


**Foundations and Networks of Korean
Studies, 1960s–1970s:
Focusing on the Activities of the Council on
Exchange with Asian Institutions (CEAI),
the Asiatic Research Center (ARC), and the
Joint Committee on Korean Studies (JCKS)¹**

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the formation of Korean studies in the 1960s and 1970s, focusing on the relationship and activities of the Asiatic Research Center (ARC, the Korea University), the Council on Exchange with Asian Institutions (CEAI), and the Joint Committee on Korean Studies (JCKS). CEAI and JCKS were both connected with the Social Science Research Council (SSRC).

Korean studies had no choice but to start under an America-centric and asymmetrical knowledge production system during the Cold War. In addition, Korean studies were not as developed as Chinese and Japanese studies. At that time, Korean studies were the result of mobilization and establishment of knowledge resources to obtain “citizenship” in the academy.

The purpose of the CEAI’s decision to support the ARC was to strengthen Chinese studies. However, the ARC was reborn later as the nucleus of Korean studies. Networks and intellectual assets formed through the ARC exchange program supported by the CEAI were inherited by the JCKS and then cycled back to the ARC. As such, Korean studies formed in Korea and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, were not separate from each other, but were created by interactions and networks (“The co-production of Korean studies”). In the process of institutionalization of Korean studies, “empirical research based on materials/data” was the agenda that was emphasized the most. The first project launched by the ARC, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, was to collect and edit historical data concerning Korea. The first project JCKS started, after its establishment in 1967, was to host an academic conference inviting librarians. The institutionalization of Korean studies as “science” and the systematic collection of knowledge resources were impossible on the Korean peninsula, in the shadow of dictatorship and overwhelmed by Cold War ideology. Ironically, what made it possible were the funds and networks offered by the United States, headquarters of the Cold War. The impact of the Cold War on the knowledge production of Korean studies was strong and

enormous. However, in order to grasp the meaning of its effect and aftermath, we should be free from Cold War reductionism.

Introduction: Hidden Networks and the Ambivalence of Cold War Knowledge

The term “Korean studies” (*Han’gukhak*) first appeared in South Korean (hereafter Korea) academia in an event hosted by the Seoul National University Center for East Asian Studies (*Tonga munhwa yŏn’guso*) on November 1–4, 1966, “Summary of the Fifth Oriental Studies Symposium: The Methodology and System of Korean Studies.”² According to one study, the term came to be earnestly used in an academic sense with two scholarly conferences held in 1968: “Problems of Korean Studies” (*Han’gukhak ŭi munjejŏm*), hosted by Chungang University, and “Common Tasks for the Development of Korean Studies” (*Han’gukhak palchŏn ŭi kongdong kwaje*), hosted by Academy House.³ The first of these two conferences, held on October 18, 1968 in Chungang University’s Audiovisual Room, yielded a particularly bitter aftertaste, “Devolving into a debate over whether to accept Korean Studies as a ‘science,’ with scholars Yi Sungnyŏng, Im Ch’ŏljae, Cho Kijun, and Ch’ŏn Kwanu consistently denying Korean Studies’ scholarly credentials.” Particular scathing were the comments of Ch’ŏn Kwanu, who warned that “if the department of Korean History does not immediately become independent and produce new scholars...Japanese historians will steal the initiative from Korean historians in the field of Korean history, ” and Yi Sungnyŏng, who asserted that “due to the backwardness of Korea, where chauvinist national studies [*kukhak*] [are] treated as a scholarly field...Korean Studies, a field in which it is unknown how to uncover new materials, has yet even to reach the stage of library science.”⁴ One can discern a palpable sense of crisis surrounding these conferences: political liberation had been accomplished but the preeminence of Japanese scholars remained with respect to the Korean issue. To overturn this state of affairs, the institutionalization of Korean studies, based on professional scholarship rather than biased emotions, was seen as a necessary measure.

The term “Korean studies” (*Han’gukhak*) that emerged around this time was distinct from analogous past iterations, such as “homeland studies” (*Pon’gukhak*) of the Taehan Empire, colonial government-sponsored “Chosŏn studies”

(*Chosŏnhak*) of the 1930s, popular Chosŏn Studies Movement (*Chosŏnhak undong*), and “national studies” (*kukhak*) that had come to prominence following liberation from the Japanese Empire. The Korean term, “*Han’gukhak*,” was a close translation of the term used in the United States in the 1960s. While US “Korean studies” was a burgeoning field at the time, as former Seoul National University President Sin T’aehwan observed while lecturing in Korean studies for a year at an American university, it was not without its problems. Chief among these were the distorted image of Korea propagated by its former colonial status (and by Japanese scholars since the colonial period) and by circulation of misleading books on North Korea, not to mention the marked inferiority of Korean studies with respect to Japanese studies and Chinese studies that might only perpetuate this situation.⁵

The year 1967 marked an important year for the growth of Korean studies, with the Ford Foundation (FF) creating a Korean studies research fund at major American universities, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) recognizing Korean studies as a distinct field within area studies, and, particularly decisive, the forming of the Joint Committee on Korean Studies (JCKS).⁶ The SSRC and American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) oversaw the formation of the JCKS as an independent organization, branching off from the Council on Exchange with Asian Institutions (CEAI), directed by John K. Fairbank. Initially, its members consisted of Edward W. Wagner (chair), George M. Beckmann, Gari K. Ledyard, Chong-Sik Lee, Glenn D. Paige, and Bryce Wood (staff).⁷ The JCKS received sixty-five thousand dollars in FF funding from July 1967 to June 1970 to focus on the promotion of Korean studies through scholarly conferences.

This study investigates the interpersonal networks underpinning the JCKS and its early activities (1967–1976). It seeks to uncover the laying of the foundations for Korean studies in the Cold War era and the hidden power that made this possible. The report begins with an analysis of interpersonal networks traceable through Rockefeller Foundation (RF) funding for the Korea University Asiatic Research Center (*Asea munje yŏn’guso*, ARC) in the late 1950s.⁸ It then examines how Korean studies networks formed in earnest as the CEAI (under the SSRC) negotiated on behalf of the Ford Foundation with the ARC. Finally, it analyzes the

significance of “The Conference on Library Resources on Korea” (University of Washington, November 10–11, 1967), held in tandem with the establishment of the JCKS, for the institutionalization of Korean studies academia.

Review of Existing Research and Originality of This Study

At present, numerous studies on the genealogy and character of Korean studies have accumulated in relation to regional studies in the United States. Bruce Cumings describes how area studies contributed to the formation of US global hegemony in the early years of the Cold War, specifically alluding to the shadow of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Cumings criticizes academia’s subservience to power and money, which stipulated research fields and topics.⁹ Based on Bruce Cumings’ (and Immanuel Wallerstein’s) arguments, Ch’ae Obyŏng reveals the contradictions and ruptures between American Cold War intentions (funding) and research results.¹⁰ Meanwhile, Kim Kyŏngil traces the bitter struggle to overcome the peripherality and marginality of Korean studies within US academia, pointing out the self-sufficiency, closedness, and American-centrism of Korean studies networks in the United States.¹¹ And Charles Armstrong systematically traces the genealogy and major research topics of Korean studies in the United States by generation: The first generation, active toward the end of the Chosŏn period, consisted of American diplomats and businessmen, as well as missionaries like Horace Underwood, Henry Appenzeller, Homer Hulbert, and James Gale; the second generation, active from the end of World War I to 1950, consisted of former members of the US military, such as Edward W. Wagner, James B. Palais, and Gari Ledyard; the third so-called “Peace Corps generation,” active from 1966–1982, involved the likes of David McCann, Edward Shultz, Laurel Kendall, Milan Hejtmanek, Michael Robinson, Carter Eckert, Bruce Cumings, Donald Baker, Edward Baker, and Donald N. Clark; finally, the fourth generation has mostly consisted of Korean Americans focusing

on research topics such as K-pop, Korean literature, the Korean diaspora, North Korea, etc.¹²

