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# The PCI News



## William J. Perry Lecture Series

WILLIAM J. PERRY LECTURE SERIES  
 IN ASSOCIATION WITH  
 EWHA GSIS DISTINGUISHED GLOBAL LECTURE SERIES

Ambassador Kathleen Stephens  
 President and CEO of KEI  
 Former U.S. Ambassador to ROK  
 Career Diplomat



Gender in politics  
 and diplomacy in  
 American and  
 Korean perspectives

2022.9.15 (Thu) 16:00 ~ 17:30

ECC 이삼봉홀 | ECC Lee Sanbong Hall

The 7th Annual William J. Perry Lecture Series at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, Korea took place on Thursday, September 15, 2022. This year’s guest lecturer, Ambassador Kathleen Stephens, is President and CEO of the Korea Economic Institute of America, the Chair of the Pacific Century Institute, and former United States Ambassador to South Korea from 2008-2011.

Opening remarks were given by Dean Brendan Howe of Ewha's Graduate School of International Studies. Ewha President Eun-mee Kim followed with a warm welcome to those who attended and introduced Ambassador Stephens. Her topic, "Gender



(Amb. Kathleen Stephens with Spencer Kim, Amb. Raymond Burghardt, Prof. Jieae Sohn, Dr. John Linton with Ewha University President Kim Eun-Mee and students, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea)

in Politics and Diplomacy: American and Korean Perspectives" provided first hand, real life insight into the subject. Following the lecture, PCI board member and Ewha Professor Jie-ae Sohn moderated a lively Q & A session between the audience and Ambassador Stephens.

In attendance were PCI co-founder, Spencer Kim, PCI Board Members Ambassador Raymond Burghardt and Dr. John Linton, former Foreign Minister of South Korea Kang Kyung-wha.

## Jeju Forum for Peace & Prosperity

The 17th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity (formerly known as Jeju Peace Forum) took place from September 14-16, 2022 at the International Convention Center Jeju, Jeju-do, South Korea. This year’s topic, “Beyond Conflict, Towards Peace: Co-existence and Cooperation” attracted attendees from around the world.

The Pacific Century Institute sponsored a session entitled "The US-ROK Alliance: Changes, Challenges, Opportunities," which PCI Chair Kathleen Stephens moderated. Speakers were former ROK Vice Foreign Minister Sung-nam Lim, PCI co-founder Spencer Kim, and PCI board members Professor Jie-ae Sohn and Dr. John Delury. In this session, they discussed clear challenges on how to keep peace; how to deal with North Korea’s nuclear weapons; how to deal with China given South Korea’s economic relationship it; and more.

To view the recorded session, please visit:  
[www.pacificcenturyinst.org](http://www.pacificcenturyinst.org)



(Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity participants (Left to Right) Spencer Kim, Jieae Sohn, Amb. Kathleen Stephens, Minister Sungnam Lim, and John Delury, Jeju-do, South Korea)



## New Board Members

In The Pacific Century Institute is excited to introduce the newest members Robert Carlin, Carol Costello, and Glyn Ford to its board.



### Robert Carlin

Robert Carlin is an expert on North Korea and Northeast Asian affairs, serving in both the US government and private institutions for over 50 years.

From 1971-1988, Carlin was at the CIA. From 1988-2002, he was Chief of the Northeast Asia Division in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Concurrently he served as senior policy advisor to the U.S. Special Ambassador for North Korea and participated in all aspects of talks with the North during those busy years. Carlin has made more than 30 trips to the DPRK. In 2010, along with Dr. Siegfried Hecker, he was on the American delegation taken to see the North's uranium enrichment facility at Yongbyon. His most recent visit to the North was in April 2017. He has taken part in countless hours of negotiations and unofficial discussions with DPRK officials.

Carlin has been a Visiting Fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) and a Non-resident Fellow at the Stimson Center's 38 North project. He served as a senior policy advisor at the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) from 2002-2006, leading delegations to the North for negotiations and observing developments in the country outside of Pyongyang. An author, in 2013 Carlin also updated and revised Don Oberdorfer's classic history of the Korean Peninsula, "The Two Koreas".

