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The PCI News



Recipient of the Pacific Century Institute's 2012 Building Bridges Award



James B. Steinberg

*Dean, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
 Syracuse University*

The Building Bridges Award honors an individual who has, "enhanced relations between America and Asia and who exemplifies the Pacific Century Institute's commitment to building bridges to a better future." With a career-long commitment to exploring the depth, texture and direction of America's relationship with Asia -- as government official, think tank analyst, and professor -- James Steinberg, this year's recipient of the award, embodies its spirit.

Mr. Steinberg was the Deputy Secretary of State for the first half of President Obama's term, leaving the position in July 2011 to assume leadership of the Maxwell School. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, in her farewell remarks on Mr. Steinberg, noted that, "Jim has been particularly instrumental in shaping our renewed engagement in the Asia-Pacific, where much of the

history of the 21st century will be written. From managing our expanding relationship with China to reaffirming our historic alliance with Japan to addressing challenges on the Korean Peninsula, Jim has been at the center of shaping our efforts."

Before the State Department and the Maxwell School, Mr. Steinberg served as Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, Deputy National Security Advisor to President Bill Clinton, Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, Senior Analyst at RAND Corporation, and Senior Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

With this broad background Mr. Steinberg concluded that we are at a time of first-order questions about the nature of the international system as it is reshaped by large historical forces, the policies of governments, and the activities of corporations and civil society.

It is no accident, then, that when he came to be the architect of America's Asian policy he understood the importance of the Pacific Century and directed a forward-looking and dynamic engagement. We see his ideas as actions in the news. President Obama last November in Hawaii at a meeting with all the Leaders of the Pacific Rim at the annual Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum declared America's pivot to the region, and in a follow-on tour to several Asia-Pacific countries reiterated that the US is and will remain an engaged and committed Pacific power.

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Dean James B. Steinberg will be honored and talk on "East Asia in 2012-Continuity and Change" at the 2012 PCI Annual Award Dinner

Date: Thursday, February 23, 2012

Venue: Hyatt Regency Century Plaza, Century City

Constellation Ballroom, Plaza Level

Reception 6:00 pm

Dinner 7:00 pm



Dean Steinberg
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In all the various positions he has held in his career, Mr. Steinberg has earned a reputation as a voracious reader with boundless energy who could quickly master complex and inter-related subjects -- but tempered by the quiet contemplation of his devotion to fly fishing and the clarity that his early morning runs provide. Mr. Steinberg has also run several marathons.

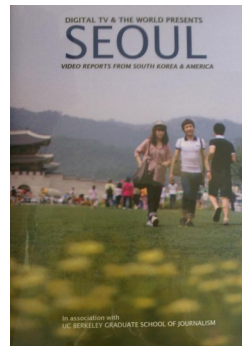
And Mr. Steinberg's expertise, and influence, is hardly limited to Asia. He is an acknowledged expert on Middle East issues, terrorism, the doctrine of preventive war, development issues in the United Nations, European integration, and the prerogatives of presidential power in international affairs. In all these areas he has had a significant influence on perception and policy over the past decade.

Raised in Boston, Mr. Steinberg earned an undergraduate degree from Harvard and a law degree from Yale Law School. He is married to Sherburne B. Abbott, vice president for sustainability initiatives and university professor of Sustainability Science and Policy at Syracuse University, and they have two daughters.

His receipt of the Pacific Century Institute's Building Bridges Award, given at the annual PCI dinner on February 23 in Los Angeles, is most fully deserved.

PCI Senior Fellow Lynn Turk contributed this story.

PCI Supports Korea Reporting Project



PCI supported a Korea video reporting project by The Center for Digital TV and the World where the student reporters from the University of California, Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism explored the lives of Koreans in diaspora communities and conducted reporting practicum in Seoul. The Center for Digital TV and the World is a non-profit, journalistic training and production organization under The Tides Center in San Francisco and is dedicated to teaching a new generation of journalists to embrace innovation and work to create better reporting and a broader understanding of Asia.

For more than eight years, Digital TV and the World reporters, trained in association with the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, have traveled the world to tell compelling stories about ordinary people.

