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The PCI News



2008 Building Bridges Award Recipient:



Christopher R. Hill
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs

The annual award dinner is one of the highlights of the year for the Pacific Century Institute (PCI) and its partners. PCI established the Building Bridges Award in 2000 to honor people who have enhanced relations between Americans and Asians and who exemplify PCI's commitment of building bridges to a better future. It is a time to award someone who exemplifies the principles of PCI and a time for members and supporters of PCI to gather and strengthen relationships. Every year, academics, policy makers, journalists and interested individuals come together at an annual dinner to give out this prestigious award and to celebrate the dedication and the accomplishments of the recipient. Previous Award recipients include former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry, for his work in defusing the 1998 North Korean missile crisis; Robert Scalapino, Frank Gibney and Don Oberdorfer for their scholarship and literary achievements in Asia; the Underwood family for a century of missionary/medical work in Korea; Desaix Anderson, Ray Burghardt and Madame Ton Nu Thi Ninh

for their work in re-establishing US relations with Vietnam; and Lt. General H.C. Hank Stackpole USMC (Ret.) for his distinguished service to America and Asia.

On February 21st, 2008, the Pacific Century Institute will be honoring **Christopher R. Hill** with the Building Bridges Award at the Inter-Continental Hotel in Century City, Los Angeles, California. Ambassador Hill has distinguished himself in his work in spearheading the establishment of direct talks with North Korea on the nuclear weapons issue. The following is a brief biography.

Ambassador Hill is a career member of the senior Foreign Service whose most recent assignment was as Ambassador to the Republic of Korea. On February 14, 2005, he was named as the Head of the U.S. delegation to the Six-Party talks on the North Korean nuclear issue. Previously he has served as U.S. Ambassador to Poland from 2000-2004, Ambassador to the Republic of Macedonia from 1996-1999 and Special Envoy to Kosovo from 1998-1999. He also served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Southeast European Affairs in the National Security Council.

Earlier in his Foreign Service career, Ambassador Hill served tours in Belgrade, Warsaw, Seoul, and Tirana, and on the Department of State's Policy Planning staff and in the Department's Operation Center. While on a fellowship with the American Political Science Association, he served as a staff member for Congressman Stephen Solarz working on Eastern European issues. He also served as the Department of State's Senior Country Officer for Poland. Ambassador Hill received the State Department's Distinguished Service Award for his contributions as a member of the U.S. negotiating team in the Bosnia peace settlement, and was a recipient of the Robert S. Frasure Award for Peace Negotiations for his work on the Kosovo crisis. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Ambassador Hill served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Cameroon.

Ambassador Hill graduated from Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine with a B.A. in Economics. He received a Master's degree from the Naval War College in 1994. He speaks Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Albanian. Ambassador Hill is married and has three children. Ambassador Christopher R. Hill was sworn in as Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs on April 8, 2005.



Remember to Save the Day!
February 21, 2008



Two Journalist Programs with the East-West Center:

Korea-US Journalism Exchange

"Bridging the Gaps in Understanding", co-sponsored by the Korea Press Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation and the East-West Center, took place on April 11-26, 2007. Korean participants visited California in the United States while the American participants visited Seoul, Pusan and Gwangju in South Korea. Following these study tours, the fourteen journalists met at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii to report on their experiences and to exchange opinions on how coverage of each country maybe improved in the other. This program was developed to enhance the quality and quantity of media reporting in each country through specific focus on upper midlevel and senior "gatekeepers".

The Pacific Century Institute helped sponsor the Los Angeles portion of the program. During their five-day stay in the Southern California area, the participants visited local businesses, media centers and landmarks. These included programs at the LA Times and Rand Corporation, and a tour of a multi-ethnic manufacturing business. Highlights of the more personal portion of the visit included an Afro-American ethnic barbeque and a special guided tour of the Getty Museum.

