

# THE JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ

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



*Korea Chapter*

# FOREIGN AREA OFFICER ASSOCIATION

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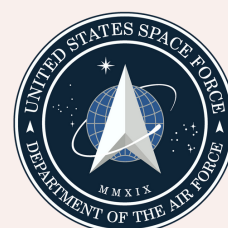
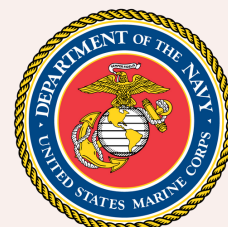
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# A Message from the Colonel Chris Hobgood



**Dear FAOA Korea,**

The Russian invasion of Ukraine demonstrates the importance and value of a rules-based international order. The U.S., its allies, and its partners are demonstrating a united front through targeted economic sanctions against Russia and provision of military defense articles, financial aid, and medical supplies to Ukraine. Putin and his inner circle miscalculated and underestimated this united front.

Although the Ukraine crisis remains ongoing, we can apply the lessons learned to the Korean Peninsula and other potential crisis areas of the world – the main lesson being that a multinational coalition and united front is needed to enforce the rules-based international order.

As FAOs, we serve in unique roles on U.S. Embassy Country Teams, operational, institutional, political-military, or interagency assignments. Regardless of billet, we bring value to the command by understanding and applying ways and means that reflect our National Security Strategy objectives vis-à-vis security cooperation or security assistance programs with our partners and allies. We contribute to identifying shared interests with other nations and look for creative ways to achieve shared objectives with a whole-of-government approach.

The role of the FAO is indispensable in this endeavor. As Russia's war against Ukraine has demonstrated, competition and conflict in the nuclear age requires a nuanced understanding of both U.S. and allied interests, constraints, and restraints. In times when it seems that there are no good options on the table, it is the FAO that is there to help find some. Such is our value to whatever organization to which we may belong.

*“The main lesson being that a multinational coalition and united front is needed to enforce the rules-based international order”*

Christopher S. Hobgood  
Colonel, U.S. Army



HIGHLIGHTS

# A Message from the President



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

Whether declaring a need for "peacekeeping" to justify the military invasion of a sovereign nation or enacting a National Security Law to justify the stripping of the autonomy of a longtime democratic city-state, what is clear is that our adversaries will no longer operate in singular domains or contexts. They will operate in between the boundaries of the DIME (diplomatic, information, military, economic) framework or simultaneously along multiple avenues of power and influence.

Russia, China, North Korea, Iran, violent extremist organizations, and other entities that aim to disrupt the international order will continue to seek these gray zones that skirt the boundaries between military and diplomatic solutions and exploit what freedom-loving nations have come to view as conventional knowledge and norms.

FAOs, soldier-statesmen, must be especially sharp and galvanized in honing our craft. FAOs are trained to operate in between contexts; we should be able to communicate the concerns of an ambassador to the general and vice versa. FAOs are the bridge between diverse partner nation militaries and the vast interagency community.

Though characterizations of the Russian invasion of Ukraine have varied from the start of a new Cold War to a total upending of the rules-based international order, one thing is certain: our role and mission have never been more vital.

As always, please use FAOA to serve this crucial community. The FAOA Korea Chapter board and staff are ready to support. Write me anytime with your feedback and suggestions at [presidentFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:presidentFAOAKC@gmail.com).

Consider becoming a member at [faoa.org](http://faoa.org) for priority in our upcoming events including a free high performance coaching workshop, crisis management simulation, and limited seating in-person events.

President, FAOA Korea Chapter  
Wei C. Chou

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The Chapter hosted Colonel (R) David Maxwell for a virtual "Coffee & Chat" conversation on 2 March

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Together with the Sejong Society of Washington D.C., the Chapter hosted a discussion with LTGEN Greg Bilton, Australian Chief of Joint Operations

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Stay tuned for announcements of exciting new partnerships and opportunities for FAOs

# A Message from the Editor

Dear Readers,

I would like to introduce the first 2022 issue of *The Joint Communiqué*.

Starting the new year as the new Editor in Chief has already been interesting. So far we have observed multiple missile tests from North Korea and a winter Olympics in Beijing that was Covid-19 secure, but held diplomatic issues and raised human rights queries. We are currently witnessing the first weeks of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, a potential 'reshaping' of the European security order, and are set for the South Korean Presidential elections this week.

Firstly, I would like to thank the board members and previous Editor in Chief, Mitch Shin, for entrusting me with this responsibility, having started in this organization as a Research Intern. I am appreciative of the editors, design team, research team and interns who have helped with a smooth transition and hope that you, the readers, continue to enjoy the work that every team member and contributor has voluntarily put time into.

Our first article by Olivia Enos, a senior policy analyst in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, is an assessment of missed Allied cooperation during the Beijing Olympics, and what action the U.S., its Allies and partners should be taking towards China.

Next are articles by our two research interns. The first is Hyun Jin (Emmy) Nam's analysis of the economic and security policies of the South Korean Presidential Candidate frontrunners. The second, by Salome Giunashvili, outlines Russia's

military and geostrategic posture to show why its invasion of Ukraine was to be expected, and what could come next.

Then, in the first of a two part series, Edwin J. Nichols, a Clinical/Industrial Psychologist, and Schuyler "Sky" C. Webb, a behavioral scientist and consultant supporting the U.S. Forces Korea communication strategy mission, provide an in-depth analysis of the philosophical aspects of cultural differences, as they pertain to FAOs. In our last analysis piece David Maxwell, a retired U.S. Army Special Forces Colonel who served for over 20 years in Asia and who we recently held a Coffee & Chat session with (found on our Youtube Channel), has graciously allowed us to reproduce his article on how to influence and exploit North Korea's weaknesses to negotiate its nuclear weapons.

Our final two articles are for those interested in China's strategy and what our Korean colleagues are reading. Firstly Jason Halub, a U.S. Army FAO, summarizes and discusses *The Long Game* and *The World According to China*, to suggest how China's historic and current political strategy will affect U.S.-China competition. Lastly we present 20 books from Republic of Korea Minister of Defense (2018-20) and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2017-18) Jeong Kyeong-doo's recommended reading list, to expand your perspective and hopefully add some interesting texts to that ever present to-read pile.

With best wishes,



Emily Stamp

## STAFF EDITORS



Editor-In-Chief  
Emily Stamp



Assistant Editor  
Apoorva Jayakumar



Assistant Editor  
Gabriela Bernal



# The Beijing Olympics: A Missed Opportunity for Allied Cooperation

By Olivia Enos

The world watched as what some are deeming the “Genocide Games”, kicked off in Beijing in February. This year, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) decided that—even in the face of ongoing atrocity crimes—the Games would go ahead as planned in China. The IOC’s selection of Beijing has been a matter of concern in many quarters, but there has never been a decisive, much less unified, condemnation of it.

The 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing were a missed opportunity for allied cooperation in Asia. U.S. allies had a chance to demonstrate their solidarity – their respect for human rights and values, their recognition of the threat China poses to shared security and economic interests – but instead the allies chose to forego the opportunity for cooperation largely in favor of inaction.

When the Biden administration announced the U.S. decision to diplomatically boycott the Winter Olympics, it did so alone. While some allied countries – including Japan, UK, Australia, & New Zealand – later announced diplomatic boycotts, it was not organized as a group effort. Many allies, including South Korea, were absent from the list of countries diplomatically boycotting the Games.

The diplomatic boycott was already a suboptimal response to Beijing’s selection to host the Games. In the year leading up to the Olympics, support

grew for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to postpone the Games for the purposes of selecting a new, rights-respecting host. Since the IOC had already postponed the Olympics once before – the Tokyo Olympics originally slated to be held in 2020 were postponed to the Summer 2021 due to the pandemic – some suggested that postponement was a feasible option that would strip China of the privilege of hosting the famous sporting event.

It was a political failure that like-minded countries did not draw together a coalition to postpone the Games for the purposes of selecting a new host.

As a result, athletes were sent to Beijing where they were forced to download apps that spied on and censored them so that China could track their whereabouts, ordered by the host country to stay silent over China’s human rights record, and faced threats to their safety. Concerns over athlete’s



Mitsuki Ono of Team Japan performs a trick during the Women’s snowboard halfpipe qualification at the 2022 Winter Olympic Games in Beijing, China.  
Credit: Patrick Smith

safety were compounded by events from earlier this year after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) targeted a Chinese athlete for speaking out.

In the months leading up to the Olympics, China silenced a four-time Olympian tennis player Peng Shuai when she claimed that she was sexually assaulted by former Vice Premier Zhang Gaoli. After she spoke out, Peng disappeared, only to reappear after IOC President Thomas Bach – at the behest of Beijing – sat down for what can only be described as a scripted conversation with the tennis star held hostage. Since then, she has also denied making sexual assault allegations and her disappearance, and met with Bach again in the early days of the Olympics.

That the IOC was complicit in the CCP’s efforts to silence Peng is one thing. That they awarded the Games to China in the first place is quite another.

