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The PCI News



2018 PCI Annual Award Dinner



(PCI Chairman Emeritus Ambassador Don Gregg gives ‘Welcoming Remarks’)

The 2018 PCI Annual Award Dinner took place on Thursday, February 22, 2018 at the InterContinental Hotel Beverly Hills, CA. With more than 200 friends, supporters and members of PCI, PCI honored both former Ambassador at Large, Dr. Robert L. Gallucci and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) represented by its President, Dr. Richard N. Haass. The event commenced with PCI

Chairman Emeritus Ambassador Donald P. Gregg’s welcoming remarks where he promised to continue to help PCI achieve its goals of building bridges of understanding between the people living on the vast Pacific Rim. Dr. Haass, who is in his fifteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent, independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations, accepted the Institutional Building Bridges award on behalf of CFR. The title of his address was, "North Korea: Difficult Choices for All Concerned". PCI honored



(Dr. Haass (left) with Dr. Gallucci (right) at InterContinental Hotel, Los Angeles)

Dr. Gallucci with the Individual Building Bridges award for his efforts and exemplifying PCI's vision of building bridges of understanding. His address entitled, "The North Korea Situation: From Chronic to Acute" was well received by the attendees.



(Left: Amb. Stephens; Center: Amb. Burghardt; Right: Prof. Plate)



(Building Bridges recipients with Ambassador Burghardt)



(PCI Board Members with Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors)



Board Member's Activities + Opinion Editorial

PCI Chair, Ambassador Stephens appointed as President & CEO of Korea Economic Institute of America



(Amb Kathleen Stephens)

In a press release announcement on May 23, 2018, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens was Appointed as President & CEO of KEI. The Board of Directors at the Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI) unanimously approved Ambassador Kathleen Stephens to become KEI's new President & CEO effective September 1, 2018.

September 1, 2018.

"This is an important time in the U.S.-Korea relationship," Ambassador Stephens said. "Interest in the policy challenges we face is higher than I've ever seen it, whether on the Hill, in media and academia, or in the broader public. I look forward to joining a great team at KEI, and to doing all I can to deepen dialogue, understanding and cooperation on the range of issues critical to the future of Korea and our relationship." Ambassador Stephens will succeed KEI President & CEO Donald Manzullo, who will retire at the end of June.



(Tom Plate (left) with Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong (right) in Singapore)

Tom Plate Interviews Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong

On May 22, 2018, Tom Plate sat down with Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong at his office in Istana, the official mansion preserved from British colonial times. PM Lee shared his thoughts on the upcoming summit between the U.S. and North Korea, and political issues around the world.

For full interview visit: <http://asiamedia.lmu.edu/>

This opinion piece by PCI board member, Dr. William Overholt appeared in the Asia Forum on June 1, 2018.

Hope for peace on the Peninsula is not in vain

By William H. Overholt

Most Western experts dismiss the current Korean peace initiative: 'we have been here before', they say. 'The North can't be trusted, and two previous North-South summits led nowhere'. But today's situation is different.

Kim Jong-un has become convinced that economic growth is decisive for North Korea. He knows that his father's policies destroyed the country and that his own future depends on rebuilding it. He even apologized in last year's New Year's Address for failing so far on the economic front.



His reforms began by freeing local markets while keeping them technically illegal. This policy has achieved early success. By building a credible nuclear force, he has advanced a powerful argument that the country no longer needs to invest everything in tanks and planes, so his generals should tolerate spending more on economic development. Investments by South Korean companies would ensure long-run success in this regard.

New North Korean priorities have additionally spawned a new diplomacy more accommodating to peace. Since the Korean War, Pyongyang had derided South Korea as a pawn in a US-occupied zone. Under Kim Jong-un, it is treating South Korea mainly as a fellow Korean regime.

Conversely, Seoul has a sophisticated leadership that is determined to make peace. Past conservative governments in Seoul have, with exceptions, largely refused to engage the North.

