EDWARD J. BAKER

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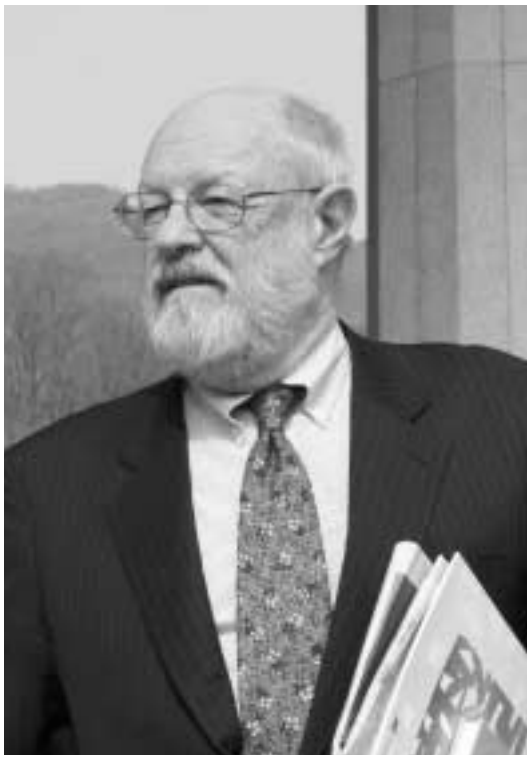

Interviewed by

Park Tae-Gyun

In this interview, we introduce Edward J. Baker, the former Associate Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, now teaching modern Korean history at Hanyang University. The interview furnishes readers with invaluable information on the development of Korean studies in the U.S. as well as on the democratization of modern Korea. The interview was conducted by Dr. Park Tae-Gyun, an assistant professor of modern Korean history in the Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University.

The Editorial Board of the *Review of Korean Studies* would like to express our deepest gratitude to Edward J. Baker for graciously agreeing to the interview. The Board also would like to thank Dr. Park Tae-Gyun for conducting the interview and for writing the manuscript and Ilsoo David Cho for transcribing the interview tapes. - Editor

An Interview with Edward J. Baker

Park Tae-Gyun

Not Thailand, But Korea

Q: Mr. Baker, thank you very much for this interview. This interview is the first of series of scheduled interviews to record the activities of great contributors in the field of Korean Studies outside of Korea. On behalf of *The Review of the Korean Studies*, it is my great honor to have a chance to have an interview with you (Mr. Edward Baker, the former Associate Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, now teaching modern Korean history at Hanyang University). First of all, could you say something about your life before you decided to commit yourself to Korea and Korean studies?

A: I was born in Cleveland, Ohio, a big city. My father was a game warden, a law enforcement officer who enforces the laws regarding hunting and fishing. So we moved around from place to place in the country side, as he was often transferred. He eventually became a federal game warden working for the Department of Interior. His job took us to several places in New Jersey and Maine when I was about ten years old. Korean people often ask me where my hometown is, but I do not really have a *gohyang* because we moved around so much. I attended ten different elementary schools, for example. Then I went to Colby College, which is in Maine. It has a good reputation as a small liberal arts college. Later I was admitted to Yale Law *School*, which was even then very hard to get into. I went there and studied for two years. Law school takes three years to complete, but I was getting very tired of school; so my wife and I decided that we would try the Peace Corps. We thought that we wanted to go to Africa or Latin America and didn't think about Asia at all. We were offered a program in Thailand, and we said "Okay, why not?" We didn't know anything

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about Thailand, but we started reading books about it. But then they informed us that the program in Thailand was cancelled. They did not give us a reason, but we knew that there was a communist insurgency in northeast Thailand.

Q: When were you married?

A: We married in 1964. This is before going to Korea. We went to the same high school in Augusta, Maine. As was the case with Thailand, we knew nothing about Korea, except that there had been a war there. We could not have selected Korea ourselves, because there was no Peace Corps program in Korea at the time.

Q: Went to Korea after the "More Flags" policy of the Johnson administration?

A: Yes it was. From President Johnson's point of view the ROK was one of the most important participants in the Vietnam War. In time we realized that the Peace Corps was sent to Korea as partial compensation for the dispatch of ROK troops to Vietnam. You can read about this in the so-called Brown Memorandum. Of course the U.S. gave Korea many other, more important incentives and compensations.

After the Thai program fell through, we were told to wait and we waited. Later the Peace Corps offered the chance to join the program in Korea. The program had less than ten physical education teachers, maybe a half a dozen health workers and the rest of us were English teachers. When we went to Korea the total number was about 95. That group was the first one sent to Korea, so we called ourselves "K-1." I've forgotten how many groups there were before the Peace Corps ended in 1979 in Korea. But I think there were at least 100 groups. K-1 was one of the biggest. We all became quite "Koreanized" in our way of thinking. So within the alumni there was a strong hierarchy. The K-1 is at the top. David McCann and Ann McCann were also in the K-1. I've known David [McCann] for more than 40 years. We were friends then and we have kept in touch over the years, and of course he is here at Harvard. We first met in training, which was in Hawaii. Many people from that group, I don't mean 50 percent, but maybe around ten people have gone on to Korean studies. The Peace Corps became a very important recruiting channel for the Korean studies people.

Carter [Eckert] is also from the Peace Corps. He is one of our juniors.

Q: Dr. David McCann and Dr. Carter Eckert have been your colleagues at Harvard for a long time, haven't they? Can I ask why you joined the Peace Corps? I know that for many people it was because of the issues regarding conscription.

A: Carter [Eckert] said that was the case for him, but for me it was not. I was a conscientious objector, a petitioner requesting exemption from service because I opposed the war. My draft board did not make a decision. They decided to let me go because I was too much trouble. I think that staying in law school would have given me a deferment, meaning I was classified so that I did not go into the military.

First Impression of Korea

Q: Can you tell me a little about your first impression of the people and atmosphere in Korea? How was your first impression different from your imagined expectation?

A: I could not imagine what Korea would be like since I had no basis for imagining what it would be like. Everything was a surprise, and most of the time a pleasant one. My job was to teach English at *Seoul Sabeom Daehak* (College of Education, Seoul National University), which was in those days in Yongdu-dong in the eastern part of the city. I was with a group of teachers in the English Department who were sophisticated and internationalized people and who had all studied abroad and spoke English very well. These teachers and my students all took care of me, so I was really in a very enviable position. I had really good students and colleagues, many of whom remain my friends to this day. Diane, my wife, I think had a harder time. She taught at *Seoul Sadae Bugo* and the life in the teachers' office (*gyomusil*) was not as pleasant as mine at Sadae where teaching conditions were better. One time she proposed to her colleagues to do some joint or team teaching, but nobody would join her. I think they did not want to be in front of their students with a native English speaker, which might make their English look not so good in front of their students. I knew two of these gentlemen and a woman, and their English was not bad at all. But that's

what happened. Students liked her though. She remains in touch with some of them and thirty years later they invited her to Korea for a class reunion.

