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The PCI News



2024 Building Bridges Award

The Pacific Century Institute established the Building Bridges Award in 2000 to honor one individual, and one institution (represented by an individual,) who have exemplified PCI's vision of bringing the people of the Pacific Rim closer by building bridges of understanding.

This year, PCI will be presenting the individual award to the Honorable Janet A. Napolitano and the institutional award to the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, represented by its President and CEO, Frank Jannuzi, at the annual awards dinner on Thursday, February 29, 2024 at the Beverly Hills Hotel.



(Secretary Janet A. Napolitano)

Ms. Napolitano served as Secretary of Homeland Security from 2009 to 2013 and was President of the University of California system -- the nation's largest public research university with ten campuses, five medical centers, three affiliated national laboratories, and a statewide agriculture and natural resources program -- 2013 to 2020. She was the two-term governor of Arizona, 2003 -2009, and earlier

she was Attorney General of Arizona and U.S. Attorney for the District of Arizona.

Currently she is a Professor of Public Policy at the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley and Founder and Faculty Director of the Center for Security in Politics there. Napolitano is the current President of the Truman Scholarship Foundation and serves as a board member for RAND Corporation, VIR Biotechnologies, Zoom, the International Rescue Committee, and the Council on Foreign Relations. She also serves on the Council of the American Law Institute, and the INTEL Government Affairs Advisory Committee. In 2022, President Biden appointed Napolitano to the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. In 2019, Napolitano published *How Safe Are We? Homeland Security Since 9/11*. Professor Napolitano earned her B.S. degree, summa cum laude, in Political Science from Santa Clara University, and her J.D. from the University of Virginia. She is based in Berkeley, CA.



THE MAUREEN AND
MIKE MANSFIELD FOUNDATION

The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation is an independent 501(c)(3) organization that promotes understanding and cooperation among the nations and peoples of Asia and the United States. Maureen and Mike Mansfield's values, ideals, and vision for U.S.-Asia relations continue through the Foundation's exchanges, dialogues, and publications, which create networks among U.S. and Asian leaders, explore the underlying issues influencing public policies, and increase awareness about the nations and peoples of Asia. The Foundation receives support from individuals, corporations and philanthropic organizations. It also provides support to The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center at The University of Montana.

Frank Jannuzi, President and CEO of the foundation, will accept the award on its behalf. Joining the Mansfield Foundation in April 2014, he previously served as Deputy Executive Director at Amnesty International, USA, where he advocated for universal human rights. Prior to that, from 1997-2012, Jannuzi was Policy Director for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, advising Chairmen Biden and Kerry on various issues related to U.S. relations with East Asia. His extensive experience also includes a Hitachi Fellowship with the Council on Foreign Relations from 2006-2007.

SAVE THE DATE!

PCI Annual Award Dinner

Date: Thursday, February 29, 2024

Venue: The Beverly Hills Hotel

Reception 6:00 PM | Dinner 7:00 PM



Board Member Opinion Editorial

This four part series featuring PCI board member, Glyn Ford's recent book, Picturing the DPRK appeared in the 38North website on November 20-22, 2023.

Images shown are from Glyn Ford's recently released book on North Korea, *Picturing the DPRK*, published by Pacific Century Institute and Spokesman. The book is a collection of images taken during his nearly 50 visits to North Korea over the past 25 years.

Elections—Elect Comrades

North Korea has regular elections. General (parliamentary) elections have been held at roughly five-year intervals since the late 1950s; local elections have been conducted slightly more frequently over the same period. The next round of local elections is planned for November 26, 2023.

All candidates run under the banner of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea (Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland or DFRK). This is a multi-party united front dominated by the Workers' Party of Korea, which has close to 90 percent of seats, with seven percent going to the Korean Social Democratic Party, three percent for the Chondoist Chongu Party—the political wing of the Chondoist religious movement—plus a handful of unaffiliated “independents,” including a small block representing the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chosen Soren).



(Ballot papers for both District and City elections. (Source: Glyn Ford))

Election Day is a celebration with bunting, bands and bonhomie. Traditionally, voters in each Constituency or local government district are presented with a ballot paper naming a single candidate. In the polling booth, voters can choose to leave the ballot blank or cross out the name of the candidate. If the crosses outnumber the blank ballots, the voters, in theory, are reconvened a week later to re-do the exercise with a new single candidate.

