

Pg. 1: 2018 Building Bridges Award
 Pg. 2-4: Opinion
 Pg. 4: Board Member's Activities
 and Book Release
 Pg. 5: Project Bridge 2017-2018
 Pg. 6: PCI Sponsored Programs

The PCI News



2018 Building Bridges Award Dr. Robert L. Gallucci and The Council on Foreign Relations



Dr. Robert L. Gallucci is the individual recipient of the 2018 Building Bridges award. Dr. Gallucci is currently Chairman of The US-Korea Institute at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and a professor at Georgetown University. He served for twenty-one years in various US government positions focusing on non-proliferation. As US Special Envoy he was the chief negotiator during the

North Korean nuclear crisis of 1994 and architect of the Agreed Framework which resolved the crisis. From 1996-2009, he was Dean of Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service during which its programs were top-ranked in its field. He also expanded the reach and depth of its programs. From 2009 – 2014, he was president of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, where he oversaw grant-making priorities include mitigating climate change, reducing jail populations, decreasing nuclear threats and supporting nonprofit journalism (as well as the “genius grants”).



Dr. Gallucci at 2nd Annual William J. Perry Lecture Series at Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea.



The Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order

to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. Founded in 1921, CFR takes no institutional positions on matters of policy. CFR carries out its mission by:

- Maintaining a diverse membership, including special programs to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders;
- Convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, DC, and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with CFR members to discuss and debate major international issues;
- Supporting a studies program that fosters independent research, enabling CFR scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations;
- Publishing Foreign Affairs, the preeminent journal of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
- Sponsoring independent task forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and
- Providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy on its website, CFR.org. Dr. Richard Haass, President of CFR will accept the Building Bridges institutional award on behalf of Council on Foreign Relations.

Dr. Robert L. Gallucci and the Council on Foreign Relations will be honored at the 2018 PCI Annual Award Dinner on Feb 22, 2018.



Board Member's Opinion Editorials

I Would like to help Japan realize reconciliation with China, South Korea

By *Fumio Matsuo*

What I am pondering once again after being honored by the award* is the heaviness of my responsibility as a member of "the last generation that experienced the war" and the greatness of challenges yet to be tackled.

My father was a career officer of the old Imperial Japanese Army. For that reason in particular, my memory of life begins in February 1936 when I temporarily returned to Japan as a toddler with my mother by boat from Shanhaiguan, then a strategic border town on the eastern tip of the Great Wall that separated Manchuria from northern China. My father was stationed there. On our way back a few months later from the temporary homecoming to attend a funeral of my grandfather who suddenly passed away in Tokyo, my mother and I – then 2 years and a half old – traveled through the Korean Peninsula via Pusan (known as Busan today) by the railway.

The trip that took me across the two Japanese-occupied territories – Korea was part of the Empire of Japan and northern China where invaded by Japan since 1931 – remains a vivid memory even now, almost eight decades later.

The Pacific theater of World War II began when I was a second grader of elementary school and, half a year later, in April 1942, I witnessed the Doolittle air raid in Tokyo's Toyama area. In the third semester of my fifth grade, I escaped Grumman machine gun strafing in Zentsuji in the Shikoku region, where my father was posted then. On July 19, 1945, a month before Japan's surrender, I miraculously survived massive night carpet bombings by a fleet of 127 B29 bombers in the Japan Sea coast city of Fukui, my ancestral home.

I believe that my idea calling for incumbent Japanese and U.S. leaders to exchange visits and lay wreaths at places associated with the war was broached out of my war experience.

In February 1995, a reverent ceremony was held in Dresden, Germany, on the 50th anniversary of the 1945 Allied aerial bombings led by the United States and Britain to pray for the repose of souls of those killed. While the death toll in the Dresden attacks reached 35,000, the Great Tokyo Air Raid on March 10, 1945, which was the first in a series of "indiscriminate nighttime firebomb attacks" against Japan, killed 83,793 people, far more than in Dresden. But this sort of ceremony for reconciliation, which is equivalent to "offering incense sticks" in a Japanese manner, has yet to take place.

I was greatly shocked at the news of the Dresden reconciliation as I recalled my experience in the relentless B29 bombings endured patiently that night on a sweet potato field in Fukui.

I continued sticking to this and, a decade later in 2005, I contributed an article to the *Wall Street Journal* in the United States and *Chuokoron* magazine in Japan each, initiating a campaign calling for mutual floral tributes by Japanese and U.S. leaders. This proposal has since received support from many people and, 11 years later, saw the light of day last year thanks in particular to "decisions" by then U.S. President

Barack Obama and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

But Japan's relations with China and South Korea are far from reconciliation. In his "Power of Reconciliation" address in Hawaii, Prime Minister Abe did not refer to East Asia for some reason or other. I was honored by the Japan National Press Club Award at age 83. I would like to devote the rest of my life to the realization of reconciliation with the two neighboring countries, setting out to fight like Don Quixote toward that goal.