Had the IOC never extended the privilege of hosting the Games to China – a regime the IOC witnessed (as the rest of the world did) carry out ongoing genocide and crimes against humanity against Uyghurs in China, the undermining of human rights and freedom in Hong Kong, and the lies China told to the international community in the early days of the pandemic regarding the infectiousness of COVID – the world would not be facing a situation where athletes are in danger and major international sporting organization become complicit in the CCP’s abuses.

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Sgt. Emily Sweeney prepares for her second Women's Luge Singles Run at the 2022 Winter Olympic Games in Beijing, China. Credit: Mareks Galinovskis

History will not look kindly on the reticent responses of leaders around the globe to the Beijing 2022 Olympics. It will be a blight on Olympic history, much like the 1936 Olympics held in Berlin or the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. Allies – countries who care about the cause of freedom – have an opportunity to redeem themselves.

While the allies may have missed an opportunity to demonstrate a unified front, while the rest of the world was watching, during the Olympics, what is far more important are the policies they craft in response to Beijing's abuses that are sure to continue long after the Games conclude.

There are at least three, critical areas where allies should coordinate:

First, the Biden administration, in concert with allies in Europe and Asia, should build upon the one-off multilateral sanctions issued in March 2021. These sanctions, issued by the U.S., the UK, the European Union (EU), and Canada, designated officials for the role they played in enabling genocide against the Uyghurs. These sanctions evinced a response from China, including counter-sanctions against key civil society and government leaders in the EU and the UK. They also resulted in the EU laying aside plans to proceed with the China-Europe Comprehensive Agreement on Investment, a critical investment

agreement that would have catapulted economic cooperation between China and the EU. Future sanctions should be issued in conjunction with other countries – especially countries in Asia that serve as key markets for China – to ramp up pressure.

Second, the Biden administration, in concert with allies, should look for practical, tangible ways to alleviate the suffering of the Chinese people. One especially powerful way is to extend refugee status to the most persecuted. There are currently bills in the U.S. Congress considering various ways to extend safe haven to Uyghurs and Hong Kongers, especially through Priority-2 (P-2) refugee status. Priority-2 refugee status enables refugee applicants to bypass UNHCR, embassy, and NGO referrals to be considered directly by U.S. resettlement authorities. It is an expedited process for communities of "special humanitarian concern". We all need to step up. So far, the most prominent support – at least for Hong Kongers – has come from the UK, which extends asylum through its British Nationals Overseas scheme.

Third and finally, there is a strong need to respond to China's use of forced labor. In December 2021, the U.S. passed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (UFLPA), which created a rebuttable presumption that all goods produced in Xinjiang and through Chinese pairing programs are

are produced with forced labor. The desired result of the bill is two-fold: 1) to ensure that no goods produced with forced labor from Xinjiang make their way into U.S. markets, and 2) to end the horrific practice of forced labor in China. The second goal cannot be met if goods that are no longer destined for the U.S. find their way into other markets around the globe. The EU is currently considering its own response and the UK is in the process of proposing legislation that complements the UFLPA. However, no countries in Asia have suggested that they are developing or implementing similar initiatives.

While the Olympics were a missed opportunity for coordination, the future need not be. Make no mistake, the CCP's leadership is watching. And when they see inaction, they assume assent to their incriminating agenda. U.S. allies and countries that share U.S. interests, such as safeguarding individual freedoms, must work more closely to coordinate their efforts to ensure a strong response to Beijing's abuses – not only for accountability purposes, but to provide hope and a future for the suffering people of China.

*“It was a political failure that like-minded countries did not draw together a coalition to postpone the Games for the purposes of selecting a new host.”*

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Olivia Enos is a senior policy analyst in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation. Her research focuses on human rights and national security challenges in Asia and she has widely published numerous papers and op-eds. She received her bachelors from Patrick Henry College and her Master of Arts degree in Asian studies at the Edmund Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.



# 제20대 대통령 선거



South Korea's 20th Presidential Election. Presidential candidates from left to right: Lee Jae-myung, Yoon Suk-yeol, Sim Sang-jung, Ahn Cheol-soo. Credit: JoongAng Ilbo

## The 2022 South Korean Presidential Election

### Comparing the Key Candidates' Economic and Security Policies

By *Emmy Nam*

**A**s the candidates for the 2022 South Korean presidential elections scramble to capture the hearts and votes of South Korean citizens, the days counting down until March 9 seem to be moving at an accelerated pace. While there is no denying that the 2022 South Korean election has been encumbered by numerous political controversies surrounding the candidates and rumors related to party unification, I hope that voters will take the time to reflect and place their votes in candidates whose core policies resonate with their beliefs.

To begin with an overview, the four main candidates running in the 2022 South Korean presidential election are Lee Jae-myung from the Democratic Party, Yoon Seok-youl from the People Power Party, Ahn Cheol-soo from the People's Party, and Sim Sam-jung from the Justice Party. Despite spikes in Candidate Ahn's approval rates amidst the course of campaigning, Ahn generally has maintained approval rates between 5-15%,

whereas Candidate Sim's approval rate has remained below 10%. In contrast, the approval ratings of the two front runners, Candidate Lee and Candidate Yoon, remain very tight in the 30% range. Among the large number of policies that each candidate has put forth to appeal to the South Korean people, this article will focus on frontrunners Candidate Lee and Candidate Yoon's main economic and security policies.

In regard to this upcoming election, the main contention for voters is whether a change in the ruling party (the president's affiliated party) should take place. As many citizens were frustrated with President Moon Jae-in's administration, particularly with

its policies concerning rising real estate prices and steps toward an end of war declaration with North Korea despite nuclear missile testing, even individuals with progressive beliefs are expressing uncertainty towards the Democratic Party remaining the ruling party. Inevitably, Lee's economic policies, particularly real estate policies, have faced intense scrutiny by the South Korean public. Lee's main economic policy is "transitional fair growth," which is founded on the three pillars of basic income, basic finance, and basic housing. In the global context of the fourth industrial revolution and rapid pace of technological advancement, Lee aims to support equal opportunity, as "losers and winners will always result in a transition process."

Firstly, Lee proposed an annual basic income of 1,000,000 KRW (approximately \$835) per person and 2,000,000 KRW (approximately \$1670) for young adults between 19 and 29 by imposing land ownership and carbon taxes. Secondly, Lee aims to resolve sky-rocketing real estate prices by supplying 2.5 million temporary housing units and 1 million basic houses, which are a type of public housing a homeless person can occupy with low rental fees for more

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than 30 years. Lee's third pledge is to allow anyone to receive a loan of 10,000,000 KRW (approximately \$8351) at a low interest rate for up to 20 years to support start-ups, housing, education and other expenses. Lastly, Lee has also pledged to invest 135 trillion KRW to create 2 million jobs for those who are likely to lose their jobs during the digital transformation (eg. traditional job holders and small businesses). Though Lee's economic policies seem ideal, conservative voters have criticized his policies, calling them "populist," while experts question the economic feasibility of Lee's pledges.

In contrast, Yoon proposes excluding the heavy taxation of multiple household owners and improving the economy based on investment in businesses. Unlike the Democratic Party's focus on basic income and public housing, Yoon places a greater focus on job creation led by private companies and corporations and investment in small and medium enterprises. As the People Power Party focuses on a fair and free economy, its policies endeavor to improve the recovering economy through work incentives, gradual minimum wage increases, and jobs tailored to different age groups that have changed with transforming industrial demands.

*“May the winning candidate reflect the beliefs of the South Korean populace”*

In terms of foreign relations and security policies, there is a large overlap between the Democratic and People Power Party candidates' policies including raising the monthly conscripted military salary to 2 million KRW (approximately \$1670) and a rent sharing system. However, the two candidates have strong disagreements on certain foreign policy and security issues, such as an end-of-war declaration with North Korea and the potential deployment of more Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) batteries.

As Yoon appeals to the more conservative spectrum of South Korean voters, he has asserted the need for additional deployment of THAAD in South Korea and increased ROK-U.S. military exercises to combat North Korea's military provocations. cooperation.



Election officials stage a campaign at Cheonggyecheon Stream in downtown Seoul on Feb. 21, 2022, to promote voting in the March 9 presidential election. Credit: Yonhap News Agency

In addition, in alignment with the People Power Party's stances, Yoon has strongly expressed his beliefs that progress toward an end of war declaration and an alleviation of economic sanctions against North Korea will not be advanced until North Korea demonstrates active headway towards denuclearization. As President Moon Jae-in's complacency toward North Korean military provocations is considered a key failure of the administration by the conservative populace, political expert Professor Shin Yul of Myongji University expressed that Yoon's "differentiated directions from the current government can have a positive impact" on Yoon's approval ratings amidst the unprecedented 7-time missile testing by North Korea in January.

On the other hand, Lee voiced that he will endeavor to make progress towards an end of war declaration with North Korea, continuing President Moon Jae-in's policy as a "driver" of the peace process on the Korean peninsula. Noting the low probability that North Korea will be the first to take steps towards denuclearization, Lee voiced that both Koreas must take simultaneous progressive steps towards peace. Unlike Yoon, Lee is open to decreasing economic sanctions against North Korea with the expectation that North Korea will comply with steps towards denuclearization. Moreover, he has argued that greater THAAD deployment will only serve to worsen foreign relations with China and references the previous economic backlash in 2017.