The stories were published on the Washington Post website in summer 2011 (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/world/seoul/>) and DVDs whose production PCI also supported are available at the PCI office.

2011 PCI Senior Fellow Report

Michael J. Wasylenko, Interim Dean at the Maxwell School at Syracuse formally expressed his appreciation for the support the PCI Fellowship Fund provided to the school's Korean Peninsula Affairs Center (KPAC). He stated that KPAC, and the work of Fred Carriere whose expertise has greatly advanced and promoted research at the Maxwell School on issues related to the Korean Peninsula, helped Maxwell retain its stature as the nation's premier school of public and international affairs.

Summary of Activities:

Last year the Pacific Century Institute provided the Maxwell School's Korean Peninsula Affairs Center (KPAC) a grant of \$20,000 to support a PCI Senior Fellow at KPAC. Last year's PCI Fellow was Frederick M. Carriere.

His activities included teaching a graduate seminar, Contemporary Foreign Policy: Korea, serving as one of SU's representatives to the US-DPRK Science Engagement Consortium, being a member of the planning group and coordinator for the February 2011 visit of the DPRK State Academy of

Sciences (SAOS) to Atlanta, directing our Korean Peninsula Affairs Center speakers program, playing the central role in planning and implementing our upcoming New York Conference on Peace and Cooperation in Northeast Asia, giving guest lectures on Korea-related topics, leading our English language initiative with SAOS (including an August visit to Pyongyang), coauthoring a published book chapter on our DPRK programs, delivering multiple invited conference presentations, sitting on a Maxwell Ph.D. dissertation committee, serving as a featured panelist at SU's 2011 public diplomacy symposium, and generally helping to coordinate SU's programs with the DPRK UN Mission in NYC.

Further, this academic year he will be teaching a second graduate seminar, to be offered spring 2012, on track II diplomacy. The addition of this second course is recognition by the School of the high quality and value of his graduate teaching.

Frederick F. Carriere is adjunct professor of political science and PCI senior fellow of the Korean Peninsula Affairs Center in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University.



Board Members' Corner

June 2012 East-West Center Media Conference in Seoul

The East-West Center's 3rd International Media Conference will be held in Seoul on June 22-24, 2012. The theme is "Networked News: How New Media Is Shaping Stories in Asia and the Pacific." While our international conferences always look at both news and media issues, this year we will approach topics through the prism of new media. Information technology will play an increasingly strategic role in shaping the future of Asia.

PCI's early commitment of support for this conference has provided me and my colleagues at the East-West Center with the essential leverage to carry out a very successful campaign for funding and in-kind support. We have firm commitments from the Luce Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Korea Telecom and are confident of additional support from other Korean and non-Korean foundations and corporations. The U.S. Embassy in Pakistan has agreed to sponsor seven Pakistani journalists to attend the conference. As in the past, we expect similar support from other embassies and press associations. We also are grateful for the assistance of fellow PCI board member Chung-in Moon, who enabled us to gain the collaboration of Yonsei University, which will provide the conference's main venue and other assistance.

The East-West Center's international media conferences are valuable opportunities to build bridges among people who influence opinion in the Asia Pacific region. At the conferences' lively sessions, including small breakout seminars, the journalist attendees see key regional and

international issues through the eyes of their colleagues from other countries as well as our invited top officials and experts.

Our media conferences have grown steadily in size and scope, with the 2010 event in Hong Kong -- also supported by PCI -- drawing 350 professionals from 26 nations and worldwide media attention. We expect more than 300 participants at our Seoul conference. South Korea, known as the "most wired nation in the world" and home to one of the earliest citizen reporting networks, is an excellent venue because of its dynamic IT industry, lively media, and economic and cultural impact in the region.

Our confirmed speakers so far include Riyaad Minty, head of social media at Al Jazeera; Kurt Campbell, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific; and Lokman Tsui, Google's leader on Internet freedom in Asia. Arianna Huffington has agreed to speak via live videoconference if her schedule permits. We are also working with author and social media expert Jeff Jarvis to present via videoconference. Other keynote speakers are being invited or considering invitations.

Online registration, a speaker list and tentative program will be up on the East-West Center's website (<http://www.ewc50.org/mediaconference2012/>) in January.