Northeast Asia Journalists Dialogue

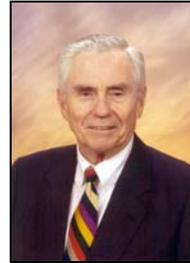
The first Northeast Asia Journalist Dialogue was held June 4-6, 2007, at the East-West Center (EWC) in Honolulu, Hawaii. This new EWC program, which the Pacific Century Institute helped to fund, brought together seventeen journalists from Japan, South Korea and the United States to discuss important and sensitive issues impacting the region and relations among the three countries. Understanding that, while diplomats and academics often hold these kinds of trilateral meetings, it is also important to draw journalists into their own dialogue since the media are prime shapers of public opinions, perspectives and understanding.

The dialogue adhered to the "Chatham House Rules," under which observations and quotes are not to be attributed by name to individual participants. Discussions centered around five program themes:

- Breaking the Impasse: Moving Ahead on North Korea?
- Generational Changes and New Leadership
- Forces Driving Regional Trade: Integration or Competition?
- Reconciling Histories in Northeast Asia
- Regional Changes and Media Challenges

Board Members' Corner

The following are brief updates from Pacific Century Institute board members concerning some of their activities this past year.



During this year, I made three trips to South Korea. In February, the Korea Society held a 50th anniversary dinner in Seoul which was attended by over 600 people. At this event, Evans Revere was introduced as the new president of The Korea Society. In June, I attended the fourth Jeju Peace Forum. Finally, in November, I received the Korean-American Friendship Award from the Korean-American Association, again in Seoul.

Mr. Revere has very successfully assumed the presidency of the Korea Society while I remain as chairman.

Donald P. Gregg



In response to the effort by President Nam Pyo Suh of Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) to strengthen the general education program in the humanities, I have accepted a new appointment as Kim Bo-jung Professor of the Humanities and will teach a course at KAIST starting in the spring semester.

In-ho Lee



In terms of Vietnam Project, I met with Dean hung Xuan Nha of the Economics Faculty of the University of Hanoi during a visit to Hanoi in January 2007 to discuss a follow-up seminar in the US, about which both of us were enthusiastic in light of the great success of our initial seminar.

With help from Dean Nha and in discussions with Princeton University, I chose as the theme, "The Impact of Globalization: Vietnam," which would allow for general discussion of the issues and also focus on Vietnam itself. After further discussions with the Princeton Institute of International and Regional Affairs (PIIRS), they agreed to host such a conference. I also spoke with the Mansfield Foundation about their organizing the conference at Princeton, an expertise they have perfected. They enthusiastically agreed to provide some funding and to

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Board Members

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manage the organization. We are also talking to a few other NGOs about additional funding.

Desaix Anderson



The East-West Center (EWC) is currently organizing a media conference in Bangkok for January 2008. It is the first time the EWC has organized a regional conference of journalists. Like the Northeast Asia Dialogue [refer to separate article on this event], this conference moves us beyond study tours to a new way of using journalists to bridge gaps in understanding between Asia Pacific countries. We get the journalists together for frank dialogue on the tough issues. We are able to do this because we have such a great network of EWC alumni, including journalists. Many of the participants will see this as a kind of alumni conference, which makes them even more interested in attending.

Raymond Burghardt



A World without the U.S.-ROK Alliance: Thinking about "Alternative Futures"

Describing how the regional landscape might change if the U.S.-ROK alliance were to end, and then evaluating the implications of those changes, are tools that help the partners take stock of the current status of the alliance. On September 10-11, 2007, the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) and the Korea Institute for Future Strategies (KIFS) hosted a conference in Seoul, South Korea, exploring this scenario in a full range of dimensions. The conference gathered leading U.S. and Korean figures from across the political spectrum in academia, business, and civil society to engage in a rigorous "alternative futures" exercise.

Main Findings

Conference participants surveyed the full range of ways in which a world without the U.S.-ROK alliance would differ from the current status quo--politically, militarily, economically, and in civil society--not only for the U.S. and South Korea, but also for the broader region. Despite often stark differences, some clear points of consensus emerged:

- Inter-Korean relations would hinge on North Korea's intentions, goals, and capabilities, with regional security mechanisms playing a secondary role.
- Replacing the full range of military capabilities gained through the alliance would be very difficult and costly for South Korea, should the ROK deem this necessary.
- The termination of the alliance would not benefit the ROK economically, either on an absolute basis or relative to the rest of the region; rather it could pose substantial costs and obstacles to continued growth and integration.
- The alliance constitutes an important "support beam" in the edifice of the broader U.S.-ROK relationship and fosters the emergence of knowledgeable and experienced policymakers, producing long-term effects independent of regional security threats.