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Opinion Editorial

This opinion piece by PCI co-founder, Spencer Kim appeared in the Washington Post on May 1, 2018.

Why North Korea will give up its nukes

By Spencer Kim

I hear it so often. The most important thing to North Korean leader Kim Jong Un is regime survival and the most important thing to him is his nuclear arsenal. But by historically meeting with South Korean President Moon Jae-in Friday, Pyongyang has shown what is most important. Nukes are, and always were, subservient to regime well-being.

Kim, who has god-like status among his people, has in effect told them four things:

- 1) The nukes program has served its purpose, and we will stop work on it now.
- 2) All efforts will focus on making you rich, like the Chinese and South Koreans.
- 3) I have started a new era of Korean history by reaching out to the South.
- 4) Our nukes have tamed the Yankees, and now I am going to trade them for permanent security and leverage to make you rich.

Kim cannot now say, “Oops, I misread the situation — let’s go back to being poor but proud with nukes!” He has mounted a tiger and cannot get off without being eaten. He must ride it all the way to his destination.

Let’s give credit where credit is due. First, to U.S. President Donald Trump for his involvement, without which no deal was ever going to be made, and for pushing the maximum pressure campaign. This campaign is aimed at pushing Pyongyang into a corner so it has to choose between regime survival and nukes and has to thus cry uncle by choosing regime survival.

Second, Moon deserves credit for realizing that if he wanted to be “Nixon to China,” he had to first be Nixon by shoring up his right wing domestically and proving to his ally in the White House that he was also an advocate of maximum pressure, all while signaling deftly to Kim that if he ever wanted to make a deal, now is the time.

And finally, let’s give credit to Kim. He was dealt a weak hand. His is the smallest, poorest and least-loved country in North-east Asia, by far. He faces four existential threats to his

regime’s existence, from: the United States (militarily), South Korea (culturally, with the siren song of absorption), internally (a coup could rise from a newly entrepreneurial class if things go too slow or masses below if the economy shatters) and China (Chinese high-handedness and Korean prickliness go back millennia).

Regarding China, people who really understand North Korea reference this saying: “When the door is open, they curse America. When the door is closed, they curse China.” It is no different today than in the past. Maximum pressure meant the Chinese maneuvered and positioned themselves as the only lifeline to North Korea—a situation as odious to Pyongyang as it is dangerous. Kim’s uncle was executed under suspicion of some kind of collusion with China; his half-brother was poisoned to death in Malaysia because he was a possible alternative ruler in any China-inspired coup.

What is needed to address all four existential threats? For starters, a peace treaty to forestall any U.S. military adventurism. Second, a relationship with the South that eschews absorption for long-term rapprochement and economic assistance. Third, China-style economic reform that assures Kim’s control of the regime and establishes rapid development as his source of legitimacy instead of resistance against the U.S. bogeyman. Finally and most importantly, the end of international sanctions and the beginning of economic diversification, to reduce reliance on China and avoid becoming a de facto Chinese province. When he created the “byungjin” (parallel development) policy of pursuing both nuclear missiles and economic development simultaneously, did Kim foresee that he needed the former if he was ever going to have enough bargaining chips for a solution to all four of his threats? If so, he is one smart guy. If not, he is lucky. But planned or not, I give him credit for seeing this opportunity for what it is.

And don’t forget, in this “new era” of North-South history, Kim, who is young and faces no elections, will be in charge in the North for decades while he deals with a string of future South Korean presidents. He has the chance, more than any other person, to shape Korea’s future.

The exact details and timing may be devilish, and there may be some temporary twists on the road, but Kim will, in the end, trade away his nukes.

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PCI Board Members, Founders and Fellows often contribute to the media. The opinions expressed are solely those of the individuals involved and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Pacific Century Institute.