He has a Master's degree from Harvard in East Asian Studies and a BA in Political Science from Claremont Men's College (now Claremont McKenna).



### Carol Costello

CEO, Thumbsicle Productions and Lecturer, Loyola Marymount University

Carol Costello is an award-winning journalist and former anchor and correspondent at CNN and HLN. Her distinguished career as a local, regional and national broadcaster

spans three decades, covering a broad range of world leaders, events and politics. She has won an Emmy for her re-

porting on the crack/cocaine epidemic, a Dupont for her coverage of the Indonesian tsunami, and 2 Emmy award nominations for broadcast performance and best morning show. Carol also participated in CNN's Peabody award-winning coverage of Hurricane Katrina and the 2008 presidential election. She now teaches journalism at Loyola Marymount University. As the spouse of LMU President Timothy Snyder, she serves as the first lady of LMU.

### Glyn Ford



In over 25 years in the European Parliament (EP) Glyn Ford developed an unrivaled expertise on East Asia as a Member of the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committees. This interest started even before his election to the EP, when he was a visiting Professor in

'Science and Technology Policy' at Tokyo University. Immediately after his Japanese experience, he was elected at the EP and became a member of the Delegation for Relations with Japan. His interest expanded over the years to South Korea (he was the Rapporteur on EU-Korea Science and Technology Agreement), China, and the rest of East Asia (he was rapporteur on the EU-ASEAN FTA). He was appointed by the Council of Ministers as the EU's Chief Election Observer in Indonesia (2004) and Aceh (2006/7).

When he left the EP in 2009, Glyn Ford founded the consulting company Polint, which he still leads today. However, in parallel, he continued his political and academic engagement with the DPRK and the East Asian region. These activities, which have always been conducted on a 'non-profit' basis, are now carried out in the framework of Track2Asia.

Thanks to his engagement with the DPRK, he is now considered one of the most pre-eminent European experts on the Korean peninsula in particular, and East Asia in general. A sample of this expertise can be seen in his books "North Korea on the Brink" (Pluto Press, 2008 and later translated into Japanese and Korean) and "Talking to North Korea" (Pluto Press, 2018). Glyn Ford is also a Board Member of the North East Asia Economic Forum (NEAEF) and the Pacific Century Institute (PCI), as well as one of the European co-organizers of a number of Korean Global Forum (KGF) events.

Please visit [www.pacificcenturyinst.org/directors](http://www.pacificcenturyinst.org/directors) to view the PCI Board of Directors.



## Board Member’s Opinion Editorial

*This opinion piece featuring PCI Vice President, Tom Plate was published in the South China Morning Post on November 3, 2022.*

### Why criticism of a third term for China’s Xi Jinping is rich coming from the US

By Tom Plate

Maybe the lady intel officer who sought to recruit me for a CIA operation involving Chinese espionage on the US West Coast didn’t look the part – though, then again, perhaps she did. Modest in dress, controlled in comportment, she sat with me in the back of a large steak restaurant in Los Angeles without once raising her voice.

She told me she was proud to be “working for the President of the United States, that’s what we do”, and I believed her. She paid for everything (as she had for two prior dinners) with cash, not credit card, leaving no written record behind. But I left her visibly disappointed – mission unaccomplished: I just couldn’t go CIA-ing while remaining a proper American journalist and that was what I wound up telling her.

This rendezvous took place a half-dozen years ago but popped into mind while I was drinking in Agents of Subversion, an urgently needed book by Yonsei University professor John Delury.

Just as it unintentionally reminded me of how I could have added the Central Intelligence Agency to my resume, the book also added to my annoyance with those fellow Americans who hold that we don’t do dirty to China, as sometimes the Chinese (not to mention the Russians) do to us. DeLury will have none of that.

His book is about the CIA’s covert war in China. Did American undercover agents and forces try to influence the Chinese civil war? Yes. Did the US have assets working within Hong Kong after the 1997 handover that helped stir the anti-China hotpot? You bet. Even today? Please, let’s not be naive.

The security services of China are scarcely covert. Their assets and agents are all over the place. In fact, in the late 1990s, a report by the Select Committee on US National Security and Military/Commercial Concerns with the People’s Republic of China made extraordinary claims about Chinese espionage, especially systemic technology theft, that the American media replayed to Americans with abandon.