Referring to Japan's relations with South Korea, I believe it unavoidable to "renegotiate" the "comfort women" issue now that the new Seoul government of President Moon Jae In has been inaugurated, even though the bilateral agreement over the issue was once thought to have laid the controversy to rest. Floral tribute diplomacy in China would need time to realize in Nanjing, where the number of victims of the 1937 Nanjing massacre by invading Japanese troops widely differs between Japan and China. But a wreath-laying ceremony can be held, as soon as right now, in Chongqing where there is no doubt about the death toll of more than 10,000 caused by indiscriminate aerial bombings by the wartime Japanese army and navy planes.

What I want to emphasize here is the historical old wounds left by Japan and the United States in East Asia – not only South Korea but also the Philippines – an issue seldom discussed in Japan today.

In July 1905, when the Portsmouth Peace Conference got under way to end the Russo-Japanese War, a secret deal was struck by Japan and the United States, with Tokyo endorsing the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines and Washington approving the Japanese annexation of South Korea.

Based on this clandestine deal, known as the Katsura-Taft Agreement after the then Japanese and U.S. leaders, Japan annexed South Korea five years later, marking the starting point that led to Japan's "imperialist aggression" of China and eventually to the Pacific war. This irony of history is almost forgotten in Japan.

The United States also harbors the old sores of not only ignoring South Korea's desperate resistance against the Japanese annexation but also leaving 16,000 war deaths on the Philippine side after as long as four years of fighting with the "Philippine Revolutionary Army" battling for independence.

When we speak of South Korea's "violation of its commitment" in connection with the comfort women issue, what we should never forget is this history.

PCI board member, Fumio Matsuo is an author and journalist. He served as foreign correspondent in New York and Washington, followed by bureau chief in Bangkok and Washington, then editorial writer.

**In 2017, he received 2017 Japan National Press Club Award in recognition of his efforts of achieving mutual flower laying ceremonies by President Obama at Hiroshima and Prime Minister Abe at Pearl Harbor.*



This opinion piece by PCI Board Member Hong Seok-hyun appeared in the Washington Post on November 9, 2017.

Trump's new North Korea strategy might actually work

By Hong Seok-hyun

The Donald Trump who stood at the podium of South Korea's National Assembly this week was not the Trump who communicates in impetuous blasts on Twitter. While his message to the world in general and to Pyongyang in particular was clear enough, his rhetoric was admirably restrained. He did not threaten to completely destroy North Korea, as he did in his United Nations address in September. He didn't call North Korean leader Kim Jong Un "Little Rocket Man," like he did during his September U.N. address. In fact, he uttered Kim Jong Un's name only once.

Instead, he declared what may be dubbed the Trump doctrine — peace through strength. "America does not seek conflict or confrontation. But we will never run from it," he said. "If you want peace, you must stand strong at all times." We in South Korea welcomed him, saying that the objective of showing strength is to draw North Korea to the negotiating table to talk not only about its denuclearization but also about sustainable peace on the peninsula. South Koreans felt relieved by Trump's promise not to "let the worst atrocities in history be repeated here on this ground." Peace, indeed, is the imperative for us Koreans.

A hotline to Pyongyang

While Trump's resolve is appreciated by those of us in the line of fire, there is also a need for caution. As America deploys strategic assets to the Korean Peninsula to deter Pyongyang's nuclear and missile provocations, Washington must ensure it does not lead to military actions by Pyongyang. North Korea shooting down an American military aircraft, whether accidentally or intentionally, could light the fuse of war. We do not have any buffer to guard against such tragic mistakes.

Given the volatile situation, there is an urgent need to establish military and diplomatic channels between North and South Korea, as well as a hotline between Pyongyang and Washington.

A dangerous conundrum

Kim Jong Un undoubtedly holds the greatest responsibility for the current crisis on the Korean Peninsula. His ultimate goal appears to be to gain the capability to strike the U.S. mainland with a nuclear-tipped intercontinental ballistic missile. Until he reaches that goal, Kim is not likely to curb his efforts because of pressure or sanctions from the international community. His hidden aim may be to seal a big deal with Washington using his completed arsenal of nuclear weapons and missiles as leverage.