Korea's Role in Southeast Asia

The role of Korea in Southeast Asia was the subject of a program that took place at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore on the 11th and 12th of October, 2007. Ambassador K. Kesavapany, Director of the institute, welcomed the participants and remarked on the timeliness of the project, given the rapidly expanding and multi-faceted relations between Korea and Southeast Asia. The program was initiated out of the need for recommendations to governments, think tanks and businesses about Korean experiences in Southeast Asia, how they could be improved and how the national interest of the diverse actors involved in this process could be fulfilled.

Some of the conclusions reached were:

- Korean scholars are beginning to focus attention on Southeast Asia, but there are few Southeast Asian scholars who focus exclusively on Korea.
- South Korea's national self-image does not reflect its real economic (Asia's 3rd largest economy) and democratic strength.
- South Korea with its Confucian and nationalist yet very open political system appears well equipped to play a

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Korea's Role

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- substantial role in political transitions and democratization.
- Korea's development experience serves as a valuable reference point for developing countries in Southeast Asia.
 - China's rise to economic prominence offers both challenges and opportunities to the region including Korea and ASEAN although at the same time it has affected bilateral relations.
 - South Korea's robust economy combined with demographic constraints functions as a pull factor for economic migrants. The emergence of international families and 'mixed' children confronts Korean society with new challenges regarding national identity and (resistance to) globalization.

The findings from this program will be included in two books, one in English and one in Korean language. Draft chapters will be presented at a public conference in Seoul in March 2008. There will also be a seminar at Georgetown University later in 2008 where research results will be shared and discussed. Publication of the English edition will take place late in 2008. PCI co-sponsored this program with the Asia Foundation.



The following is an article by Lynn Turk. Mr. Turk is the 2007 Pacific Century Institute Senior Fellow.

Climate, Energy...and Food Makes Three

The recent United Nations Climate Change Conference in Bali, Indonesia opened a two-year negotiation process designed to get global concurrence on a common policy to address man-made climate change. One hundred dollar per barrel crude oil prices and gasoline prices approaching four dollars per gallon have focused attention, and anxiety, on world energy supplies. Through the fog of climate change and the smoke of energy insecurity there looms yet another challenge, lesser appreciated but also dangerous, that will soon pass through the obscurity. Unless preventive action is taken, the world is on the cusp of facing pressures on its food supply that will cause economic dislocation and political disruption. History, demographics and the distribution of land and water resources make food security an especially salient issue for the Asia-Pacific.

There are tools readily available to help ameliorate the coming food pressures, but getting to the toolbox will require passing through a political thicket. This might be easier in the Asia-Pacific, where food has at least been on the agenda of APEC and a crucial first step was almost taken in 2001. Perhaps, it is time to consider again taking that first step.

What is the scope of the problem? Simply put, food demand is rising inexorably, but resources of land and water are finite. World population in 1950 was 2.5 billion. It is now 6.76 billion. By 2050, by United Nations projections, it will reach 9 billion, leveling off over the next century to a constant 9.7 billion by 2150. Even more than population, however, rising living standards cause an increase in food input demands as a better diet is consumed. The first thing people do as their incomes rise is eat a diet of less roots and grains and more meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, fruits, sweeteners and oils. All these require higher inputs of land and water. UN estimates put demand for meat, for example, rising by 85% by 2030. The rule of thumb is that a kilo of chicken requires two kilos of feed, pork four and beef anywhere from six to ten. Only one fifth of the world today eats a first world diet. As that other four fifths develops economically it will demand more, better, and safer food that will require more resource inputs. Put these factors together and we face at least a doubling of demand and, theoretically, even a tripling if eventually all 9+ billion future inhabitants of the world a century from now are to eat a diet similar to today's first world diet.