Lost in the anti-Communist frenzy and paranoia was the com-

monsensical notion that almost all nations execute deep dives into the dirty pool of espionage – and sometimes much worse. Contextualisation, rather than demonisation, is what even our enemies deserve if we are to understand them properly.

Over time, demonisation leads to fragmentation of the possibility of a global community – of a better global order to cope with global challenges.

Delury offers another key dimension that echoes the spirit of Plato’s philosophical legacy of the unity of ethics: a city or – by extension any integrated entity – cannot be half virtuous. A contemporary example of this notion can be found in America’s Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977, for example.

It holds that a US corporation operating overseas that’s bribing foreign officials must be brought to account by the headquarters in the States. It cannot look the other way, ignoring the illegality, just because it’s an ocean away. To its credit, the US Department of Justice has enforced the act against American companies abroad.

Delury takes this principle further and shows how a nation’s civic norms can be corroded domestically when it practises clandestine and illicit intervention in the internal affairs of others. “The pathologies of secrecy, like the violence of war, could not be contained overseas forever,” he concludes in the book.

In America, the blowback into the backyard of domestic politics can come with hurricane force. Clandestine anti-China crusades lead to poisonous politics such as McCarthyism. Hans Morgenthau, a legendary proponent of hard-nosed realism in foreign policy, famously characterised the infection of domestic norms with overseas malfeasance as a kind of “surreptitious totalitarianism”.

Despite the continuing cascade of clandestine interventions abroad, America remains convinced of its comparative ethical exceptionalism in international relations, especially compared to China. Such selfdeception is a narcotic. It prevents one from feeling others’ pain and blinds us to how others see us; for the American public, it eases the pain of recognition.

Foolishly self-regarding Western commentary on Xi Jinping’s spectacular appointment to a third term as party general secretary makes the point. In America, term limits are relatively recent – and limited – efforts to bracket power. In 1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt entered his fourth four-year term

(continued on page 4)



Board Member’s Opinion Editorial / Book Release

**Why criticism of a third term for China’s Xi Jinping is rich coming from the US**

(continued from page 3)

(which led, of course, to the Twenty-second Amendment to limit presidents to two terms).

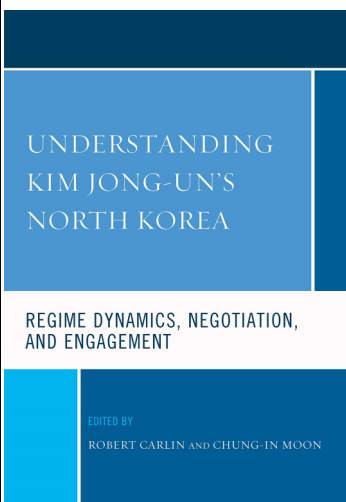
In reality, American politicians could be seen to make Xi look like a freshman. Obscured in the fog of the spotty term-limit law is the fact that US Congress itself has no term limits (and US Supreme Court justices get lifetime appointments).

Near-eternal incumbent US legislators include Vermont’s Patrick Leahy, first elected in 1974, more than 47 years ago; Iowa’s Chuck Grassley, since 1981; Kentucky’s Mitch McConnell, since 1985. Also note that in 1987, back in the heyday of China’s Deng Xiaoping, California’s Nancy Pelosi was first elected to the House. Today she is House Speaker, at 82.

By contrast, the comparatively sprightly Xi, at 69, faces a long march before matching the runs of McConnell and Pelosi. Perhaps America might offer the world a long overdue diminishment of pretensions.

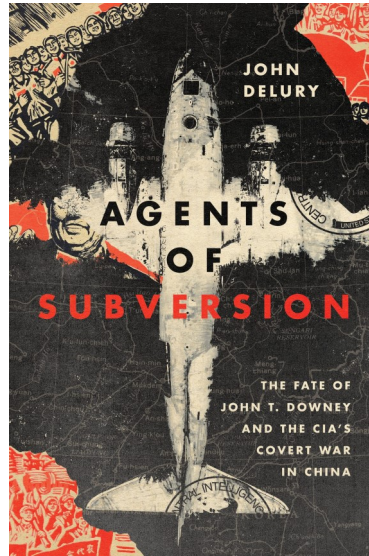
PCI Board Members, Founders and Fellows often contribute to the media. The opinions expressed are solely those of the individuals involved and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Pacific Century Institute.