Although the policies discussed are only the tip of the iceberg, the 2022 South Korean Presidential Election Day is imminently approaching and South Korean citizens will be spending the final days before the election evaluating the candidates' policies. May the winning candidate reflect the beliefs of the South Korean populace and subsequently achieve significant progress towards their pledges made to the South Korean people.

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Hyun Jin (Emmy) Nam is a recent graduate from Yonsei University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies from Yonsei University. She has internship experience in the Internal Political Unit of the US Embassy in the Republic of Korea, and was awarded second place in the ASEAN-Korea Academic Essay Competition.



# The Invasion of Ukraine

Expected, Premeditated and Potentially Unsuccessful?

*By Salome Giunashvili*

A war is underway in Europe - again. After months of tensions over the Russia-created crisis, the Kremlin launched a large-scale military attack on Ukraine in the early hours of February 24.

In a televised speech, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced the launch of a “special military operation” against Ukraine, despite numerous prior claims and assurances that the Russian military forces would not invade.

Yet, Russia chose war. Shortly after recognizing the independence of two Russia-controlled separatist regions in Eastern Ukraine – Donetsk and Luhansk – President Putin ordered troops to deploy to these territories for what he called “peacekeeping operations.” This move resulted in full-scale artillery and missile launches over all of Ukraine.



President Volodymyr Zelensky holds a press conference on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, on Feb. 25. Credit: Anadolu Agency

But this hardly came as a surprise. In fact, the Kremlin employed a well-known chapter from its playbook. The striking similarities between the current events and Russia's 2008 invasion of another European country, Georgia, brings Russia's fundamental objectives to light.

Russia violated Georgia's sovereignty by invading under the false justification of protecting Ossetian citizens from genocide. It then occupied two regions – Abkhazia and South Ossetia – ‘recognizing’ them as independent states.

Despite global backlash, the international community did little to hold Russia accountable for its actions and it more or less successfully faced no repercussions for ignoring international law. NATO allies chose the path of constructive dialogue, but Russia rejected the opportunity and carried on with its drive to seize control of neighboring countries.

The next stop along the way: Crimea, Ukraine.

The targeted, restrictive measures against Russia by the international community after Moscow's invasion and annexation of Crimea in 2014 did not deter Putin from pursuing another unprovoked invasion of Ukraine. On the contrary, the Kremlin's appetite for expansion grew.

An objective analysis of Russia's ambitious military and geostrategic posture throughout the last decades shows that Moscow has no intention of backtracking from confrontations solely through diplomatic means. The key here is that Putin's madman strategy – to a large extent – is built upon the unwillingness of NATO allies to engage in a war with Russia.

Russia's claim that their military hostility is simply a preemptive measure to mitigate the NATO threat close to its borders is illogical. Up to this point, NATO has made significant efforts not to provoke Russia through its actions in Eastern Europe. Despite their Euro-Atlantic aspirations and numerous requests to join the Alliance, Georgia and Ukraine have not yet been offered membership by the allies. Besides, it goes without saying that Russian aggression drives Ukraine and other non-NATO (Eastern) European countries towards NATO's orbit. For them, the collective security that NATO provides is their strongest hope for

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survival. Ukraine is the focus now, but the trajectory of Russian geopolitical interests calls the status of other Eastern European countries, including NATO allies in the Baltic, into question.

Failure of the Western appeasement policy towards Russia is evident. The Russian invasion of Ukraine is an apparent attempt to disrupt and redefine the European security order. While heavily armed Russian troops are pushing towards Ukraine's capital of Kyiv, we are witnessing a massive shift in the West's approach towards Russia. The U.S., with its allies and partners, are successfully demonstrating a united front against Moscow's aggression.

The Kremlin's leaders seem to have failed in their calculations. Even though sanctions were long-anticipated, the severity of their restrictive economic measures might not have been expected. Moreover, decision-makers in Moscow fatally underestimated the Ukrainian people. They apparently assumed that Ukrainians, including Volodymyr Zelensky's government, would have yielded. But Ukraine is fighting back, and the current course of events indicates that Russian aggression will not be overlooked.

As the Kremlin's intentions and oppressive nature of the Russian regime are clear as ever, the West needs to ramp up its efforts and move towards adopting a new policy of containment. In order to counter the Russian threat, swift steps to isolate Moscow politically and economically need to be combined with strengthening the collective regional posture of NATO.

Allies should continue helping Ukraine protect itself by providing military aid and other assistance, while sending more aggressive military signals to Moscow.

NATO already announced a substantial reinforcement of its eastern flank, adding the additional military component to its deterrence efforts. The U.S. and its European allies and partners should also assist other countries in Eastern Europe, considering their vulnerability towards Russian aggression and other non-military hybrid threats such as cyber-attacks, information operation campaigns and other subversive measures.

The geopolitical effects of the Russian invasion of Ukraine are yet to be unleashed. The future depends on the ability of the U.S., its allies and partners to set a high price for aggression. Their response to this situation will most certainly have an impact on Russia's future strategy, as well as on China's strategic thinking. The Chinese leadership will be closely watching this new set of sanctions. If Russia is held accountable for its continued aggression, and politically and economically isolated, it will send a strong message to Beijing. Otherwise, Putin's provocative and reckless moves may even embolden China to take similar measures in regard to the territories it claims, such as Taiwan, the Senkaku Islands and the South China sea.

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Salome Giunashvili is a Master's degree candidate in International Studies from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She holds a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from Tbilisi State University. Her research interests span across several different areas involving international security, hybrid warfare and alliance politics.



Civilians train to throw Molotov cocktails to defend the city of Zhytomyr, Ukraine. March 1, 2022. Credit: Viacheslav Ratynsky

# FAO Cross-Cultural Considerations: Philosophical Aspects of Cultural Differences. Part I

by *Edwin J. Nichols* and *Schuyler C. Webb*

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ithin the next decade, FAOs' training will need to improve their competency and broaden their understanding of multiculturalism and diversity as global interactions become more complex and intertwined. This is important because being able to understand different worldviews could contribute to the diplomatic and civil resolution of conflicts that can arise when people from different cultures interact with each other. This two-part article examines the nature of behavior and worldviews and how they can be approached from the perspective of an intercultural philosophy paradigm.

To that end, the purpose of this two-part article is to offer suggestions for FAOs to incorporate into their professional toolbox an understanding of the diversity of human behavior leading to enhanced cultural competence – the capacity to extract from others and utilize the uniqueness of their different problem-solving skill sets.

## **The Importance of Cultural Competence**

Dynamic sociological changes in society, national demographic composition, and multiple social identities underscore the demand for culturally diverse and aware professionals. Hence, the increasingly evident need for culturally competent FAOs. Cultural competencies across military and government organizations include understanding the legacy and importance of social and cultural influences on an individuals' beliefs and behaviors. FAOs should consider how these factors interact at multiple institutional levels and devise strategies that consider these issues to assure positive and progressive outcomes for all groups.

By the nature of FAOs' global workspace, they are aware that cultural competence requires a method by which we can understand and appreciate *the essence of ethnic difference*. How can FAOs gauge ethnic differences between Europeans, Africans, Asians, Latinx, and Native Americans, all of whom comprise the global conglomerate? There is a plethora of statistics on different ethnic groups' demographics, yet none of these metrics provide the *essence of ethnic difference*.

We recommend turning to the 'Mother Science' *Philosophy*, to answer the question.

Philosophy elevates the discussion above clichéd binary categories in a broader context, appreciated below through discussions of its disciplines – axiology, epistemology, logic, and process. It presents an analytical process to approach the topic and provides clarity and understanding of the essence of ethnic difference. We must value the pre-theoretical presuppositions that shape a worldview. These beliefs form the foundation for conceptualizing and understanding a groups' reality including unconscious decision-making factors.

Consider a diversity tool that is different from the traditional or expected approach to understanding diversity. The linked table, [The Philosophical Aspects of Cultural Difference \(PACD\)](#), employs axiology, epistemology, logic, and process sets to explore culturally-based ethnic differences, and supplements the discussion below of these concepts, for FAOs. It intends to provide an opportunity to expand FAOs perspective and knowledge to develop and master their ability to understand how people from different cultures think, behave and what they value.

Cultural differences extend beyond nations. Cultural identities crystallize across demographics. Rather than attempt to transcend cultural difference, this article urges an encompassing awareness of its roots by moving beyond mere cultural cul-de-sacs towards a wider aperture allowing FAOs to adapt to different cultural contexts as the situation demands. The approach enables one to examine oneself and others without prejudice or stereotype. Unconscious cultural biases should be explored, and the socialization process examined to ascertain their effect on workplace behaviors.

## **All Living Things Interact with the Earth**

As their environment has changed over time, humans have responded. Invariably, they have trekked to new locations or remained and adapted to these environmental changes,



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leading to a diversity of behavioral and physical adaptations and new worldviews. Moreover, human differences are derived from multigenerational responses to the basic human instinct to survive and thrive, situated in diverse geographical settings, with varying resources and external environmental factors.