But most of the earth's arable land is already under cultivation. According to the US Department of Agriculture's calculation, even if all the marginal land available was used land under cultivation could be increased only 17% and most of this land would require maximized inputs. Meanwhile urbanization is actually eating up prime agricultural land and the need to reforest and restore wetlands for climactic preservation reasons will put pressure on taking more cultivated land out of service. There are numerous reports on water-stressed areas of the world, of rivers and lakes running low, of aquifers being depleted, of climate change-induced droughts. Yet, the International Water Management Institute estimates that the amount of water used in crop production globally could rise from 7,200 cubic km currently to as much as 13,500 cubic km by 2050.

The Green Revolution of 1959-1984 raised grain productivity per hectare by 250%. This increase was largely due to better seed stock but it was also the result of the use of fossil fuel-based fertilizer and pesticides as well as hydrocarbon-based irrigation systems. The cost of those inputs are increasing, as are their impact on water pollution.

To this equation must be also be added the desire for biofuels. In the US, President Bush in January 2007 set a

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Climate, Energy

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goal of cutting US gasoline usage by 20% with most of this coming from greater use of biofuels. In 2006 a high level of governmental subsidization led to 20% of the US corn crop being made into ethanol. More land went into growing corn and 27% of the 2007 record crop of 12.46 billion bushels of corn will be made into 9.3 billion gallons of ethanol. The estimate is that 12 billion gallons will be produced by 2010. The increase in land put into corn, and the increase in corn diverted from food to ethanol has already raised US, and global, food prices across the board. It is difficult to estimate the final impact of biofuel production on food since current technology uses the edible part of the plant, causing a direct competition. If future technology is able to extract biofuel from plant wastage the equation will change. But to give an example of the scale of the issue, the Center for International Development at Harvard estimates that, depending on technology and productivity, the equivalent of the world's current production of crude oil would require using 35 to 70% of the world's current cropland.

So, was Malthus right? Is the world doomed to run out of food for its burgeoning population? No, or at least it shouldn't. There are numerous tools to match resources and demand. The first is biotechnology, especially transgenic biotechnology, which will be able to increasingly, and perhaps exponentially, produce crops specialized to both input constraints and to desired plant output characteristics. The second is the potential for better use of agricultural technology, especially in the developing world, that will lessen input demand and prevent high rates of post-harvest wastage. Ironically, a third is urbanization, which is increasingly making point to point refrigeration, delivery and marketing of food products, even over long distances, faster, easier and cheaper. Fourthly, as pointed out by the World Bank's 2008 *World Development Report* governments are becoming more aware of agriculture's role in economic development and devoting more attention and resources to sound rural development. And finally, an open system of trade would open up great potential for land utilization based on comparative advantage rather than a need to preserve national food self-sufficiency or to protect entrenched products.

The political thicket that makes it difficult to get to the food production toolbox, however, is not easy to get through. The world is at the end of a run in which food commodity prices have, in real terms, fallen throughout the Green Revolution. The prevalent mentality is still that somehow that trend will continue, even though the evidence is growing that it will not (everyone knew US housing prices were not going to appreciate by double digits every year forever, yet the sub-prime mortgages continued). So the political pressure is to preserve farm subsidies and tariffs, to protect from competition. This disbursement of resources has also become politically entrenched, especially in those democracies where rural constituencies are over-

represented. This is particularly evident in the impasse in the Doha Round of WTO negotiations.

These political forces are exacerbated in many countries, especially in East Asia, by the feeling that some degree of self-sufficiency in food is a necessary component of national security policy. Fear of food embargoes by exporting countries, for political reasons or for economic reasons (the US soybeans embargo in the 1970s, Russia's current export tax on certain foodstuffs to keep prices low in an election season), have created a reluctance to embrace open food trade. Correspondingly, to date food exporting countries find it hard to find reliable markets since their sales depend not on regularized trade but in making up other country's shortfalls.