Local elections to provincial (municipal), city (district) and county people's assemblies were initially scheduled for this summer but were postponed until late November to await a revision of local electoral law. The Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) propagated the new law at the end of August. It is far from clear, but the result apparently allows, in certain cases, two candidates—both endorsed by the DFRK—to run against each other. They are supposed to differ from each other in field of work, workplace, professional rank and/or gender, presenting voters seemingly with a choice.

China tried a similar tactic with certain township elections in the past as a way for voters to wreak revenge on local corruption. Whether the SPA's experiment has similar intentions is unclear. Regardless, the West's psephologists may finally have something to report from Pyongyang in the wake of Election Day!

Leisure in the City—Mountains, Fairs and Sand

Any government wants to keep the people who matter happy. In North Korea, this constituency is the residents of Pyongyang. After Kim Jong Un succeeded his father, this became one of his major priorities.

During the “Arduous March,” there was an equality of misery that diminished in the first decade of the century as the Gini index soared with rising inequality. As the Romans might say, the bread was delivered, but the circuses remained scarce. Back a decade and more ago, I was assured that the latest economic plan was delivering “coal, steel, cement and fun-fairs.”



(Dolphinarium at the Rungra People's Pleasure Ground. (Source: Glyn Ford))

Since then, the rise of markets and accumulation of personal wealth and disposable income among the elite class have created new social demands. Beyond necessities, leisure is king. As such, Pyongyang has become a leisure capital. This

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2023 William J. Perry Lecture Series

The 2023 William J. Perry Lecture Series took place on Tuesday, November 7, 2023 at EDD Lee Sam-bong Hall, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea. Dr. Siegfried S. Hecker, a renowned global expert on North Korea's nuclear program served as the special lecturer for this event.

The lecture commenced with a welcoming remarks by Ewha Womans University President Kim Eun-Mee and an introduction of the guest lecturer by Dean Park Ihn-hwi of Scranton University. President Kim expressed gratitude to the Pacific Century Institute for their active support in co-hosting the event, highlighting the university's tradition of inviting experts from various fields, including Janet Napolitano in 2021 and Kathleen Stephens in 2022, to provide insights on global challenges and leadership to future female leaders.



((left to right) Dr. John Linton, Spencer Kim, Dr. Eun Mee Kim, Dr. Siegfried Hecker, and Robert Carlin at EWHA Womans University, Seoul, Korea)

Dr. Hecker then delivered a lecture titled 'Hinge Points: An Inside Look at North Korea's Nuclear Program.' Dr. Siegfried S. Hecker, a distinguished nuclear physicist, shared his expertise in denuclearization, nuclear weapons policy, and nuclear security gained over more than 30 years. Born in Poland in 1943, he earned his engineering degrees from Case Western Reserve University in the United States and worked at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the world's premier nuclear science research institution, where the first atomic bomb was successfully developed in 1945. Dr. Hecker visited North Korea seven times from 2004 to 2010 and gained global attention by revealing the nature of the highly enriched uranium facility in Yongbyon in 2010.

The lecture's theme, 'Hinge Points,' derived from Dr. Hecker's recent publication, provided new insights into the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and crisis mitigation. Dr. Hecker reflected on the history of North Korea's nuclear development, pointing out repeated wrong choices by past U.S. administrations, which became a kind of 'hinge point.' He expressed concerns about the close relationship between North Korea and Russia in the context of recent events such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine and criticized Russia's recent nuclear

-related actions.

Following the lecture, a panel discussion moderated by Dr. Brendan Howe, Director of the International Graduate School, included Dr. Hecker and professors Park Won-gon, Kim Min-hee, Leif Eric Easley, and Byun In-soo. The discussion involved questions from students and the audience, providing an opportunity to delve into the prospects for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. In response to a question about the outlook for resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, Dr. Hecker emphasized the unpredictability of situations, stating, "Never say never," and underlining the need for readiness.



((left to right) Dr. John Linton, Spencer Kim, Dr. Eun Mee Kim, Dr. Siegfried Hecker, and Robert Carlin at EWHA Womans University, Seoul, Korea)

Preceding the lecture, Dr. Hecker participated in a press conference at ECC Dae-san Gallery that was attended by journalists from 25 media outlets, including those from the United States, Spain, Japan, China, and domestic press. The conference, conducted with sequential interpretation by Professor Park Won-gon, covered various current issues, including nuclear possession on the Korean Peninsula, North Korea's nuclear tests and sanctions, concerns about the escalation of wars in Israel and Ukraine, North Korea's denuclearization intentions, and North Korea-Russia cooperation.