Recently, Ford Foundation-funded Asiatic Research Center's academic activities, particularly research on communism (North Korean Studies) led by Jun-yop Kim (Kim Chunyöp), have emerged as intensive research topics in Korea. Chöng Munsang investigates the network created between the ARC and Academia Sinica in Taiwan through FF support that aspired to interpret Chinese history through Fairbank's dominant Cold War frame of "China's response to the West (or impact-response.)" Chöng thus shows how the view of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as exemplifying a failure of and deviation from modernization spread to academia in Korea and Taiwan.¹³ Meanwhile, Kim In-soo analyzes the social sciences section of the "International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia" (ICPMA) held in 1965 under ARC patronage, demonstrating how the aims of Korean academia to gather information on Korean society and establish social science academism meshed with the dissemination of American social science knowledge.¹⁴ With respect to North Korean studies, Kim Söngbo describes the initiation of such research in tandem with the momentum of resistance to the Cold War in the wake of the Vietnam War, while exposing the subtle differences between trends in North Korean studies in the United States and Korea at this time. In the United States, he points out, Dae-Sook Suh completed *The Korean Communist Movement, 1918-1948* (1967), which verified the activities of the Northeast Anti-Japanese United Army, and Fairbank underwent a "conversion" with his reappraisal of the Chinese communist revolution as an alternative path to nationalist modernization, while in Korea, ARC research on North Korea led by Jun-yop Kim was little more than a reproduction of the anticommunist logic of previous studies. Kim recognizes that Robert Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee's *Communism in Korea* (1972) also reproduced Cold War knowledge about North Korea, but he nevertheless praises this work for its high degree of scholarship and empirical evidence.¹⁵ Finally, recounting the birth of North Korean studies in the 1960s and its emergence as the central focus of Korean studies amid the Cold War, Yi Pongböm argues that this epistemology and scope have persisted into the present. However, he acknowledges that ARC North Korean research in the 1960s was able to

ameliorate ideological constraints to a certain degree through its emphasis on an empirical comparative methodology. Moreover, the ARC enhanced professionalism by decisively dealing with the problem of materials. This is quite an unusual appraisal.¹⁶

Research on Korean studies in the 1960s and 1970s thus demonstrates three broad tendencies: 1) critical evaluations of Korean studies as rooted in Cold War area studies; 2) empirical research tracing the involvement of the Ford Foundation and US intelligence agencies in the formation of Korean studies; and 3) reevaluations of ARC research on North Korea and communism. There are two problems with this research. First, regarding the formation of Korean studies, it is descriptively limited by a focus on the histories of individual countries. There is a need for research on the creation of academic networks through interactions between Korean and American scholars and how these networks influenced Korean studies, in turn. Second, it does not clearly stipulate the significance or status of the materials that served as the basis for the academism of Korean studies, all but ignoring or treating passively the fact that the problem of materials was the most decisive factor in the academic institutionalization of Korean studies in the 1960s. This reflects a neglect or underestimation of the problems of establishing bibliographic standards and canonization faced by Korean studies at the time. Strengthening the academic capacity of Korean studies, which was markedly insufficient compared with Chinese studies and Japanese studies, was an extremely urgent task for all actors in Korean studies at the time.

While recognizing that the founding of Korean studies could not but take place within the Cold War milieu, this study argues that certain aspects of this process were irreducible to a Cold War logic.¹⁷ To support this claim, it uncovers the critical awareness of Korean studies actors at the time as well as the problems and difficulties they faced and how they tried to overcome them. In particular, this study aims to overcome the shortcomings of existing research, as listed above, by focusing on activities and networks associated with the CEAI and JCKS, two institutions associated with the SSRC.

The Council on Exchange with Asian Institutions and the Joint Committee on

Korean Studies played important roles in the institutionalization of Korean studies in the 1960s, networking researchers in Korea, the United States, Soviet Union, Japan, and Taiwan. Nevertheless, scholars have not given these institutions attention commensurate to their importance and influential power. Perhaps one cause of this might be the view of Korean studies in the 1960s and 1970s as little more than a political product of the Cold War. Accounting for the standards and trends of Korean studies in the 1960s and 1970s from the perspective of the present, however, is inevitably anachronistic and obfuscates the historical context. Another reason for the inattention to the CEAI and JCKS may have been a dearth of relevant materials. This study rectifies the situation by disclosing and analyzing materials from the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) revealing CEAI and JCKS activities.

The Emergence of Korean Studies: East Asian Horizon and Coproduction of Knowledge

Early Ford Foundation Support for the Asiatic Research Center

Few will disagree that the Korea University Asiatic Research Center functioned as the nucleus of Korean studies in Korea in the 1960s. As is well known, soon after its founding in 1957, the ARC submitted a research proposal to the Ford Foundation in February 1961 containing the following three agendas: 1) the organization and publication of old Korean diplomatic documents; 2) Social science research in Korea; and 3) North Korean studies. In August of the same year, the center received a three-year grant of 285 thousand dollars. It is also well-known that the cooperation of American scholars such as A. Doak Barnett, George Beckmann, John K. Fairbank, and Glenn D. Paige, who developed relationships with the ARC, was very helpful in this regard. A few years later, the “International

Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia,” held in 1965 to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Korea University played a role in securing the ARC even more funding. It can be regarded as the very first large-scale international academic conference held in Korea. Seventy-five scholars, including thirty-six from Korea and thirty-nine from Taiwan, Japan, India, Hong Kong, Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom—with the Asia Foundation (AF, based in the United States) and SSRC paying for travel expenses—attended this sizeable and ultimately successful conference. Soon after, in November 1965, the ARC received an additional FF research grant of 180 thousand dollars.¹⁸

Research on the scholarly significance of the Asiatic Research Center tends to focus on a single episode, that is, the process by which the Ford Foundation determined to provide these 1962 and 1965 grants so decisive in the ARC’s development.¹⁹ Drawing on the memoirs of Jun-yop Kim, the foremost ARC representative at the time, these studies emphasize his relationship with John K. Fairbank. In other words, they suppose that the personal relationship between Fairbank, who rose to become the chief authority on Chinese studies in the United States after working for the OSS during World War II, and Jun-yop Kim, a former soldier of the Independence Army (*Kwangbok kun*) that had prepared for an offensive against the Korean Peninsula under OSS guidance, served as a decisive factor in the ARC’s procurement of FF funding. However, such an explanation underestimates the status and urgent need for Korean studies within US East Asian area studies in the Cold War era. Furthermore, it overlooks the multifaceted significance of networks of academic exchange.

Rockefeller Foundation Support for the Asiatic Research Center

It is a little-known fact that the ARC maintained a close relationship with the Rockefeller Foundation during its early years. Charles B. Fahs (RF associate, 1946–1961), who directed the RF Humanities Division and fostered an RF interest

in East Asian area studies, exercised a tremendous influence over the recruitment and recommendation of ARC personnel and management of the ARC's international reputation:

Dear Ed:

When I was in Korea in April, I met at the Social Science Library Mr. John Hovey [Harvey], who is, I believe, a former Harvard-Yenching student. Hovey said that his position at the Social Science Library was running out and he was looking for other means of continuing his study in Korea.

