Two things are on my mind as I sit down to write this introduction to Pete McCloskey, who will be honored at this February’s annual Pacific Century Institute banquet. The first is a poignantly eloquent lecture on Don Quixote I heard last October while on a cruise down the coast of Spain. The second is a film on McCloskey made about five years ago, and narrated by the late Paul Newman. It’s called “Leading from the Front,” and I watched it for the second time a few nights ago.

Pete is a couple of months older than I am. We both graduated from high school in 1945, and volunteered for military service at 17, hoping to take part in ending World War II. After college, Pete went into the Marines, I went into CIA. We first met in 2000, as part of an investigation into alleged war crimes committed in 1950 by U.S. Army forces at a place called No Gun Ri, in South Korea.

Pete is hard to describe. Paul Newman puts it this way: “McCloskey is a dissenter, a tumultuous figure. He has led more bayonet charges than anyone since the Civil War, and has offended almost everyone.”

He has become passionately involved in civil rights, environmental issues, and preservation of parklands. He has called our Middle East policies “one-sided,” so he clearly has a Quixotic side. But where Don Quixote imagined himself a chivalric knight, Pete actually won the Navy Cross, the Silver Star and two Purple Hearts in Korea, and is known as “the Beowulf of the Fifth Marines.”

In 1972, having served as a Republican member of Congress since 1967, Pete challenged sitting President Richard Nixon for the Republican presidential nomination, trying to end the Vietnam War. His wife called that “the craziest thing he ever did.” Pete served in the House for sixteen years, and has since practiced law in California.

In 2006, at the age of 78, having lost a run for the Senate in 1982, Pete came out of retirement to challenge a corrupt Republican candidate for Congress in California. He lost to the man in the Republican primary, and Pete himself referred to this effort as “Quixotic.” But issues raised in the primary led to the man’s defeat in the November election. In 2007, Pete became a Democrat.

So what brings him to PCI’s attention? It is his desire to reach out to the North Koreans, to return to the battlefields near the Chosin Reservoir where he fought so bravely, and to pay tribute to those he fought with and those he fought against: Americans, Chinese and North Koreans. Pete and I are both very relieved that Merrill Newman, a contemporary of ours, and a Korean War veteran, was released in a civilized manner by the North Koreans.

I am already looking forward to Pete’s talk at the PCI dinner. It will be colorful, offbeat, humorous, and right to the point—the need to talk directly with North Korea. Please join us at this festive, significant occasion.

This was contributed by PCI Chairman Donald Gregg.

Congressman Pete McCloskey in 1969

From left: Pete McCloskey and the late actor Paul Newman, who narrates the film about Mr. McCloskey in Leading From the Front

Vol. 20 No. 1 “Building Bridges Between Countries and Peoples” Winter 2014

THE PACIFIC CENTURY INSTITUTE, INC.

Presents Its Annual Building Bridges Award to Pete McCloskey
Korean War veteran and former U.S. Congressman

From left: Pete McCloskey and the late actor Paul Newman, who narrates the film about Mr. McCloskey in Leading From the Front

2014 PCI Annual Award Dinner
Date: Thursday, February 27, 2014
Venue: Hyatt Regency Century Plaza, Century City
Reception 6:00 pm
Dinner 7:00pm

Please RSVP to Judy Choi at Judy.Choi@PacificCenturyInst.org
Tel: (818) 721-5601

The PCI News

Pacific Century Institute, Inc.
Chairman’s Activities

Teaching at Williams College

For the fourth year, I am teaching a four-week course at Williams College’s Winter Study period. I have 19 students, and the class is titled “CIA and the War on Terror.”

The students are intelligent and articulate. I asked for foreign students, and got them—from Korea, Iran, India, Norway and Egypt. As always I feel that I learn more from the students than they learn from me. We are into role playing and have already had a hot debate about Mr. Snowden. He was defended and attacked vociferously. In the end, the class voted that he should be criminally prosecuted, if and when he returns to the US, as he appears to have done great damage to necessary intelligence procedures. Two of Snowden’s strongest defenders were foreign students from Norway and Korea. One of his strongest attackers is from Iran.

More debates will be upcoming: on NSA’s ever-expanding coverage, and on drones and the moral question their use brings into the picture. In the final week, I’ll play the role of a Director of Central Intelligence appearing in front of a Senate inquiry, and will encourage my students to really come after me on any issue of incompetence, illegality or immorality that they perceive in CIA’s performance, today or in the past. We have watched Senator Frank Church tear into DCI Bill Colby in the film “The Man Nobody Knew,” so my students will know how to make it difficult. This is a great experience, and it is a privilege to be able to interact with these truly talented students.