**Book Release**



Understanding Kim Jong-un’s North Korea: Regime Dynamics, Negotiation, and Engagement edited by PCI Board of Directors Robert Carlin and Chung-in Moon provides broad, deep insight into how North Korea calculates, balances, and addresses key policy challenges. The authors—Korean, European, and American—have extensive experience in North Korea and with North Koreans, crucial to addressing the myths and misconceptions about how the North functions and perceives the world.

ISBN-13 : 978-1666906776



ISBN-13 : 978-1501765971

Unraveling the truth behind decades of Cold War intrigue, PCI board member, John Delury documents the damage that this hidden foreign policy did to American political life in Agents of Subversion: The Fate of John T. Downey and the CIA’s Covert War in China. The US government kept the public in the dark about decades of covert activity directed against China, while Downey languished in a Beijing prison and his mother lobbied desperately for his release.

**In Loving Memory**

It is with heavy hearts to announce Mary Broude’s passing on Tuesday, November 8, 2022. Mary Broude was a former Peace Corps volunteer who served in South Korea. She was very proactive in organizations in the Orange County area, served on boards including the National Peace Corps Association and the Friends of Korea (FoK). Through her efforts, Mary bridged the FoK and PCI’s Project Bridge program—initiated the idea of Youth Ambassadors continuing their connections to Korea through FoK lifetime memberships. She will be fondly remembered by the PCI family.



(Top: (Right) Mary Broude at the 2019 FoK Annual Meeting with PB YAs; Bottom: (Right) with Angie Pak, Consul Yoo, and Dr. Baek of the ROK Consulate General’s Office in Los Angeles, CA).



## PCI Sponsored Programs—Korea U.S. Journalist Exchange

The Korea-US Journalist Exchange program (KUSJE), a collaboration with the East-West Center and the Korea Press Foundation, has been a highlight of PCI’s annual activity since 2005. The program sends six or more American journalists to Korea and an equal number of Korean journalists to America. As they cross the Pacific to return home all of the participants meet at the East-West Center in Honolulu to exchange impressions on their experience during the program. After two years of hiatus due to COVID travel restrictions, PCI was able to work with its two partners to organize one of the most successful KUSJE programs ever, carried out September 12-24, 2022. For the six American journalists who traveled to Korea, the September timing made possible their participation in two additional PCI-supported programs – the Jeju Forum For Peace and Prosperity and the annual William J. Perry Lecture.

At the Jeju Forum, the American journalists were able to have extensive interaction with PCI co-Founder Spencer Kim and with board members Moon Chung-in, John Delury and Ray Burghardt, who accompanied the American reporters throughout their trip. The reporters were featured in a lively, well-attended Jeju Conference panel discussion, moderated by Burghardt, on “Challenges American Journalists Face in Covering Foreign Countries for American Audiences.” The William J. Perry Lecture, given this year by PCI Chair Kathleen Stephens, brought the journalists to Ewha Women’s University, where they toured the campus and met with faculty and students at dinner hosted by the Ewha University president.

The theme of this year’s KUSJE was “The Yoon Government: New Foreign Relations Approaches in a Time of Regional Tensions.” The journalists explored this subject, including US-ROK relations, north-south Korean peninsula tensions, and the affect on all regional players of tension in the Taiwan Strait and deteriorating US=China ties. They discussed these topics with US Ambassador Philip Goldberg, Vice Defense Minister Shin Beom-chul, National Assembly Speaker Kim Jin-pyo, high-level ROK Foreign Ministry officers, Korean trade officials, and in a tour of the Demilitarized Zone. In addition, the American journalists met university students, sociologists, K-pop experts, and visited a Samsung Electronics semiconductor manufacturing facility to understand other aspects of contemporary Korea.