Opinion Editorial

Hope for peace on the Peninsula is not in vain
(Continued from page 2)

The previous liberal government was inexperienced and naive. By contrast, current South Korean President Moon Jae-in is experienced and has sophisticated advisors. The conservative opposition, which remains in disarray after the scandals surrounding previous president Park Geun-hye, cannot easily sabotage Moon’s initiative, but the powerful military, respected conservative voices and a nationalistic public will ensure that any agreement does not jeopardise South Korea’s safety.

Outside the Korean Peninsula, circumstances have also changed to accommodate peace.

China, fed up with North Korea’s provocations, is ready for a peace agreement. Because of the nuclear dispute, Xi Jinping and Kim Jong-un had engaged in no meetings prior to the peace initiative. The two countries have a profoundly antagonistic relationship. The great acceleration of Pyongyang’s nuclear program was an angry response to China’s 1992 recognition of South Korea. Kim Jong-un killed his uncle and his half-brother for being too close to China. China tightened its sanctions this year.

Starting last year, for the first time in many years Chinese officials have been willing to speculate, cautiously, in private forums about a unified Korea. Likewise, retired officers have suggested that, if Washington were to offer Pyongyang a peace treaty, security guarantees, diplomatic recognition and an economic opening, and if Pyongyang still refused to denuclearise, Beijing might come down very hard on the North. Above all, China knows that Beijing and Shanghai are primary potential targets of North Korean nuclear weapons, and it is determined to defuse that threat.

Notwithstanding the appalling chaos around US President Donald Trump, the US administration is willing to incur risk for peace — more so than previous administrations. When the United States sends top-level people (notably Jimmy Carter) to deal with North Korea, it gets a deal. When the United States sends someone relatively junior (as it did when it sent an assistant secretary to deal with national leader Kim Jong-il), North Korea feels insulted and resists compromise.

While Washington experts are eloquent about Pyongyang’s unreliability, they ignore Washington’s unreliability. George H W Bush raised North Korea’s expectations very high by withdrawing tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea, cancelling Team Spirit military exercises and agreeing to talk to the North directly, which enabled the two Koreas to sign a joint declaration on denuclearisation. Following this, without coor-

inating with the State Department, then Defense secretary Dick Cheney reinstated Team Spirit, and Bush’s successor Bill Clinton initially failed to sustain Bush’s initiative. George W Bush expected North Korea to collapse, and conservatives in his administration opposed the 1994 Framework Agreement reached under Clinton, so he too failed to follow through on deals that Washington had made with Pyongyang. Fortunately, many respected former US officials are prepared to insist that this time Washington must honour its promises.

Finally, this time both Koreas are pondering not just nuclear armistice but also broader Korean unity. Everyone fears sudden unification: China because of military and immigration chaos, North Korea because of leadership survival, South Korea because of unbearable financial cost. But a declaration of ‘one nation, two states, gradual unification’ would avoid chaos, secure the lives and positions of North Korean leaders and minimise the cost to South Korea. Incrementalism would see South Korean conglomerates building factories to use cheaper North Korean labour, North Korean incomes and acculturation improving fairly rapidly, and controlled migration gradually mingling North Korean peasants with the South Korean middle class. Managing this would be difficult and delicate but not inconceivable.

Chinese military officers fret about US troops moving to their Yalu River border. US officers fret about a unified Korea becoming a pawn of China and about North Korea taking over the south. These fears lack reality. Replacing the risk of nuclear war with peace would be well worth US military limitations or even eventual withdrawal. Korean nationalism would prevent a united Korea from being either China’s or America’s pawn. South Korea’s population and huge economy dwarf North Korea’s; sloths do not devour tigers.

Most Korea experts obsess over what could go wrong in the coming negotiations. Kim Jong-un could try one more secret nuclear hedge. The North Korean military could depose Kim for cutting conventional weapons and then cutting back nuclear. US National Security Advisor John Bolton may counsel war. Trump might continue to insist that Pyongyang do everything before Washington does anything. A new US president could renege on past deals. Improved conditions for deal making provide no guarantee of success. But all parties’ moral obligation is to find every possible way to overcome obstacles, not just to fatalistically list them. The imperative is a defensible peace and the avoidance of nuclear war.