I did not give him any encouragement and, in fact, I am not sure that there is anything we can do. About the only constructive suggestion that occurs to me would be the possibility of modest help to Korea University to enable them to employ Hovey part-time in connection with the English editing of their new "Journal of Asiatic Studies" and related newsletters [*Bulletin of the Asiatic Research Center*]. While Esson Gale, now at Korea University, mentioned the need of such a person, I did not discuss the possibility of help with either him or with President Yu Chin O.

Before putting John Hovey out of my mind, however, I thought I should write you for comment as to where you think he stands in relation to other young talent in the Korean studies field.

In addition to Hovey, I met in Korea one Carl Miller who was recommended to me by Ed Wagner and Ed also mentioned Glen Paige, a graduate student at Northwestern, whom I have never seen.

With best personal regards.

Cordially,

Charles Fahs²⁰

Fahs' letter, written to Edwin O. Reischauer, provides a view into an array of relationships. Fahs visited the Asia Foundation-funded Social Sciences Library in April 1958. Since the chief librarian, Tong Ch'ön, was absent, John Harvey assisted him in gaining a sense of the library's state. This was precisely the instance that Fahs referenced in his letter in which he requested information on Harvey from Reischauer.²¹ Although Fahs met Harvey by chance, he had already

heard from Edward W. Wagner of the Harvard Yenching Institute that “Harvey is a promising AF staff member.”²² In 1958, Esson M. Gale, a visiting professor at Korea University in the Department of Political Science through the US State Department program, informed Fahs of the need for a young American assistant knowledgeable of China and able to edit an English-language magazine at the ARC.²³ It was at this point that Fahs thought of Harvey, who was looking for a way to extend his sojourn in Korea as his contract with the Social Sciences Library came to a close. Reischauer responded that Harvey was not as competent as E.W. Wagner or Glenn D. Paige but nevertheless actively approved of recommending him to the ARC.²⁴ Upon completing these examinations and inquiries, Fahs wrote a letter of recommendation for Harvey to Chin O Yu (Yu Chino), president of Korea University.²⁵ After meeting with and interviewing Harvey, Yu informed the ARC of his intention to hire him. Of course, this was on the condition that the RF agree to continue to provide Harvey with his annual six-thousand-dollar salary.²⁶ Through this RF support, Harvey served as an English-language editor for the ARC for two years (September 1958 – September 1960).²⁷

Upon completing the first year of his contract (August 1959), Harvey submitted a meticulous report to Fahs including the following details: The Harvard Yenching committee had entrusted a bibliographic arrangement project to the ARC; the ARC’s primary income came from the sale of journals and newsletters; the ARC’s strength lay in the exchange of information between scholars of the Far East; the arranging and publishing in books bibliographies related to Korea featured in the *Bulletin of the Asiatic Research Center* were particularly useful; the appointment of Kim Yonggwŏn as a full-time professor at the center, who had succeeded Min Pyŏnggi and who demonstrated exceptional skill at English and excelled in his work, was desirable; it was expected that Jun-yop Kim would soon rejoin the center after finishing a one-year fellowship with the Harvard Yenching Institute; Dr. Reidenbach (University of Washington, then working at Korea University) and Dr. Fred Lukoff (University of Pennsylvania, then working as a language instructor at Yonsei University through a two-year Asia Foundation research fund) could be counted among those maintaining a good reputation while working in Korea; and so forth.²⁸ In his reply to Harvey, Fahs asked whether the Asiatic Research Center would be capable of researching other countries in Asia in

addition to Korea. Harvey assured him that the center could research China, Japan, Russia, and North Korea, but not South Asia. He added that, while ARC research capabilities were certainly limited, Korean scholars were the most advantageously situated for such research due to the historically deep relations between Korea and other East Asian countries.²⁹ Harvey also informed Fahs of the ARC's plans to begin research on North Korea in the near future. Fahs was already aware that the ARC was particularly interested in research on North Korea and the communist bloc. In a letter to Fahs in which Chin O Yu described how ARC affiliates Cho Kijun and Jun-yop Kim (upon completing his fellowship) had attended "The Soviet-Asian Relations Conference" hosted by the University of Southern California (USC) in July 1959, Yu had also informed Fahs of the ARC's plans to research North Korea, communist China, and the Soviet bloc in the future.³⁰ As it happens, Fahs had also attended the conference together with Paige and had even crossed paths there with Cho Kijun.

William E. Henthorn was Harvey's successor as editor of the ARC's English-language publications. Henthorn had studied Korean at Yale University and Korean history for a year in Pusan. He had worked at the Korean Research Center, the successor of the Social Sciences Library, served in the US Air Force in Korea, and taught Japanese to the US Army through the University of Maryland program. Furthermore, he had contributed an article to *Transactions*, a publication of the Royal Asiatic Society (Korea Branch).³¹ While working for the ARC from September 1960 to September 1961, he was in charge of editing *The Journal of Asiatic Studies*, *Bulletin of the Asiatic Research Center*, and *Bibliography of Korean Studies*. During this time, Henthorn also arranged ARC materials pertaining to Koryŏ history, which he later used as the basis for his PhD dissertation, "Korea: The Mongol Invasions" (1963), completed at Leiden University.³² He then went on to teach Korean studies at Princeton University and the University of Hawai'i. Henthorn, who passed away in 1993, is judged today as one of the founding figures of Korean studies at the University of Hawai'i and remembered for his active participation in the SSRC and Korean Studies Committee of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS).³³

The Asiatic Research Center and the Council on Exchange with Asian Institutions

In addition to endowing a substantial research fund to the ARC in 1962, the Ford Foundation also provided a fund to the CEAI (SSRC) for scholarly exchanges with the ARC. Through FF support, the CEAI was already running its Visiting American Scholars Program at the Toyo Bunko in Japan and the Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taiwan, and it was now able to include the ARC in this program.³⁴ Having been granted this Korean studies fund, the CEAI's first measure was to appoint Edward W. Wagner of the Harvard Yen-ching Institute as professional advisor for its management.³⁵ As of November 1962, CEAI members consisted of John K. Fairbank (Harvard University, chair), George E. Taylor (University of Washington), Mary C. Wright (Yale University), C. Martin Wilbur (Columbia University), and Edward W. Wagner (Harvard University).³⁶ The CEAI selected American scholars for dispatch to research institutions in Asia and also acted as a financial agency for the dispatch of research staff from Asian research institutions to the United States.³⁷ Its primary goal at the time, however, was strengthening Chinese studies,³⁸ and Korean studies remained quite peripheral.

On November 29, 1962, CEAI staff member Bryce Wood wrote letters to twenty Asian scholars within the United States to inform them of a fellowship program. The scholars mainly consisted of historians in Chinese or Japanese studies. Five of these scholars initially replied to Bryce Wood's letter, among whom two were candidates for establishing relationships with the ARC. Mark Mancall, a historian affiliated with Harvard University's East Asia Research Institute, described his desire to visit Taipei and Tokyo in relation to his research topic, "Sino-Russian relation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," and the CEAI recommended that he visit the ARC. James W. Morley, a legal scholar affiliated with Columbia University's East Asia Research Institute, requested to visit Tokyo, Seoul, and Taipei in relation to his research topic, "Sino-Japanese relations in the twentieth century."³⁹ Since the CEAI prioritized research topics related to China and Japan,

even these potential visitors to the ARC did not focus on Korean studies. With respect to their research schedule, moreover, they would spend a great deal of time in Tokyo or Taiwan and just four weeks in Seoul at the ARC, which signified their visits would provide little beyond cursory assistance to the ARC with its research. This situation was quite removed from the intentions of the Asiatic Research Center, which hoped that American scholars would sojourn for a prolonged period while providing methodological consultation. The CEAI recommended the ARC to accept this as, if nothing else, a meaningful start, since these scholars would return to the United States and serve to highlight Korean studies in US academia.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, even this meager accomplishment would not be fully realized: Mancall returned to the United States without visiting the ARC upon completing his sojourns in Tokyo and Taiwan.

