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The PCI News



2020 Pacific Century Institute Building Bridges Award

The Pacific Century Institute is proud to announce the 2020 Building Bridges Individual Awardee as Dr. Siegfried S. Hecker and 2020 Building Bridges Institutional Awardee as The Asia Foundation—with Mr. David D. Arnold, President and CEO, accepting the award on behalf of the Foundation.



Dr. Siegfried S. Hecker is being recognized for his life-long devotion and contribution to address some of the most difficult global nuclear security challenges, not only through his scientific research but through the relationships and trust he has worked to build, notably in North Korea.

He was the Director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory from 1986 to 1997, pro-

fessor emeritus in the Department of Management Science and Engineering and a senior fellow emeritus at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies (FSI). He was a co-director of Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) at Stanford University from 2007 to 2012.

In 2018, Dr. Hecker completed and released an in-depth report analyzing the nuclear history of North Korea between 1992-2017 along with historical research-based "roadmap" for denuclearization with other scholars, Robert Carlin and Elliot Serbin.

Dr. Hecker has visited North Korea seven times and was invited to tour its nuclear facilities, making him one of the few people outside of the country to do so. His current research interests include plutonium science, nuclear weapons policy, nuclear security, and the safe and secure expansion of nuclear energy.

The Asia Foundation is a non-profit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, their work across the region addresses five overarching goals—



The Asia Foundation

strengthen governance, empower women, expand economic opportunity, increase environmental resilience, and promote regional cooperation. Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries.

Mr. David D. Arnold is a highly respected international development veteran with years of experience across the Asia-Pacific and the Middle East and leads all aspects of The Asia Foundation. He is being recognized for his focus on addressing the critical issues facing Asia, including rapid urbanization, expanding digital literacy, development in Advanced Middle-Income Countries, and the future of work. Arnold previously served as president of the American University in Cairo (AUC) where he oversaw the construction of a new, state-of-the-art \$400 million campus, including the region's largest English-language library during his time at the Foundation. Prior to that he served for six years as executive vice president of the Institute of International Education, the world's largest educational exchange organization. From 1984 to 1997, he worked for the Ford Foundation, serving as its first program officer in the field of governance and then for six years as the organization's representative in India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka.



(David D. Arnold, President & CEO of TAF (R) visiting the Batticaloa Municipal Council in Sri Lanka)



The 4th Annual William J. Perry Lecture

Bad Decisions, Bad Consequences: The Rocky Road of Dealing with the DPRK



(Robert L. Carlin giving a special lecture at Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea)

The Fourth Annual William J. Perry Lecture Series was held at Yonsei University's Millennium Hall on Tuesday, November 12, 2019, in Seoul, S. Korea. With 'Opening Remarks' by Professor Sohn Jie-Ae of Ewha Womans University and PCI Board Member, 'Welcoming Remarks' by Yonsei University President, Dr. Kim, Yong-Hak, and 'Introductory Remarks' by Professor John Delury of Yonsei University, this year's lecturer, Robert L. Carlin, visiting scholar at Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University, gave a lecture entitled, "Bad Decisions, Bad Consequences: The Rocky Road of Dealing with the DPRK" to a large group of audience.

Throughout an hour-long lecture, Carlin highlighted some of the differences and similarities of the current situation that we face now with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and back during the 1998 negotiations. Following the lecture, Professor Sohn led the discussion session with Professor Delury recapping the special lecture and highlighted Carlin's extensive experience and knowledge on North Korea.

Carlin has been following North Korea since 1974 and made 25 trips there. He has served as senior policy advisor at the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) from 2002-2006 and led numerous delegations to the North for talks and observing developments in country. Prior to serving as advisor at KEDO, he was a chief of the Northeast Asia Division in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State. He served as Senior Policy Advisor to the Special Ambassador for talks with North Korea, and took

part in all phases of US-DPRK negotiations from 1992-2000. Carlin is also a former North Korea analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency and received the Exceptional Analyst Award from the Director of Central Intelligence.



(Audience at the special lecture by Robert L. Carlin at Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea)

Robert L. Carlin



Visiting Scholar
Stanford University

**Bad Decisions,
Bad Consequences:
The Rocky Road of
Dealing with the DPRK**

16:30 - 18:30, Nov. 12, 2019 (Tuesday)

연세대학교 새천년관 대강당
New Millennium Hall Auditorium, Yonsei University

주최: 연세대학교 통일연구원 후원: PACIFIC CENTURY INSTITUTE

For more information about this program, please visit our website:
www.pacificcenturyinst.org or email us at: PCI@PacificCenturyInst.Org

SAVE THE DATE!