### **Axiology: What We Value**

How does a society develop value systems that sustain itself? One response to this question includes the impact of Mother Nature, and another would argue that culture is vital because its evolution is distinctly different from genetic inheritance. Thus, human cultural systems form around significant adaptation to varied geographical, climatic, and environmental fluctuations. Mother Nature has inevitably confronted humans with significant challenges (e.g., physical, cognitive, and psychosocial) by testing and refining human endurance and survival capabilities.

Most researchers agree that genetic and fossil evidence suggests Homo sapiens evolved on the African continent between 100,000 and 200,000 years ago. As they migrated from the mother continent, their cognitive and physio-anatomical functions adapted to their new geo-environmental conditions. Hence, their evolving “survival” requirements provoked profound neurological and behavioral responses, and evolved their attitudes and values.

Descartes’ dictum of self-hood posits, “I think, therefore I am”—it is derived from an anthropocentric conception of human identity from a European worldview. Early humans may have adapted another dictum, “As the land user thinketh, so is he/she.” Thus, our behavior and physicality are

products of our environment.

After numerous millennia of geographical, climatic, and environmental conditioning, European society developed values of equality and egalitarianism, whereas different, specific Asian values evolved. Asian cultures place a high value on collectivity, respect, hierarchy, status, duty, and obligation. Asians are taught to consider how their behavior might affect their nuclear family and extended family. The Asian family is traditionally patriarchal, with communication and authority from top-to-bottom and filial piety is particularly important and must be maintained even after children become adults. Thus, interdependency has a higher value than self-reliance, and individual identity is secondary to family identity. Given the importance of recognizing roles, position, and status, a significant part of Asian social development is dedicated to learning the proper way to relate to others within the social hierarchy. FAOs should consider these ideas and values when interacting with Asian clientele and colleagues.

### **Epistemology: How We Know Knowledge**

Epistemology is the discipline that studies the theories of knowledge. Philosophers state that epistemology is the way of knowing, focusing on how one knows reality or phenomena. In general, the western approach is characterized by counting and measuring whereas the eastern approach strives towards transcendence. Part II includes a discussion regarding this comparative philosophy, which is potentially an area of significant misunderstanding in interactions between ethnic groups. The essence of ethnic differences may present itself via leader-subordinate or professional-to-professional relations and unconsciously



Marine Corps Cpl. Gage Bellamy holds a child for a photo during a cultural festival in Pohang, South Korea, April 27, 2019. Credit: Marine Corps Lance Cpl. Nicole Rogge

## ANALYSIS

(i.e., the confusion that ensues when giving and receiving instruction)

### Logic: How Do We Reason to Derive an Answer?

Logic refers “to the canons and criteria of validity in reasoning or how one organizes what one knows.”

Philosophers believe that distinct approaches to knowledge exist, varying according to worldview differences.

There are various ways individuals approach a problem to resolve a challenge or understand it. For example, European logic is characterized as dichotomous (i.e., either/or, right/wrong) whereas Asian logic is characterized as more all-encompassing in nature.

History, psychology, and philosophy scholars maintain that Asians and Europeans reason in divergent ways. These ways of reasoning are summarized as holistic vs. analytic reasoning. Thus, Asians are more likely than Europeans to perceive and organize external phenomena in terms of similarities and relationships to explain events situationally and to rely on knowledge-based reasoning. Europeans are more likely to organize the world in terms of rule-based categories and rely on formal, decontextualized reasoning.

### Process: Problem Solving

Process is the practice of reasoning. Human information processing and cognitive psychology are becoming an increasingly important area in quality, safety, and risk

management by allowing us to predict human behavior within organizations, groups, and systems, and understand how people approach and solve problems. In general, eastern philosophies are similar in nature regarding their approach to life particularly centered on understanding the process of the Universe. Process is how the practice of behavior supports responsiveness to daily life situations. This philosophy is underscored in the Japanese tradition of keiretsu (系列). For example, FAOs have noted that Japanese society is organized by the grouping of families’ interests—in businesses, government bureaucracies, political parties, and universities. A web of informal cartels, as well as their formal derivatives, keiretsu, links the nation. FAOs in Japan may have noted that politics, society, and commerce are inextricably intertwined because the Japanese prefer these insular arrangements that translate into national security, successful commerce, and risk mitigation.

### Summary

The diversity of behavioral differences is derived from a multigenerational response to the human instinct to survive and thrive. In our multiethnic, pluralistic and linguistically diverse world, FAOs must acknowledge the essence of racio-ethnic differences that informs their cultural competency in workspaces and leadership positions.

FAOs are not required to have the same cultural referents – behavioral, philosophical, and socioeconomic– as their client nations or foreign counterparts. However, they must be alert to cultural differences, which may lead them to appreciate, respect, and embrace value-driven differences across various groups of people. Finally, FAOs are aware that military organizations cannot afford to misunderstand what promotes productive functioning between them and their clientele. In Part II, the philosophical and cultural differences between European and Asian groups across axiology, epistemology, logic, and process will be further illustrated and compared.

---

**Edwin J. Nichols, PhD.**, is a Clinical/Industrial Psychologist, working in Organization Development. He is the Director of Nichols and Associates, Inc., an applied behavioral science firm in Washington, DC. He has worked with Fortune 500 Corporations, foreign governments, national government agencies, parastatals, associations, health and mental health systems.

**Schuyler “Sky” C. Webb, PhD.**, is a behavioral scientist and consultant employed by Celestar Analytics, LLC and supports the U.S. Forces Korea communication strategy mission in the Republic of Korea.

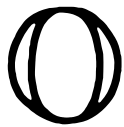
*“Before meaningless, unnatural, non-human or immature behaviour and corresponding values are attributed to people of another culture, it is better to begin by doubting the adequacy of one’s own judgment and knowledge.”*

*-- Dr. Elmar Holenstein,  
Professor, Philosopher, Author*

# How To Get North Korea To Negotiate Over Its Nuclear Weapons And Missiles

*By David Maxwell*

This article was originally published on January 31, 2022 in [1945](#).



On 30 January [Kim Jong-un](#) conducted [another test launch](#) of what is suspected to be an [intermediate-range ballistic missile](#). This is the seventh event of 2022.

With his recent statements implying he is considering ending his self-imposed moratorium on [ICBM](#) and [nuclear tests](#), it appears Kim is [doubling down](#) on his [political warfare](#) and [blackmail diplomacy](#) strategy while he simultaneously works to [increase his warfighting capabilities](#). Kim continues to seek his short-term objective of coercing the U.S. and UN into providing sanctions relief, his intermediate objective of driving a wedge in the ROK/U.S. alliance, and his long-term objective of seeking to dominate the Korean peninsula.

It is possible that Kim will continue to escalate his tests in the near to mid-term from the Lunar New Year holiday on 1 February to the birthdays of Kim Jong-il (16 February) and Kim Il-sung (15 April) among other upcoming important dates. He is likely escalating because he is not successful.

coercing the ROK, the U.S., and the international community into providing concessions. However, if nations decide to appease him it is very likely that he will judge his strategy as a success and continue to execute from the [seven decades old Kim family regime playbook](#) that calls for increased tensions, threats, and provocations to gain political and economic concessions.

Policymakers and strategists continue to be at a loss as to how to stabilize the Korean situation. The proposed courses of action range from military demonstrations to actual operations to a return to ["sunshine-like" policies](#) of twenty years ago. However, there is one course of action that has never been executed with anything more than halfhearted efforts and lip service. While there have been attempts at maximum pressure and maximum engagement neither has employed a holistic, synchronized, and comprehensive information and influence campaign to shape the decision-making, behavior, and attitudes of [the elite, the second tier and military leadership, and the Korean people in the North](#).

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un near Hwasong ICBM. Image Credit: North Korean State Media.





## ANALYSIS

The U.S. and the ROK/U.S. alliance has never been willing to “lead with influence,” employing sophisticated and well-orchestrated activities to influence multiple target audiences.

While external pressure is important, it is not sufficient to force Kim to change his calculus. The only way he will change course is if he feels internal pressure from the elite and military leadership and they collectively force him to negotiate an end to the nuclear and missile programs in return for the resources necessary for their survival. They must understand their current path is destined to fail and that they must convince Kim to negotiate.

It is assumed they understand this based on the actions of the international community (e.g., sanctions and military readiness of the ROK/U.S. alliance). Unfortunately, life-long indoctrination, the system of social control, and the Propaganda and Agitation Department’s around-the-clock propaganda have been effective in preventing leaders from correctly interpreting the intent and the actions of the ROK, the U.S., and the international community. There has been no effort to compete with the diabolical North Korean social control system and propaganda efforts for the past seven decades.

This has long been an unfortunate missed opportunity because external information is an existential threat to the Kim family regime. This is why Kim Yo-jong coerced the ROK into passing the anti-leaflet law in December 2020 by threatening and then actually destroying the ROK liaison building in Kaesong. Escapees/defectors from the North have been working diligently for years to try to send information into the north and expose the people to the outside world. As Dr. Jung Pak has often asked, who does Kim fear more: The U.S. or the Korean people in the North? The fact is it is the people armed with information about the outside world and South Korea in particular.