PCI Board Member Ambassador Raymond Burghardt contributed this story on the program he currently is organizing in his ongoing efforts for journalist exchange programs and as part of his board-member led projects.

BIG-TIME ASIAN UPTICK AT LMU

The bucolic campus of Loyola Marymount University, invariably basking in Mediterranean-like ocean sunshine off Playa del Rey, might seem like an unlikely spot for an upsurge in academic interest about Asia. But in recent months Bellarmine College, the university's largest division, has launched several significant Asia-related initiatives.

Perhaps the most dramatic is the joint interactive class about the media and politics of Asia taught in real time with the United Arab Emirates University in Ail Ain, U.A.E. This first-ever course -- with 30 LMU students and 30 from UAEU -- launches mid-February (Tuesday nights here on the West Coast, Wednesday mornings in the Gulf state). In addition, a team of LMU students, under the general supervision of journalist, author and columnist Tom Plate, launched a new news-driven website: The New ASIA MEDIA (lmu.edu/asiamedia).



Prof. Plate with some of site's key student staffers

Other Asia programs are on the drawing board and will launch soon. China expert Prof. Robin Wang, who chairs the Asia and Pacific Studies program at LMU, about a year ago named Plate Distinguished Scholar of Asian and Pacific Studies. Plate, a PCI board member, now teaches undergraduate courses on the media and politics of Asia at LMU that he originated at UCLA, where he taught for 15 years. He has also been named a Visiting Professor at United Arab Emirates University.

At the same time, Prof. Plate is working on volume four of his bestselling 'Giants of Asia' series. The latest book will be on Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary General and former Foreign Minister of South Korea. Previous volumes starred Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia, and Thaksin Shinawatra of Thailand (the latest). They are all available on Amazon.com.



PROJECT BRIDGE 2011-2012 Youth Ambassadors

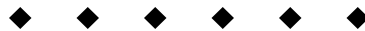
Celeste Huizar is a 16 year-old junior attending Roosevelt High School. She is part of a beautiful Mexican-American family. She is the second oldest of her siblings. She lives with her mother, her two younger brothers, and she has an older sister in college.

Celeste has always looked up to her mother, who has been her motivation. She's the reason why Celeste craves knowledge and a better life. As a widowed mother she's done a great job raising her children and has taught Celeste to be independent. Her mother has taken a huge role on shaping the teenager she is today. Celeste's father passed away a few years ago, and since then she's learned to grow up and take control of her life and her responsibilities. She is a person full of determination, "Muchas Ganas," like her mom says.

Celeste has lived in Boyle Heights her entire life. She's grown up in an environment that is not what she wishes it was. Celeste doesn't come from a perfect family, community, or life-style, but she is a proud Latina. She stands up for what

she believes in and she will fight for what is right because the inequalities that exist are excessive. Celeste is loquacious and she speaks her mind, which leads to her ultimate goal in life, to become a lawyer. Celeste believes that in a community where you lack more resources than what you have, you look past all the things that are stopping you from achieving your goals and you just go after them. It's always worth trying and always worth dreaming bigger; she is impatient, but persistent. However, she doubts her actions at times; her biggest fear is rejection. She fears not being good enough and letting others down, but then again we all fear that.

Celeste stands here, excited yet nervous like at her first volleyball game. Although school is her priority, volleyball has become her stress-reliever, you can always let go of emotions on a court. It's been the one sport, where she has been able to release anger, fear, excitement, and passion all at once, forgetting every issue and every inconsistency in her life. Till this day Celeste feels that she has encountered situations that have shut her down, but somehow the idea of becoming anybody, *somebody*, has kept her going. Celeste's motivation is her family; her drive is a better future.



Kevin Akinfolarin was born in Inglewood, California on November 24, 1995. He is the youngest of two brothers and a sister. The schooling years of his life were the toughest. He was never able to fit in with others because he was raised differently from some of his classmates – given a curfew, a code of respectable conduct, a motivation.