Q: I believe that that is not the problem of theirs, but an English education problem. I think that even these days not quite different. Where did you live in Seoul at that time?

A: We began in Bomun-dong, just north of Sinseol-dong. In a modern flat roof two-floor house. But communication between us and that family was not very good. There was a daughter, a *Seoul Sadae Bugo* student, who we had a very good relationship with. We did not have any trouble with them, but we did not become close with the rest of the family. Partly because the mother was a very shy person. The father had been kidnapped or had escaped to the North. The family said that he escaped because of his ideology, so we were introduced to that aspect of Korean society pretty quickly. After a year we moved to another family that lived in Jegi-dong, which was right behind the *Sabeom Daehak* campus, just a few hundred yards. It was a different *dong*, but very close still. That family and we become very close. And we still see them often when we're in Seoul and there is a *jesa* or something. They visit us in the US, too. They always call me up when there is something special and we pass holidays together. At *Chuseok* last year we went to a mountain resort with the family, taking Diane's nephew who works at Osan Airbase and his family. The little boys and all of us grown-ups had a good time. My healthcare in Korea is provided free by the husband of one of the family members.

Q: You said the woman whose house you lived in originally did not talk with you so much. Wasn't that what a typical Korean woman was like at the time?

A: Well, it wasn't. In my view it was her personal character. This lady spoke to us in Korean, of course, and our Korean was terrible at the time. So it was very hard for us to respond to her, but her older sister lived nearby and we would go to her sister's house for holidays and things. And the sister and we could communicate easily because the sister was so outgoing. I don't think anyone would regard her as a strange person. She was just a lively person. In the new house, abeoji (father) was pretty old, as he was born in 1903. In 1967 he wasn't that old, but he was over 60 anyway. Now that I have reached 65, it doesn't seem so old any more. He spoke Japanese well and was a graduate of the

Gyeonggi High School, or I think it was called middle school at the time, a 5-year program. He was a remarkable man in terms of his ability to communicate. Even though we knew very little Korean and he didn't know any English, we were able to communicate with him because he knew how to rephrase things until he found something he understood from the bad sentence you just uttered.

Protest against *Samseon Gaeheon* in 1969

Q: I found your name in a U.S. Embassy dispatch from Seoul to the State Department at the National Archives II in Maryland, dated 1969. The document states that the deputy U.S. ambassador called the Americans who signed a petition criticizing President Park Chung Hee's revision of the South Korean constitution (*Samseon gaeheon*) to prolong his rule in 1969. Can you talk a little bit about that?

A: I don't know why you say the deputy U.S. ambassador, because the ambassador himself called us to the Embassy. Porter was the ambassador at the time and it was actually us who requested a meeting. What happened was that a group of people, mostly American citizens but also a few people from Germany and other countries, started meeting regularly because we were upset about *Samseon gaehon*. We insisted that the US take a position on the issue because failing to take a position equaled approving of the Park government's policy. We started meeting at the home of a man named Herbert White. Actually everybody called him Herb. He was a labor specialist teaching labor relations or labor law, maybe at Yonsei University. I guess he was probably a Fulbright teacher. Herb was really a person with leadership qualities. He was very well-spoken. He became the central figure of this movement. About 50 people gathered every Monday night. Actually it later became a Korean gathering that went on for many years, called "Monday Night Prayer Meeting" or a prayer group, participated in by a lot of Christian activists in the democracy movement. In the beginning, the only Korean who came was Moon Dong Hwan, Moon Ik Hwan's younger brother. His wife is Faye Moon. Faye was a very important voice at the meetings. Steve, as we called Moon Dong Hwan, would come and explain the things that were going on. So we wrote a petition which you've seen, and we asked who was going to sign their names to the petition. Many people said they couldn't sign it because if they did, their Korean colleagues would get into trou-

ble. I think some people felt that they might get thrown out of Korea if they signed it. Only five of us signed it: Herb, Faye, George Ogle, me, and one other whose name I don't recall at the moment, but perhaps you can tell me. I took the petition, neatly typed and in an envelope, and went to the U.S. Embassy which was at that time in the Old Mitsubishi building across from Lotte Hotel. I gave it to the marine guard and bowed politely in the Korean fashion. As I walked away I realized that the young man probably thought I was very strange bowing like that. The petition included a request for a meeting with the ambassador. I think I was a little surprised that the ambassador called us to a meeting a week or two later. It turned out though, that the Ambassador really wanted to know who the other 50 people were. We signed our five names as the steering committee of the "Group of 50." The ambassador's main interest was, "Who are the other 45?"

Q: 50 was not so small considering the whole number of foreigners in South Korea at that time, I think. I do not understand why South Korean government did not take any action against your petition. That was probably an interesting meeting, because Ambassador Porter had a very critical position of President Park from the beginning in late 1967 according to the U.S. Embassy dispatches to the Department of State at that time. What topics did you discuss with him?

A: One of the things we said was that the riot police at the time were coming to the campuses in new American trucks. I personally witnessed this repeatedly at *sadae* and *kodae*. They were Dodge Power Wagons. On the side of each truck, there was a U.S. shield and a picture of two hands shaking. These trucks came to Korea under the USAID (United States Agency for International Development), and were supposed to support and help the Korean people. But they were being used to carry riot police who were there to break students' heads and teargas them instead. When the ambassador said that the U.S. was not supporting the Korean government's position, we said that we didn't think that was true. First of all, considering the position of the U.S. in Korea, if the U.S. said nothing, it was supporting the Korean government's position. Furthermore, "Just look at those trucks!" We talked to him for about half an hour. He said it would be good to have another gathering with everybody from the group. Of course, that was to figure out who the 45 other members were. But we agreed and went back to the group and said, "Please come. We are not going to give a list, but it would be good to have as many people as possible."

At the next meeting, Porter came into the room and started to look around and said something about how young and inexperienced we were. The problem for Ambassador Porter was that many of the people in the group were older than he was. There were many white heads. My head was not white at the time but many of the people were older. Then he stopped and went on to say that all this wasn't really repression. He said he was in Nazi Germany in the late 1930s and this is "a pink tea party" in comparison. It was a very unsatisfactory meeting. His big point was that he had solved the problem of the trucks. "How did you solve the problem of the trucks?" we asked. "We took them into the paint shop at Yongsan Army Base and painted them with camouflage and replaced the USAID symbols with the symbol of the Korean National Police," he said. Of course we said, "Well it is a little late for that you know because everybody knows." It was not going to make any difference and of course it was dishonest anyway. So that was the beginning of my intense interest in Korean politics and making lots of contacts with the people who were active in it. The first one was Moon Dong Hwan.