This was contributed by PCI Chairman Donald Gregg.

Dialogue with Ambassadors Conference

PCI Chairman Donald Gregg and PCI Board Member Kathleen Stephens attended a conference in Seoul called “Dialogue with Ambassadors” on October 17, 2013, to discuss the most imminent regional and peninsular issues of common concern and interest. The conference was held to celebrate 60 years of ROK-U.S. partnership and shared prosperity.

The former U.S. and Korean ambassadors spoke of their first encounters with Korea and their most memorable moments as ambassadors. Discussion moved to policy issues such as relations with China, the North Korean nuclear problem, KORUS FTA, TPP, unification, and bilateral alliance issues. There was memorable discussion about the former presidents of the U.S. and Korea and their interactions with one another.

In addition to the ambassadors, ‘Dialogue’ featured speeches by President Hyun-seok Yu of the Korea Foundation, Speaker of the National Assembly Kang Chan-hee, and three-time former National Assemblyman Park Jin. The conference also featured a CSIS-produced film on the history of the U.S.-Korea alliance and a White House congratulatory video from Vice-President Joseph Biden.

From left to right: Jin Park, Hong-choo Hyun, Alexander Vershbow, Hong-koo Lee, Donald Gregg, Thomas Hubbard, Kathleen Stephens, and Young-jin Choi at Dialogue with Ambassadors, Seoul, October 17, 2013
Ambassador Kathleen Stephens

As a U.S. government official working on U.S.-Asia relations from Washington and later as American ambassador in Seoul, I benefitted from Pacific Century Institute’s efforts to build people-to-people relationships through programs like Project Bridge, and its support for “thinking outside the box” about the hardest and most sensitive issues.

Now at Stanford University, I have a new reason to thank PCI: I’m teaching a new course on Issues in U.S.-Korea Relations, and my students and I rely heavily on the newly released, updated edition of The Two Koreas by Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin. I was pleased but not surprised to see Bob Carlin acknowledge the support of Pacific Century Institute in completing these essential updates to what remains the essential overview of modern Korean history.

I am so pleased to join the PCI board and look forward to learning and contributing to its work to improve and strengthen trans-Pacific ties — a task that is more important, and in some ways more challenging, than ever before.

This was contributed by Ambassador Kathleen Stephens.

Kathleen Stephens is Koret Fellow and Visiting Scholar at Stanford University’s Shorenstein Center for Asia and Pacific Research, where she is teaching and speaking on issues related to the U.S. and Asia, and writing and consulting. Ambassador Stephens served 1978-2013 as a U.S. career diplomat, achieving the personal rank of Career Minister. She was Acting Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in 2012, and U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, 2008 to 2011.

Her diplomatic career included service in numerous posts in Washington, Asia, and Europe. From 2005 to 2007 she was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs (EAP). She was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR) from 2003 to 2005, focused on post-conflict and stabilization issues in the Balkans. Other Washington assignments included Director for European Affairs at the National Security Council during the Clinton Administration, Senior United Kingdom Country Officer in the European Bureau, and Director of the State Department’s Office of Ecology and Terrestrial Conservation in the Bureau of Oceans, Environment and Scientific Affairs.

Her overseas postings included Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal (1998-2001), and U.S. Consul General in Belfast, Northern Ireland (1995-1998) during the consolidation of ceasefires and negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement. Earlier foreign assignments included consular and public affairs officer in Guangzhou, China, chief of the internal political unit in Seoul, principal officer of the U.S. Consulate in Busan, Korea, and political officer in fracturing Yugoslavia.

Ambassador Stephens’ U.S. government awards include Linguist of the Year in 2010, and the 2009 Presidential Meritorious Service Award. Other awards and recognition include the Korean government’s Sejong Cultural Prize and the Korea-America Friendship Association Prize in 2013; the YWCA’s Women’s Leadership “Special Prize” Award (2010); the Pacific Century Institute’s Building Bridges Award; and the Outstanding Achievement Award from the American Chamber of Commerce in Korea.

Her book Reflections of an American Ambassador to Korea, based on her Korean-language blog, was published in 2010 and is in its third printing in Korea.