Wagner investigated the situation at the Asiatic Research Center while staying in Seoul in March 1963 and reported his findings to the Social Science Research Council. In addition to Morley, he recommended Glenn D. Paige and James Palais for visits to the ARC. In Palais' case, Wagner emphasized Fairbank's positive appraisal and Palais' need for Korean materials for his research on the "history of Korean politics, 1875–1885 (Chinese intervention)." Wagner thus judged that research at the ARC would be greatly beneficial to Palais.⁴¹ Meanwhile, the CEAI had selected a number of candidates commensurate to the program's multi-year duration of the program:

Toyo Bunko, JAPAN (\$80,750)

1962-1963: Feuerwerker (\$1,250), Biggerstaff (\$500)

1963-1964: Mancall (\$3,000)

1964-1965: Iriye (\$3,000), Spector (\$7,500), Swisher (\$3,750)

1965-1966: Morley (\$14,000), Schwartz (\$3,750)

1966-1967: Jansen (\$15,000), Scalapino (\$14,000)

1967-1968: -

1968-1969: Treadgold (\$15,000)

Institute of Modern History, TAIWAN (\$30,205)

1962-1963: Feuerwerker (\$1,250), Biggerstaff (\$500)

1963-1964: Mancall (\$3,000)

1964-1965: Iriye (\$3,000), Crawford (\$7,500), Swisher (\$3,750)

1965-1966: Walker (\$7,500), Schwartz (\$3,750)

Asiatic Research Center, SOUTH KOREA (\$7,000)

1963-1964: Mancall (\$1,000)

1964-1965: Paige (\$4,000)

1965-1966: Morley (\$1,000)

1966-1967: Scalapino (\$1,000)⁴²

Overall, the number of scholars hoping to visit the ARC was extremely low relative to those of other research institutions. Comparing visits to Korea with Japan and Taiwan, funding allowed for only short visits to Korea. However, as evident in the cases of Paige and Scalapino, one should keep in mind that these visiting scholars would come into contact with the nucleus of Korean studies through their visits to the ARC.

The ARC, the ICPMA (1965), and Hidden Networks

The initial realization of CEAI (SSRC) personnel networks occurred with the holding of the International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia (ICPMA) at the Asiatic Research Center in 1965. Here, the role of Fairbank was decisive. Some claim that the opportunity for a number of American and Asian scholars to participate in the ICPMA was the fruit of the capabilities of core ARC figures such as Chin O Yu, Sang-eun Lee (Yi Sangŭn), and Jun-yop Kim or the contributions of Asia Foundation Chairman David I. Steinberg. RAC materials, however, reveal a somewhat different picture. This is particularly so in the case of the American scholars.

In early May 1964, Fairbank visited the ARC and carried out a series of seven meetings with ARC staff and ARC Chairman Sang-eun Lee. In order to understand ARC capabilities, he also respectively met with Seoul National University researchers and AF Chairman Steinberg a number of times. Among the three research proposals the ARC had originally submitted to the Ford Foundation, Fairbank considered the one on “North Korean Studies,” presided over by Jun-yop Kim, to be the most promising, due to the availability of materials straight out of North Korea. Fairbank also highly appraised Chairman Sang-eun Lee’s wide-ranging efforts to recruit capable personnel and actively advised him regarding how to invite American scholars to participate in the ICPMA. He then submitted a proposal to the CEAI to provide a fund of about ten thousand dollars for invitational expenses with respect to American scholars,⁴³ and CEAI members agreed so wholeheartedly with this plan as to increase the fund to twenty thousand dollars.

Besides these activities, Fairbank responded to Sang-eun Lee’s request during the conference’s planning stages for additional recruitment of American scholars,⁴⁴ recommending Marius Jansen, a specialist in Japanese studies from Princeton University, and Gregory Henderson, who would later author *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (1968).⁴⁵ Scholars who attended the ICPMA in 1965 are listed as follows:

Stuart C. Dodd (University of Washington, Sociology)

Gregory Henderson (Harvard University)

William E. Henthorn (Indiana University)*

W. R. Hoskins (Indiana University)

Marius Jansen (Princeton University)

Marion J. Levy Jr. (Princeton University, Sociology)

James W. Morley (Columbia University)*

Glenn D. Paige (Princeton University, Political Science)*

Herbert Passin (Columbia University, Sociology)

Lucian W. Pye (MIT, Political Science)

Fred W. Riggs (Indiana University)

Robert A. Scalapino (University of California, Berkeley, Political Science)*

Gregory E. Taylor (University of Washington)*

Felix Moos (University of Kansas)

The names marked with an asterisk on this list refer to those who maintained direct relationships with the CEAI and ARC dispatch program. A portion of the rest of the individuals on the list (i.e., Henderson, Passin, Moos, etc.) were working in the field of Korean studies.⁴⁶

Korean Studies as an Independent Field of Research: Materials and Academism

As described above, the Joint Committee on Korean Studies (SSRC+ACLS) was formed in June 1967 on the basis of Ford Foundation funding (sixty-five thousand dollars, July 1, 1967 – June 30, 1970) with the purpose of meeting the state-level demand for the development of Korean studies. Support for individual scholars was excluded from the project, with funding focused on seminars, workshops, scholarly conferences, publishing, and inter-university exchange programs. Compared with the CEAI, which had connected research institutes in East Asia through the medium of Chinese studies and under the leadership of Fairbank, one could say that the founding of the JCKS was a symbolic event demonstrating Korean studies' attainment of "citizenship" in area studies in the United States. Its members included Edward W. Wagner (Harvard University Yenching Institute; chairman), George M. Beckmann (Claremont Graduate University), Gari K. Ledyard (Columbia University), Chong-Sik Lee (University of Pennsylvania), and Glenn D. Paige (Princeton University). Among these members, Wagner, Lee, and Paige carried out research in close association with the ARC.⁴⁷

The very first conference held with JCKS support was the "Conference on Library Resources on Korea" (November 10–11, 1967, University of Washington), which reflected the need for the active collection, exchange, and canonization of research

materials in order to solidify the status of Korean studies, considered in its infantile stages for the previous fifteen years or so in the United States, as a professional academic field.⁴⁸ For the organization of the conference, Wagner first submitted to the JCKS a list of the Korean studies librarians (as of 1966) of major American universities.⁴⁹

Yong-Kyu Choo, University of California, Berkeley, East Asian Library

Sungha Kim, Harvard-Yenching Library

Key. P. Yang, Library of Congress

Soowon Y. Kim, Princeton University, Far Eastern Collection

Joo-bong Kim, Columbia University

Mrs. Kanghee Lee, University of Washington

Chi-Ping Chen (China/Korea), University of Hawai'i

Joyce Wright, Hawai'i University, East-West Center

Dr. Hesung Chun Koh, AAS Committee on Korean Studies (Human Relations Area Files, HRAF. Yale University)

Upon receiving Wagner's letter, Bryce Wood, the SSRC staff member in charge of JCKS affairs, sent out about twenty invitations to librarians and Korean studies researchers who had received Ford Foundation research funding. These invitees could be considered as the leading figures in Korean studies in the United States at the time. Their affiliations are as follows:

Geogre M. Beckmann, Claremont Graduate University

Frederick Burkkhardt, The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)

Yong-kyo Choo, University of California, Berkeley

Robert H. Edward, The Ford Foundation

Joobong Kim, Columbia University

Mrs. Soowon Y. Kim, Princeton University

Sungha Kim, Harvard-Yenching Library

Byung Ik Koh, University of Washington

Dr. Hesung C. Koh, Yale University

Gari K. Ledyard, Columbia University

Chong-Sik Lee, University of Pennsylvania
Fred Lukoff, University of Washington
Glenn D. Paige, University of Hawai'i
Michael C. Rogers, University of California, Berkeley
Doo Soo Suh, University of Washington
George E. Taylor, University of Washington
Edward W. Wagner, Harvard-Yenching Institute
Hellmut Wilhelm, University of Washington
Key P. Yang, Library of Congress⁵⁰

The first to reply to this letter was Hesung C. Koh of the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF).⁵¹ In her reply, Koh referenced the need to treat the conference as an opportunity for cooperation between librarians in the pursuit to complete a comprehensive bibliography of Korean studies. She enclosed a copy of her recent article on this topic with her letter (figure 1).

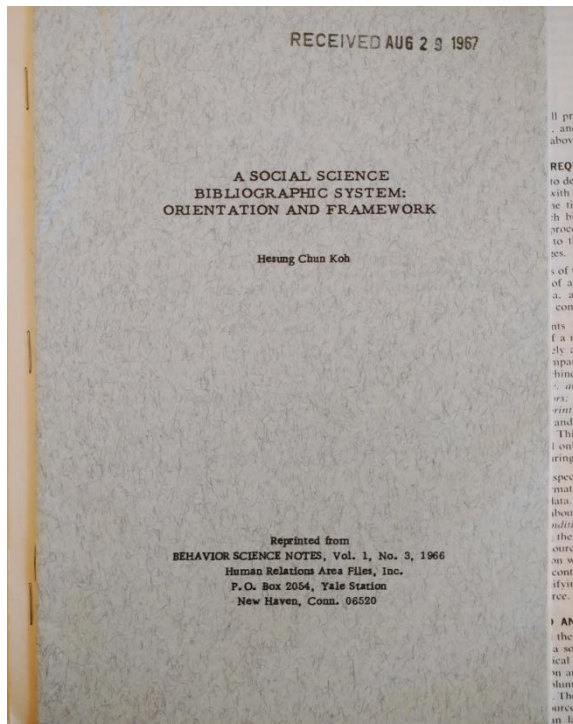


Figure 1: Hesung Chun Koh, “A Social Science Bibliographic System: Orientation and Framework,” *Behavior Science Notes* 1, no. 3 (1966).

Koh believed that establishing a universal bibliographic system for Korean studies, particularly in the field of the social sciences, would be an important basis for the deepening of research. She even constructed a table for arranging a bibliography (figure 2).

Figure 2: An example of the use of Hesung C. Koh’s “Korean Social Science Bibliography Cataloguing Worksheet” as appears in Sŏk Chumyŏng, *Cheju-to kwan'gye munhŏnjip* [Collection of Materials related to Cheju Island] (Seoul: Sŏul sinmunsa, 1949).

Hesung C. Koh had already met ARC Chairman Sang-eun Lee at the “International Congress of Orientalists’ Meeting” in August 1967. In her letter to Bryce Wood, she described how Lee had sympathized with her agenda.⁵²

The next one to reply to the invitation was Key P. Yang of the US Library of Congress.⁵³ Yang judged the Korean collection in the United States inferior to other Asian studies counterparts. At the conference, he declared the need to answer the following question:

1. Is it feasible for grant recipient libraries to specialize in specific fields of Korean knowledge in their collection rather than to aim at the overall development of their collections?
2. Would it be practicable to have some of these materials and other related sources on Korea of research value reproduced (by electrostatic prints or microfilm) in Korea?
3. Should any attempt be made to improve the McCune-Reischauer system?
4. Do we need a reference guide to Korean authors for cataloging?
5. Is it possible to give selected Korean librarians research assignments for the promotion of Korean studies and the utilization of Korean collections?
6. Do we need to establish among Korean librarians a regular channel for the exchange of ideas concerning acquisitions, research, and other activities?

Sungha Kim, a librarian at the Harvard Yenching Institute, proposed three agendas to discuss at the conference: the making of microfilms of Korean classics, newspapers, and major magazines; methods for procuring North Korean publications (indirectly, through Hong Kong or Japan); and librarians' pursuit of methods for effectively obtaining information on Korean materials (constructing and updating a set list).⁵⁴

Columbia University Korean Studies Librarian Joobong Kim proposed similar topics for discussion: channels for procuring North Korean materials; photocopying services allowing Korean studies libraries at US universities to share materials; the problem of obtaining microfilms from libraries in Korea (making microfilms of materials); the making of microfilms of Korean newspapers; and the problem of negotiating with libraries, scholars, and information institutions in Korea for the obtainment of periodicals.⁵⁵

The November 1967 “Conference on Library Resources on Korea” opened with Wagner’s keynote lecture and presentations by Key P. Yang (US Library of Congress) and Ruth Krader (chief librarian of the University of Washington’s Oriental Library). According to letters exchanged prior to the conference, the presentations mainly concerned methods of obtaining North Korean materials and the US Library of Congress’ catalogue of North Korean materials.⁵⁶ They also discussed making microfilms for publications in Korea (Seoul National University, Yonsei University, etc.) and the process of making microfilms in Japan (National Diet Library, Toyo Bunko, Yushodo), etc. In particular, the presenters emphasized the need for basic guidelines for transcribing Korean titles into the roman alphabet in relation to implementing a system for cataloguing and classifying research materials and outlined a plan for expanding and generally applying Hesung C. Koh’s bibliographic system to Korean materials.⁵⁷

The conference’s subject matter was soon introduced to Korea. Sungha Kim of the Harvard Yenching Institute Library described the conference agendas to a Korean reporter as follows: 1) Establishing a small subcommittee under JCKS supervision; 2) commissioning the Committee on East Asian Libraries (CEAL, under the jurisdiction of the AAS) to carry out a project related to Korea; 3) obtaining materials from Korea through the Korean Library Association (*Han’guk tosŏgwan hyophoe*); and 4) classifying and cataloging library cards held by libraries in each country according to Hesung C. Koh’s plan, which was already in use at Yale University for the organization of materials related to Korean social sciences.⁵⁸ This agenda developed into actual results. The Subcommittee on Materials was organized under the JCKS and the Subcommittee on Korean Materials was established at the CEAL (under the AAS) to complement its Japanese Studies and Chinese Studies counterparts. The JCKS Subcommittee on Materials consisted of Ruth Krader (chairman), Hesung C. Koh (Yale University), Joyce Wright (University of Hawai’i), Sungha Kim (Harvard University), Edward Wagner, John Jamieson (University of California, Berkeley), and Key P. Yang (US Library of Congress).⁵⁹

The fact that the first JCKS-supported scholarly conference consisted of presentations by librarians from universities and other institutions in the United

States is quite suggestive.⁶⁰ The basic concerns for collecting and arranging Korean studies materials and establishing bibliographic and cataloguing standards were shared by librarians and researchers alike. Through the JCKS Subcommittee on Materials, it became possible to implement the integrated management of Korean Studies materials. Meanwhile, the stake of Korean studies at the AAS and in other leading Asian studies institutions in the United States began to increase. Considering that the 1968 scholarly conference held in Korea on “Problems of Korean Studies” was concerned with the possibility of establishing the “science” and “academism” of Korean Studies, one may discern a notable coupling of the agendas of Korean studies in Korea and the United States at the time. It is also impressive that the first step by Korean studies toward achieving a status comparable to that of Chinese studies and Japanese Studies in the United States consisted of the expansion of research materials.⁶¹

Conclusion: A Critique of Cold War Reductionism

Noting how Kim Chunyöp (Jun-yop Kim) and Kim Ch’angsun’s *Han’kuk kongsanjuüi undongsa* (A History of the Korean Communist Movement), vol. 1 and Dae-Sook Suh’s *The Korean Communist Movement, 1818-1948* were both published in 1967 and Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee’s *Communism in Korea* was published in 1972, Historian Sö Chungsoök states the following “Despite the fact that these three works are all products of the anti-communist era, they contributed greatly to historical research by uncovering new facts hitherto considered as taboo.”⁶² The creation of these three works, in other words, is difficult to explain without the passion directed into constructing networks and materials early on in the life of Korean studies, as explored in this report.