Kevin was an average student during his early academic life. However, in sixth grade, he felt nauseated practically every day. The reason was simple: classmates laughed at him – really humiliated him – because he was dark-complexioned and half African. It didn't matter that Kevin attended a Christian school that daily began with prayer and that moral teaching was a part of the curriculum. Being so isolated, he began to think a great deal about life. It was then that Kevin realized who was most important to him, and that is himself. Kevin had created a solution to his problems: to be his own best friend and to have little care for what others would do or say. Because he had no real friends, he sought acceptance from his teachers and other adults. To his surprise, he learned about the significance of adulthood.

Always in the presence of teachers, Kevin listened when they socialized among themselves. He soon developed a skill for observation. He would observe people who became successful and others who failed. Kevin then realized that he was headed in the direction of failure. He remembers crying, feeling depressed while he was sitting and thinking about his future. Feeling sick to his stomach, Kevin grabbed every book that he had and read and cried. He promised himself that he would never fool around in class, that he would never let anyone tell him what he cannot do, that even though he would be teased, he would become slow to anger. He committed himself to studying hard and learning everything that he hadn't paid attention to in the past. Currently, Kevin is a junior at Inglewood High School. He has maintained a 3.7 grade point average. Last summer he attended both a Nanoscience Lab and a Social Justice Academy at UCLA. Last year he played football and ran track.

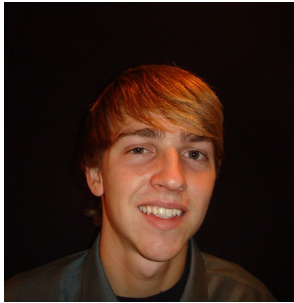
Kevin doesn't regret his past – not at all. It shaped who he is today – scholarly, determined, kind, respectful, caring, and trustworthy. In fact, it gave him character. One can be surprised about what he or she hears if he or she listens. Listening attentively was his biggest problem as a young child. Now, he is like a sponge, soaking in every iota of information given.



(2011-2012 Youth Ambassadors continued from p5)

Residing in the bustling city of San Pedro, a nautical suburb of Los Angeles, high school junior

Colin Dowdell currently attends the California Academy of Mathematics and Science, located in Carson on a Cal State University campus. A school with a vigorous math, science, and engineering program, CAMS challenges students academically and indoctrinates them with skills essential to succeeding later in life. In addition, the diversity inherent at CAMS mirrors the culture of San Pedro.



At the Grand Annex, a San Pedro venue that supports world music, Colin has seen bands ranging in style from Celtic Tribal music to Big Band Swing. Since his mother is from Stuttgart, Germany, and his father from the U.S., he has frequently traveled to Europe including summer student exchange programs. Because of his biculturalism, he has always been open to diverse languages and foods. He hopes to further expand his horizons in Korea.

His emerging interest in culture parallels his increasing passion for medicine. Fostered by his adept middle and high school science teachers, Colin continues to excel academically in hopes of someday becoming a doctor. He has participated in the 2008-2009 Regional and State Science Fair and represented his middle school as Valedictorian. Every Sunday, he volunteers at a local hospital where he works with doctors and nurses in developing his patient skills.

Another one of his passions is running. He feels that running adds another dimension to his life; a dimension where he is able to escape his studies and have a few peaceful moments to himself, ironically amongst the yelling, cheering, and groaning of his coach and teammates.

Over the years, music has always played a huge role in his life. Beginning at age nine, Colin met with a guitar teacher for five years. Upon entering middle school, he picked up the trumpet, joining the band for three extraordinary years with an unforgettable teacher. Presently, he participates in his high school's orchestra. Presenting in front of crowds has become second nature to him, primarily because of his musical performances.

Through Project Bridge, Colin not only hopes to improve tolerance in himself, but also in his community. As the coming months may be some of the most memorable in his lifetime, he will strive to embody the unique culture of Korea and incorporate it into his daily life.

Letter from a former Youth Ambassador

Dear Mr. Gregg:

I am writing to thank you for your involvement with our winter study course. My interactions with you (at dinner and then next day in class) are certainly memories I will hold on to for years to come. I was beside myself when I found out I would have the opportunity to dine with you, especially since it was your efforts at the Korea Society that started Project Bridge and put me on the path I am on today. I remain extremely interested in the history, contemporary politics and culture of the Korean peninsula, an interest that is budding into a broader passion for the study of East Asian history and languages. I hope to travel extensively in the region in my college years and beyond. Your visit to our class did more than illuminate qualities of good leadership to me; learning about your experiences showed me that it is important to take risks for what you believe in. More than anything, your anecdotes lit a fire under me to get out there even sooner and start gaining experience abroad.