(During the lecture at EWHA Womans University, Seoul, Korea)



Laney Lecture Series at Yonsei University

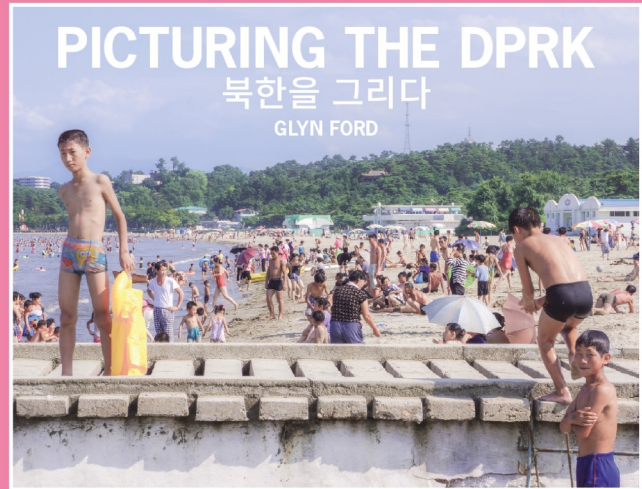
In 2013, PCI collaborated with Yonsei University in creating the James T. Laney Professorship. The Yonsei professorship honors Dr. Laney, who was US Ambassador to Korea from 1993 to 1997. Dr. Laney was President of Emory University 1977-1993, and served in Korea as a young soldier in the late 1940s and later as a theology professor at Yonsei from 1959 to 1964.

The current Laney Professor, Dr. Chung-in Moon, has organized a lecture series for 2023-24. Since its inaugural lecture on Tuesday, September 26, 2023, featuring guest lecturer Dr. Charles Kupchan, the Laney Lecture Series has hosted distinguished speakers including Professor Walter Mead, Dr. Siegfried Hecker, Mr. Robert Carlin, Dr. John Ikenberry, Professor Susan Thornton, and Ambassador Karl Eikenberry. The lectures have explored a diverse range of topics under the overarching theme "On America and the World."



(Top: Dr. Chung-in Moon with Professor Charles Kupchan; Middle: Dr. Chung-in Moon (FL) and Prof. Walter Mead (FR) with attendees; Bottom: Dr. Moon (L) with Dr. Siegfried Hecker (M) and Robert Carlin (R), Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea)

Book Release



North Korea, or as it prefers to be known the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), is no one's poster boy for anything positive, yet hidden behind this façade are the people of the DPRK. Picturing the DPRK puts these people and their places centre stage, depicted in photographs taken by Glyn Ford during some 50 visits since 1997. Outside the circle of family and friends who hold the reins of power and feature so prominently in the coverage of the tabloids and TV, there are 26 million men, women and children like us. They, and the rest of the people on the Peninsula, will be the hapless victims of any attempt to force regime change or any inadvertent stumbling into war.

Glyn Ford was a Member of the European Parliament for 25 years (1984-2009). Glyn continues his engagement with Pyongyang through his Brussels based NGO Track2Asia. He is a Board Member of the Pacific Century Institute and has published North Korea on the Brink: Struggle For Survival (2008), Talking to North Korea (2018) – both translated into Korean – and Riding Two Horses; Labour and Europe (2022).

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Sponsored Programs—Korea U.S. Journalist Exchange

By Sara Lam, East-West Center

The Korea-United States Journalists Exchange was launched by the East-West Center in 2005 to increase public understanding of the two countries and their relationship. Co-sponsored by the East-West Center, Korea Press Foundation, and the Pacific Century Institute, this 15th Exchange, September 12-22, 2023, took six Korean journalists to visit Washington, DC and Honolulu, Hawaii; and six US journalists to visit Seoul, Busan and the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Korea. With a focus on, "US-South Korea: New Closeness, New Strains, New Global Tensions," journalists gained a deeper understanding of the US-Korea alliance; North-South Korean peninsula tension; the US, Japan and Republic of Korea trilateral summit; the globalization of South Korea; bilateral trade; social issues; media challenges; and the continued threats from North Korea. During their travel to South Korea, the US journalists discussed these topics with the US Embassy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, academics, civil society leaders, defense officials, and major news organizations, as well as visited the Samsung Electronics Campus and the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) that divides North and South Korea. The Korean journalists met with government officials including US Congressman Ed Case and experts from the Department of State; Office of the US Trade Representative; United States Indo-Pacific Command, think-tanks including the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations; and major U.S. media organizations.



