Characterizing 60 years of continuous operations of any organization is an ambitious task. Attempting to do so in a nation that has witnessed fundamental and dynamic change is even more challenging. The Asia Foundation is unique among foreign private organizations in Korea in that it has maintained a presence here for more than 60 years, and, throughout, has responded to the tumultuous and vibrant times by adapting to Korea’s own transformation. The achievement of this balance, adapting to changing needs and assisting in the preservation of Korean identity while simultaneously responding to regional and global trends, has made The Asia Foundation’s work in Korea singular.

David Steinberg, Korea Representative
1963-68, 1994-98
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Foreword to the 50th Anniversary History

Mr. Park Tae-jin

This humble publication is the brainchild of several people within The Asia Foundation, including, first, the late Cho Tong-jae, our former senior program consultant, who started to write the history of the Korea Office in the late 1980s. Among others, Bill Fuller, former president of the Foundation, while visiting Korea some years ago, discreetly hinted to me that I should try to continue to write the history that Cho initiated. I hesitated to give him an affirmative response immediately. Despite my interest, I simply had no confidence in undertaking the assignment. In 2001, just a year after he was assigned to the Korea Office as Foundation representative, Scott Snyder nudged me to write a sort of oral history. Again, I indicated to him that I was not sure I could do it.

Then, at a Korea Office staff retreat held at Chindong-ri, Kangwon province, in May 2002, Scott openly urged me to finish the unofficial history of The Asia Foundation in Korea, coinciding with the upcoming 50th anniversary of the Korea Office in October 2003. I reluctantly agreed, but with one condition: I would undertake the task if someone else would edit my draft. I insisted on this because I had had no experience in this type of work. I believed my writing skill was not up to standard, and it seemed to me vague as to how I should tackle the task. I anticipated the results of my writing to be in the form of a substandard, amateurish draft.

But Foundation support for the history book continued. David Steinberg, a former Korea Office Representative, encouraged me to take on the task when he visited Seoul in the summer of 2002, and then David Kim, then director of the 50th Anniversary Program in the San Francisco Office, sent me a note encouraging this undertaking. Barnett Baron, executive vice president of the Foundation, and Tom Flynn, vice president for external relations, were also

*Mr. Park Tae-jin, coauthor of this book, worked for The Asia Foundation for more than five decades. He first joined the Korea Office staff in 1955, and over the years held various positions, including accountant, office manager, and program officer. Mr. Park studied political science at the Chungbi College (now known as Konkuk University) and business administration at Korea University. This Forward to the original 50th anniversary version of the book was left as is for the purpose of keeping a record of the origins of the book in Mr. Park's own words.
keenly concerned with the need of a Korea Office history. I must confess that I still felt inadequately suited to the task.

I understood the rationale behind the insistence that I should write the history book expressed by all these people. It was simple. As I had been with the Foundation in Korea for some 44 years, I was regarded as a living memory or a living history, and before my full retirement, some of the historical achievements of the Foundation needed to be recorded in the form of a summary publication.

Of his own volition, back in the late 1980s, Cho Tong-jae, a former senior program consultant of the Korea Office, superbly wrote the history of the early periods of The Asia Foundation in Korea from the 1950s through the 1960s. Unfortunately, however, his health began to deteriorate in early 1990, and he passed away in June the following year.

Now my task was twofold. First, update where Mr. Cho left off. Second, continue the succeeding history for some thirty years, covering the 1970s through the early 2000s. I judged that some Foundation programs described by Mr. Cho needed to be updated with modifications where necessary, and this was relatively agreeable, as I had been monitoring these programs with interest. These included Foundation support for the Books for Asia program, the Foreign Service Institute (current IFANS — Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security), the Nieman Fellowship program, the Congressional Fellowship program and the Asiatic Research Center. I also took the liberty to edit some of Mr. Cho’s narratives on past Foundation representatives of the Korea Office, which seemed too personal, and thus unsuitable for a formal record of the office history.

I had no formal knowledge of structural design, format, or layout of my work, nor any imagination of what it would be like when it was finished, not to mention the question of quality and readability. But I launched into my struggle anyway.

Although I enlisted my memory where I could, I manually dug out an enormous quantity of documentary materials, stored in office files, during the course of my research and writing about past Foundation activities. I accessed some 1,500 individual grant files, 26 volumes of grant registration record holders, and 34 volumes of President’s Review, The Asia Foundation’s annual report, all of which were packed away in boxes stored in the office’s attic and basement garage. Some photographs related to Korea Office program and grant activities that had been archived in the San Francisco home office (the Foundation’s headquarters) were retrieved for the purposes of this publication.
The most difficult part of my work was to judge which of the few thousand programs of the past decades should be selected and featured in the history. Once selected, relevant grant files and records were thoroughly studied for accuracy in terms of the time of grant activities and the people involved. The representative’s evaluative comments on particular programs were also reviewed to shed light on the value and importance of the programs to Korea and its people. The grants and programs that helped strengthen Korea’s institutions were prioritized in the selection, followed by those benefiting individual grantee organizations. Institutional grantees included Seoul National University, the Ministry of Court Administration, and the National Assembly Secretariat. Organizational grantees that, for example, played a role in enhancing women’s political participation, one of the Foundation’s many core objectives, included the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations, the Korean League of Women Voters, and the Center for Korean Women and Politics.