Project Bridge was certainly a great start. I will always be grateful for the opportunities that the Korea Society provided me. Actually, I would not have even found out about Williams had one of the group leaders from California (Robin Kim) not mentioned it to me in a conversation one day. I am glad to have joined a community that includes fiercely loyal alumni and can only hope to reciprocate after I graduate. I look forward to continuing my growth as a person and as a student here at Williams, and would appreciate the opportunity to continue correspondence in the future.

On behalf of Professor Hitz and Professor Dudley, as well as my classmates, thank you very much for coming to speak with us!

Best wishes,
Eilin Rafael Perez

PCI Board member Amb. Don Gregg taught a four-week Winter Studies course at Williams College and was delighted to receive this email on January 26, 2012 from Eilin Perez who had gone to Korea from New York with Project Bridge in 2008.



The World Economic Forum: a "New Model" for North Korea

by Spencer H. Kim

In North Korea, the king is dead, long live the king. Now what? I say a new way forward based on "HSSC" and epistemology. Let me explain.

At its meeting last October, the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council for Korea (<http://www.weforum.org/content/global-agenda-council-korea-2011>) called for a "New Model" for relations between North Korea and the world. That call is even more valid with the death of Kim Jong Il. I chaired that Global Agenda Council and I will present the "New Model" at the WEF's full meeting in Davos in late January.

There are two elements to the "New Model." First, there must be engagement with North Korea and it must be "holistic, sequential, sustained and consensual" (HSSC). Second, there must be an attempt to develop an "empirically rigorous and transparent epistemic community on North Korea."

Before I go into detail on the two elements, let me first say that I found chairing the WEF Council on Korea an exhilarating experience. The Council was composed of fourteen members; four were businesspersons like myself, eight were academics and we had one active diplomat and one clergyman. We came from South Korea, Europe, the US, Japan and China and we were tasked by WEF to see with fresh eyes and to set aside preconceptions. During three days of discussion we were also encouraged to engage in cross conversation with other Councils that were meeting simultaneously to discuss functional and regional issues. The format was robust -- old ideas and notions were challenged -- and I was impressed with the enlightenment the process created.

Our Council concluded that the current model for interaction between North Korea and the international community was constrained by reliance on all sides on a rigid political and security framework and distorted by a mutual demonization that often disregarded empirical reality.

The call for a "holistic" approach means simply that all sides have to realize that there are issues on all sides that have to be addressed. No side is going to get only what it wants without addressing what the other sides want and without understanding that all these interests and concerns are interrelated.

"Sequential" means that no side is going to get all of what it wants completely before the concerns of the other sides are met. There has to be a step by step process that leads to all around satisfaction.

"Sustained" means that all sides have to realize it is going to take a while and they are going to have to keep at it and not break off whenever one side says, or, unfortunately, does, something the other side(s) don't like. Likewise, all parties are going to have to have some constraint in words and actions that may play well domestically but have a negative

impact on engagement.

Finally, "consensual" recognizes that no side has the power to force its will, and a final and satisfactory conclusion, on the others. While the goal of a denuclearized Korean peninsula is acknowledged and confirmed (still Comprehensive, Verifiable, and Irreversible (nuclear) Disarmament (CVID)), there is going to have to be a flexible and innovative approach taken that requires multi-lateral cooperation. The exploration of confidence building measures, such as used by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, might be a starting point.

This "New Model" of HSSC seems especially apropos now. The DPRK is engaging in a transition of power. Throughout 2012 many other of the concerned parties are going to also face transition. Putting forth HSSC as the new approach in the coming year can lay the groundwork for serious progress starting in 2013. That is what I will say in Davos.