William Overholt is a Senior Fellow at Harvard University. He published the first book on nuclear proliferation in Asia (Asia’s Nuclear Future, 1976) following successful US efforts to terminate South Korean and Taiwanese nuclear weapon programs. His latest book is China’s Crisis of Success (2018).



Project Bridge 2017—2018

Project Bridge Korea Study Tour Report

By Angie Pak

This year’s Project Bridge (PB) study tour to South Korea took place from March 29 – April 8 along with our New York based counterparts, the Korea Society (TKS). With the recent successful completion of 2018 Winter Olympics and the upcoming inter-Korea Summit in the press, the Youth Ambassadors (YA) were all eager to witness and experience firsthand, a country they had been studying for the past several months. During the duration of the study tour, events such as the sentencing of former President Park Geun-hye took place, allowing the YAs to revisit what they had recently studied.

Although the YAs admittedly raised some concerns about traveling to South Korea at the beginning of the program, the turn of events in recent months allowed the group to feel more at ease. Arriving at 5 AM on Thursday, March 29 to *Incheon* International Airport, the PCI PB group was right behind the TKS PB group and quickly assimilated and bonded. A total of 23 Americans consisting of seven adults (three coordinators and four group leaders) and 16 YAs then lugged our suitcases around the airport and commenced our journey in South Korea.

During the study tour, Youth Ambassadors explored and soaked in the experiences of Korea’s cultural, political, and economic centers. Within a short period, the YAs quickly and enthusiastically adapted to their new environment and displayed a very mature demeanor, impressing the sponsors. Although many of the visits were hosted by existing sponsors, some activities differed from previous years, which included additional visits to high schools. This trip also included new sponsorship from *JoongAng Media*, *Busan National Gugak Center*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ROK, and *Yegam Theatre Company*.

Our first visit was to Korea International Trade Association (KITA), where the YAs were given a presentation on the organization and the Korean economic system. We then toured around Convention & Exhibition Center (COEX) and its complex before heading to *Banpo High School*, where the students and faculty warmly welcome us year after year. While still dazed and confused with the new environment, the YAs connected instantaneously with their *Banpo High School* counterparts. One YA even described the experience to be “most helpful” and that it gave a “deeper understanding of the current state of the country as well as the opinions and perspectives of the new generation”. The students also had the opportunity to exchange their talents on stage impressing the Koreans with their proficiency in *Arirang* song and rela-

tively synchronized choreography to one of the hottest hit K-pop songs, “Mic Drop” by BTS.

The aforementioned shift in programming with some sponsors included an additional visit to an added high school in *Gunsan*, province of *Jeollabukdo*. The YAs thoroughly enjoyed the extended partnership with *Gunsan Foreign Language High School* students when they joined us to *Seonunsa Temple* hosted by *Jeollabukdo* provincial government. In total, YAs visited four high schools where they were partnered with Korean students to host them. Witnessing how rapidly the students bonded over their interests in K-pop, K-drama, and sports while not focusing on their nationality, gender, race, and age was a clear reminder of the goals of the Project Bridge program, in which we aim for.

The remainder of the trip consisted of touring around Korea’s historical sites including *Andong Folk Village*, *Bulguksa & Seokguram*; visiting major economic powers i.e. *Hyundai Heavy Industries* and *POSCO*, participating in several roundtable Q & A sessions with journalists at *JoongAng Ilbo* and government officials, participating in fun activities such as zip lining over the Yellow Sea, attending a show production, *Jump*, learning how to drum the *jang-gu* and dance *sogo chum* at *Busan National Gugak Center*, meditating and completing 108 bows at the Buddhist temple, and truly and gracefully immersed in a culture foreign to them.