This report has revealed that the founding of Korean studies in the 1960s was the product of networks within Korea and abroad. That is to say, Korean studies was an incidental by-product of the establishment, interaction, expansion, and differentiation of networks. Korean studies began in relation and subordination

to asymmetrical global knowledge production systems centering on the United States in the Cold War era. Meanwhile, Chinese studies and Japanese studies overshadowed the whole of Korean studies knowledge production. Under such conditions, Korean studies developed at the time by creating and mobilizing funding from within Korea and abroad in order to obtain the “citizenship” of academism. When the CEAI (SSRC) determined to fund the ARC, its initial purpose was clearly strengthening Chinese studies. Nonetheless, the ARC eventually became the nucleus of Korean studies in Korea. Furthermore, networks and intellectual property formed through the ARC led to the founding of the JCKS and then cycled back to the ARC.⁶³ This process can be succinctly described as the “co-production of Korean studies.” Korean studies in Korea and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s did not develop separately but were mutual products of interaction and networks.

This study thus takes issue with the perspective that Korean studies in the 1960s and 1970s was no more than a reproduction of US knowledge and a typical knowledge of the Cold War. Korean studies should rather be understood as the product of the efforts to achieve academism (professional humanities knowledge) by increasing research-material-focused academic exchanges and severing ties with past iterations of Korean studies, namely, the “homeland studies” (*Pon’gukhak*) of the Taehan Empire period, colonial government-sponsored “Chosŏn studies” (*Chosŏnhak*) of the 1930s, and “national studies” (*kukhak*) of the post-liberation era. Here, one may discern not only an attitude prioritizing “materials” and immersed in “empirical verification” but also the intention to overcome the prevailing Japanese dominance in Korean studies. There is thus a need to reevaluate Korean studies during this period: This was a path toward transcending the state of academia on the Korean peninsula, moving away from propaganda toward rigorous professionalism. Of course, this is not to say that Korean studies existed outside of the Cold War epistemological system, that is, the union between anti-communism and liberalism. Neither is this to say that the attitude emphasizing “materials” and “empirical verification” necessarily evaded or extricated itself from ideology. Nonetheless, there is a need to contemplate the irony of the fact that it was funding and networks offered by the United States, headquarters of the Cold War, that made possible the (seemingly impossible)

institutionalization of “Korean studies as a science” and expansion of knowledge resources in 1960s and 1970s South Korea under military dictatorship (while North Korea was moving toward hereditary dictatorship).

According to Charles Armstrong (2014), the Korean studies figures dealt with in this report belong to the “second generation” of Korean studies. The Korean scholars of this generation, in addition to having undergone short periods of study in the United States, possessed the unique experiences of all-out war under the Japanese empire, liberation, the Chinese civil war, the Korean War, and the dramatic intellectual and social shifts of the 1950s. The American scholars of this generation viewed Korea via experiences through World War II, the US military government in Korea, the Korean War, the continued stationing of US troops in South Korea, and so forth. The strange cohabitation of anti-Communism and liberalism (“anti-Communist liberalism”) seen in them may well be considered as an automatic reaction from their unique experiences. The 1960s, when these scholars began to institutionalize Korean studies based on these unique experiences—and particularly 1967, when the JCKS was founded—neatly overlapped with the founding of the Peace Corps by the Kennedy administration and its subsequent dispatches to Korea (1966). And the scholars who first experienced Korea in this manner would eventually comprise the third generation that would become a driving force for critical innovation in Korean studies. Meanwhile, through networks formed in the 1960s between the RF, FF, SSRC/CEAI, ARC, and JCKS (SSRC+ACLS), there emerged a distinct “social-scientific Korean studies” for the study of Korean society. Therein, one should pay attention to the fact that a number of these scholars went on in the 1970s to become flagbearers for the “Koreanization of social research.” This demonstrates the need to investigate and narrate the history of Korean studies in terms of its multi-layered and complex temporality. The influence of the Cold War on the founding of Korean studies was immense, but the meanings and results of this process cannot be entirely reduced to the Cold War.

¹ This paper is a research report for the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) 2018 Stipend Award. I would like to thank Lee R. Hiltzik, Ph.D. (Senior Research Associate) for assistance in procuring materials for the paper.

2 Söul tae Tonga munhwa yŏn'guso p'yŏnjippu [Editorial department of the Seoul National University Center for East Asian Studies], "Che-5-hoe Tongyanghak simp'ojiüm kaeyo: Han'gukhak ũi pangbŏmnon kwa ch'egye" [Summary of the Fifth Oriental Studies Symposium: The Methodology and System of Korean Studies], *Tonga munhwa* 6 (1966): 205.

3 Kim Kyŏngil, "Han'gukhak ũi kiwŏn kwa kyebo: Han'guk kwa Tongasia, Miguk ũl chungsim ũro" [The Origins and Genealogy of Korean Studies: Focusing on South Korea, East Asia, and the United States], *Sahoe wa yŏksa* 64 (2003): 131.

4 "Han'gukhak ũi munjejŏm" [The Problems of Korean Studies], *Tonga ilbo*, October 19, 1968.

5 "Miguk an ũi 'Han'gukhak'" ["Korean Studies" in the United States], *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, November 8, 1967.

6 Universities that received support from the Ford Foundation with the aim of developing Korean studies included Columbia University, Harvard University, University of Hawai'i, Princeton University, and University of Washington, which each received one hundred thousand dollars. The Joint Committee on Korean Studies (JCKS) was the product of the collaboration between these universities. "Conference on Library Resources on Korea (1967.11.10-11, University of Washington. JCKS), p. 1," Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, Social Science Research Council records (FA021), The Rockefeller Archive Center. Princeton University, however, eventually returned the funding it received due to the inadequacy of its Korean Studies program.

7 "Committee Briefs" (SSRC (1967)), ITEMS, Vol.21 No.4, p. 51).

8 The Asiatic Research Center (ARC) is currently known as the Asiatic Research Institute (ARI). In order to reduce confusion, this article uses the institute's original title from the 1960s and 1970s for all relevant citations.

9 Bruce Cumings, "Yŏn'gu yŏngyŏk ũi chŏni: Naengjŏn'gi wa t'allaengjŏn'gi ũi chiyŏk yŏn'gu wa kukche yŏn'gu" [Boundary Displacement: The State, the Foundations, and International and Area Studies during and after the Cold War], trans. Kim Hongjung, in *Chiyŏk yŏn'gu ũi yŏksa wa iron* [Theory and History of Area Studies], ed. Kim Kyŏngil (Seoul: Munhwa kwahaksa, 1999), 272–274, 315–317.