George Ogle and James Sinnott

Q: Can you remember the members of the later meetings?

A: There were many people who were motivated by their religion, both Catholics and Protestants, Koreans and foreigners. Rev. George Ogle was a key figure and I know him very well. There was a Catholic priest named Father James Sinnott, who is very famous in Korea. Both George and Jim were deported for their activities in support of the democratic movement.—George in 1974 and Jim in 1975 if I remember correctly.

Q: Ogle was a key figure of the group protesting against the *Inhyeokdang* (인민혁명당: 인혁당) incident, wasn't he? And wasn't he expelled from South Korea by the Park Government because of his activities?

A: Yes, his support of the defendants in the *Inhyeokdang* case and their families was what got him thrown out of Korea. He was a protestant missionary in Korea for many years and taught labor rights for years. He wrote a couple of very interesting books on the Korean labor movement and published in English.

Father Sinnott was deported because of his active public support of the reporters in the Donga Freedom of Expression Movement.

I managed to stay in Korea from 1968 to 1970 by working for the Fulbright Commission as an English teacher for one year and then at the office. The reason I was doing those jobs was to stay in Korea.

Q: You lived in Korea under the Yushin system, which drastically changed South Korean society. Were there any problems for foreigners during the Yushin era?

A: There were lots of problems for foreigners. I can talk mostly about 1974 to 1976 because I was back in Korea as a Fulbright grantee at the time. I left Korea in 1970. I got back to the U.S. and finished Yale Law School by attending Harvard Law School for one semester and Yale Law School for one semester. That was arranged by a professor named Jerome Cohen, who is a specialist on Chinese law. He was very supportive of Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese legal studies. And he was very supportive of human rights in Korea and until now in China. He knows Kim Dae Jung well and was one of those who helped save Kim's life when he was kidnapped from Tokyo. Professor Cohen has been a very important person in my life and a very supportive mentor to me.

After finishing Yale Law School I started graduate school at Harvard. As a part of those studies, I returned to Korea in 1974 as a Fulbright grantee.

Q: For field research?

A: Yes. At that time the Fulbright Commission had a building in *Seosomun* in downtown Seoul which we called Fulbright House. It was about a ten floor building and each floor above the fourth was divided into two apartments occupied by Fulbright grantees. My family lived in that building. Professor McCann and his wife lived in that building, too. There was a whole group of Korea-oriented academics living there at the time. That becomes important later in the story. Soon after we arrived there, Ogle was attacked by the government for his strong critique against the Inhyeokdang decision. In the *Inhyeokdang* incident, nine people were sentenced to death by the Park government.

After the Supreme Court confirmed a death penalty decision, the case was normally referred to the Minister of Justice who would decide whether or not penalty should be carried out. This usually took about six months, which gave people time to raise legal arguments. In the *Inhyeokdang* case, however, the Supreme Court confirmed the decision in the afternoon and these men were all executed that night. George Ogle was enraged. Everyone who cared about such matters was upset, but George really fought back. Within a few days he was deported. He was sent out of the country on a Korean Airlines flight, which stopped in Tokyo. He tried to get off the plane there because he thought that he could do something active in Japan. However, the Korean Airlines employees would not allow him to get off the plane. I heard this from George Ogle directly. I think in those days every company in Korea did whatever the government told them to.

Q: That's illegal, right?

A: Of course it is illegal. A lot of illegal things happened in those days. Father Sinnott became famous among foreigners and among Koreans in connection with the Dong-A Ilbo freedom of expression struggle.. I was walking by the Dong-A Ilbo office when I first met him. Of course it wasn't an accident, since I was going there to see what was happening. The reporters were peacefully demonstrating and there was this tall, older Caucasian man with a priest's collar and so I went up and introduced myself. He and I have not met often enough of each other to really become friends, but we knew of each other and respected each other I think, certainly I respected him. He got deported for those activities. Meanwhile, in the *Seosomun* Fulbright building, we were talking a lot about the fact that the advertisers of the Dong-A Ilbo all pulled out their commercial ads. Then slowly day by day there were more and more small advertisements trying to compensate for the lost advertising and say something in support of freedom of expression. Sometimes somebody would put "Long Live the Freedom of Expression" and sign his name. A lot of people didn't sign their names, but they said good things. It was very impressive. So we had a meeting to discuss whether or not we should do something. Should we demonstrate or should we place an advertisement? Again, some people were afraid to put their names on anything because of their Korean colleagues. Several people quoted Korean colleagues by name who said that it would be very hard for them if their foreigner

friend's name was given. We compromised in the end and made an ad that said something like "Long Live Freedom of Expression" by sixteen American friends of Korea.

First Meeting with Kim Dae Jung in 1975

Q: It is really interesting story. I read many ads from the common people to support movements for freedom of expression, but I did not see the ad that you mentioned. Do you have a copy of that ad?

A: I must have a copy somewhere but I don't know where to look. There were other interesting things that happened around that time. When I got to Korea as a Fulbright grantee in 1974, I was summoned to the U.S. Embassy to meet with a man named Sol Linowitz if I remember correctly. He did not directly say "don't get involved, you can observe from a distance, but don't get in Korean politics," but it was clear that that was what he meant. He was a smart and articulate guy and the rest of us were smart enough to understand what he was talking about. I should ask David McCann. David was there earlier and we just had a few months of overlap at the end. I don't know if David got the same type of treatment. Linowitz might have been political attaché but I think he was a labor attaché. Nevertheless, we began to get quite active during this time. One person of our group, I think he was also a K-1, had become a close confidant of Kim Dae Jung. He was Kim Dae Jung's English teacher in 1974 and 1975. Kim's English is not great, but it is also not bad. Especially for a man who started learning English at the age of 47. Doug Reed was at the meeting about the newspaper, and he volunteered to introduce us to Kim Dae Jung. Before that none of us had ever met him. This must have been April or May 1975. We all went, but as far as I know, I am the only one who kept seeing him.

Q: That would have been one or two years after he was kidnapped in Tokyo. Was it possible to meet him since he was under house arrest?

A: Yes, we met in his house. He couldn't come out to see us, but we could go in. From then until I left Korea in 1976, I went to his house at least a half a dozen times and we could always get in. I recall there were times when a group of his colleagues like Moon Dong Hwan and Lee Woojeong, and various politi-

cal colleagues of his were there.

Q: And Kim Sang Hyun (김상현)?