The U.S. must take the lead in establishing an aggressive information and influence activities campaign. This is problematic given the view of the current South Korean administration which seeks to engage the regime and refrain from “upsetting” it as evidenced by the anti-leaflet law. But the U.S. and the international community can no longer wait for the ROK to get on board though perhaps the next president will understand the nature, objectives, and strategy of the regime and be willing to partner on an influence campaign. After all, South Korea is the key to any successful outcome on the Korean peninsula.

“*Kim must fear the loss of internal control if he fails to negotiate a deal that will ensure survival*”

A comprehensive plan requires nation-level planning, organization, and execution. It will require national leadership to make this a priority, but it should not be feared as resource-intensive or expensive. A wide range of tools, processes, capabilities, and platforms are already in place. They need to be harnessed, synchronized, and employed to meet the influence objectives.

The most important objective is to undermine the legitimacy of the Kim family regime and drive the elite and military leadership to influence Kim Jong-un to negotiate in the belief that it is the only path for regime, elite, and military survival. Kim must fear the loss of internal control if he fails to negotiate a deal that will ensure survival.

North Korean military conducts a “strike drill” for multiple launchers and tactical guided weapon into the East Sea during a military drill in North Korea, in this May 4, 2019. Photo supplied by the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA).



## ANALYSIS

Kim is actually in a position of significant weakness with COVID mitigation measures that have closed the borders, the recent natural disasters, the poor fall harvest, diversion of resources to nuclear and missile development, and UN and U.S. sanctions. Kim has decided to exploit COVID by implementing draconian population and resources control measures to further oppress the population to prevent any kind of popular resistance. His strategy must be exposed not only to the international community but to the Korean people who suffer at the hands of his policy decisions. The seven missile events of 2022, so far, may be a sign that Kim must 'externalize' his problems to divert attention from the internal contradictions of the regime. This must be exploited.

The overall influence activity is to recognize, understand, expose, and attack regime strategy. The major theme should be built on the fact that it is Kim Jong-un's decision-making that is responsible for the suffering across North Korean society from the elite to the general population. His political warfare strategy of subversion, coercion, extortion, and blackmail diplomacy combined with the development of warfighting capabilities to provide him with the option to use force to dominate the peninsula must be understood, explained, and exposed. The condition Kim requires for success is the "divide to conquer" effort – divide the ROK/U.S. alliance to conquer the ROK. It is imperative that every action Kim takes to weaken the alliance results in visible ROK and U.S. efforts to strengthen it. This must be exploited.

While the regime accuses the U.S. of having a hostile policy it is the regime's own hostile policy, to include the intent to subvert South Korea and dominate the peninsula under the Guerrilla Dynasty and Gulag State that must be consistently transmitted to target audiences inside and outside North Korea. There must be a constant refrain from officials that it is the north that harbors the hostile policy, not the U.S. This must be exploited.

Finally, Kim Jong-un must deny the human rights of the Korean people to remain in power. One of the great many human rights abuses identified in the 2014 UN Commission of Inquiry report is the deliberate isolation of the Korean people and the that they are denied access to information. The international community has a moral obligation to get information into the North. Paradoxically, when the international community focuses on Kim's nuclear program his legitimacy is enhanced, but when it focuses on his crimes against humanity his legitimacy is undermined. This must be exploited.

The above four objectives should form the foundation for all themes and messages. From these many more supporting



Image: A Screenshot from KCNA TV.

messages can be developed and tailored for specific target audiences in the North.

This effort requires an overall organization to orchestrate all influence activities across the instruments of national power. Diplomatic, economic, and military activities must be synchronized with the effort to lead with influence. Every action by government agencies must be considered for their influence effects. Common themes and messages must be distributed to all agencies and agency spokespeople and high-level officials up to including the President and his senior advisors must consistently transmit them as a matter of routine. The State Department's Global Engagement Center should have a dedicated Korea division that connects to all relevant agencies of the U.S. government as well as allies in the region.

The power of the U.S. Global Media Agency which supervises the two most important information conduits into the North, the Korean services of Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Free Asia (RFA), must be harnessed in this effort. Since the mission of these organizations is to provide factual news and explain U.S. policies to foreign audiences, senior U.S. government officials should be interviewed and allowed to explain U.S. government policies on a routine basis and not as an afterthought. U.S. government officials should have more media engagements with VOA and RFA than other media outlets.



Image of North Korean Road-Mobile ICBM. Image Credit: Creative Commons.

U.S. officials at the UN must expose North Korean strategy and activities. They must push back on UN processes that allow North Korea to take a leading role in the [UN Disarmament Forum](#). In addition, the U.S. must expose the Chinese and Russian efforts to facilitate sanctions evasion activities within the [UN Panel of Experts](#). In addition, every UN organization that addresses human rights must hear from U.S. officials about the human rights abuses and crimes against humanity being committed by the regime. No one can be silent on these issues.

There are myriad technological solutions that can contribute to effective influence. These include penetrating internal networks and indigenous social media platforms as well the existing nearly 5 million smartphones in the hands of many of the people in the north. In addition, communications capabilities and devices could be developed for use by the people in the North.

One of the least exploited resources is the escapee or defector community. Among them are key communicators and people with the expertise to advise on relevant and effective themes and messages. A [Korean Defector Information Institute](#) should be established to harness the power of these escapees/defectors to effectively communicate with the Korean people in the North.

The above outlines a few of the very basic steps that should be incorporated into a comprehensive influence strategy. Kim's weakness has provided opportunities for the international community to exploit. If done properly it may create internal pressure for the elite to influence Kim to negotiate. If he does not, these efforts will prepare the information environment for other outcomes that will be favorable to the U.S. and ROK/U.S. alliance.

However, information and influence activities may not be satisfying to officials, the press, and pundits. They will not yield quick results. It would have been better to have invested in such a program years ago. While most will want to focus on the short term it is time to take a long-term view and establish the foundation for influence activities that will achieve effects over time. But to do so will require leadership at the highest levels.

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**David Maxwell**, now a 1945 Contributing Editor, is a retired US Army Special Forces Colonel who has spent more than 20 years in Asia. He is the editor of Small Wars Journal and a non-resident senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD). FDD is a Washington, DC-based, nonpartisan research institute focusing on national security and foreign policy.



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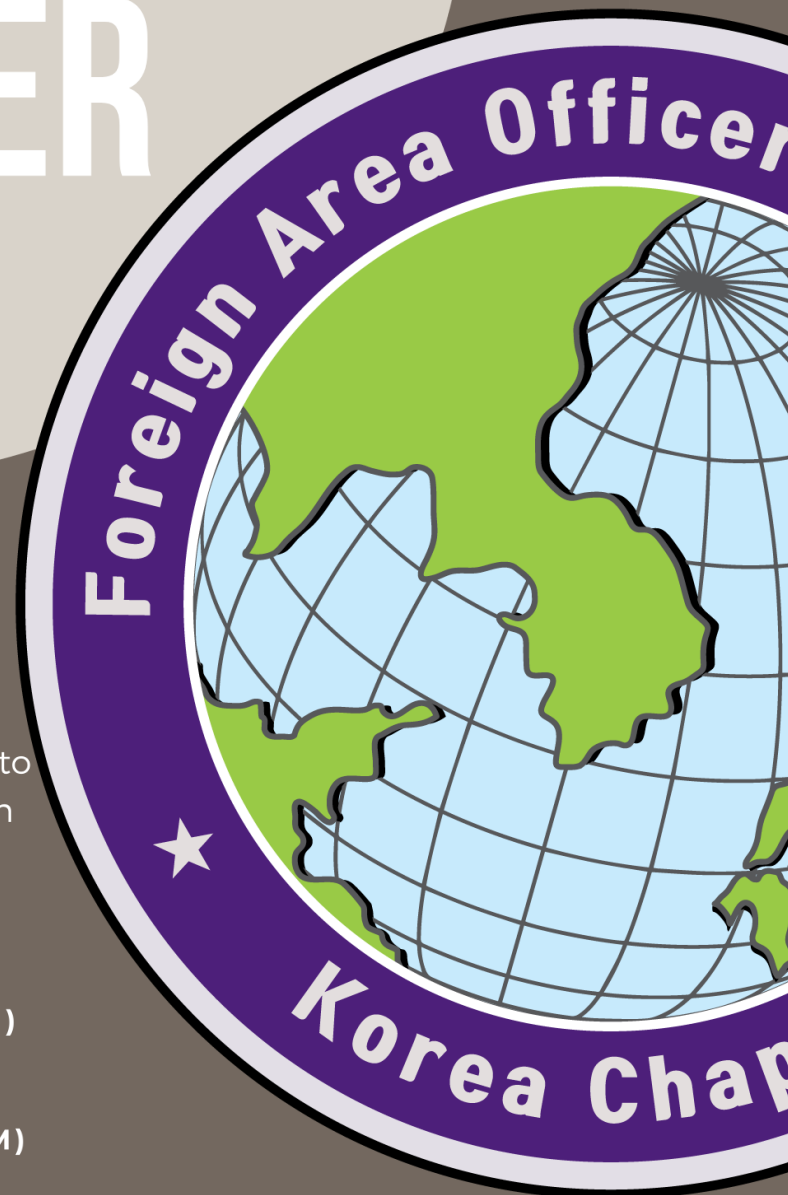
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# Making Sense of China's Strategy