PCI 30th Anniversary Dinner

Date: Tuesday, May 26, 2020

Venue: Millennium Hilton Seoul Hotel



Board Member’s Activities



(International Academic Forum on the Republic of Korea’s Vision participants, Seoul, South Korea.)

The Presidential Commission on Centennial Anniversary of March 1st Independence Movement and Korea Provisional Government’s 2019 International Academic Forum on the Republic of Korea’s Centennial Vision Secretariat hosted the International Academic Forum on the Republic of Korea’s Centennial Vision from November 7th to 8th, 2019 at the *Baekyangnuri, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea*. The two-day event covered two main topics—1) From Conflict and Division to Peace and Coexistence; and 2) From External Growth and Polarization to Innovation and Inclusiveness— with five sessions.

The symposium was inaugurated by the Presidential Commissioner Dr. Han Wan-Sang and PCI board member Dr. Chung-in Moon. Dr. Moon delivered his address on the topic of North-east Asia & Diplomacy as the Keynote Speaker which was very well received by the audience.



(PCI Board Member, Dr. Chung-in Moon delivering his Keynote Speech, Seoul, South Korea)

During the first part of the symposium, PCI co-founder Mr. Spencer Kim participated as a panelist in “Korean Peninsula & its External Relations” session discussing the Centennial Anniversary of March 1st Independence Movement: Continuing the Non-violent Anti-Imperialist Spirit, Towards Future Century of Peaceful Korean Peninsula along with Professor Suh Jae-Jung of Japan International Christian University and Professor Zheng Jiyong of Fudan University.

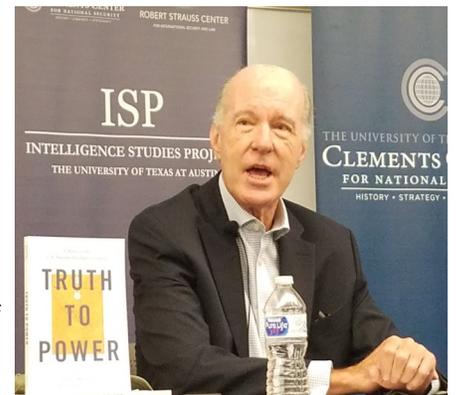
Book Discussion



This first-ever history of the U.S. National Intelligence Council (NIC), is told through the reflections of its eight Chairs in the period from the end of the Cold War until 2017. Co-editors Robert Hutchings and PCI board member Gregory Treverton add a substantial insight by placing the NIC in its historical context going all the way back to the Board of National Estimates in the 1940s, as well as with a concluding chapter that highlights key themes and judgments.

This historic mission of this remarkable but little-known organization, now forty years old, is strategic intelligence assessment in service of senior American foreign policymakers. Its signature inside products, National Intelligence Estimates, are now accompanied by the NIC’s every-four-years Global Trends. Unclassified, Global Trends has become a noted NIC brand, its release awaited by officials, academics and private sector managers around the world.

Truth to Power tracks the NIC’s role in providing strategic analysis on every major foreign policy issue confronting the United States during this consequential period. Chapters provide insider insights on the Balkan wars of the 1990s, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003, the nuclear weapons programs in Iran and North Korea, upheaval in the Middle East including the rise and fall of the Islamic State, the rise of China, and the Russia’s turn toward aggression under Vladimir Putin. The book also assesses the NIC’s newly expanded role in direct support to meetings of the National Security Council as well as its longstanding role in producing longer-range strategic intelligence.



(PCI board member Gregory Treverton speaks to the audience at the University of Texas at Austin)



Board Member's Opinion Editorial

This opinion piece featuring PCI Vice President, Tom Plate published on the South China Morning Post on December 3, 2019.

China could take a leaf out of US containment policy and keep its own hard communist ideology in check

By Tom Plate

American foreign policy rarely rises to the degree of coherence recommended by its policy intellectuals and thoughtful diplomats, but without their persistence, it would be bereft of any coherence at all.

When World War II ended, for example, the American establishment came to rally around the idea of containment as the antidote to Russian communism. This emerged particularly from the insights of diplomat George Kennan, later to morph into a Princeton University icon.

But in the late '80s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and with it the need for the cold war, Washington was left with scarcely anything ominous to contain, except perhaps its own bumptious ego. That, for sure, was one huge containment campaign that flopped.

When the great Kennan died at the age of 101 in 2005, he left us as a prophet summa cum laude. But rather than departing honourably along with him, his "containment" policy lingered on to fill in the blank about China.