Interestingly, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation organization (APEC), which is comprised of the economies surrounding the Pacific and which constitutes roughly half of the world's population and half of its GNP and trade, discussed these issues in the 1995-1999 period and came out with a plan for an "APEC Food System" which would foster cooperation on rural development, technology sharing and food trade. The imbalance between rising demand in one part of APEC but resource endowment in the other part was recognized – no line through the Pacific dividing food "haves" and "have-nots." The first major step was to have been securing the concept of secure access to supplies. The original APEC Food System proposal, as adopted in 1999, contained a provision that APEC Leaders should renounce all food embargoes within APEC -- either political or economic -- when they met in Shanghai in October 2001. This was seen as the necessary precursor of creating a system where food trade could reliably and "safely" augment domestic production; in other words, if you have the money any buyer from any member of APEC is the same as a domestic buyer in any APEC food market; he cannot be refused a purchase.

The U.S. government, acknowledging the importance of this step, undertook a review of food embargo policy, recognizing the potential impact such a policy could have vis-à-vis China, Japan and Korea. In the summer of 2001 the text of such an announcement was vetted in APEC capitals. Every member economy was amenable. Then September 11 intervened and the U.S. balked at taking the "food weapon" off the table. The feeling was that it would be inappropriate, at the same time that the President was seeking additional Congressional authority to impose sanctions, for him to go to China and appear to give up some of his sanctioning authority over half the world. The implementation of the APEC Food System withered from that day forward.

The post-9/11 world has stabilized, but the day when the laws of food supply and demand will impact the world, and the Asia-Pacific, unless steps are taken to repeal them, is growing closer.

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Climate, Energy

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As a first step in meeting the future food challenge, maybe it is time to dust off the APEC Food System and look again at APEC's Leaders committing their economies to a policy of secure access – no food export embargoes for any reason -- to other APEC members. Such a high-profile action could raise political awareness and begin a process with beneficial effects for APEC, for the Doha Round, and even for global efforts to meet the needs of future food demand. With climate change and energy shortages looming, it would be good if we could cross food off our worry list.

**Project Bridge Update**

Project Bridge is an annual collaboration between the Korea Society and PCI. Participants are high school juniors and seniors from New York and Los Angeles. The primary goal is to create relationships between Americans of diverse ethnic backgrounds and foster mutual understanding between different cultures. Activities during the

year-long program include: monthly workshops on multicultural youth leadership issues and relations; seminars covering history, language and culture; field trips; community service; and, for those who successfully complete the program, a ten day educational study tour of Korea.

The following articles are from the 2006-2007 Youth Ambassadors of the Project Bridge program. In their writings they reflect upon their experiences on a recent study tour of Korea.

Growing up in America and rarely venturing far from home, this trip was both a unique eye-opening experience. I am sure I am not the only one to have been spoon-fed this image of how America is the best and how America is always right. I never stopped to question these ideas, at least not until I found myself leaving the comfort of my own country. This image shattered and I learned that American has a lot to learn. America, though great, is not perfect. The journey to come to that realization began as soon as we got off the plane and were ushered into an environment that accepted us with open arms. The streets were clean, and one of the first things to catch my eye was an average bystander leaning down to pick up trash, though it wasn't hers. What makes Korea such a special place that

the people there care enough to keep it beautiful? Tall buildings, bright signs, South Korea definitely has it's own lure and charm which has cause me to fall in love with this small but powerful place.

As youth ambassadors, we are expected to be leaders and good representatives of the United States, but we are also there to learn. We learned about Korea's economy from a visit to KITA (Korean International Trade Association), their history from visiting historical sites, their culture and beliefs from visiting temples. Originally, all things information and statistics were head knowledge, but getting to see it first hand and how it affects the people of Korea has allowed us to see things from their point of view.

Lifelong lessons were taught in Korea as the youth ambassadors were forced to work as one team. Each member of the team was different, with our own beliefs and talents to bring to the table. With such diversity, we were force to work together and overcome our differences, a skill that comes in handy everyday. We also gained valuable skills in presenting ourselves, introducing ourselves, and interacting with people different from us.

Through Project Bridge, I have been able to stretch myself and broaden my understanding of the world. I have obtained so many lessons from my experience in Korea and I know they will help shape me and equip me presently as well as in the future.