Review of *The Long Game* and *The World According to China*. By Jason Halub

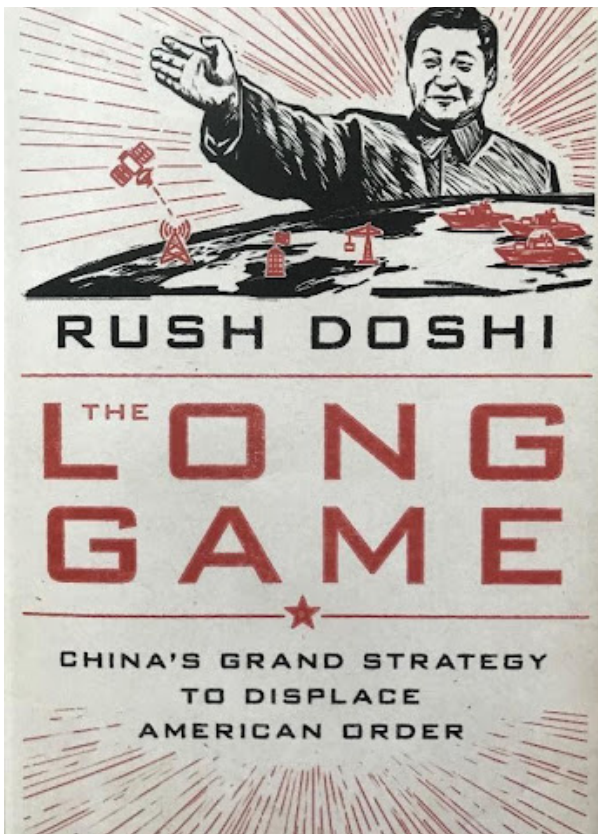
Ever since Xi Jinping became the General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 2012, there has been a renewed debate in Washington, D.C. over the long-term

trajectory of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the nature of the threat it poses to the United States and the current international system. Rush Doshi's *The Long Game: China's Grand Strategy to Displace American Order*, and Elizabeth Economy's *The World According to China* contribute to this debate by highlighting China's goal to transform the world order in accordance with the CCP's interests. Both works compel readers to rethink conventional assumptions about the PRC's decision-making calculus and what China's rise means for the United States and the world.

In *The Long Game*, Rush Doshi, currently serving as China Director on the U.S. National Security Council, draws on authoritative CCP newspapers, PRC government documents,

and official memoirs and speeches from key PRC leaders to argue that since 1989, China has sought to displace the United States in both East Asia and on the global stage through a grand strategy to first blunt U.S. power, then build China's own regional order, and finally expand that order globally. Doshi highlights the "traumatic trifecta" of the Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989, the Gulf War in 1990-1991, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 as key turning points that led to the PRC leadership perceiving the U.S. as the principal threat to the CCP's rule and to devise a new grand strategy to displace U.S. power regionally and globally. He notes "the Tiananmen Square protests reminded Beijing of the American ideological threat, the swift [U.S.-led] Gulf War victory reminded [the CCP] of the American military threat, and loss of the shared Soviet adversary reminded [PRC leadership] of the American geopolitical threat."

Doshi uses a military, political, and economic lens to analyze China's grand strategy to blunt U.S. power, build its own capabilities and international institutions, and expand globally. From 1989-2008, the CCP pursued a blunting strategy to limit U.S. military, political, and economic pressure on the PRC. Militarily, China invested in low cost, asymmetric defense platforms, such as submarines, missiles, and mines to counter U.S. conventional air and sea power in East Asia. Politically, the PRC joined key international organizations in East Asia, such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), to undermine U.S. order-building in the region. Economically, Beijing pursued 'Most-Favored Nation' status and accession into the World Trade Organization to gain access to the U.S. market and mitigate U.S. coercive economic capacity against China. From 2009-2016, the PRC shifted to a building strategy to increase China's regional influence. This strategy included military investments in aircraft carriers and overseas facilities and the establishment of new international organizations such as the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Lastly, Doshi points out that since 2017, China has expanded its presence on the world stage by "taking [its] forms of control – coercive capability, consensual inducements, and its pursuit of its legitimacy – global."



In contrast to Rush Doshi's more long-term analysis of the PRC's grand strategy, Elizabeth Economy's *The World According to China* examines China's strategy since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012. Economy, currently the Senior Advisor for China at the U.S. Department of Commerce, argues that Xi's vision for China is one where the PRC has gained control over disputed territories, such as Taiwan, assumed a preeminent position in East Asia, and "[realigned] the international system to reflect Chinese values, norms, and policy preferences." Similar to Doshi, Economy discusses how China projects and attempts to enforce its redlines concerning sovereignty (e.g., Taiwan) and the free expression of sensitive topics (e.g., the Hong Kong protests and Xinjiang) by employing a combination of "soft, sharp, and even hard power... to shape the political and economic choices of foreign actors in support of Beijing's values and interests." This approach also extends to Xi's efforts to shape the future of global governance, particularly in the technology domain, through the BRI and the Digital Silk Road, which "signifies the global deployment of Chinese technology, standards, and political values." Beijing also attempts to shape global discussions on norms and values concerning human rights, cyber security/sovereignty, and the Arctic by placing Chinese officials into positions of leadership within key global governance institutions, such as the United Nations.

# The World According to China



Elizabeth C. Economy

Finally, Economy responds to Graham Allison's argument that U.S.-China relations are stuck in a so-called "Thucydides Trap" by pointing out "that the central challenge China poses is a value- and norm-based one and not... one defined by a rising power versus an established power."

In summary, *The Long Game* and *The World According to China* are well-researched and compelling works that serve as useful resources for both casual and seasoned observers of China and East Asia. Doshi's argument that the PRC has maintained a consistent strategy since 1989 to displace the United States as the global leader forces observers to rethink assumptions about competition and engagement with China. Moreover, Economy's observation about Xi Jinping's willingness to endure foreign opprobrium and economic costs to achieve his ends forces policymakers to reconsider new ways to shape China's policy decisions. Both authors make clear that U.S.-China competition is "primarily a competition over who will lead [the] regional and global order and what kind of order they might create from that position of leadership." This competition may well come to resemble aspects of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War, as countries in East Asia and around the world are already beginning to blunt the effects of the PRC's coercion by diversifying their supply chains and exploring new avenues of international cooperation that do not include China. Nevertheless, China's economic interconnectedness with the rest of the world and the role of space, cyber, and information technologies will ensure that U.S.-China competition is different from the strategic rivalries we have seen in the past.

*“China has sought to displace the United States in both East Asia and on the global stage through a grand strategy to first blunt U.S. power, then build China's own regional order, and finally expand that order globally.”*

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**Jason Halub** is a U.S. Army Foreign Area Officer currently serving at the Joint U.S. Military Affairs Group-Korea.



# Former Republic of Korea Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Recommended Reading List

The U.S. Military emphasizes not only being proficient in one's career field but also expanding one's perspective in political, economic, and geopolitical affairs. Heraclitus, a Greek philosopher, once said, "The only constant in life is change." Learning new strategies and pursuing innovation is critical to remain current in this ever-changing world. Professional reading lists are, thus, a conduit to achieving a vast amount of knowledge in a controlled environment.

We would like to introduce a reading list recommended by former Republic of Korea Minister of Defense (2018-20) and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2017-18) Jeong Kyeong-doo, as it is insightful to understand what our allies are reading. This list provides a glimpse into the priorities placed at the highest levels of the ROK military. Please note that the books on this list are not endorsed by ROK or U.S. forces. We hope that you are inspired to pick up one (or many) of the books below.

# 1

***The Art of War by Sun Tzu, 5th Century BC***

An ancient Chinese strategic handbook for warfare and successful conflict resolution.

# 2

***A World Connecting: 1870-1945, Edited by Emily S. Rosenberg, 2012***

A collection of five essays by historians illustrating the tensions formed by the growing interconnectedness of the world in 1870-1945, due to the development of communication and transportation technologies

# 3

***The Tragedy of Great Power Politics by John J. Mearsheimer, 2001***

Suggesting the tragedy of great power politics, the book looks at China's rise to challenge U.S. hegemony and prospects for the future, via an analysis of the international order.

# 4

***World Order by Henry Kissinger, 2014***

Looking at recent world history and drawing on his experience, Former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger presents analyses on how to build a shared international order, the roots of international harmony and global disorder, including an analysis of the U.S.-China conflict.