Should that stage be reached, South Korea's worst-case scenario may unfold. If the U.S. mainland faces a direct threat from North Korea's ICBMs, confidence in Washington's nucle-

nuclear umbrella and extended deterrence to South Korea will be shaken. North Korea could take full advantage of this and make all sorts of threats against the South. In such a situation, if the U.S. ignores that North Korea is in effect a nuclear state and instead adopts a strategy to deter and contain it, South Korea will be left standing naked in the wilderness.

If Kim continues to recklessly speed toward completing his nuclear weapons program, things will head in that direction. At the same time, with more voices clamoring for the international community to stop Kim before he reaches his goal, there is a greater chance of a military clash on the Korean Peninsula. If Trump shifts to a military option, it is likely to happen before North Korea completes its nuclear arsenal. A Northeast Asia enveloped in war is a nightmare that no one wants, including China and Russia.

Negotiate before it's too late

There is not much time left. All possible means must be used to bring North Korea to the negotiating table before it completes its nuclear weapons program. Here are the next steps that should be taken:

- To start, we must leave all doors to dialogue wide open while putting maximum pressure on Pyongyang through ever-stronger sanctions, including further restricting North Korea's access to crude oil, further reducing North Korean overseas laborers and downscaling diplomatic ties with Pyongyang. North Korea has to be driven into a corner.
- The Trump administration's principle of the "four nos" could provide the first steps toward creating conditions for meaningful talks. The U.S. has stated that it does not call for regime change, the North's collapse or an accelerated reunification of the Korean Peninsula, nor does it want to send its military north of the 38th parallel. To enforce these "nos," a senior official from the Trump administration or a special envoy should visit Pyongyang or meet with a North Korean counterpart in a third country.
- Kim has to be reassured that unlike Saddam Hussein in Iraq or Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, there is a way for his regime to survive even after denuclearization.
- North and South Korea plus the U.S. and China should launch a high-level, two-on-two meeting. If the U.S. races toward military action without such efforts, it will be difficult to gain the support of South Korea or the international community.
- I expected to hear — but did not — an explicit declaration from Trump that even if the day comes that North Korea completes and deploys an ICBM that can strike the U.S. mainland, Washington's nuclear umbrella will protect South Korea and Japan. If the U.S. doesn't make this clear, the South Korean and Japanese people will start asking why they can't develop their own nuclear weapons for protection.
- A steadfast South Korea-U.S. alliance and cooperation between South Korea, the U.S. and Japan is fundamental. However, it is a well-known fact that there is a rift, with on

(Continued on page 4)



Board Member Activity



PCI Chair, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens appeared in PBS NewsHour with Judy Woodruff on "Rivals North and

South Korea break their silence. Here's what could challenge future dialogue" on January 8, 2018.



PCI board member, Professor Moon Chung-in appeared on a CNN International

interview with Kristie Lu Stout about North-South Korea meeting on January 9, 2018.

Book Release

China's Crisis of Success

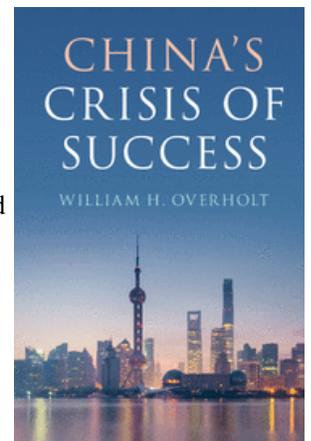
In 1993 William Overholt published *The Rise of China: How Economic Reform is Creating a New Superpower*, a controversial forecast of success based on the its emulation of the earlier Asian miracles; that forecast was initially ridiculed, then later acclaimed as prescient. In 2012 he called for a reassessment of China's prospects based on divergence from the paths of earlier successes. His new book, *China's Crisis of Success*, argues that China is like an entrepreneur whose business success reaches a threshold where success can only continue if it transforms itself (e.g., with professional accounting, professional HR, and much else). China's leadership now has a brilliant model of economic transformation, but has political problems with implementation of key reforms, and has no comparable model of political transformation.

By applying comparisons with other emerging countries, *China's Crisis of Success* reveals China's core strengths and weaknesses, in the process potentially revolutionizing much of our understanding of China. For instance, contrary to widely accepted political analyses, Chinese communism is not uniquely susceptible to corruption and environmental problems; developing democracies like India are much worse. Moreover, contrary to the most highly regarded economic theorists, China is far more socially inclusive than its democratic counterparts at similar levels of development; for instance, homeownership is 20 percentage points higher than the U.S. Moreover, China's ad-

ministrative system, denigrated by respected Western analysts as crippled by factionalism and incapable of long-range planning, actually demonstrates extraordinary strengths.