Ambassador Stephens was born in El Paso, Texas, and grew up in Arizona and Montana. She holds a BA (Honors) in East Asian studies from Prescott College, a master’s degree from Harvard University, and honorary doctoral degrees from Chungnam National University and the University of Maryland. She studied at the University of Hong Kong and was an instructor at the Outward Bound School of Hong Kong. She was a Peace Corps volunteer in Korea in the 1970s.
The Pacific Century Institute (PCI) has cooperated with the Vietnam University of Economics and Business Affairs in three conferences: in 2006, a conference in Hanoi on “Entrepreneurship”; at Princeton University in 2008, a conference on “Vietnam and East Asia in the Global Context”; and a conference in Hanoi on October 18, 2013, on “Women’s Empowerment: Opportunities and Challenges in Entrepreneurship.” All three conferences were judged uniformly as being highly successful.

The conference on “Women’s Empowerment: Opportunities and Challenges in Entrepreneurship” overwhelmingly endorsed the idea that women’s empowerment was an essential element of development of Vietnam’s society and nation. In that context, forceful calls were made to empower women to bring their talents, energy, and strength into play by becoming entrepreneurs in commerce, social activities, and politics. This was not to displace men, but to enrich Vietnam’s economy with the addition of women’s capabilities, imagination, and drive to the national equation. Calls were made for women to say “Yes” to opportunity and to their dreams, to know one’s self, have belief in one’s self, pursue lifelong learning, dare to take risks, and develop a willingness to evolve and adapt. This meant overcoming internal barriers and societal stereotyping. With the notions of service and compassion in mind, entrepreneurship at its best would not simply be about making money, but also service to the nation to help build community and compassion for the less fortunate.

Practical means for networking and partnership, how to fund your dreams, effectively using the panoply of social media, marketing your brand, overcoming government barriers to create an environment in which all levels of enterprises are encouraged, and the possibilities of women’s role in high finance were explored in depth. In addition to practical suggestions, the importance of education was acclaimed as an essential element to redress stereotyping and inequalities. Leadership and the education system throughout must face and overcome these historic and intrinsic inequities. The VN University of Economic and Business and Women’s Union and Entrepreneur Council were applauded in meeting the challenges of women’s empowerment by their roles in this very rich and successful conference.

Conference participants included the U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, David Shear, who opened the conference, former U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Michael Michalak; former Ambassador of Vietnam to European Union; Ninh thi nu Ninh, former Minister of Ministry of Labour - Invalids and Social Affairs, Mme Nguyen thi Hang (whom I knew as Charge in 1995-97, and who was an anti-aircraft gunner in the Vietnam War); Representatives of Committee of Ethnic Minority Affairs; managers of U.S. and domestic enterprises, organizations especially Women Union, Women Entrepreneurs Council; lecturers and students of VNU-UEB. The audience was overwhelmingly of women students, who sometimes overflowed into the external corridor. In addition to the formal agenda, the conference was also the place for all participants to meet, gather and exchange their ideas, experience and knowledge in the topic of women’s empowerment.
Board Members’ Corner

CUSP Philanthropy Leaders Dialogue

Spencer Kim attended a US-China dialog on philanthropy at the East-West Center (EWC) in Hawaii May 24-25, 2013. From China, the symposium attracted several billionaires and leaders of social venture enterprises active in poverty reduction and disaster relief. From America, the participants were from a variety of large foundations and academic institutions. Dr. Tony Saich of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard presided as co-chair along with Professor Wang Zhenyao of Beijing Normal University’s China Philanthropy Research Institute (CPRI). The EWC and CPRI served as co-hosts of the assembly on the grounds of the EWC.

The two-day conference is part of a larger program known as the China United States Strategic Philanthropy (CUSP) project, the overall purpose of which is to create new channels of communication between philanthropists in the two countries, in addition to those that already exist for business and government, and to serve as a new conversation platform for the role of philanthropy in US-China relations. Speaking immediately before United States Senator Brian Schatz, Spencer Kim called on the participants to pay greatest attention to the efficiency of philanthropy.

Book News

The Two Koreas: A Contemporary History

PCI supported publication of the third edition of The Two Koreas (December 2013). This edition adds information from newly available sources – both human and documentary – to key sections of the book’s previous chapters. Revised and updated by Robert Carlin, this edition also brings to light some bad decisions made by all parties involved that led to bad consequences regarding the Korean Peninsula.

The book challenges the Bush administration’s contention that the North’s uranium enrichment program was a surprise to Washington (the US had known about it since the late 1990s), and that the revelation was cause to abandon the Agreed Framework – something senior members of the Bush Administration wanted to do from the very start. It also challenges the idea that through 2001, Pyongyang was never serious about the Agreed Framework.