(PB group at Andong Folk Village, Andong, South Korea)

One of the major sites the YAs looked forward to was a visit to Joint Security Area (JSA) *Panmunjom*. Due to imminent diplomatic events, the YAs were unable to fully absorb the chilling reality of the most heavily fortified strip of land in the world at the DMZ. Yet they learned that the separation between the two nations are undeniably true through the binoculars at Observation Point *Dora* and descending down 240 feet below surface of tunnel #3 after donning on safety helmets.

After full ten days in Korea, Project Bridge 2017-2018 Youth Ambassadors successfully accomplished the goals Project Bridge aim for and expanded their horizons during the trip.



Project Bridge 2017-2018



In response to the 1992 Los Angeles Riots (LA 폭동), PCI and New York based The Korea Society has been sending its delegation of “youth ambassadors” to South Korea since 1993. Initially

called “Kids to Korea”, Project Bridge (PB) program has since evolved into a yearlong educational program consisting of series of workshops and activities. Since November 2017, the Youth Ambassadors in Los Angeles embarked on a journey of self-exploration and intercultural-leadership that involved ten days of total immersion in Korean culture. The students attended workshops on topics such as building and strengthening leadership skills (including presentation and public speaking), intercultural understanding (race, ethnicity, nationality, culture), and Korea (culture, history, language, economy, policy). Through these educational experiences, the students have come to understand themselves better both as individuals and as a group. PB aims to develop intercultural sensitivity and leadership among young American leaders from diverse urban background.

Project Bridge culminated in a ten-day study tour of Korea, where Youth Ambassadors explored Korea’s cultural, political



(Los Angeles Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors, Group Leaders and Coordinator at the graduation, PCI Headquarters, Chatsworth, CA, June 2, 2018)

and economic centers, accompanied by four group leaders and three program coordinators. The purpose of the study tour was to enable students to see Korea and meet Koreans in their own societal context. The tour enhanced intercultural objectives of the program as a whole. Furthermore, by bringing two groups of participants from disparate areas of the U.S. together during the tour, Project Bridge extended the exploration of the meaning of diversity—both within America and with a nation different from their own.

Upon returning from the study tour, each student wrote final program reflection, evaluating on their own team-building efforts in the past seven months and their personal growth as an intercultural leader. On Saturday, June 2, 2018, the Los Angeles based Youth Ambassadors shared and presented their experiences and expert topics in front of families, friends and PCI board members.

The presentation topics included: Social Classes in Pre Modern Korea; Music and Dance; Religions; Gender Roles in Korean Society; Korean War & the DMZ; Government and Politics; Economic Development; and Education in Korea.

2017-2018 Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors

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

Partnership with other organizations

PCI awarded Project Bridge 2017-2018 Youth Ambassadors **Thomas Chung, Adrianna Rodas** and **Litzy Santoyo** full scholarships to Concordia Language Villages’ (CLV) two week Korean Language Immersion summer program. Since 1961 more than 150,000 villagers have joined CLV in the mission to inspire courageous global citizens. CLV’s cultural immersion programs in the north woods of Minnesota engage their participants to develop language proficiency.



With a new partnership with Friends of Korea (FOK), PCI pledged lifetime memberships to the **Project Bridge 2017-2018 Youth Ambassadors** in New York and Los Angeles. FOK is dedicated to fostering cultural awareness and friendship between Americans and Koreans. They continue to maintain a link to Korea and the Korean American community in the U.S.



Project Bridge 2017-2018

Youth Ambassadors Reflections

Thomas Chung: Ever since I was young, I have loved learning new things and challenging myself. Project Bridge exemplified these loves and helped me accomplish them. I challenged myself in learning Korean phrases, expressing myself fully, and understanding foreign mysteries. I learned that we all have different cultures, different languages, and different ethnic backgrounds, but that we can all still understand each other and form bonds with each other. The lessons and the duties I undertook as a youth ambassador will carry on in the future, when I become involved in my community to build relationships and when I forge relationships with people who are very different from me.