(American journalists at the United Nations Peace Memorial Hall, Busan, South Korea)

The journalists especially appreciated the opportunity to experience each other's countries firsthand and the access that the program provided. Adrienne Vogt of CNN captured this sentiment best, writing, "This was my first time traveling to Asia and it was truly an eye-opening experience being able to learn about US-Korea relations. Having one-on-one conversations with Korean experts and journalists was priceless and I

will now look at news on Korea, the peninsula, and the East with new eyes." While Kyoung Suk Kang of Dong-A Ilbo highlighted the fellows' interaction with one another during the Final Dialogue, writing, "It was a truly valuable experience and rare opportunity to learn from the perspectives of journalists working in both Korea and the US and sharing our opinions with one another. I hope this unique opportunity will continue to be offered in the future."



(Korean journalists in front of the United States Capitol Building, Washington DC)

Following these 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; and exchanged opinions on how media coverage of US-Korea issues can be improved.



(Korean and American journalists at the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii)



Sponsored Programs / Project Bridge

Sejong Defense Forum

By Dr. Jung Sup Kim, Sejong Insitute

The 12th Sejong Defense Forum was hosted under the theme of “the Age of Warfare: the Prospect of Taiwan Crisis and its Challenges” to assess the military ramifications of the current cross-strait relations.

During the first part of the session, Dr. Jae-woo Jeon from Korea Institute for Defense Analysis (KIDA) made a specific evaluation on how Taiwan is trying to navigate the regional security landscape based on his analysis of its domestic survey data, the National Development Plan (2021-2024), and the National Defense Report/Quadrennial Defense Review (2021). In particular, Taipei’s “independent and autonomous” defensive military posture – including its technological investment in advanced weaponry and the modernization of armed forces – was closely reviewed with an emphasis on the country’s necessity to enhance credible security partnerships vis-à-vis China’s military adventurism.

In the second half of the forum, Dr. In-hyo Seol from Korea National Defense University presented his own analysis of high-profile hypothetical wargame scenarios involving the crisis in the Taiwan Strait. It showcased how conventional and non-conventional military campaigns – including naval blockade, air patrols, space/cyber/electro-magnetic warfare – would be carried out as tensions escalate in the region. Dr. Seol also underscored the military ramifications of Beijing’s expansive Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) strategy in apprehending the possible maneuvering of the U.S. armed forces in case of a contingency that involve the two superpowers.

The future role of the U.S.-Japan-ROK trilateral alliance amid the intensifying crisis of the cross-strait relations and the subsequent provocations of North Korea were further debated at the end of the session. During the Q&A, a set of policy recommendations that reflect the practical implications of the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war were suggested, urging more judicious and strategic approaches to the management of the stability in the Korean peninsula. SDF will continue to serve as hubs for addressing geopolitical challenges within the defense sector and seek insights from a wide range of experts who might offer diverse perspectives on the evolving landscape of Asia-Pacific security.



Project Bridge 2023-2024



((Back row from left to right) Ryan Sieh, Edgar Rodriguez, Brennan ChangHo, Jesus Pacheco. (Front row from right to left) Jessica Ma, Noemi Francisco, Crystal Vo, Katie Coppersmith in Koreatown, Los Angeles, CA)

PCI is thrilled to announce the finalists for the 2023-2024 Project Bridge Youth Ambassadorship program. After a rigorous selection process, eight outstanding high school juniors and seniors from various high schools in the Greater Los Angeles Area have been chosen.

Since the 'Welcoming Luncheon' held on December 2, 2023, the Youth Ambassadors have actively engaged in learning about crucial topics such as the Los Angeles Civil Unrest, race relations, an introduction to Korean culture, traditions, and history. They also participated in a joint Korean language workshop with their counterparts from New York and Misoula.

They are looking forward to upcoming workshops, field trip, and the ten-day study tour to South Korea in March.

2023-2024 Youth Ambassadors	
Brennan ChangHo	California School of Arts
Katie Coppersmith	Hoover High School
Noemi Francisco	Downtown MAGNET High School
Jessica Ma	Gabelino High School
Jesus Pacheco	Sun Valley Magnet High School
Edgar Rodriguez	John H. Francis Polytechnic High School
Ryan Sieh	Gabelino High School
Crystal Vo	Marco Antonio Firebaugh High School

Board Member Opinion Editorial—cont.