It also examines in detail the October 2002 visit by Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly in a new context – especially noting the conflict for Pyongyang between Kim Jong Il’s new economic measures and the Kelly visit. The book raises serious questions about whether or not the issue of the North’s uranium enrichment program needed to be handled in the way it was by Washington, which took a path that led quickly to the end of the Agreed Framework and full-scale revival of the North’s production of fissile material. The book also gathers evidence that the North Koreans appear to have been more prepared than most accounts portray to deal with the uranium enrichment issue with Kelly, but because Kelly was under instructions “not to negotiate,” there was no room left for a better clarification of positions at the talks.

The demise of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) generally falls through the cracks in accounts of the history of the period. The book shows how KEDO was the last remaining hope for sustaining the progress with the North achieved from 1994-2000, and that KEDO’s end is revealing of the general weaknesses in US and ROK policy at the time. The book connects the end of KEDO with several specific Washington missteps — the final, deliberately hostile statement by the US delegation at the 6 party talks, and the release of a Treasury Department statement on Banco Delta Asia the following day — that within twenty-four hours had grievously undermined the September 19, 2005, Six Party joint statement.

To order this book, please go to www.perseusbooksgroup.com.
Los Angeles

Youth Ambassadors:
Esmeralda Garcia, North Hollywood High School
Toby Le, Downtown Magnet High School
Brian Marroquin, Ouchi High School
Makayla Matheu, Crescenta Valley High School
Josiah Mejia, ESAT High School
Sereno Reid, Ouchi High School
Bohesa Won, Warren High School
Michillinda Yao, Arcadia High School

Group Leaders:
Fernando Cardenas, C-West, LLC
Angie Pak, Cal State University, Los Angeles
US Navy Reserves Unit Fitness Coordinator

Program Coordinator:
Judy Choi, Pacific Century Institute, Inc.

New York

Youth Ambassadors:
William Aung, Stuyvesant High School
Nicole Berroa, Marble Hill School for International Studies
Hamilton Fernandez, University Prep Charter High
German Figueroa, HS For Arts, Imagination & Inquiry
Shu Min He, Millennium High School
Eleni Sardina, Townsend Harris High School
Olivia Skowronski, Leadership & Public Service High School
Shafin Zaman, Brooklyn Technical High School

Group Leaders:
Maura Donnelly, High School for Economic & Finance
Jake Lederman, High School for Law, Advocacy, & Community Justice

Program Coordinator:
Luz Lanzot, The Korea Society

Workshops

During the course of the academic year, Project Bridge participants meet twice a month for workshops focusing on intercultural issues, as well as aspects of Korean culture, history, and society. The workshops explore topics such as relations among Americans of different backgrounds, multicultural youth leadership issues, and using the arts to communicate identity and culture.

Starting with contemporary American literature on multiracial identity issues, Project Bridge prepares Youth Ambassadors with greater sensitivity and respect for various socio-cultural differences not only in contemporary American life, but also on the international/global stage. The workshops that explore identity and tolerance of differences in contemporary American life intend to cultivate the Youth Ambassador’s perspectives in appreciating Korean culture and history.

After covering complicated multicultural issues, the workshops move to focus on Korean history, cultures, language, and other contemporary issues. Every interaction between Youth Ambassadors, Group Leaders, and Program Coordinators intends to serve as a learning experience, reinforcing leadership skills and insights about U.S. and Korea.

Study Tour

The purpose of the tour is to enable the students to see Korea and meet Koreans in their own societal context. The trip also enables the students to explore the spectrum of cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, as Korea remains one of the most ethnically homogenous of the world’s nations. Thus, the tour enhances the 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 extends the exploration of the meaning of diversity—both within America and compared with a nation different from their own.

During the study tour to Korea, Project Bridge students visit many places in Korea of historical and social significance, stay with a host family, and engage in open dialogue with Koreans. Some of the sites they visit include the National Assembly, the Demilitarized Zone, Jeollabuk-do and Gyeongju City.
Esmeralda Garcia: “Project Bridge will allow me the ability to travel to South Korea and interact with the culture and the society. I am fascinated with the Korean culture so I am excited to be a part of Project Bridge. It is an opportunity to broaden my prospective and broaden my horizons. Through this program I want to enhance my leadership and communication skills. I am honored to be a part of a program that promotes cultural diversity and wants to lessen the gaps between cultures.”