A: Yes, Kim Sang Hyun was there. We would have a meal and a few drinks and so forth. Everybody came in but Kim could not go out. I guess Mrs. Kim could go out but he definitely could not. I went to Japan for three or four months at the beginning of 1976. Before going, I went to see Mr. Kim, and said "You know, I'm going to Japan and I'd be happy to do anything you would like me to do or meet someone you would like." Kim said there is someone in *Hanmintong* (한국민주통일연합: 한민통) he wanted me to meet. There was a *Hanmintong* in the U.S. and another one in Japan. They were technically part of the same organization, but they functioned separately. At the *Hanmintong* in Japan, there was an elementary school friend of Kim's. He introduced me to a man named Chung Kyung Mo (정경모). Chung and I are still very close friends even to this day. He is getting on in years, but then so am I.

Q: I heard that he has writtten several books and a lot of pamphlets and Professor Gavan McCormick of the Australian National University wrote an article about him.

A: Oh really? He likes to model himself on Thomas Paine. I last spoke to Chung in April 2007. We tried to get together in Tokyo, but the schedule did not work out and we promised to meet next time.

Q: At the time the Korean government and the Korean KCIA considered the *Hanmintong* and Chung Kyung Mo as reds. Were there any investigations after you returned to Korea?

A: No, I don't think so. At that time I was too small a fish. So I don't think much notice was taken of me. In later years, when Choi Sung Il (최성일) and I were working on a "Campaign to Free Kim Dae Jung and his Co-defendants" in the U.S., my work with Amnesty International had become known, and I had been named in Kim Dae Jung's indictment, I was refused entrance once to Korea and, when I went to Seoul, I was followed and under various restrictions. The following (*mihaeng*) was very obvious and I think it was intentionally obvious to make me nervous. It made me annoyed, but it did not make me nervous.

Q: I found many letters in the Henderson documents at the Harvard-Yenching Library which Choi Kee Il (최기일) wrote to Gregory Henderson.

A: Yes. In earlier years they were very close friends, and Kee Il and I were very close friends. Later I hoped that President Kim would invite Choi and Chung Kyung Mo to Korea to recognize what they had done, but it never happened. Of course by that time Gregory had passed away long before.

Q: When did you leave Seoul and return to the U.S.? Were you forced to leave Korea because of your relationship with Mr. Kim?

A: No. It was 1976, the end of the Fulbright grant. It was not an expulsion. Later in 1981 I was refused admission, which is not exactly an expulsion. I was standing at the airport and the immigration officer was looking at the computer or paper record and said "I am sorry. We can't let you into Korea." I said "why not?" and the official said "Because your name is on the list." "How did my name get on the list?" "Well, I don't know, but the Minister of Justice put your name on the list." I said "Come on, what's going on." He smiled and said "maybe you're a bad person." And then laughed. They were very nice to me. They took me into a room and gave me tea and chatted with me until it was time for my plane. I came to Seoul from Taipei and they put me back on the same plane. Once they saw my name on the list of course it was clear that I would not be allowed entrance. I hung around Tapei for 4 or 5 days while Mark Peterson (Fulbright Director), Kim Kyung Won (at the Blue House), Han Sung Joo (한승주, then a Korea University professor), and Kim Sang Hyup (김상협, then president of Korea University) managed to get me a new visa.

The Fraser Committee and Kim Hyung Wook

Q: I would like to hear about your activities after you returned to the U.S. in 1976. You participated in the Fraser Committee as an investigator. Can you talk about the Koreagate and the Park Dong-sun incident. Can you also say something about Kim Han Jo and the Unification Church (*Tongilgyo*)?

A: If we are going to go into detail, I'm going to have to do some review. But let me say that the investigation was headed by Donald Fraser, who was a U.S. congressman from Minnesota. A staff of about 17 or 18 people was assembled. A number of them lawyers, including me by that time. But I was the only person who could speak Korean and knew anything about Korea. This was a very able group of people. One of the first things we did was to interview Kim Hyung Wook. I interviewed him with one other member at least three times.

Q: Was it 1976 or 1977?

A: It was 1977. Kim had come to the U.S. in the early 1970s.

Of course he was the string puller behind the *Samseon gaeheon* movement. I don't recall the reason at this moment but there were bad feelings between him and Kim Jong Pil. Kim Hyung Wook had been head of the KCIA for about six years. He was very proud of what he did in the 1968 *Dongbaeklim* (동백림 사건: Sino-Korean name of East Berlin) incident. He was not embarrassed that he had people kidnapped, particularly from Germany. A couple of Koreans from the U.S. testified under pressure from the U.S. government with a promise from Kim Hyung Wook that they would not be harmed. He was a man who could not be trusted at all. One of the things that always interested me about him was that if you spent five minutes talking to Kim Hyung Wook, it was completely obvious that he was a gangster. Completely obvious. There was no polish or smoothness. Tough talk and brutal action without any hesitation. He could not speak English, but had an aide who moved around with him and drove his car, although Kim could drive. I've seen him drive a very sporty Mercedes Benz. His aide had a finger chopped off right here [pointing to the middle finger of the right hand].The aide was a lot smarter and a lot smoother than Kim Hyung Wook but he was devoted to Kim. I think that he was a cousin or something of Kim Hyeong Wook's wife. The importance to me of the way Kim talked and the things he was proud of, like the kidnappings for example, was that Kim and Park Chung Hee saw each other every day for six years at least. I can't believe that Park wasn't able to judge this man's character. If I could see it with my untutored eyes, Park Chung Hee had to know exactly what this guy was. Park wanted him because of, not in spite of, his character. He wanted Kim to do his bidding.

Q: What did Kim said about Park Chung Hee and about the KCIA activities in the U.S.?

A: Kim Hyung Wook testified and there is a whole volume of his testimony. We'd have to go back to it to see the details but he was very critical of Park in terms of loyalty. He felt that he had been loyal to Park but Park had kicked him out because somebody else had said kick him out. But of course he did not live in poverty. He showed up in the U.S. with twenty million dollars, which he put in a bank and got American citizenship on the basis of it. I did not know you could buy American citizenship, but you could, and probably still can, if you have enough money. He always portrayed himself as a good man and a patriot. He didn't seem to realize that kidnapping people is disapproved of by most people.

There were various cases like the *Dongbaeklim* incident that he told us the details of, but he was pretty elusive. He gave everything the spin he thought was best for him. I have forgotten exactly what the detail was, but there was a case where he told us something when we asked him, but then he stopped. We didn't know that he had failed to tell the whole story at the time but later, when it became clear that he had not told the whole story, we asked him, "Why didn't you tell us about this?" And he said, "Well, you know, for tactical reasons we have to keep some ammunition hidden away." And I think he did that a lot. There were many things he could've told but avoided telling. He was anxious to get out of this with minimum exposure. We asked him once how he could put together $20 million dollars when his annual salary was only about $5,000 dollars. He said people gave him a lot of presents. That was typical of Kim Hyung Wook. He did not tell us anything about the Unification Church. There was Lee Jae Hyeon, who was the principal source of information on the Korean ambassador's attempt to buy a congressman. He reported that he saw the ROK Ambassador Kim Dong Jo packing a briefcase full of money in envelopes. When Lee asked what it was for, Ambassador Kim replied that he was taking it to Capitol Hill.