10 Ch'ae Obyŏng, "Naengjŏn kwa chiyŏkhak: Miguk ũi hegemoni p'urojekt'u wa kü p'ayŏl, 1945–1996" [The Cold War and Area Studies: The US Hegemonic Project and Its Ruptures, 1945–1996], *Sahoe wa yŏksa* 104 (2014): 299–302.

11 Kim Kyŏngil, "Han'gukhak ũi kiwŏn kwa kyebo," 150–153, 160–161.

12 Charles Armstrong, "Development and Directions of Korean Studies in the United States," *Journal of Contemporary Korean Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 37–39, 45–46. One should also include, in the second generation, Korean scholars active in the United States at the time, including Chong-Sik Lee (Yi Chŏngsik, University of Pennsylvania), Dae-Sook Suh (Sŏ Taesuk, University of Hawai'i), Andrew Nahm (Western Michigan University), Yun-Shik Chang (Chang Yunsik, University of British Columbia), etc. Regarding the scholarly world of the Peace Corps generation of Korean studies scholars, see Seungkyung Kim and Michael Robinson, ed., *Peace Corps Volunteers and the Making of Korean Studies in the United States* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020). For a detailed study on the genealogy and trends of Korean studies in the former Soviet Union, see Andrei Lankov, "Korean Studies in the Russia of the Soviet Period," *Journal of Contemporary Korean Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 49–76.

13 Chŏng Munsang, "P'odü chaedan kwa Tongasia 'Naengjŏn chisik'" [The Ford Foundation and "Cold War Knowledge" in East Asia], *Asia munhwa yŏn'gu* 36 (2014): 187–191.

14 Kim In-soo, “Han’guk ūi ch’ogi sahoehakkwa ‘Ayŏn hoeŭi’ (1965): Sahoe chosa chisik ūi ūimi rŭl chungsim ūro” [The Beginnings of Social Science in Korea and the “International Conference on the Problems of Modernization in Asia” (1965): Focusing on the meaning of social research knowledge], *Sai* 22 (2017): 76–79.

15 Kim Sŏngbo, “Miguk·Han’guk ūi Naeongjŏn chisik yŏn’gyŏlmang kwa Pukhan yŏn’gu ūi haksul chang chinip” [Cold War Knowledge Networks in the United States and Korea and Entry into the Academic Space of North Korean Research], in *Kŭndaehwaron kwa naengjŏn chisik ch’egye* [Modernization Theory and the Cold War Knowledge System], ed. Sin Chubaek (Seoul: Hyeon, 2018), 224–227, 237–239.

16 Yi Pongbŏm, “Naengjŏn kwa Pukhan yŏn’gu, 1960-nyŏndae Pukhanhak sŏngnip ūi anp’ak” [The Cold War and Research on North Korea: The Interior and Exterior of the Establishment of North Korean Studies in the 1960s], *Han’gukhak yŏn’gu* 56 (2020): 58–60. At the time, the ARC was the only research institution legally permitted in Korea to carry out research on North Korea. According to a 1967 report by David I. Steinberg, at the time affiliated with the Asia Foundation (AF), “Only the ARC is permitted by the government in Korea to research North Korea and other countries. “Legal” materials pertaining to North Korea can be obtained only here. Their use is limited to members affiliated with the institution.... Scholars who write about North Korea often have to use unscientific language.... There are many limitations in political science due to the National Security Law.” “Problems and Prospects for Social Science Research on Korea: A Paper for the Conference on Korean Studies, April 6–7, 1967, Western Michigan University, p. 18,” Folder 2784, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC).

17 Pak Hyŏnsŏn calls these aspects “unintended consequences,” highlighting how, in encountering an “area,” a great many area studies scholars underwent political and intellectual radicalization through women’s studies, diasporic studies, interdisciplinary studies, and so forth, becoming “producers of alternative discourses” rather than “whisperers of local information.” Pak Hyŏnsŏn, “Naengjŏn munhwa wa Han’gukhak” [Cold War Culture and Korean Studies], *Sai* 18 (2015): 282.

18 Koryŏ taehakkyo Asea munje yŏn’guso [Korea University Asiatic Research Center], *Ayŏn 60-nyŏnsa (che-1-kwŏn yŏksa p’yŏn)* [Sixty-year history of the ARC (vol. 1, history)] (Seoul: Ayŏn ch’ulp’anbu, 2017), 22–23.

19 Chŏng Munsang, “P’odŭ chaedan kwa Tongasia ‘Naengjŏn chisik’”; Kim Sŏngbo, “Miguk·Han’guk ūi Naeongjŏn chisik.”

20 Letter (Charles B. Fahs → Edwin O. Reischauer, 1958-6-16), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

21 “Excerpt from: CBF’s to Japan and Korea” (1958-4-26), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

22 “Excerpt from: CBF’s to Japan and Korea” (1958-4-23), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

23 “Excerpt from: CBF’s Diary” (1958-4-26), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC. For reference, this document contains Esson M. Gale’s report to Fahs on the ARC. He mentions that the research topics on Korea, China, and Northeast Asia are too broad.

24 Letter (Edwin O. Reischauer → Charles B. Fahs, 1958-6-18), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC. Edwin O. Reischauer was affiliated with the Harvard Yenching Institute. For reference, Reischauer, Wagner, and Fahs all concurred that Glenn D. Paige excelled at languages (Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Korean), had a strong academic passion, and was an altogether promising young

figure in the field of Korean studies.

25 Letter (Charles B. Fahs → Chin-O Yu, 1958-8-11), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

26 Letter (Chin-O Yu, → Charles B. Fahs, 1958-8-28), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

27 “GA HUM 5967” (Approved 1959-10-8), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

28 Letter (John T. Harvey → Charles B. Fahs, 1959-8-26), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

29 Letter (John T. Harvey → Charles B. Fahs, 1959-9-15), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

30 Letter (Chin-O Yu → Charles B. Fahs, 1959-9-23), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

31 Interviews: Charles B. Fahs (about William E. Henthorn, 1959-11-25), Folder 12, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC. The following were his contributions to *Transactions*: William E. Henthorn, “Some Notes on Koryŏ Military Units,” *Transactions* 35 (1959): 67–75; William E. Henthorn, “Some Notes on Parhae (P’ohai),” *Transactions* 37 (1961): 65–81.

32 “Final Report of William E. Henthorn at the Asiatic Research Center of Korea University, Seoul, Korea” (1961-9-1), Folder 13, Box 1, Series 613, FA387b, RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation records, RAC.

33 See the William E. Hawthorn Collection at <https://ckslib.manoa.hawaii.edu/archives-and-manuscripts-collections/william-e-henthorn-collection>, accessed on August 6, 2020.

34 One hundred sixty-five thousand dollars was allotted for dispatching SSRC/CEAI scholars to the Toyo Bunko and Academia Sinica while forty-five thousand dollars was allotted for dispatching scholars to the ARC. Letter (Ford Foundation → Paul Webbink, 1963-7-23), Folder 1822, RG 2, Accession 2, Box 162, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Paul Webbink was SSRC vice-president.

35 Letter (Pendleton Herring → Edward W. Wagner, 1962-9-19); Letter (Bryce Wood → John K. Fairbank, 1962-9-25), Folder 1822, RG 2, Accession 2, Box 162, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Pendleton Herring was SSRC president and Bryce Wood was an SSRC staff member.

36 Letter (Bryce Wood → Scholars in Asian Studies, 1962-11-29), Folder 1822, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.