# 5

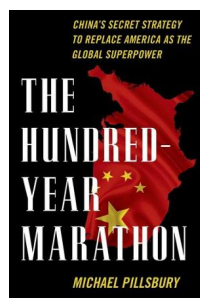
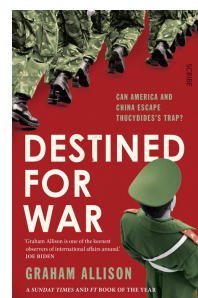
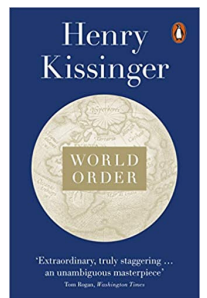
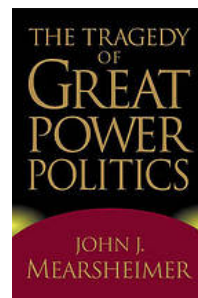
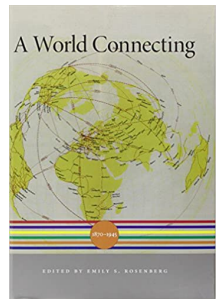
***Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap? by Allison Graham, 2017***

An explanation of the competition and conflict between the U.S. and China, using Thucydide's Trap and historical scenarios, including presenting future prospects.

# 6

***The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower by Michael Pillsbury, 2015***

Explains China's rise in challenging U.S. hegemony, revealing their secret strategy, through declassified documents and interviews.



# Former Republic of Korea Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Recommended Reading List

## 7

***Korea: Politics of the Vortex* by Gregory Henderson, 1968**

A study of the pattern of Korean politics through analyzing cultural and developmental aspects from the Joseon Dynasty to 1968.

## 8

***Command of the Air* by Giulio Douhet, 1927**

A military treatise on the importance and implications of air warfare through historical examples of air force operation.

## 9

***Reorganizing the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986* by Gordon N Lederman, 1999**

A review of the effectiveness of the 1986 act that attempted to balance competing tendencies within the DoD, designating the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the principal military advisor to the President and seeking to foster greater cooperation among the military services.

## 10

***The Influence of Sea Power upon History* by Alfred Thayer Mahan, 1890**

An influential naval strategy book, displaying the history of sea power and naval warfare during the 17th and 18th centuries.

## 11

***Why Japan Lost the War* by Fujii Hisashi (In Korean/Japanese), 2016**

Analysis of the factors leading to the defeat of the Japanese military in the Pacific War.

## 12

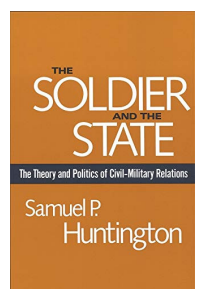
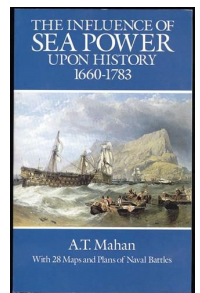
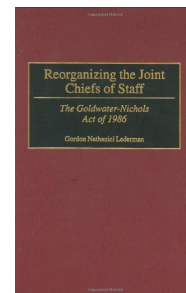
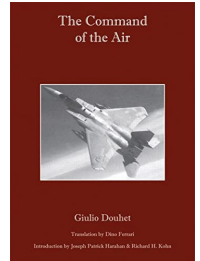
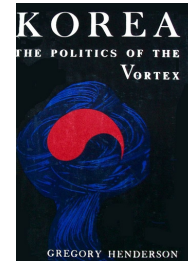
***The Soldier and the State* by Samuel Huntington, 1957**

A book challenging the assumptions of the military's societal role, Huntington develops a theory of civil-military relations via historical analysis.

## 13

***The Fourth Industrial Revolution* by Klaus Schwab, January 11, 2016**

Overview of the Fourth Revolution and description of the impact and policy challenges that technological changes will bring.



# Former Republic of Korea Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Recommended Reading List

## 14

**Condition by strong, by Ju-Hee Lee (In Korean), 2014**  
Case explanation of states that have displayed strong leadership and become hegemonic through a culture of tolerance, pluralism and inclusiveness.

## 15

**Strategy of Negotiation by Yeon-Chul Kim (In Korean), 2016**  
Presents problem-solving theories and examples of negotiation in 20 moments of crisis.

## 16

**Jingbirok (The book of Corrections) by Yu Seong Ryong, 1647**  
A first hand account and analysis of the Imjin War written by a high ranking Joseon scholar, reflecting on the mistakes made.

## 17

**The Two Koreas by Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, 1997**  
A post-World War II analysis of the formation of a structure of permanent conflict between South Korea and North Korea despite starting with a homogeneous nation.

## 18

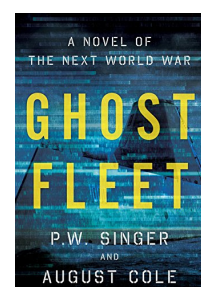
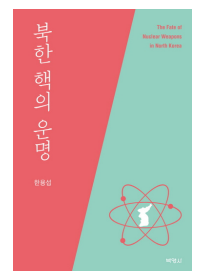
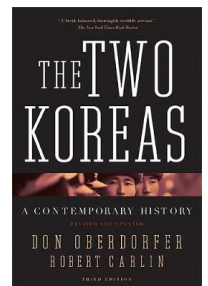
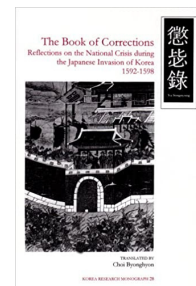
**Cybersecurity and Cyber War by P.W. Singer and Allan Friedman, 2013**  
Explanation of the key questions about cyberspace and its security, as well as important issues, characters and recent events in the invisible cyber warfare.

## 19

**The Fate of Nuclear Weapons in North Korea by Han Young Sup (In Korean), 2018**  
Presentation of the historical process of North Korea's nuclear development and future denuclearization prospects.

## 20

**Ghost Fleet by Peter W. Singer and August Cole, 2015**  
A war techno-thriller, exploring a world where a post-Communist China, assisted by Russia, launches a technologically sophisticated attack against the U.S.





# Partners

The FAOA Korea Chapter would like to thank the following organizations for their generous support:



The **Korea-United States Alliance Foundation** is an organization committed to promoting the ROK-U.S. Alliance and the contribution of the United States Forces Korea to security and peace on the Korean Peninsula. The Foundation exists to financially support the management and operations of the Korea Defense Veterans Association; to strengthen the ROK-U.S. Alliance through programs that facilitate education, discussion and research on the Alliance; and to promote the honor and welfare of both countries' armed forces personnel and their families.



The **Korea Defense Veterans Association's** mission is to enhance the ROK-U.S. Alliance by advocating for the Alliance and supporting the people who built and serve the Alliance. KDVA seeks to enhance, advocate for, and educate about the ROK-U.S. Alliance; recognize and support service members, government civilians, and their families who have or are serving in the ROK-U.S. Alliance; serve its members with professional networking, mentoring, volunteering, and researching opportunities; honor and support the veterans who defended South Korea during the Korean War.



The **United States Embassy Association** is a private, non-government, non-appropriated employee organization, established under the rules of the U.S. Department of State for the benefit of its members. It provides activities, facilities, programs, personal services, and lodging in order to bring a little bit of America and community spirit to the lives of employees assigned abroad.



The **Center for Future Defense Technology and Entrepreneurship** stands at the forefront of the global defense innovation ecosystem. As the only defense innovation hub in South Korea, we aim to advance the global defense innovation ecosystem through events, publications, strategic network partners, and in-house experts and advisors.



The **Sejong Society** is a non-partisan, and all-volunteer tax-exempt organization dedicated to informing, developing, and connecting young professionals interested and engaged in U.S.-Korea affairs. Our ultimate goal is to inspire the next generation, regardless of political and career affiliations, of Korea and Northeast Asia specialists.

# Calendar of Events

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## March 2022

**Tuesday 1st:** ROK Independence Movement Day

**Wednesday 2nd:** FAOA Korea Chapter Coffee & Chat with David Maxwell

**Wednesday 9th:** ROK Election Day

**Tuesday 29th - Wednesday 30th:** Global Health Innovation Policy Program Crisis Simulation Workshop

## April 2022

**Saturday 2nd:** ROKMC 72nd Anniversary

**Tuesday 12th - Thursday 28th:** Combined Command Post Training

**TBC:** Joint FAOA Korea Chapter-GW Institute of Korean Studies Chat with Stephen Costello & John Merrill

## May 2022

**Thursday 5th:** Children's Day (ROK)

**Saturday 7th:** Military Spouse Appreciation Day (U.S.)

**Sunday 8th:** Buddha's Birthday (ROK)

**Friday 13th:** Children of Fallen Patriots Day (U.S.)

**Monday 15th:** Armed Forces Day (U.S.)

**Tuesday 31st:** Memorial Day (U.S.)

**TBC:** FAOA Korea Chapter Senior FAO Panel

## June 2022

**Friday 3rd:** High Performance Coaching Workshop for Korea Chapter members

**Saturday 25th:** 72nd Anniversary of the Korean War

# Community News

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- Congratulations to *Chris Hobgood*, the Vice President of the FAOA Korea Chapter, who was recently promoted to Colonel and featured in Yonhap News.
- We welcome our new Treasurer *Rich Naseer*, a U.S. Army Major serving as a Northeast Asia FAO.