Q: Wasn't he staff of the Korean Embassy in Washington?

A: Yes, he was Cultural Attaché. This was the final straw for him. The Korean Foreign Service was being utilized to gather support for the Yushin sys-

tem among Korean-Americans and among Americans in general. I think Mr. Lee went into the diplomatic service as an idealist to serve his country, but gradually he realized that there was an awful lot of dishonesty and corruption. He had seen this business of putting together the envelopes to the congressmen, and he was extremely helpful to the investigation, because he was knowledgeable, and frank unlike Kim Hyung Wook. Lee Jae Hyeon told us everything we wanted to know and sometimes even more than we wanted. When we found the 1976 KCIA plan to influence American opinion and policy, it came from a defector, Sohn Ho Young, a KCIA officer stationed in New York. Lee Jae Hyeon and I stayed up all night and translated the thing. And it was pretty interesting and amazing. Are you familiar with the document?

Q: No, I am not. Can you briefly explain the plan?

A: It was divided into different sections and called for cooperation with the Unification Church, supporting Park Dong Sun in his work to influence Congress and that sort of thing. It was amazing to see this because it showed that what we were trying to investigate did exist. There really was a plan and it had been to some degree successfully carried out. And another guy, Kim Han Jo, was a key person at that time. Park Dong Sun was not the main focus of the Fraser investigation. That was primarily done by the House and Senate Ethics committees because there really were investigations of the accused members of Congress. Because one of the parties involved in each of these things was a member of Congress. We did interview Park Dong Sun but only once.

Q: How about Kim Han Jo?

A: Kim Han Jo was interviewed, but not by me. We did interview Park Dong Sun. The Peace Corps is everywhere, you know. One of the employees of Park Dong Sun was Peter Barthelomew. He was a K-1. He quit when he realized what Park Dong Sun was like, but at that time when that investigation started, Peter was working for Park Dong Sun. He is quite a remarkable fellow. He has lived in Seoul since the early 1970s right up to now. He is very well acquainted with the surviving members of the Joseon royal family, the few that are still alive. He has become an expert in architectural history. He knows far more about Korean traditional architecture than all but a handful of people. Did you know that Park Dong Sun is in trouble again?

The Result of the Investigation

Q: He is in jail now.

A: He was negotiating with Saddam Hussein in order to make money. Let me say one last thing about Koreagate though. At the end of the investigation, part of our report was a maybe 10 point list of the things that we thought the U.S. government should investigate further. Most of them were not done. They would have been done if Congressman Fraser was elected to the Senate. But he ran and he lost, and that was in 1980. But one thing that was done was to further investigate from a tax viewpoint the activities of the Unification Church. You may recall that Moon Sun Myung actually did get investigated, prosecuted, and sentenced to jail for tax evasion. I have forgotten how specific the recommendation was, but my colleague and I went to a big bank in New York, probably Citibank, and looked over the accounts of the Unification Church. We discovered an account that was recorded as if it was the church's money, but the actual use of the money was entirely by Moon for his own use. He was evading income tax by giving the impression that this money belonged to a tax-exempt church.

Q: That's really the point I wonder about. Although it was a very important investigation, the result perplexes me. As far as I know, Kim Han Jo was jailed but nothing happened to Park Dong Sun. What did the senators and investigators do?

A: Just investigating and not sending somebody to jail may still be very worthwhile depending on how the further activity goes. In the case of the ethics committee investigations, they are not anxious to see their colleagues prosecuted. I think there were an awful lot of questionable activities. Not everybody was involved of course. I know that Don Fraser was completely clean. Also, don't forget that at the key time, Park Dong Sun was in Seoul and the ROK government refused to extradite him.

Q: But there was a report in a Korean newspaper that Fraser received 2,000 dollars from someone when he organized and worked with the committee in the U.S. And according to several documents, the State Department investigated that. Did you hear about that?

A: Absolutely not as far as I know. Anyone who thinks Fraser could be bought doesn't know or understand Fraser. The most crucial fact in explaining why there was so little follow up was that Fraser was out of Congress. Those things only get taken care of when there is somebody or some group of people determined to do something about it. The investigation team was closed. Don Fraser would've done something if he'd been elected to the Senate. He has a very good record regarding human rights from the early 1970s on. But he lost the election in 1980. After that, as the mayor of Minneapolis, he couldn't do anything about this situation.

Beginning at the Harvard-Yenching Institute

Q: The next topic I'd like to ask about is your activities and work at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. That would be the very key issue of the today's interview. What was the main reason you accepted the associate director position at the Harvard-Yenching Institute?

A: I started in 1981, and retired at the end of 2005. [Since then he has worked as a consultant for the Institute.] The director of the Institute from 1976 until 1987 was Albert Craig, a professor of Japanese history. Craig was one of my mentors. I took his courses and he took an interest in my thesis and seminar papers. He probably realized what financial trouble I was in, and he offered me a job as his assistant and I took it. At that point I thought it was an interesting job. It would also put food on the table. Then once I got into it, there was no graceful way to leave and besides I always enjoyed the job. I had hoped to finish my thesis and Craig also wanted me to finish. However, at some point I argued with him that I needed more time to work on my thesis. He thought about it and the next day he said, "Ed, I can't let you spend less time on Institute work. If you spend less time on Institute work, I have to spend more." At that point, there was him, me, and Mary Smith. There were of course others who worked for the Institute in time and the staff gradually increased in size.

Q: I took Prof. Craig's class in 1998, in which he was very interested in modern Korea. How many visiting scholars were there at the time?

A: About twelve I think. One of the main tasks of the job was to travel every

autumn to do interviews. Before this job, I didn't know much about Asia except for Korea. I had a little experience with Japan, but none with China, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Hong Kong. I hadn't been to China at all at the time. So I really became more of a general Asianist. Obviously I know much more about and care more about Korea than other places, but I really broadened myself. Later, starting in 1990, I began to do interviews in Vietnam. No one else had ever done any interviews for the Institute there and no one else had visited the universities or Vietnam academies of social sciences. For a while, I was a well-known person in Vietnamese academic circles and I still have many friends there.

Q: Many scholars who had experiences as visiting scholars or fellows at the Harvard-Yenching Institute first met you when you visited Korea for interviews every fall semester. You've been considered as the godfather for Korean scholars at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. When did your interview tours start? Do you have any interesting episodes? What were your first impressions of China and Vietnam?