(PB group at JoongAng Ilbo, Jung-gu, South Korea)

Isabella Lau: Tolerance is the most important thing that we can give a person today. Our world today misunderstands the tolerance to understand not only why a person's disposition is unhappy but also to understand the nuances and meanings of a person's customs and traditions, and we suffer for it. Project Bridge opened my eyes to this problem and has inspired me to continue to teach others why we must truly learn to understand people, cultures, and communities before our brain decides that it thinks we understand them. In doing so, we create a world

where peace and acceptance flows free from person to person, and community to community.

Cora Wu: Through Project Bridge, I was able to broaden my cultural horizons and learn more about the customs of a country that I was previously quite unfamiliar with. Through this, I was able to become more accustomed and embracing new cultures that differed from my own while simultaneously gaining new insight and perspectives on my own heritage. Additionally, Project Bridge was a time of growth for me not only with respect to cultural understanding, but also regarding how I present myself. By acting as Youth Ambassador representing my hometown, state, and country, I learned to be more watchful of the way I held myself. Furthermore, through all of our presentations and interactions with new people, Project Bridge forced me to work on my social skills and adapt to new people of different backgrounds and personalities, thus allowing me to carry myself and present my words with more confidence.

Meo Cantiller: The knowledge that I gained from Project Bridge, made me share my learnings to my friends and family. The word 'strive' from the Retreat enabled me to do what each letter stands for. Now, I believe and trust myself more than before. I learned that it is possible to commit to the impossible goals if I start right now and believe in myself so that I can reach higher limits... I was able to challenge myself through the assignments we have done. For me, what matters is what I learned from the program including the trip to S. Korea. Project Bridge completely changed my life and it is just my beginning.

Kimi Vo: Project Bridge has allowed me to develop domestic and foreign friendships, obtain self-confidence, discover what I want to be in the future, become knowledgeable on Korean history and culture, and feed my curiosity. Saying Project Bridge had an impact on my life is

an understatement. Project Bridge truly changed my life and opened my eyes to the different cultures and history in Korea, while also allowing me to develop once in a lifetime friendships.

Litzy Santoyo: The trip to Korea changed my whole perspective on the word culture. Culture defines us but it should not define whether we want to get to know the person or not. Meeting the Korean high school students was such a heart-warming and eye-opening experience that I was so happy I was able to be a part of it. While meeting them and speaking to them we brought out our cultural differences and not put them behind us but embraced them.

Andrea Gonzalez: ... Not only have I learned about a new culture that I have never been exposed to before joining the program, but I also learned things about myself. Throughout the program, I gradually got out of my comfort zone...and saw myself become a more open minded person....this program has broaden my perspective in many things. It is important to be proud and love where you come from before being able to appreciate other cultures and learn about them.

Adrianna Rodas: Through Project Bridge, I discovered more of my community and the globe. ... When I viewed the globe through the media, I only looked at its problems...and never truly see the people that it would affect. I wanted to better the world but forgot to acknowledge the people living in it. Project Bridge, I want to thank you for teaching me something I'll hold on to for the rest of my life. I want to thank you for teaching me that countries aren't just their problems, but also its people. Thank you for teaching me more than something I could have read in a textbook. I am forever changed and I am so grateful for the opportunity to meet people I would have never met in a thousand years and learn history from the country's point of view, not a Western point of view.



PCI Sponsored Programs



(LMU students engaging with counterparts at Yonsei University)

Trans-Pacific International Education Experiment

For the third consecutive year, students at Los Angeles-based Loyola Marymount University (LMU) and Seoul-based Yonsei University in South Korea concluded a special and most innovative experiment in trans-Pacific international education via Skype seminar. Students at both locations held real-time seminar series focused on live student interaction (including joint trans-pacific teams delivering oral and text reports on contemporary international issues) finished with a flourish. Yonsei University is ranked in the top 3 of Korean universities, in the top 20 in Asia, and sometimes among the top 100 worldwide.



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