The second element of the "New Model" is the creation of a reliable "epistemic" community on North Korea. It was clear to us on the Council, from both our preparation for our meeting and in our discussions there, that there is no agreement among "experts" on North Korea on even the most narrow set of facts, and no reliable understanding of the workings of the international community, and the players in Northeast Asia, among North Koreans. In other words, considering the magnitude of the issue, we don't know much about each other -- but we do have a full panoply of preconceptions and stereotypes constantly played back by both media and propaganda to the point that reality has been distorted out of all proportion. And we are all, on all sides, unconsciously victims of the distortion. Like the poor souls in Plato's Cave, we see the shadows and allow our imaginations to conjure up a distorted reality.

If you need any proof of the above, the torrent of blather from "experts," amid a trickle of insight, following the death of Kim Jong Il provides it. A few really know some things; the majority do not, but that did not stop them from pontificating as if they did. Most described events through previously existing ideological lenses and institutional biases. The Council's conclusion that there was no rigorous epistemic community existent on the North Korean issue was made glaringly obvious. I have followed Korean issues for decades, I have met many of the players involved, I have traveled to North Korea several times -- and I am not sure I know what I think I know. But I do know enough to recognize nonsense; and I heard a lot of it. It all reminded me both of what Robert Carlin -- of Stanford University, who really is an expert -- said

(Continued on Page 8)



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in his March 2011 testimony before the US Congress, "in fact, we are more isolated from the North Koreans than they are from the rest of the world" and the observation of Donald Gregg, former CIA station chief and ambassador to Seoul, that North Korea is America's longest running intelligence failure.

The Council recommended that multiple channels of public and private-sector direct and indirect communication among North Korea and the other players in the issue be established. This should include invitations to North Koreans to participate in the WEF process -- the 2012 WEF Forum on East Asia for sure, and perhaps the 2012 WEF New Champions meeting in China and the 2013 Davos meeting itself. Given that the potential role of economic cooperation could become more important, the Council also recommended the creation of an ad hoc WEF International Advisory Board on Economic Interaction with the DPRK. I will

make all these recommendations when I am in Davos this January.

The leadership transition in North Korea means that there is a new decision-making process in Pyongyang. There will be new decision-makers in many other capitals by 2013. It is imperative that we start to build an epistemic community in all the countries involved that can provide a common basis for analyzing the issue of the DPRK and its relations with its neighbors. I will do my part at the WEF. I will also do what I can to stimulate a vigorous Track II process -- in the NGO, think tank and university spheres -- that repeatedly brings together experts from all the sides involved so we can start to break out of the straightjacket that we have allowed ourselves to be tied into.

Spencer H. Kim is the Chairman of CBOL, a California-based aerospace products company, and a founder of the Pacific Century Institute. He represented the U.S. on the APEC Business Advisory Council from 2006-2008.

Directory

Headquarters:
8944 Mason Avenue
Chatsworth, CA 91311-6107
(818) 227-6620 (Tel),
(818) 704-4336 (Fax)
pci@pacificcenturyinst.org

Spencer H. Kim
(818) 337-1600 (Tel)
spencer@cbol.com

Regional Office:
Kenneth J. Tuggle, Esq.
Frost Brown Todd LLC
400 West Market Street, 32nd Floor
Louisville, KY 40202
(502) 568-0269 (Tel)
(502) 581-1087 (Fax)

Representative (Korea):
Chung In Moon
Yonsei University
134 Shinchon-dong Seodaemooon-ku
Seoul, 120-749, KOREA
822-2123-3542 (Tel)
822-362-1915 (Fax)
cimoon@yonsei.ac.kr

Representative (Japan):
Ko Shioya
Seta 2-19-1
Setagaya-ku, Tokyo
Japan 158-0095
813-03707-0369 (Tel/Fax)
kosh206@ybb.ne.jp

PCI Web site:
www.pacificcenturyinst.org

Lynn Turk, PCI Senior Fellow
(425) 260-9018 (Tel)
ljt047@aol.com

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

Jackie Lee, PCI Executive Director
(818) 337-1611 (Tel), (818) 459-7448 (Fax)
Jackie.Lee@cbol.com

Denice Gonzalez, PCI Junior Fellow
(818) 337-1620 (Tel), (818) 245-9320 (Fax)
deniceg@ucla.edu



PACIFIC CENTURY INSTITUTE
8944 Mason Avenue
Chatsworth, CA 91311-6107

Board of Directors

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