A: It began in 1981 and there are lots of interesting episodes that I will get to. First impressions of China and Vietnam bring me back to my first impression of Korea. One of the things I should've said is that when I first got to Korea, I was struck by how poor it was. People were really poor. I think younger people in Korea today have no idea of what life was like. There were large parts of the country that had no electricity, and most people repaired their clothes with patches just to keep warm. We visited a village of thatched roofs in Gyeonggi-do, where a girl working in our house came from. There was a big power line in sight, some 200~300 meters away, but the village had no electricity. Remember, this was in Gyeonggi-do, very close to Seoul. That was in the late 1960s and again in mid-1970s, and then things changed a lot. Korea certainly has changed remarkably in economic terms. I shouldn't say that I knew no one who had an automobile, but I knew almost no one who had one. A few academics from rich families had cars. But now, I don't know anyone who doesn't have a car. I'm afraid it is not good for Korea for everyone to have a car, because of air pollution and traffic jams, but it is certainly amazing. Even Chung Young Hoon, who worked for us and is still very close to us has a car now. She and her husband run a *bosintang jib*. Her husband uses the car to go to the dog meat market somewhere in Gyeonggi-do. So I would have to say that our first impression was that Korea was extremely poor but people were coping really well. Now in

Vietnam today, you can see economic progress being made, with bicycles turning into motorcycles and so forth. But when I first went to Vietnam in the 1990s, it was as poor as Korea was in the 1960s. The Vietnamese, like the Koreans, are very hard working, so they are making progress. Also they are hospitable and make you feel welcome. I also like Vietnamese food. That was quite a difference from my Korea experience. When I first got to Korea, I had not eaten as much rice in my whole life as Koreans ate in a week. So it was very hard to adjust to Korean food. I think I adjusted to Vietnamese food quicker because I had adjusted to Korean food. It made me more flexible than when I was a 24 year old.

China is changing very rapidly, perhaps too rapidly. If you go to the big cities, you will see incredible pollution. Polluted wind from China blows to Korea. I have friends who are very up in arms about pollution in Korea, but it really isn't as bad as it used to be, at least at the superficial level. I remember standing on a street corner at a bus stop on Jongro when you could hardly see the tops of the buildings. And when you got home and looked at your shirt collar, it was black. It doesn't mean that environmental problems in Korea are solved, but there have been great improvements.

The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Korean Scholars

Q: How many Korean scholars received Harvard-Yenching Institute scholarships during your era? Do you have any special memories and episodes with these scholars?

A: Have you seen the directory that the Visiting Scholars Association has published? According to that book there have been 159 visiting scholars from Korea. I thought it was more than that. That number does not count the substantial number of Visiting Fellows and Doctoral Scholarship grantees.

Q: I have not read it yet, but I recently learned about its publication. I sent pictures of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for the book. Is that number from during the time you were associate director?

A: No, it is the whole number from the beginning. I don't think that can be true. But there are also at least 30 visiting fellows and then, what is often

ignored, is that, until the late 1980s, there were also doctoral scholars who were supported. Lim Hyon Jin (임현진), Kim Yong Deok (김용덕), and Paik Nak Chung (백낙청), for example. Kim Kwang Ok (김광억) studied at Oxford with a Harvard-Yenching scholarship. Song Ho Keun (송호근) also got his Ph.D. at Harvard with HYI support. I don't mean to leave anyone out, but it is hard to include everyone on the spur of the moment. The different programs have had associations with a lot of really important scholars. Kim Yung Sik (김영식), now the director of *Gyujanggak*, had a year of support as a research associate. Altogether the total number is far more than 159.

Q: Any particular visiting scholars you remember from the 1980s and 1990s?

A: Well, in 1982-3 there was Won Woo Hyun (원우현), O Geum Seong (오금성, SNU), Kim Jung Ja (김정자), who is best known as a *gayageum* player and was in the SNU College of Music, and Lee Song Mu (임성무, former president of AKS, former president of Guksa Pyonchan Wiwonhoe). All here at the same time. Life was not so busy then. They would come to my office almost every day, which was very good for my Korean language. We would sit and talk about what was going on in the world. That was 1982-3. I'm listing to them in detail because that was the beginning of my service. I won't list more because I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings. I do remember almost everyone from 1981 on.

It's interesting that people whom I became close friends with are people who were in the doctoral program. I think because they were here for several years. Kim Yong Deok and I studied together and have kept in touch. I've seen him every year since 1980. Another very close friend is Lee Jung Woo (이정우), who is an economics professor at Kyungbuk University and spent two years in the Blue House with Roh Moo Hyun. I also have lots of good friends among the visiting scholars. One who is becoming more prominent in the visiting scholars circle is Won Woo Hyun (원우현). He has just retired from *Kodae*'s [Korea University] mass communications department, which is an unusual field for the Harvard-Yenching Institute. He has just become the president of the Visiting Scholars Association, replacing Choe Song Hwa (최송화). I got to know Choe Song Hwa fairly well over the years but I wasn't working at HYI when he was there. He was at Harvard in 1977. I don't know how it happens that one decides

to become good friends when the exposure is all about the same. Yong Deok and I studied together, so that's very natural. Kang Jung In (강정인) of Sogang University, a political scientist, and I have become extremely close friends and he is somebody who I see regularly. He came in 1995-6. I really apologize to everyone I didn't have a chance to mention.

Kim Dae Jung at Harvard

Q: Can you briefly talk about your relationship with Kim Dae Jung back in the 1980s?

A: I think I already talked about meeting Kim Dae Jung in 1975 and keeping in touch with him. In 1979 and 1980 when he was on trial for treason and was convicted, my name appears in the indictment as a conduit for money for him in Korea. In fact the truth is that the money went the other way: from Mr Kim Dae Jung to his brother-in-law, Lee Sung Ho (이성호), a travel agent in the United States. Worried that Lee was not a very practical man, one time Kim Dae Jung handed me an envelope with $500 to give to Lee Sung Ho, which I did. But in the indictment it says I brought money from Lee Sung Ho and gave it to Kim.

I worked very hard, particularly with the help of the leadership of a man named Choi Sung Il (최성일) on a campaign to free Kim Dae Jung and his co-defendants. There were twenty-three co-defendants in all. This and the mention of my name in the indictment were an important part of the ROK government blocking my entry into Korea in 1981.

Q: What about Gregory Henderson? I read several letters from Mr. Henderson to the U.S. Department of State about Kim's trial.

A: I think he was supportive before he died in the mid-1980s, but I don't think he was out there working hard on the campaign. He signed the petition and so forth. Sung Il and I worked extremely hard on this. Kim knew about that, but of course he got convicted. Fortunately, Ronald Reagan did the right thing for once and saw to it that he was not executed. I have little doubt that he would have been executed if the U.S. had not intervened. But of course, year after year the U.S. did not intervene in things that they should have. One of the times they

did intervene was after the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung when the U.S. government told Park Chung Hee not to kill Kim. Professor Jerome A. Cohen played an important role in this. The other important U.S. government human rights intervention was this in 1980.