37 Letter (Pendleton Herring → Chin-O Yu, 1962-10-3), Folder 1819, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Chin O Yu was a member of the board of directors of the Chungang Educational Foundation and the president of Korea University.

38 Letter (Bryce Wood → Thomas A. Sebeok, 1962-11-5), Folder 1822, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Thomas A. Sebeok was involved in the Program in Uralic and Altaic Studies, Rayl House.

39 “SSRC memorandum (1963-1-2),” Folder 1822, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.

40 Letter (Bryce Wood → Chin-O Yu, 1963-2-13), Folder 1819, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.

41 Report (Edward Wagner → Bryce Wood, 1963-3-31), Folder 1822, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.

42 “Minutes: Informal Report on Existing Commitments for Appointments (1963-6-17),” Folder 1822, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.

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- 43 Letter (John K. Fairbank → Bryce Wood, 1964-5-12), Folder 1820, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 44 Letter (Sang-eun Lee → Bryce Wood, 1964-10-10), Folder 1819, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 45 Letter (John K. Fairbank → Committee on Exchanges with Asian Institutions: G. Taylor, E. Wagner, M. Wright, Bryce Wood, 1965-5-19), Folder 1820, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 46 For reference, Chong-Sik Lee carried out the politician oral testimonial project while staying at the ARC in 1966. He received CEAI funding amounting to 1,500 dollars. Letter (Bryce Wood → Chong-Sik Lee, 1966-10-19), Folder 1824, Box 162, RG 2, Accession 2, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. It appears that he applied the materials he collected through this research to writing *Communism in Korea* (1972) together with Scalapino. Lee collected the materials through two visits to Korea, the first from 1966–1967 and the second from 1969–1970. He has confessed that he was able to procure valuable materials based on firsthand experience because he was able to interview Koreans who had participated in the leftist movement and defectors freshly arrived from North Korea. Sŭk'allap'ino Roböt'ŭ and Yi Chŏngsik [Robert Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee], *Han'guk kongsanjuŭi undongsa* [Communism in Korea], trans. Han Honggu (P'aju: Tolbaegae, 2015), 15.
- 47 At the same time, members of the AAS Korean Studies Committee included Hesung C. Koh (Human Relations Area Files [HRAF], chairman), Soon-Sung Cho (University of Nebraska), William Henthorn (Princeton University), Han-Kyo Kim (University of Cincinnati), Fred Lukoff (University of Washington), Glenn Paige (University of Hawai'i), and Edward Wagner (Harvard University). Charles O. Hucker, "The Association for Asian Studies, Inc., at the Age of Twenty: Annual Report for 1967–1968," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 1 (November 1968): 240. Charles O. Hucker was AAS secretary from 1966 to 1968.
- 48 "Conference on Library Resources on Korea (1967.11.10-11, University of Washington. JCKS), p. 1," Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 49 Letter (Edward W. Wagner → Bryce Wood, 1967-8-7), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 50 Letter (Bryce Wood → Multiple recipients [as listed], 1967-8-16), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Bryce Wood was a member of JCKS staff. Among these invitees, a few were unable to attend the conference. Meanwhile, additional attendees not featured on the list included Jaehyun Byon (University of Washington), John Jamieson (University of California, Berkeley), Ruth Krader (University of Washington), S.E. Solberg (University of Washington), Kyu S. Kim (Long Island University), San-Oak Kim (University of California, Los Angeles), and Joyce Wright (University of Hawai'i East-West Center).
- 51 Letter (Hesung C. Koh → Bryce Wood, 1967-8-28), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Hesung C. Koh was in charge of the HRAF Korea program.
- 52 Letter (Hesung C. Koh → Bryce Wood, 1967-9-22), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC.
- 53 Letter (Key P. Yang → Bryce Wood, 1967-9-7), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FA021), RAC. Yang's Korean name was Yang Kibaek.

54 Letter (Sungha Kim → Bryce Wood, 1967-9-11), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FAO21), RAC. Sungha Kim was the Harvard Yenching Library Korean Cataloguer.

55 Letter (Joobong Kim → Bryce Wood, 1967-9-12), Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FAO21), RAC.

56 The following were sources for obtaining North Korean materials: Chiao Liu, Great Eastern Book, and Apollo (Hong Kong), Kyokuto Shoten, Daian, and Japan Publishing Trade Co. (Tokyo), Am Kil-bo (Osaka), and Kubon und Sagner (Germany). Among the materials prepared by Key P. Yang, a magazine for a North Korean science institute and *Korean Trade*, a trade association magazine, garnered particular attention.

57 “Conference on Library Resources on Korea (1967.11.10-11, University of Washington. JCKS),” Folder 2776, Box 237A, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FAO21), RAC.

58 Kim Sŏngha, “Miguk ūi Han’gukhak yŏn’gu” [Korean Studies Research in the United States], *Tonga ilbo*, December 7, 1967.

59 Yang Kibaek [Key P. Yang], “Miguk nae Han’gukhak tosŏgwan’gye ūi ch’oegŭn tonghyang” [Latest Trends in Korean Studies Libraries in the United States], *Tosŏgwan munhwa* 9, no. 2 (1968): 2.

60 The conferences, which were held with the support of JCKS, are as follows:

1967, Conference on Library Resources on Korea

1969, Conference on Tradition and Change in Korea

1975-1978, Columbia University Seminar on Korea

1976, Conference on Comparative Development of North and South Korea

1977, Conference on the First Korea-Japan Intellectual Exchange

1977, Conference on Power and Development in Contemporary Korea

1977, Multi-Disciplinary Conference on South Korean Industrialization

1978, Regional Conference on Korean Studies

1980, Conference on Korean Religion and Society

1980, Conference on Religion and Ritual in Korean Society

1981, Conference on the Colonial Period in Korea

(Year unknown,) Conference on Factors in South Korean Industrialization

1985, Workshop on Korean Buddhism

1988, Conference on the Four-Seven Debate in Korean Confucian Thought

61 For reference, Key P. Yang also reported directly to Jun-yop Kim on the bibliographic status and method of making microfilms for the *Sisŏ geppŏ* (Thought Monthly) and *Sisŏ ihŏ* (Thought Bulletin). Letter (Key. P. Yang → Jun-yop Kim, 1971-8-3), Folder 2121, Box 185, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, SSRC records (FAO21), RAC.

62 Sŏ Chungŏk, “Han’guk kongsanjuŭi undongsa_Kim Chunyŏp” [The History of the Communist Movement in Korea, Jun-yop Kim], *Ŭmsŏng sinmun*, March 26, 2015.

63 As a representative case, there was the “Conference on Tradition and Change in Korea,” held from September 1–6, 1969. Regarding this ARC-JCKS jointly organized conference, Jun-yop Kim wrote in the introduction to the book published as a product of the conference that “this is the very first conference held with ‘Korean Studies’ as its explicit subject.” Han’guk yŏn’gusil, ed., *Han’guk ūi chŏnt’ong kwa pyŏnch’ŏn* [Korea’s Tradition and Transition] (Seoul: Koryŏ taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 1973). The conference was attended by E. Wagner, M. Rogers, J. Palais, Han-Kyo Kim, V. Brandt, F. Moos, G. Ledyard, Chong-Sik Lee, G. Beckmann, G. Henderson, and Chae-Jin Lee from the United States. It appears that Gari Ledyard was involved in the selection of articles to be featured in the book published as a product of the conference. Letter (John C. Campbell → Jun-yop Kim, 1971-

2-1), Folder 2121, Box 185, RG 2, Accession 2, Series 1, Social Science Research Council (FAO21), RAC. J.C. Campbell was a member of SSRC/JCKS staff.

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