However, the same analysis displays China's weaknesses. There is no widely applicable Beijing Model; China's path can only be emulated by countries experiencing certain extreme conditions and even then only for a limited time. Xi Jinping's extraordinary ability to eliminate rivals does not necessarily convey comparable ability to implement reform policies. Implementation of those policies at a time of financial stringency requires paying a heavy price in economic growth and political support and so far the leadership has been unwilling to pay much of that price. This leaves China in a crisis of success: a big success, a proportionately big crisis, and resulting uncertainty as to whether the future will bring continued political and economic success, stagnation, or collapse of the model.

PCI board member William Overholt is a Senior Fellow at Harvard University and former Distinguished Chair and Director of the RAND Corporation's Center for Asia Pacific Policy.



Trump's new North Korea strategy might actually work

(continued from page 3)

- South Korea, the U.S. and Japan on one side and China and Russia on the other. When U.S.-China and U.S.-Russia relations are not going smoothly, it will be difficult to agree on a higher level of sanctions on the North. There is a risk the rift will widen. That is why South Korea's role is so important: it needs to step forward and continue to convince Beijing and Moscow to cooperate with Washington and Tokyo.
- Inter-Korean talks have to be a precondition for South Korea to play a catalyst role between North Korea and the U.S.

Dialogue with North Korea has to be attempted behind the scenes, including through economic, cultural and sports channels.

I hope Kim Jong Un will heed Trump's admonition: "The weapons you are acquiring are not making you safer. They are putting your regime in grave danger." I could not agree more that North Korea should find the way to a promising future — like South Korea — through complete denuclearization.

PCI board member Hong Seok-Hyun is a former South Korean Ambassador to the U.S. and chairman of JoongAng Media Network.



Project Bridge 2017-2018

The 2017-2018 Project Bridge kicked off its annual intercultural outreach program on November 18, 2017 with the welcoming lunch. Youth Ambassadors from greater Los Angeles area were carefully selected to participate in the program that aims to cultivate young community leaders with increased awareness and understanding of different cultures using Korea as a case study.



Los Angeles Youth Ambassadors. Top Left: Meo, Andrea, Thomas, Adrianna, Litzy Bottom: Kimi, Isabella, Cora

2017-2018 Los Angeles Youth Ambassadors

Name	High School
Adrianna Rodas	Gabrielino High School
Andrea Gonzalez	Lynwood High School
Cora Wu	La Cañada High School
Isabella Lau	Gabrielino High School
Kimi Vo	Rosemead High School
Litzy Santoyo	Lynwood High School
Meo Andrei Cantiller	Ambassador Global Leadership HS
Thomas Chung	Gabrielino High School



2017-2018 Los Angeles Group Leaders



Justin Choi
I have always been fascinated by the power of relationships. As a student at UCI, service member in the military, and medical scribe in family practice, I have benefited from the amazing bonds I formed with people from all places and walks of life. I chose to volunteer at Project Bridge in order to give back to the next generation by sharing the value of relationships through cultural awareness and friendship.

I have benefited from the amazing bonds I formed with people from all places and walks of life. I chose to volunteer at Project Bridge in order to give back to the next generation by sharing the value of relationships through cultural awareness and friendship.

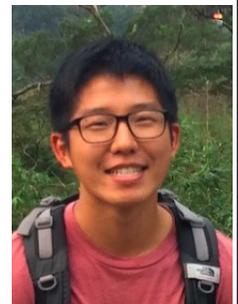


Rocheleen Roshel
Being an educator for the past ten years, it has been my mission to empower the students that I teach by facilitating the development of their own understanding of themselves and of the people around them. I have chosen to volunteer

for Project Bridge because they give students opportunities to experience and become aware of cultures other than their own. Project Bridge not only provides a fun and educating environment, they also help the students develop a deeper altruistic attitude. My hopes for the Youth Ambassadors are that they learn that culture (thoughts, beliefs, concepts, ideas, etc) is not stagnant but is fluid and ever changing. I am more than ecstatic to begin this new experience with the Youth Ambassadors .

Brian Park

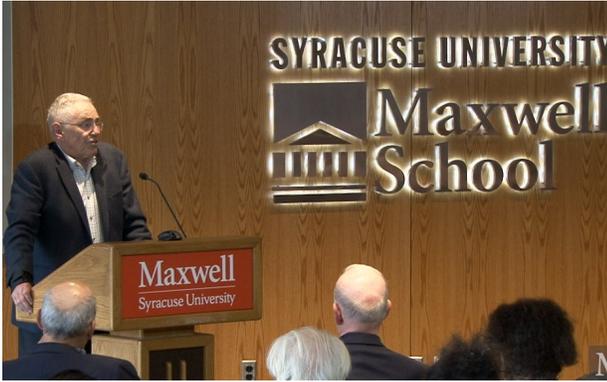
As a first generation Korean-American, I had an extremely difficult time accepting my Korean-ness. I grew up wishing that I was just normal, just



white. However, after living in Korea for the last 2 years, I came to deeply appreciate and cherish the Korean culture and language. I chose to volunteer for Project Bridge because I hope to kindle in the Youth Ambassadors the passion for different cultures and languages that has become central to who I am today.