Marrisa Chew
San Marino High School
Senior

A Pivotal part of the program was for us youth ambassadors to travel on a ten-day study program in South Korea. There I learned about Korea from the inside out. My fellow youth ambassadors and I went to explore the roots of Korean tradition when we visited the many palaces and temples of South Korea. What I learned from the remnants of their past gave me insight as to how their social etiquette developed. A prime example would be the children of Korea. As they are brought up, they are constantly pushed to study harder and harder. The reason for this is because the religion of Korea us to be that of Confucianism, which stressed the importance of education among other things. Long story short, I was able to connect things with what I learned. I also learned about Korea from an economic standpoint, especially since I was there at the time of the Free Trade Agreement. For the first time in my life, I began to understand the business world.

I believe that this trip changed me as a whole person, maturity –wise. I never realized until the trip started that I would be in Korea with fourteen strangers, to whom I would have to work, sleep, and eat with for the next ten days. The strangers I met at the beginning are now my lifelong friends. At the beginning of the trip, we all gave handshakes but by the end of the trip, hugs were given and

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Project Bridge

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tears were shed. Besides making lifelong friends, I was given the opportunity to interact with the people in Korea whether they are citizens or foreigners. Ever since the trip ended I know look at the world from a different perspective, a better perspective.

Spencer Hua
Temple City High School
Senior

As a Korean-American, I thought I held a firm idea on the Korean people by observing the first generations here in my community. I fell victim to how the media portrays Koreans in films as arrogant and greedy, and came to believe the stereotypes that followed the Korean people as those who cheat customers in their liquor stores and cleaners. I came to the point where when I talk about Korea with others, I prepare to guard myself for insults to a country where I'm proud to be from, simply because of what I deemed from the population in Southern California. Basically, my impression on the Korean people, just by seeing those in my community, were not what anyone would really call positive impressions.

When I entered the Project Bridge interview room in a law office somewhere in Downtown Los Angeles, I was surprised to see that many of those interested in the program were not Koreans or Korean-Americans. Even if my peers in that room had no idea of what Korea is, they at least showed an interest to learn more about it. With years of believing that only Koreans liked Koreans, I realized that maybe I had underestimated Korea's reputation. Throughout the meetings, I heard positive comments of Korea from people other than Koreans for the first time. The people in Korea whether it be a stranger or a sponsor, were much kinder and compassionate than any one I had met back home in the United States.

With a fresher and more credible perception of Korea from the stud trip and with knowledge of Korea's great accomplishments, especially economically, these past 10 years, I reconstructed the crumbling bridge between my heritage and myself into a stronger and more secure one.

Angie Kim
Oxford Academy
Senior

The four months before our trip to Korea seemed like an eternity to me. I longed to travel to a different world, unlike any place I had ever seen. When that day finally arrived I experienced a series of unexplained emotions. Excitement, anxiousness, and uneasiness surged through my body as the plane departed to Korea. A country in which I would spend

tend days learning about the fascinating Korean culture. At that time I was oblivious of the many things I would learn about.

My favorite part of the trip was when we had our own Project Bridge Survivor Competition. We formed groups of four and five people and were given the task of finding a certain place in Seoul, taking a picture in front of it and making our way back to the hotel. My team consisted of Mr. Johnson, George Vourderis, and Donna Martinez. I could not have had such an exciting time without these three people in my group. We were the first group to start so we ran through the streets of Korea looking for a landmark. When we were not running we were asking people for directions. George, who knew how to speak Korean, asked people who lived in the area for directions and at first they did not know what we were looking for. Then we made gestures with our hands to signal that we were looking for "SOUTH GATE" and they understood what we were saying. As we approached the hotel, we saw one of the groups we were competing with and we ran as fast as we could to get there first.

We were actually the last team to get to the hotel but that did not matter to us. We lived through an evening of adventure, full of laughs and thrills, one that I would never forget!

Marilu Venegas
Banning High School
Senior



Project Bridge 2006-2007 Youth Ambassadors at the annual PCI dinner (left to right: Marilu Venegas, Jessica Boyd, Marissa Chew, Jeffery Lopez, Spencer Hua, Andrew Han, and Angie Kim)



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Save the Day!

What: 2008 PCI Annual Award Dinner

When: February 21st (Thurs.)

Where: InterContinental Hotel, Century City

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