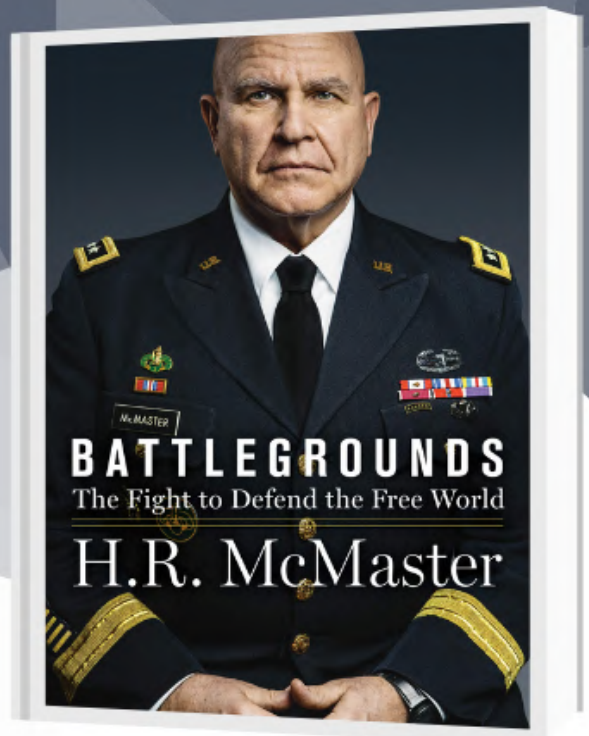


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Sheena Chestnut Greitens

Sheena Chestnut Greitens is an Associate Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. From 2015-2020, she was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri and founding co-director of MU's Institute for Korean Studies. Her work focuses on East Asia, authoritarian politics, and American national security. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University; an M.Phil from Oxford University, where she studied as a Marshall Scholar; and a bachelor's from Stanford University.



Derek Grossman

Derek Grossman is a senior defense analyst at RAND focused on a range of national security policy and Indo-Pacific security issues. He served over a decade in the Intelligence Community, where he served as the daily intelligence briefer to the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency and the assistant secretary of defense for Asian & Pacific Security Affairs. He holds an M.A. from Georgetown University in U.S. National Security Policy and a B.A. from the University of Michigan in Political Science and Asian studies.



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Soo Kim is a policy analyst at the RAND Corporation and an adjunct instructor at American University. Her research interests include the Korean Peninsula, Russia, Indo-Pacific strategy, near-peer competition, decision making, propaganda, and the intelligence community. She served as an analyst in the Central Intelligence Agency and also worked at the Department of Homeland Security. Kim earned a B.A. in French from Yale University and an M.A. in International Relations/Strategic Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.



Sung Hyun "Andrew" Kim

Sung Hyun "Andrew" Kim is a Non-Resident Fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School. Prior to this, he was a visiting scholar at Stanford University. Mr. Kim retired from the Central Intelligence Agency after 28 years of service and was the first Assistant Director of the CIA, Korea Mission Center. As the Chief of CIA Station in three major East Asian cities, Mr. Kim managed the collection, analysis, production, and distribution of information that directly affected national security. He is a recipient of the CIA Director's Award and the Presidential Rank Award.



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Heino Klinck is a former U.S. Army China FAO who last served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia. His experience includes 2+ decades abroad; leading strategy efforts in a Fortune 100 company; senior political-military roles in the Pentagon; analytical and operational responsibilities in the intelligence community; and diplomatic postings in Europe and Asia. Mr. Klinck has a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Boston University; an MBA from the University of London; an M.S. in Global Strategy and Security from the University of Rome; and he was awarded a Fellowship by Stanford University's Asia-Pacific Research Center.



Mark William Lippert

The Honorable Mark William Lippert has a distinguished career in the United States government that spanned approximately two decades. From 2014-2017, he served as the U.S. ambassador and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Korea. He previously held positions in the Department of Defense, including as chief of staff to Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel and as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs. He graduated from Stanford University with a B.A. in Political Science and holds an M.A. in International Policy Studies from the same institution.



Curtis "Mike" Scaparrotti

General (Retired) Curtis "Mike" Scaparrotti led a distinguished, 41-year career in the U.S. Army, and most recently served as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe and Commander of U.S. European Command. Prior to this, he served as the Commander of United States Forces Korea/United Nations Command/Combined Forces Command from 2013 to 2016. GEN(R) Scaparrotti graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1978, and his education includes the Command and General Staff College, the U.S. Army War College, and a Master's degree in Administrative Education from the University of South Carolina.

Honorary Member

Mark Gillette

Mark Gillette is a U.S. Army Major General and the Senior Army Foreign Area Officer. He has extensive experience from various political-military assignments throughout Asia. Mark holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the U.S. Military Academy, a Master of Social Science from Syracuse University, and a Master of Strategic Studies from the U.S. Army War College. He is currently assigned as the U.S. Senior Defense Official and Defense Attaché in Cairo, Egypt.

Mark advised and supported the initiatives of the co-founders of the FAOA Korea Chapter—both leading up to the organization's establishment and during its formative period. He continues to play an active role in the events and activities of the FAOA Korea Chapter today and is a key advocate for the development of its membership.

In recognition of his significant contribution toward accomplishing the mission of the FAOA Korea Chapter, Mark was presented Honorary Membership on 23 July 2020.



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Hedd Thomas is a writer and editor. He holds a B.A. from Newcastle University, England and an M.A. from Bangor University, Wales. He has edited publications in Belgium, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of Korea. He has written for numerous newspapers, online publications, and magazines.

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The FAOA Korea Chapter was founded in July 2020 in accordance with Article VII of the FAOA Charter. It is a 501(c)19 non-profit organization, consisting primarily of current and former Foreign Area Officers and International Affairs Specialists who advance the Republic of Korea-United States (ROK-U.S.) Alliance through events and activities that promote mentorship, education, research, and connection.

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Jacob Kim is a U.S. Army FAO specializing in the Northeast Asia and Latin America regions. He holds a Bachelors of Science degree from the U.S. Military Academy and a Master of Arts degree from the University of California Los Angeles. Jacob is currently pursuing a doctoral degree in education at Johns Hopkins University.

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