So late 1982 after 2 years in prison Kim Dae Jung came to the U.S. He first went to a Catholic monastery in Maryland near Washington D.C. I was able to get in touch with him and I went down there to see him. For the only time he embraced me and then he said, "You know I'm very sorry about the story about the money. I figured that you'd be able to deal with it. If I told them where the money actually came from, that person would've been in terrible trouble." It was true. It never caused me any trouble except that one time when I couldn't get into Korea as I mentioned earlier. Another reason was that Amnesty International tried to send me and the Deputy Secretary General to Korea to do an investigation in the summer of 1980. So anyway, after that, Kim believed, and we all believed, that he had a standing invitation to come and spend a year at Harvard. It turned out, however, that he couldn't because of changes at Harvard. When he went to Maryland, he thought that he was invited and he was planning to come to Harvard. Professor Ezra Vogel had invited him in the late 1970s after Professor Edwin O. Reischauer invited him in 1973, but there were different people in charge of these institutions in 1982. The Fairbank Center decided not to invite him, because he was a politician rather than a scholar. I really got upset. I wanted to figure out some way to bring him to Harvard. That led me to explore different possibilities. Eventually I realized that the Center for International Affairs was probably the most appropriate place. Along the way, Professor Craig, seeing my agony said, "You know, it doesn't fit the Harvard-Yenching Institute very well. But if it is necessary, we can invite him to the Harvard-Yenching Institute." I was shocked, amazed, and very pleased that he would think of such a thing but I knew it was the last resort. So I went to see a man named Benjamin Brown, who was the head of the Center for International Affairs (CFIA) fellows program. Benjamin Brown is a hero in my book. He said, "Well, I am having some trouble with my board. Because I had Benigno Aquino here for two years, some of the members of the board think that it is a bad idea to have people like those democratic dissident leaders here. But, if you can arrange for Mr. Kim to come and see me, we can talk and I'll see what I can see. I am open to it." So I arranged for Kim Dae Jung to come and give a speech at Harvard. It was a different time. I reserved a room in Robinson Hall, and I put

up flyers and things. Of course, I didn't have any money so I wasn't paying for his transportation or anything, but he was ready to do that and he thought that coming up here and giving a talk was a good idea. It would give him a chance to speak at Harvard and to see Benjamin Brown and to see if it could be worked out. It worked out. We had a great turnout, more than 300 people in Robinson Hall. The Harvard Korean community and the New England Korean community were well represented. Kim and Brown got along very nicely and that turned into an invitation. I felt really bad that the CFIA program required a kind of tuition payment, about $7,000.

Q: How about Kim Dae Jung's activities at Harvard and how long did he stay?

A: He arrived in the U.S. in December 1982. And came to Harvard for the September 1983 to June 1984 academic year. He returned to Korea in the summer of 1985.

Q: That was shortly after the general election, which is called a squall of the yellow (황색돌풍). Did he have many activities while at Harvard?

A: Yes. He had a great following in the Korean community and that's who he spoke to mostly. But he also spoke at various universities all over the country. I have the speech from Harvard, and a collection of the speeches has been published by the Kim Dae Jung Library. There were lots of people in the Korean community who admired him and respected him and wanted to have their picture taken with him and to give him some money or whatever. When he said that he was going back in 1985, I said, "Sir, I hope you think this over very carefully. Remember what happened to Aquino. We don't want it to happen to you." He said, "Well, I have to go back." Since he didn't get killed, it was the politically right choice.

Korean Studies at Harvard

Q: Yes, I agree with you. He is a politician who was willing to take a great chance in the watershed era. I think that there are so many things to talk with former President Kim, but I would like to skip that because you already have

interview about that with the Kim Dae Jung Library. Can you briefly talk about the Korean studies scholars at Harvard, namely Edward Wagner, Gregory Henderson, and James Palais?

A: Wagner really is the founder of Korean studies at Harvard and in America. Many of the younger people in the field were his students. You could even say that David McCann in Korean literature was his student because Wagner was the one who encouraged him and read his thesis and so forth. I got to know Henderson in the early 1970s when I came to Harvard. Although Gregory taught some courses at Harvard, and his papers are in the library here, I think it is important to note that he was not a Harvard professor. Let me note that I also am not, nor have ever been, a Harvard professor. My main affiliation with Harvard has been my twenty-five years as Associate Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Greg and I became good friends and colleagues. Wagner was not an activist, but Henderson was. Henderson would speak up for political causes. There was tension between them. Although I recall that at the memorial service for Greg, Wagner gave a eulogy and was very gracious. I was in a very awkward spot. I got to Harvard through Jerry Cohen at the law school. Cohen and Wagner did not get along. Henderson did not get along with Wagner. He did get along with Cohen. All of this often put me in a very uncomfortable position. I would have to listen to unpleasant and nasty criticism of one from the other. Once in a while I'd say, "You do realize that he is important in my academic life." But they each assumed that I would agree with them. Wagner's last years were very sad. He had Alzheimer's. He did not know people any longer. But through the years he did great detailed analytical work on Korean history.

Q: Yes, I learned about his illness from Prof. Michael Kim at Yonsei University. And I met Prof. Song Jun ho (Chonbuk University) several times in 1997 and 1998, who co-researched with Prof. Wagner.

A: Yes, He was working with Song Jun Ho and Korean *bangmok* was their main source. They also knew a lot about *jokbo*. Wagner was my *seonsaengnim*. Henderson was a comrade, on the same side of every issue as I was. I think his book is very interesting. Wagner had no use for that book at all. He had nothing but criticism for that book. Henderson did get carried away sometimes. His attempt to apply the vortex model to all of Korean history was too much. But parts of the book, especially on the period between 1945 and 1950, are really

interesting.

Palais was Wagner's student. He got interested in Korea, as Wagner did, by going there in the army. Palais was a very interesting character. He was from Brookline, Massachusetts. He liked to smoke cigars. He was a small fellow. He sounded like a working class person from South Boston or something like that. But he was obviously extremely smart. It is very sad that Wagner did not live a very long life. And Gregory was only 63 when he died and that's less than what I am now. Palais was only about 73 or so when he died.

Q: What do you think is the most significant change in the Korean studies program at Harvard and other universities compared to other Asian studies?

A: Well, when I first arrived at Harvard, the only person who taught anything about Korea was Wagner. Korean studies at Harvard has developed tremendously. With the addition of Eckert, McCann and Kim Sun Joo (김선주), I think we went from pretty much an undeveloped field to a developed field, although there is still more to be done. Without Wagner the intellectual side of the thing wouldn't have happened in the same way. In the rest of the country there's also been tremendous change. The Peace Corps played an important role, and in fact it was much more than that. Different places have developed their Korean studies programs, like the University of Washington, UCLA, and Hawaii. For a long time, Hawaii had the biggest group of faculty members. UCLA is almost as big now.