It would have been so much better had it not: Kennan himself refused to recommend a simplistic policy of containment for China in a 21st century world in which he knew a formulaic response would not do.

In fact, by the mid-'90s, a different perspective was surfacing. Professor Joseph Nye of Harvard, who was lured into State Department service during the Clinton presidency, painted a public policy canvas in broad strokes that gave a sense of balance to the American commitment of about 100,000 troops each to Asia and Europe.

Nye wrote: "There are a number of reasons for East Asian prosperity ... But among the important and often neglected reasons for East Asia's success are American alliances in the region and the continued presence of substantial US forces."

Rather than advocating a recycled containment policy for China – which, in any case, could not possibly work – or some cranky isolationist retreat from Asia, which would work just fine for

China, Nye proposed the middle ground of "deep engagement". He noted that "most Americans still hope for a peaceful and beneficial future with China", citing former US president Bill Clinton who said the US had "more to fear from a poor and weak China than from a rich and democratic China".

Alas, decades later, the United States wound up with but 50 per cent of the China of its dreams: rich, yes, but, in Western eyes, unforgivably non-democratic.

Was Nye's pragmatism misconceived? No. The Clinton administration got its China policies more right than wrong. Faced with deep-rooted domestic and economic challenges, Beijing was more likely to wind up frustrating itself with home-front errors than anything the US might hope to impose.

Besides, trying to Kennanise US-China policy would only further fuel anti-Americanism on the mainland. The only question was whether there were policies that might help incentivise China's leaders to think positively about relations with the West – or whether our crudest ones would steel further its inclination to fight the West's on-and-off impulse to stifle it.

China's future course will be determined mainly by what the Chinese will do among themselves, for themselves and – last but not least – to themselves. But, understandably enough, Beijing's diplomacy, spooked by remembrances of pains inflicted or perceived, will always seek to deter coalitions of nations from ganging up against it.

Even so, I have chatted with more than one Chinese diplomat about their historical paranoia of encirclement who insist China's fear is totally singular. "The only one we fear is the US," one veteran diplomat told me. That fear surely weighs heavily on the Chinese President Xi Jinping's mind.

Paradoxically, though, that very fear may offer the US a historic opportunity to reset the bilateral relationship to both a lower temperature and a higher standard. That is evident from the unintended consequence of US President Donald Trump's ill-conceived and obnoxious tariff attack on China.

Its duration has given everyone adequate time to reflect on the global economic instability inherent in US-China political disequilibrium. This is now more than a matter of bad vibes or the inevitable occasional disagreement; when the negativity is structural, the impact on geopolitical order will be global.

The stakes here are epic. As Professor Nye put it: "Analysts who
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Board Member's Opinion Editorial

This opinion piece featuring PCI Board Member, Robert L. Gallucci published on the National Interest on December 11, 2019.

Courting Disaster: How Not to Manage Existential Threats to National Security

By Robert L. Gallucci

There are a small number of threats to our nation's security, involving truly catastrophic consequences, which may be managed by good public policy. Some of these involve uncertainties over scientific or technological developments that could lead to good, as well as very bad outcomes. Think designer biology, quantum computing and artificial intelligence. But two stand out both for the certainty and magnitude of their destructive impact: climate change and nuclear weapons.

Climate change is happening to us now and some of its consequences are evident. Glaciers are melting, sea levels are rising, and species are being lost to us forever. If we were the frog in that pot, then we would have noticed a warming trend. Indeed, we seem to have improved in recent years in both our awareness of the many ways in which climate change will badly damage our lives and exactly what kinds of things we should be doing now if we want to limit that damage. But we, in the United States, are not doing them, or at least our government is not doing what it should be doing. Our government is behaving as if we had an option to "put America first," as though we had our own climate and had no need to share the planet. We have approached the Paris Agreement as though it were the Trans-Pacific Partnership, opting out to make a better deal with . . . the climate. We are acting as though we did not have children and grandchildren. We are not pursuing a public policy appropriate to manage the existential threat of climate change.

We have had nuclear weapons for seventy-five years. We have thousands of them and so do the Russians. If you add the number in the other seven countries with nuclear weapons, then there are a thousand more. While the destructiveness of nuclear weapons varies greatly, the average-sized one would kill millions of people if detonated over a populated area, about half immediately and another half over weeks and months afterward. Nothing else man-made could kill as many people as quickly as a nuclear weapon. For decades we have planned to kill fifty million or so people overnight if we were to be attacked with nuclear weapons. The promise of such retaliation is the essence of deterrence, what we do when we cannot mount an effective defense. And we have never been able to mount such a defense against intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Wars have been fought because of miscalculation. Are we cer-

tain that Russia, China or North Korea will not miscalculate with nuclear weapons in a crisis? We have had accidents with nuclear weapons. Do we have reason to believe there will be no accidental launch in the future? The amount of material that is necessary to make a simple device that would kill tens of thousands is baseball-sized. Can we reasonably expect to control indefinitely the tons of this material in a dozen countries without losing a baseball to ISIS?