If you have any news to share, including personal or career achievements and upcoming events, please email [editor.faoakc@gmail.com](mailto:editor.faoakc@gmail.com)



COL Christopher Hobgood's recent promotion to Colonel.  
Credit: United Nations Command Facebook Page

# Distinguished Members

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## Sheena Chestnut Greitens

Dr. Sheena Chestnut Greitens is an Associate Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. She has been an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri and was a 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.



## Kongdan "Katy" Oh Hassig

Dr. Kongdan "Katy" Oh Hassig is an independent scholar. She has been a Senior Asia Specialist at the Institute for Defense Analyses, a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and a member of the Political Science Department of the RAND Corporation. She has taught at the University of California San Diego, George Washington University, and the University of Maryland Global Campus in Asia. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Board of Directors of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, and the Board of Directors of the Korea Economic Institute of America. She was a founding co-director of The Korea Club of Washington, D.C.



## Soo Kim

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.



### Heino Klinck



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 U.S. Forces Korea/United Nations Command/Combined Forces Command. GEN(R) Scaparrotti graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, 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.

### Suzanne Vares-Lum



Major General (Retired) Suzanne Vares-Lum served 34 years in the U.S. Army and is President of the East-West Center. She is an influential executive with leadership and planning experience spanning the Indo-Pacific region, violent extremist organizations, and natural disasters. She most recently served for five years as one of the most senior leaders in U.S. Indo-Pacific Command and now serves as a strategic consultant and advisor. Vares-Lum received a B.A. in Journalism and an M.Ed. in Teaching from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, and a Master's degree in Strategid Studies from the U.S. Army War College.

### Major General Mark Gillette, Honorary Member

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. MG Gillette 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.

MG Gillette 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, MG Gillette was presented Honorary Membership on July 23, 2020.



# Board Members

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## **Wei C. Chou, *President***

Wei C. Chou is a U.S. Army Northeast Asia FAO. He holds a Bachelors of Science degree from the United States Military Academy and a Master of Arts degree from the University of Hawaii as an East-West Fellow. After eight years as an airborne and mechanized infantryman, Wei served across a range of FAO capacities in Hawaii, Japan, and the Republic of Korea.

Contact: [PresidentFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:PresidentFAOAKC@gmail.com)



## **Chris Hobgood, *Vice President***

Chris Hobgood is a U.S. Army Northeast Asia FAO. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree from Lander University; a Master of Science degree from Webster University; and a Master of Arts degree from Middlebury Institute of International Studies. Chris has over 22 years of service and worked in a variety of FAO assignments by advising senior military and civilian leaders with regional expertise on the Indo Pacific region as a Security Cooperation officer, a political-military officer, and Senior Defense Official / Defense Attaché.

Contact: [VPFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:VPFAOAKC@gmail.com)



## **Rich Naseer, *Treasurer***

Rich Naseer is a Major in the U.S. Army serving as a Northeast Asia FAO. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the United States Military Academy and a Master of Arts in Asian Studies from the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Contact: [treasurerFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:treasurerFAOAKC@gmail.com)



## **Josh Duran, *Secretary***

Josh "Duran" Duran is an active-duty Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Navy. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree from the U.S. Naval Academy. After serving eight years as a Naval Intelligence Officer, he has served two additional tours in the Republic of Korea as an FAO.

Contact: [SecretaryFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:SecretaryFAOAKC@gmail.com)



## **Adrian Romero, *Chief of Public Relations***

Adrian Romero is an active duty Warrant Officer in the U.S. Army. He holds an A.A. degree in Applied Science and is currently pursuing an M.B.A. He has over ten years of work experience in the Indo-Pacific region.

Contact: [PAOFAOAKC@gmail.com](mailto:PAOFAOAKC@gmail.com)

# Staff Members

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## **Editor in Chief**

Emily Stamp holds an undergraduate M.A. from the University of St. Andrews, Scotland and an M.A. in International Conflict Studies from King's College London, England.

## **Assistant Editor**

Gabriela Bernal is a PhD candidate at the University of North Korean Studies in Seoul. She is also a freelance writer, with her articles having appeared in various publications. She holds two MAs, one in human rights from Sciences Po Paris and one in international peace and security from King's College London.

## **Assistant Editor**

Apoorva Jayakumar is a Masters student pursuing a Global Economy and Strategy major at Yonsei Graduate School of International Studies. She enjoys reading and writing about Indo-Pacific strategy & policy.

## **Marketing Coordinator**

YoonJeong Choi is a student pursuing a business bachelor's degree at Purdue University in Indiana State. Her interests include IT, HoloLens, environment, space technology, and e-commerce.

## **Research Intern**

Salome Giunashvili is a Master's degree candidate in International Studies from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. She holds a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from Tbilisi State University. Her research interests span across several different areas involving international security, hybrid warfare and alliance politics.

## **Senior Researcher**

Amos Oh is a U.S. Army Strategist with extensive policy and planning experience. He is a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy and also earned an M.P.A. from the Harvard Kennedy School. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Southern California.

## **Associate Researcher**

Sean McCauley is an instructor based in South Korea. He is a political science graduate of the University of Alberta with a special focus on international relations; and he has extensive background in political advocacy in Canada.

## **Associate Graphics Designer & Social Media Assistant**

Sara La Cagnina is a Communications Coordinator who graduated with an M.A. in International Tourism from the Università Della Svizzera Italiana. She has extensive experience with digital communication and event coordination.

## **Research Intern**

Hyun Jin (Emmy) Nam is a recent graduate from Yonsei University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies from Yonsei University. She has internship experience in the Internal Political Unit of the US Embassy in the Republic of Korea, and was awarded second place in the ASEAN-Korea Academic Essay Competition.



# About the Korea Chapter

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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.

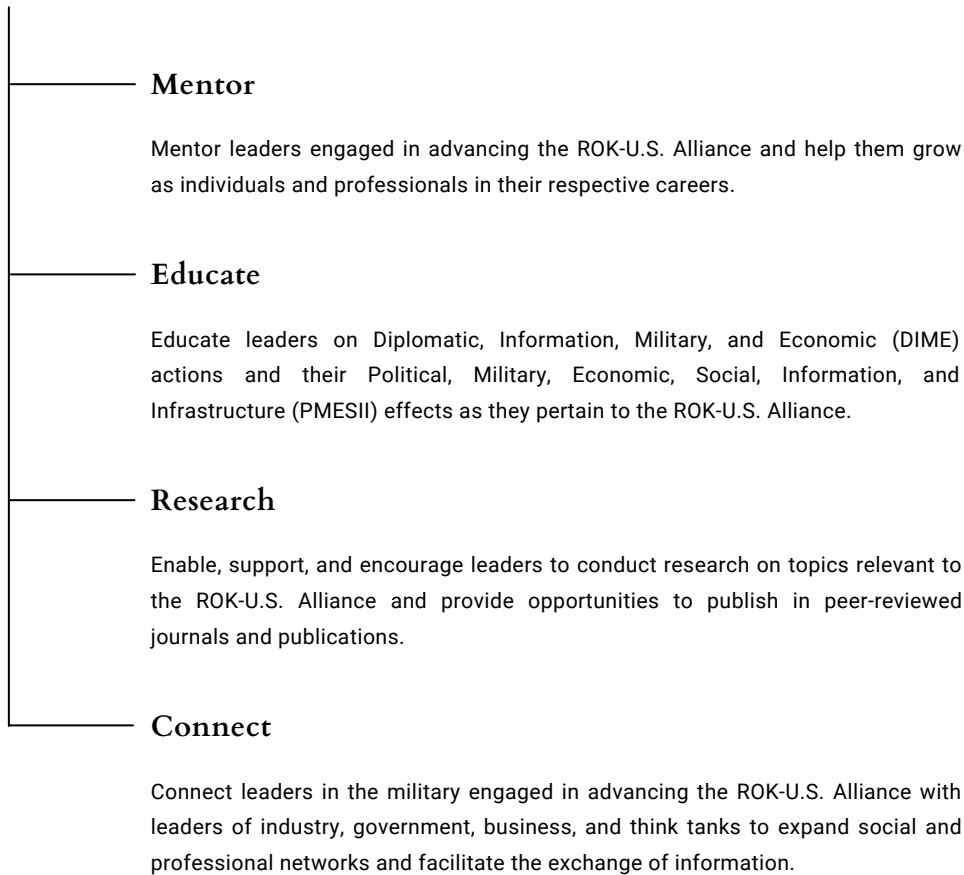
## Our Mission

To develop and inspire leaders engaged in the advancement of the ROK-U.S. Alliance.

## Our Core Values

- Commitment to Leader Development
- Pursuit of Inspiration

## Lines of Effort



# CALL FOR ARTICLES

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Contribute to the journal of the FAOA Korea Chapter,  
*The Joint Communiqué*,  
for the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 2022.



Deadline for submissions: April 29, 2022  
Contact: [editor.faoakc@gmail.com](mailto:editor.faoakc@gmail.com)



Website: [www.faoa.org/page-1863552](http://www.faoa.org/page-1863552)

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/groups/faoakoreachapter](https://www.facebook.com/groups/faoakoreachapter)



LinkedIn: [www.linkedin.com/groups/13887642](https://www.linkedin.com/groups/13887642)