Picturing the DPRK

(Continued from page 5)

has included a rash of new restaurants—with some clones of Western fast food—and even a beer festival (2016) on the banks of the Taedong River. The Mangyongdae Funfair has been a Pyongyang staple for decades, as has Golden Lane Ten-Pin Bowling, but the newer, bigger and better Kaeson Youth Funfair near the Arc de Triomphe is a crowd favorite. The Rungrado Complex, which opened in 2012, includes a Dolphinarium, mini golf, shooting range and 3D film studio, adding yet another funfair into the mix. There are indoor and outdoor water parks, and even the Mirim Horse Riding Club, opened in 2013 for horseback riding and equestrian training.

When the mountain can't come to Mohammed, Mohammed goes to the mountain. Winter sports are on the top of Masikryong near Wonsan, while the Mount Kumgang area boasts hot springs, mud baths and trails. Both areas are serviced by package holidays from Pyongyang and decorated with ladies in high heels perched on crags taking selfies with their mates.

Majon, the beach resort near Hungnam for the elite, is now being overshadowed by the plans for the upmarket Wonsan-Kalma resort, which may well squeeze the locals out.

Transportation— Cars, Buses and Trams

North Koreans are some of the world's least traveled—at least for an industrial state. To visit Pyongyang requires permission that is questioned at security checkpoints on the city's periphery. Inside the capital, life is more traditional with bicycles, heroic buses, trams and metro, delivering commuters and workers to offices and factories during rush hours—even if many of the young women mastering the machines are housed in dormitories on site.

Bicycles require licenses, and during the Kim Jong Il era, women, although they drove buses, were heavily discouraged from cycling on the grounds of safety. The trams and buses, generally packed to capacity by orderly queues, are awarded “red stars,” punctuating their length for every 50,000 kilometers traveled. The metro is less crowded, with East Berlin's former rolling stock transporting 300,000+ passengers on the Hyoksin Line, taking the lucky few from Liberation to Paradise.

The number of cars in the capital has soared in the last decade and a half, and Air Koryo taxis now lurk. Not quite Havana with its vintage American cars roaming the streets,

Pyongyang's cars were yesterday's generation of Europe's luxury standards—even those driving the elite, identified with the “get-out-of-jail free” 727 license plates. More recently, there has been an infestation of newer and new sports utility vehicles (SUVs). Some belong to party, ministry or military, but others are at the disposal of the North's “nouveau riche” (donju). Yet money is neither a proxy for common sense nor the ability to drive. With private petrol stations sparse, cars run out of petrol, and driving in even light snow is beyond the skills of rich amateurs.



(A “heroic bus” with each red star marking 50,000 kilometers traveled. (Source: Glyn Ford)

Few SUVs venture beyond the city limits—why would you? There is nowhere much to go. If they did, they would encounter those who've side-stepped the petrol shortage by turning to wood.

Health Care— In Sickness and in Health

North Korea's medical infrastructure is solid and complete across the whole nation. Apparently, when the necessary supplies of vaccines are available, they can be administered across the whole country within days, including in the countryside's cottage hospitals. However, getting adequate medical supplies – equipment, medicines, vaccines, etc. – remains a significant challenge for most of the country's health care facilities.

During the “Arduous March,” the situation was grim in the extreme with hungry children, limited food and inadequate health care for the majority of the population. Capacity began to be restored in the following years as, at least basic, health supplies began to flow again.

Even with better facilities, supplies are limited, and methods are often outdated. Maternity hospitals, for instance, follow protocols long abandoned in the West. Husbands are not

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Picturing the DPRK

(Continued from page 6)

present at births and for weeks after visits on video. Triplets are a national obsession that shower gifts and responsibilities onto the parents while the children disappear into institutions.

Dental care is at the primitive end of the spectrum. An old entry test for "defectors" from North Korea was proving they could sing "The Song of the Dear General" and show no signs of serious dental work.

There is an increasing interest in Korean traditional medicine, treatments that tend to be cheaper and more consistently available. Evidence of this can be observed on North Korean beaches, where the scars of cupping and moxibustion are

openly on display.

Medicine is one area where humanitarian aid still fitfully flows with a series of NGOs doing good work where they can, such as on child disability. Some fads are inflicted on local doctors by NGOs selling their own hobby horses, rather than what is actually needed. For example, in a country where electricity is patchy and unreliable, video conferencing facilities for remote diagnosis might not be everyone's priority.

As with everything else in the system, health care is bifurcated into two levels of service. The new eye hospital in Pyongyang, for instance, has a special floor just for veterans and those who can afford to pay. The entrance hall has an impressive selection of eyewear as any upmarket optician in the West.



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