What does good public policy look like when dealing with nuclear weapons? It looks like actions that reduce uncertainty, increase transparency and security, and decrease numbers. It is called "arms control." We had a fifty-year history of successfully negotiating treaties aimed at managing the nuclear weapons threat this way. But that is not where our public policy is headed now.

At the beginning of the George W. Bush Administration, we walked away from the ABM Treaty and ever since have been pursuing a variety of programs to build a defense against ballistic missiles: building missiles to shoot down missiles. Of course, normal people would prefer to have such a defense to protect them, rather than to depend upon deterrence, the promise of massive retaliation after suffering an attack. But national missile defense has not proven to be an achievable goal and pursuing it has not been cost-free. In a world in which no side can mount an effective defense, all sides rely on deterrence and the other side's vulnerability to retaliation as the source of their security. But if one side decides to pursue defense to achieve its security, it promises to destroy the other's source of security. Washington's pursuit of national ballistic missile defense for the last twenty years has, as much as anything else, driven Russian and Chinese strategic nuclear weapons acquisition decisions.

The instinct to counter the other side's latest move motivates us as much as them. The Russians announced a policy of "escalate to de-escalate" a crisis twenty years ago, and seemed to embrace a policy of initiating the use of low yield nuclear weapons if conventional weapons proved inadequate for defense. Such a "first use" of nuclear weapons may or may not be Russian policy today but last year the authoritative U.S. Nuclear Posture Review called for the development of more low yield nuclear weapons explicitly for the purpose of deterring the Russians from thinking that the United States, with its thousands of nuclear weapons, lacked a credible response to their low-yield nuclear weapons.

It is now only months since the U.S. withdrew from another arms control agreement, the Intermediate Nuclear Force

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Board Member’s Opinion Editorial

China could take a leaf out of US containment policy and keep its own hard communist ideology in check

(Continued from page 4)

ignore the importance of ... political order are like people who forget the importance of the oxygen they breathe. Security is like oxygen – you tend not to notice it until you begin to lose it.”

A rejuvenated US-China relationship is needed. Beijing can stall and await a new president, or deal with the present one through a possible second term in as businesslike a manner as possible. Washington can yo-yo along, even praying for China’s collapse, or accept China as an equal. Either way, neither country is going to go away.

Illusions are not decisions: it was hard for Americans to quarrel with the sentiment of the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, hurled by Congress at the president for his signature, which it got. But what does this accomplish – except to recharge Beijing’s reserves of resentment and offer Hong Kong’s dauntless demonstrators the poetic illusion of US intervention?

It won’t happen, of course, but to keep the world from further rubbernecking and hand-wringing over this otherwise marvelous city that’s now in crisis – perhaps even to make the radical protesters more sensible – Beijing needs to settle matters sensibly with Hong Kong.

To this end, Beijing would do better for itself if it had at hand a kind of mental containment policy to keep its own hard ideology from crossing the borders of common sense. Does the Communist Party have a Kennan?

Courting Disaster: How Not to Manage Existential Threats to National Security

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Treaty. We did this because we claimed that Russia had deployed a missile that was prohibited by this thirty-year-old treaty. Although the treaty had successfully banned a whole class of missiles for decades, rather than look for a way to preserve it, we withdrew from it and immediately promised to build and field a new missile, one that would have been prohibited by the treaty.

Finally, there is the only surviving treaty to deal with strategic nuclear weapons, New START, which caps Russian and American strategic nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles. This treaty, with its verification provisions, negotiated during the Obama administration, will expire in less than two years unless the United States and Russia agree to an extension. Once expired, the Russians would be unconstrained in strategic nuclear weapons deployments, and we can be sure the United States would not practice unilateral restraint.

Paul Warnke, who was a wise man, observed many years ago that the Russian-American arms competition was like “Two apes on a treadmill.” It should be clear that the simile is apt once again and does not reflect a sound public policy to deal with this threat to national security.

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.

PCI Programs

Nine Syracuse University (SU) students had an opportunity to attend the second Global Peace Forum on Korea on September 28, 2019 held at Columbia University, New York, NY. The nine students are currently enrolled in “Politics of North and South Korea,” taught by Professor Frederick Carriere, PCI Senior Fellow at Syracuse University.