Over in Washington, D.C., the Korean journalists met with experts from the Department of State; think-tanks including the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Brookings Institution, and the Council on Foreign Relations; government officials; and major U.S. media organizations. Some of the

topics discussed with Victor Cha, Marcus Noland, Andrew Yeo, Sheila Smith, Deputy Director Lyn Debevoise, and others were perspective on the U.S.-ROK relations; the trilateral relationship between the U.S.-Japan-Korea; and the American political divide. In Hawaii, discussions covered the study of Korean culture and history in the U.S.; Korean-Americans in the U.S. and Hawaii; and Hawaii’s Clean Energy Initiative. The U.S. economy, bilateral trade and business trends; and media challenges and disinformation were discussed in both DC and Hawaii.

The journalists especially appreciated the opportunity to experience each other’s countries first hand and the access that the program provided.

Following the study tours, the journalists convened for a one-day dialogue at the East West Center in Honolulu where the Koreans and Americans shared their experiences and new perspectives; exchanged opinions on how media coverage of US-Korea issues can be improved. As in previous years, these discussions both confirmed and corrected some of the impressions the journalists had in their visits to the other side of the Pacific.



(Top: American and Korean journalists at the East-West Center, Hawaii; Bottom Left: Korean journalists at the U.S. Capitol, Washington, D.C.; Bottom Right: American journalists at the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju-do)



## PCI Sponsored Programs-Project Bridge

The 2021-2022 Project Bridge cohorts completed their academic year-long program upon returning from their Study Tour to South Korea from July 2-14, 2022. While the trip schedule was delayed due to Covid-19, the Youth Ambassadors still experienced a memorable trip traveling to South Korea with our counterparts from New York and Montana.

Prior to the Study Tour, the Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors were honored alongside former Peace Corps volunteers at the Korea-US Friendship Night hosted by Consul General Kim, Youngwan of the Consulate General of the Republic of Korea at this Residence located in Los Angeles, CA on Thursday, June 16, 2022.

The evening started with a ‘Welcoming Reception’ where guests had the chance to view Youth Ambassadors’ short research on various topics: Korean Etiquette and Mannerism, Korean Folklore, Korean Foods, Korean Language, Traditional Korean Folk Music, Korean Education, Plants of the Republic of Korea, and Korean Traditional Clothing (Hanbok).

The program then started with a Welcoming Remarks by the Consul General Youngwan Kim followed by Congratulatory Remarks by Mr. Spencer Kim, PCI co-Founder and Ms. Mary Broude, FoK liaison. The event included two wonderful keynote speakers: Dr. David Kang, Director, University Southern California Korea Studies Institute and Senator Dave Min, California State Senator, District 37. Dr. Kang’s keynote speech, “Becoming a Bridge between the Two Homelands” highlighted Dr. Kang’s family history and Senator Min’s keynote speech, “Empowering the Next Generation of Diverse Leaders” focused on the necessary diversity in the leadership positions. Both speeches were very well received by the guests.



(PB Youth Ambassadors with former Peace Corps volunteers, CG Youngwan Kim, Senator Dave Min, Dr. David Kang, PCI Board Members Gregory Treverton, Adrienne Medawar, and other guests, Los Angeles, CA)

The Youth Ambassadors were awarded certificates from Senator Min’s office and lifetime membership to Friends of Korea (FoK) presented by Mary Broude and were given the opportunity to give a brief self introduction. Since partnering in 2018, Project Bridge Youth Ambassadors from three regions have been awarded lifetime membership to FoK to have an opportunity to continue their connection with Korea.

### Program Reflection

By Tyler Tran, ‘21-’22 Youth Ambassador

When I first started my application to be a part of Project Bridge months ago, I never could have imagined the kind of impact this program would have on me. Through workshops, field trips, and lectures I have learned so much about Korean culture and history. From folklore to the Korean war, we’ve learned about all aspects of the Korean peninsula. But what amazed me most was the people. From everything I’ve come to learn, the Korean people are an extremely resilient people. They’ve endured through devastating losses from the LA Riots, reclaimed control of their country from Japanese rule, and managed to not only rebuild but drastically improve their country in the aftermath of the brutal Korean War. The will and strength of the Korean people is unmatched. But they are also defined by much more than just their struggles. Korea is a country that values family and education above all else, which is something I deeply relate to.