Q: Dr. Shultz was a member of the Peace Corps, whereas Dr. Duncan had a similar experience as Dr. Wagner and Dr. Palais. Both are playing a crucial role in encouraging Korean studies in the States, aren't they?

A: You can't compare the contributions of the Peace Corps and the U.S. Army. The Army has sent more than a million men (almost all men) to Korea over 60 years. At most one or two hundred (I'm being generous to the Army) have become seriously interested in Korea. In the case of the Peace Corps at least 100 became seriously interested and some of them were women, such as the recently appointed ambassador Kathleen Stephens. I haven't given precise numbers because I didn't anticipate this question.

Shultz was a Peace Corps volunteer. He left Korea early, because of some kind of intestinal problem. He got the lead on everyone else because he became sick and had to leave Korea. He started studying right away. He is a good fellow. I think that Korean studies have advanced tremendously. The funding from the Korea Foundation has been extremely important. But at the same time, of course, Korean studies has not yet caught up with Chinese and Japanese studies. They've been developing since the 1930s and I think actually World War II gave them some impetus, as the need for the Chinese language and Japanese language skills were very obvious and high. So programs were getting started. I think both Wagner and Henderson studied Japanese at Harvard before they went into the army. I think they didn't enter the army until the very end of the war. At that point, there was no perception of a need for Korean knowledge and Korean language skills. You have a book like Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, which was written during the war, for defense related reasons. It is nevertheless a great book. There was no perception that such a thing was needed in the Korean case at that time. Most people didn't think of Korea at all. If you go down to the Christian Science Monitor [in Boston], they have a room which they call the Maparium. It is like a globe of the earth except that you are inside. There's the U.S. over there, China there, there's Korea under the Japanese with its name "Chosen." It is colored the same color as Japan. This thing was built in the 1930s. I think some Koreans want that part torn out, but on the other hand as a historian, it is a historically interesting object. I think there should be a sign on that, of course, but if you're going to tear out Korea, we have to take out all of Africa. You understand people might want to tear those out too but it does not make a lot of sense.

Contribution of the Harvard-Yenching Scholarship

Q: What is your evaluation of the Harvard-Yenching Institute regarding visiting scholars and fellows from East Asian countries? What do you think the most crucial effects of the program are?

A: The program has been extremely valuable, I believe. It has promoted the study of humanities in particular and social sciences in all of the countries where it has been active. I think the impact has been very great in Korea and in China. It's been very great in Taiwan too, although it is now diminished in comparison

to the past. In Japan it is also diminished compared to the past. I think it has had a tremendous impact on Vietnam. Not long ago, if you went to Vietnam and met the president of Hanoi University or Ho Chi Minh City University, all were trained in places like Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany. Those people are retiring and we are getting American-trained people. One of them is a Harvard-Yenching scholar. His name is Vo Van Sen, and he was here in 1992, I think. He has just been appointed as the President of the University of Humanities and Social Sciences in Ho Chi Minh. The Russians probably have a little better grip in the North though.

I am very proud of what the Institute has accomplished. The main purpose of the program is to produce academic work in the fields of humanities and social sciences and thereby help universities to strengthen themselves. When you look at Seoul National University, you see all the people who have Harvard-Yenching Institute connections. Sometimes we have missed somebody we should've picked and sometimes we took someone who we shouldn't have selected; but comparing it with any large program, overall its selection has been very successful. Another thing that it has done is that it has brought together scholars from different countries and created a lot of collegial relationships. I think that has done a world of good. People are having many more meetings now in Asia. For example, when they have a meeting in China, they invite people from Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. When I first started at the Harvard-Yenching Institute, there was no cooperation to speak of, in part, of course, because China had just started to get into the picture. It quickly developed afterwards.

Q: What are the Institute's criteria when you interview and what's your own personal criteria in picking visiting fellows and visiting scholars?

A: Well, this is always a difficult question. The way I think of it is that the selection program is not a scientific process. It is an artistic process and you have to make a sort of aesthetic judgment. Of course I don't mean how somebody looks, but how they seem to fit, how they will get along with others, and how they stimulate each other and others at Harvard. Every year somebody who made it one year wouldn't make it the next year. One year for example, we took four people doing Ming economic history: one from China, one from Korea, one from Taiwan, and one from Japan. It worked beautifully. Once we had a person from China and a person from Korea doing the history of science in East Asia.

Part of the process for the interviewer and selection committee is to try to determine what kind of scholar the person is, are they really good. Sometimes you see people write a research proposal that doesn't ask a question or that just shows muddle-headedness. So the research proposal and the ability of the person to explain and comment are extremely important. Also, the apparent familiarity with the literature in the field is important. Once upon a time it was common when a person said he/she wanted to come to Harvard to do something and you asked "Is there anyone at Harvard who works on that" they'd sometimes answer "I don't know." That did not help a candidate's chances. There is no excuse now with the internet. If somebody doesn't know who at Harvard has shared interests that strongly undermines his/her chances. Finally on this point I want to stress that, although the interviewer has influence, it is the Selection Committee which makes the choice.

Q: I would also like to ask your opinion on Korean scholars not only those who are supported by the Harvard-Yenching Institute but also whom you met at Harvard and in Seoul. Are there any significant changes in the last thirty years?

A: Well, yes. I think the general levels of scholarship have been rising. It has a direct relationship with prosperity. When I first started teaching in Korea, most of my friends and colleagues were working two or three jobs. They'd come to their *gyomusil* or *gyosusil* and open their bags and get ready to go to class, and then go to another job at another university afterwards. I think that is not helpful to good scholarship and I think this problem has diminished a lot. Most people who are in academia now can survive with one job. A lot more people have studied abroad. Libraries are better. Internet is a great source of information. Many different things add up to the much improved situation, but perhaps adequate time to study is the most important.

Q: Do you have any special plans in the near future?

A: Well, of course I am looking forward to teaching at Hanyang University again and I'd like to keep doing that sort of thing for a few years, as long as I can. I am also trying to write a book in which I will spell out my observations of Korea, a very personalized history. I keep trying to get ahead with that but my ailing mother gets first consideration. I do have an affiliation with the Kim Dae Jung Library as a Peace Fellow. I have had that honor since last spring and they

are encouraging me to write the book. It would be nice to finish it while my mother is alive. My mother is not going to read it, although it'd be nice for her to know that it got done.

Q: Thank you very much for your time and interview. Your interview is very helpful to understand not only your own experience related to Korea, but changes in the Korean studies both in the U.S. and Korea. Many scholars as well as I appreciate your efforts to encourage and improve relationship among scholars in the U.S. and Korea. I am looking forward reading your book in the near future. Many thanks again.