Under the overall theme, “Making Connections: Global Challenges, Korea, and Peace,” there were three sessions covered at the forum with five keynote speakers and 20 panel discussions.

The forum brought many scholars, religious leaders, diplomats,



(Syracuse University students with North Korean Ambassador to the United Nations Kim Song (center))

and peace activists from the US, Russia, Canada, Vietnam, and Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, and Republic of Korea allowing students to witness, first-hand, the unique dynamic interactions and diplomacy between the leaders.



Project Bridge



Now in its 27th year, Project Bridge has expanded its outreach to a new demographic of primarily rural and tribal youth. The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center at the University of Montana in Missoula has joined as the newest Project Bridge partner. Founded in 1983, its mission is to promote U.S. relations with Asia and ethics in public affairs. It is named for Mike Mansfield, a former U.S. senator and Ambassador to Japan, who left an enduring mark on U.S. international diplomacy. The Center already has strong youth international exchange programs with Japan, China, Thailand, and Cambodia. This is foundation’s first youth exchange with Korea; and they have selected four Youth Ambassadors from the Missoula, Montana area, increasing the total admittance to the 2020 PB program to 20.

On November 26, 2019, the Los Angeles based Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors were warmly welcomed by PCI Vice President, Professor Tom Plate and PCI board member, Gregory Treverton at the annual welcome orientation/luncheon. This year, PCI selected eight very highly motivated high school juniors and seniors attending various schools in the Greater Los Angeles area.



(Los Angeles Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors with PCI Board Vice President Tom Plate and Board Member Gregory Treverton in Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA)

Since the kickoff of the program, the students have learned about the Los Angeles Riots, racial relations, Korean history and took a special Korean language lesson. They are all very much looking forward to the upcoming weekend retreat, field trip covering the Korean War, and the ten-day study tour to South Korea in April.

Follow us on Instagram @Project_Bridge_ to see what the Youth Ambassadors are up to!

2019-2020 Youth Ambassadors

Nazario Campos-Chi	Ambassador School of Global Leadership
Faith Chang	Gabrielino High School
Madeline Coppersmith	Herbert Hoover High School
Lino Hernandez-Garcia	Downtown MAGNET High School
Rumaisa Islam	Gabrielino High School
Andrea Lara	Leuzinger High School
Alejandra Navarro	Lynwood High School
Justin Pang	Arcadia High School

On November 2-3, 2019, three former Youth Ambassadors from the 2018-2019 class had the opportunity to travel to San Jose, CA to participate in the panel discussion at the Friends of Korea’s (FoK) “Appreciating the Past and Anticipating the Future” program. In the panel discussion led by FoK member, Mary Broude, the former Youth Ambassadors, Andrea Alvarez, Maricielo Landazuri, and Jayda Lester, shared their most memorable experiences during their 10-day study tour to Korea, how the program has impacted each of them as a person, and whether the experience of learning a new culture impact greater interest in their own ethnicity and the culture they grew up in. They all received a warm welcome and gained new perspective through their experience.



(Panelists with FoK Chair, Dr. Gerard Krzic (R) and member, Mary Broude (L))



(Former Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors with FoK members, KOTRA, San Jose, CA)



Upcoming Events

Korean Wave, K-Pop, and Monster Kitsch: The Politics and Aesthetics of the K-Culture Industry

Moyhihan Institute of Global Affairs East Asia Program present 'Korean Wave, K-Pop, and Monster Kitch', a talk that will explore the "poetic consequences of K-pop," by Jake Levine, Assistant Professor of Creative Writing at Keimyung University, South Korea.

Date: Friday, February 14, 2020

Time: 12:30 PM– 2:00 PM

Location: Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs—204 Maxwell Hall

SAVE THE DATE! 2020 PCI Annual Awards Dinner

Date: Thursday, Feb. 27, 2020

Venue: InterContinental Hotel—Beverly Hills
Reception 6:00 pm | Dinner 7:00 pm



PACIFIC CENTURY INSTITUTE
19850 Plummer Street
Chatsworth, CA 91311

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Directory

Contact:

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

PCI Web site:
www.pacificcenturyinst.org

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

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

Angie S. Pak, PCI Program Coordinator
(818) 721-5601 (Tel), (818) 459-7926 (Fax)
angie.pak@pacificcenturyinst.org

Regional Offices:

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

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

Representative (Korea):

Jie-ae Sohn
10-508 Sampoong Apt., 1685 Seocho-dong
Seocho-gu, Seoul, Korea
8210-5272-5025 (Tel)
jiaesohn@gmail.com

PCI Fellows:

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