(Youth Ambassadors at Gyeongbok Palace, Seoul, South Korea)

Growing up under the influence of my mother who is a teacher and my grandfather who was a principal, education has always been a huge part of my life and one that I value greatly. And even more important in my life is family. I started to notice these similarities between my and Korean culture



## PCI Sponsored Programs– Project Bridge

while reading the book *Still Life with Rice*. In it, a young Korean-American woman tells the story of her grandmother who fought tirelessly to ensure that her family would have a better life after the Korean war. Her story of fleeing to the South reminded me so much of my family’s story of escaping from their war-torn home of Vietnam. All of this helped me realize, if there was such a wealth of things to learn and relate to in just one country’s history, what more could I learn from other cultures? Above all else, this program has pushed me to learn about other countries and about the many diverse people across the world.



(Youth Ambassadors at Haeundae Beach, Busan, South Korea)

Unsurprisingly, my favorite part of this program has been the study tour. To be able to experience firsthand the country we had been learning about was an incredible and surreal opportunity. Like many other students, I was quickly hit with culture shock. What immediately stood out was how safe the country seemed to be. When we visited Ewha, a women’s university in Seoul, I saw students leave their valuable belongings unattended as they walked to the convenience store. And as we drove from Incheon airport to Seoul I could see from the tinted bus windows people walking down the sidewalk under dim streetlights with seemingly zero worries about walking alone at night. People felt safe here which was something I wasn’t used to seeing. And as we entered the city, something else caught my eye. An ancient stone gate stood out like an island in a sea of modern buildings and cars. It was one of the eight gates of Seoul. Built hundreds of years ago to protect the city, it was surreal to think that a piece of ancient history was standing right in front of me. The architecture of this gate and across the entire country was amazing. Of all the temples and palaces we visited throughout the trip the architecture was what always blew me away. I had to

constantly remind myself that these were buildings constructed hundreds of years ago with tools that would seem primitive to us today. It was incredible to be able to walk through and appreciate such amazing pieces of history.

Even more enjoyable than experiencing the history of the country however, was being able to see its modern side. This shined through during my favorite part of the trip, the Banpo high school visit. We could not have been paired up with a better group of students. After getting through the initial awkward interactions, I was surprised by how eager they were to talk to us and how fun it was to talk to them. They were incredibly friendly and welcoming, even teaching us some Korean slang. When we went out it was the first time that I felt I was actually in Korea, away from the shelter of our tour bus and our hotel where most people around me spoke English. We sang Karaoke, ate at a local tteokbokki restaurant, and ran to the subway station just in time to make it back to school. It truly felt like an adventure in another country and introduced me to the parts of the city I hadn’t experienced yet. But the thing I loved the most and was surprised to have loved the most from the study tour, were the other youth ambassadors. Over the course of those ten days I feel that we had really become a family. I grew so much closer with the other students in ways that were simply not possible in workshops or through zoom. Nearing the end of the study tour I found that the part of the trip I was going to miss most was not the country, but the people I had met and grown close with. I owe these new friendships, experiences, and opportunities to Project Bridge. This program has given me memories I will cherish forever and has made me sure that I will be coming back to Korea, excited to learn more.



프로젝트  
BRIDGE  
브리지

(Los Angeles based Youth Ambassadors at Bulguksa Temple, Gyeongju, South Korea)



## Upcoming Events

### Project Bridge 30th Anniversary

PCI's flagship program, Project Bridge will be celebrating its 30th anniversary in 2023. Please follow us on **Instagram** @Project\_Bridge\_ to stay up to date with our 30th anniversary event in the summer.



### 2023 PCI Annual Awards Dinner

**Date: Thursday, February 16, 2023**

**Venue: Beverly Hills Hotel**

**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  
(818) 721-5511 (Tel), (818) 459-7448 (Fax)  
jackie.lee@cbol.com

Angie S. Pak  
(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  
ffcarrie@syr.edu

Ji Eun Baek  
PCI Senior Fellow  
jieunbaek412@gmail.com

Kathi Zellweger  
PCI Senior Fellow  
kzellweger03@gmail.com

Gene Kim  
PCI Junior Fellow  
genekim92@gmail.com

Ella Kelleher  
PCI Junior Fellow  
ellakelleher99@gmail.com