Toby Le: “Project Bridge provides an outstanding opportunity for my peers and I to explore the many aspects of South Korean culture. I look forward to the collaboration between the other youth ambassadors and me as we learn and grow throughout this journey, and educate ourselves in preparation for our study trip. To be granted the privilege for a study trip to South Korea excites me, as California has always been the boundary for most of my experiences. To expose myself to a culture outside my own is something I am very grateful to be able to do, and something I look forward to giving my best at. What I look forward to most, however, are the new perspectives I may find while exploring a different culture, whether it be knowing about certain roots, to developing a new cultural understanding of others.”

Brian Marroquin: “Project Bridge gives me the opportunity to learn more on Korean culture and customs. I am able to explore racial relations in a much deeper level and Project Bridge allows me to do so. I hope to advocate more on racial gaps in the society that we live in today. I am most excited to meet new people from different backgrounds and also being able to share my background. I am definitely excited to be given the opportunity to travel to South Korea with the new friends that I am making. Thanks, Project Bridge, for this incredible once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.”

Michillinda Yao: “Project Bridge grants an amazing opportunity for growth in many different aspects and I am excited to embrace the changes it will bring. I hope to create bonds with my fellow youth ambassadors and many others, ultimately creating an extensive social network, so that I may connect with various figures from different backgrounds and experiences. I am excited to travel to Korea so that I can first-handedly experience and enjoy the cultural and social differences. I am, however, most excited for this journey because after months of learning and discussing the history, struggle, and development of Korea, I will finally be able to explore the prosperous nation and its great accomplishments.”

Angie Pak, LA Project Bridge Group Leader

“I made a life-changing decision to join the military right out of high school. During my four years of military service as a Navy Electrician’s Mate, I moved up in the ranks, which came with a hefty price of responsibility and leadership skills. I have been fortunate enough to be given the opportunity to explore leadership skills but I believe I have grasped the objective of the skills through numerous trials and errors. I look forward to applying such skills into positively changing and impacting the lives of our youths through becoming a Project Bridge leader.”

Sereno Reid: “This program is greatly helping me with my communication and leadership skills in a group setting. My mentors for this program are helping me understand what it means to be a more productive and conscientious leader for my fellow peers. I am so grateful to be a part of such a wonderful program and look forward to learning new skills with every workshop that is to come.”

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Judy Choi, LA Project Bridge Coordinator

“As a 1.5-generation Korean American, I have resided in both Korea and America, and become familiar with both cultures. From my past experiences, I have realized in order to avoid racial conflicts caused by cultural differences and misunderstandings, we must be open to celebrate and cherish diversity. Project Bridge’s mission is to ‘bridge’ the gaps between people of different cultural heritages by fostering greater cross-cultural awareness and understanding. I feel honored getting the opportunity to be the coordinator of this great program, and I am excited to share my knowledge and personal experiences with the young future leaders.”

Angie Pak, LA Project Bridge Group Leader

“I made a life-changing decision to join the military right out of high school. During my four years of military service as a Navy Electrician’s Mate, I moved up in the ranks, which came with a hefty price of responsibility and leadership skills. I have been fortunate enough to be given the opportunity to explore leadership skills but I believe I have grasped the objective of the skills through numerous trials and errors. I look forward to applying such skills into positively changing and impacting the lives of our youths through becoming a Project Bridge leader.”
Fernando Cardenas, LA Project Bridge Group Leader

“I am currently working as Quality Systems Manager at a small manufacturing firm in Orange County, CA. I was born in Peru, but I have spent most of my life living and working in Los Angeles and have witnessed how the city has changed since the early 1990s. I have participated in Project Bridge as a Group Leader for 2 years, between 2004 and 2006. Project Bridge is an incredible opportunity for high school students to expand what they know about ethnic/race relations in the US, about Korean culture and society, and it fosters a spirit of leadership necessary to effect change in the future. I look forward to seeing all of the positive changes that the students will experience as they participate and benefit from Project Bridge.”

Caroline Kim, LA Project Bridge Volunteer/Korean Lesson Lecturer

“I’m currently a third-year undergraduate student at UCLA studying English and Global Studies. One of the main reasons I decided to get involved in Project Bridge is because of its mission to bridge the gap between people of all backgrounds and cultures. Since this is my first year being involved, I am most excited to see the fruition of such an enlightening mission. I want to see first-hand the empowering change that can be brought into the youth community through the study of a culture that has impacted and been impacted by America.”

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