PCI Sponsored Programs — Syracuse University Maxwell School Korean Peninsula Affairs Center



(Former PCI Chairman, Ambassador Donald Gregg at Maxwell School of Syracuse University on Nov. 2, 2017)

Former Chair Donald Gregg gave a keynote address on "The Art of Presidential Persuasion: Resolving the Korean Dilemma" just days before President Donald Trump's visit to South Korea. The program entitled "Return to Sunshine on the Korean Peninsula? Winning by Persuasion, Not Bluster," was moderated by PCI Senior Fellow, Frederick Carriere.

Other events

- "North Korea—Addressing Human Needs in a Challenging Environment" by Katharina Zellweger on January 17, 2018
- "Dilemma in Northeast Asia: North Korea, China and United States" by Kan Kimura on November 6, 2017



PACIFIC CENTURY INSTITUTE
19850 Plummer Street
Chatsworth, CA 91311

Board of Directors

Desaix Anderson, Chairman, Mansfield Foundation
Ambassador Raymond Burghardt, PCI President
Jerome Cohen, Professor, NYU School of Law
Richard Drobnick, Director, IBEAR Program, USC
Donald Evans, CPA, Evans & Bentley
Ambassador Donald P. Gregg, Former PCI Chairman
Ambassador Seok-hyun Hong, Chairman, JoongAng Media Network
Fumio Matsuo, Journalist
Pete McCloskey, former US Congressman
Adrienne Medawar, President Emeritus, Town Hall LA
Chung-in Moon, Distinguished Professor, Yonsei University
Charles D. Morrison, Distinguished Senior Fellow, East-West Center
William H. Overholt, Harvard Asia Center
Tom Plate, PCI Vice President, Loyola Marymount University
Volker R uhe, former German Defense Minister
Jie-ae Sohn, Professor, Ewha Womans University
Lt. General Hank C. Stackpole, USMC (Ret.)
Ambassador Kathleen Stephens, PCI Chair
Bob Sullivan, CPA, Marcum, LLP
James Thomson, PCI Vice Chair, President Emeritus RAND Corp.
Gregory F. Treverton, Professor, University of Southern California
Kenneth J. Tuggle, Esq., PCI President Emeritus
Lynn Turk, US Foreign Service (Ret.)

Directory

Contact:
19850 Plummer Street
Chatsworth, CA 91311
(818) 721-5555 (Tel),
(818) 459-7926 (Fax)
pci@pacificcenturyinst.org

Spencer H. Kim
(818) 721-5500 (Tel)
spencer@cbol.com

Regional Offices:

East Coast Office
William Overholt
15296 Monadnock Road
Chestnut Hills, MA 02467
(310)880-2089 (Tel)
(617)505-5099 (Fax)
Billoverholt@yahoo.com

Mid-West Office

Don Evans
116 South Sherrin Avenue
Louisville, KY 40203
(502)894-8165 (Tel)
(502)894-8167 (Fax)
devanscpa@bellsouth.com

Representative (Korea):
Sang-seok Lee
21-31, Jeongdong-gil, Jung-gu
Seoul, 100-120, KOREA
822-318-5553 (Tel)
leesang1005@gmail.com

Representative (Japan):
Fumio Matsuo
#1203, 2-21-6 Akasaka, Minato-ku,
Tokyo 107-0052, JAPAN
81-90-3901-1450 (Tel)
81-3-3414-4144 (Fax)
matsuoamerica@hotmail.com

PCI Web site:
www.pacificcenturyinst.org

Frederick F. Carriere, PCI Senior Fellow
(212) 410-5158 (Tel)
ffcarrie@syr.edu

John Delury, PCI Senior Fellow
john.delury@gmail.com

Kathi Zellweger, PCI Senior Fellow
kzellweger03@gmail.com

Hannah Y. Kim, PCI Fellow
hannahkim115@yahoo.com

Jackie Lee, PCI Executive Director
(818) 721-5511 (Tel), (818) 459-7448 (Fax)
jackie.Lee@cbol.com

Angie S. Pak, PCI Program Coordinator
angie.pak@pacificcenturyinst.org