I admit there are a good number of programs that are not adequately mentioned in the course of this publication. It is impossible to list all the grants we have made or programs undertaken. We must satisfy ourselves with providing some examples that are emblematic of the kinds of work that we do at The Asia Foundation here in Korea.

With my manuscript complete, the most important and critical part of the publication process was the question of editing. Meredith Sumpter, a Korea Office consultant, happily agreed to undertake the editing work. The arrangement was a success, in that she and I were able to work together closely and effectively on many aspects of the editing process. I sincerely appreciate her hard work, without which this publication would never have been possible.

I want to thank Lee Kyung-sook for her verification of certain historical and chronological facts, Chun S. Moon for his contribution of the DPRK activity section, Ban Seon-yong for her write-up of the public policy forum series, and Nicola Burt of the home office for her maintenance of the photo archives from which a number of valuable old pictures were borrowed. Scott Snyder’s occasional comments and advice were invaluable.

Park Tae-jin
Seoul
November 2004
Editor’s Note to the 50th Anniversary History

The book is organized chronologically, each chapter covering a period that typically spans about ten years of Asia Foundation activity in Korea. Within each chapter, program activities are organized first by major themes of Foundation support during that period, then by chronology. In cases where support for a program or an organization exceeded the set time period of a chapter, we chose to cover the full extent of Foundation support within that chapter nonetheless, to give the reader an undivided appreciation of program activities.

Indication of the monetary value of each program listed in this publication was avoided, unless it was deemed necessary for public knowledge, with the exception of a few limited cases of institutional support.

As for the romanization of the Korean language, geographic names and names of places are spelled according to the McCune-Reischauer system. For historical accuracy, names of partnering institutions such as universities are spelled as they were at the time they received Foundation assistance. Where institution names have changed over time, we try to indicate their present name. With Korean names, the surnames come first, followed by given names with hyphenation.

Throughout the book I refer to The Asia Foundation in Korea as The Asia Foundation, The Asia Foundation Korea Office, the Foundation, and the Korea Office: all are names that describe the same entity. The headquarters of The Asia Foundation are based in San Francisco, California.

Despite our best efforts to flawlessly document 50 years of Korea Office history, we apologize in advance for any errors, however slight, that might have escaped my red pen. It has been a special honor to work with Mr. Park Tae-jin on this book. I would like to give particular thanks to Lee Hyun-jung and especially Chun S. Moon for their most helpful assistance.

Meredith Sumpter
Seoul
January 2005
Introduction
The Asia Foundation in Korea: A Retrospective

Dr. David Steinberg

Characterizing 60 years of continuous operations of any organization is an ambitious task. Attempting to do so in a nation that has witnessed fundamental and dynamic change is even more challenging. The Asia Foundation is unique among foreign private organizations in Korea in that it has maintained a presence here for more than 60 years, and, throughout, has responded to the tumultuous and vibrant times by adapting to Korea’s own transformation. The achievement of this balance, adapting to changing needs and assisting in the preservation of Korean identity while simultaneously responding to regional and global trends, has made The Asia Foundation’s work in Korea singular.

With a tradition of respect for the nation’s people, history, and culture, the Foundation continues to pursue its goals for development in Asia in partnership with Korean institutions and organizations.

Over the past half century, the Republic of Korea has sought change proactively at a rate that is virtually unequaled in the modern world. At the same time, Koreans have worked hard to retain their unique culture and identity. The country has publicly and privately, internally and externally, trained one of the world’s most impressive cadres of educated, internationalized elites. It has built its business, research, and administrative institutions into world-class, competitive organizations. It also has attempted to preserve its distinctive heritage and contribution to world culture. These tasks have been rendered more difficult by the pressures of modernization and by a multitude of concerns including Korea’s interest in overcoming a colonial past, the literal division of a homogenous people followed by military occupation, palpable foreign threats, and globalization’s rapid advent.

*David I. Steinberg is distinguished professor and director of Asian studies at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He was The Asia Foundation representative in Korea from 1963 to 1968, and again from 1994 to 1998. This introduction is a revised version of Dr. Steinberg’s original retrospective, written for the 50th anniversary of The Asia Foundation Korea office.
The process of change in Korea has been intense and demanding. Through this arduous process, The Asia Foundation has stayed the course where other international organizations abandoned the country either because of its relative wealth or because of political repression during the Republic of Korea’s early days of military dictatorship. Even in those dark days, the Foundation acknowledged Korea’s vast potential and made every effort to support Korean aspirations for economic, intellectual, and institutional development and growth. Today, the Foundation believes Korea needs to have an active leadership role in Asia, and seeks to foster that role through nongovernmental channels as well as official bilateral and multilateral contacts.

The distinctive character of The Asia Foundation’s work is evident not only in the organization’s programming, but also in its history of responsiveness to Korean needs as they have been articulated by Koreans themselves. While some organizations are intent on spreading their own cultural thinking, The Asia Foundation has supported Koreans’ own initiatives. These historical efforts include assisting Korea’s nascent film industry, supporting the media by importing paper for the nation’s influential journals, providing supplies for artists, and supporting the country’s first modern art gallery: the Bando Art Gallery. In each and every one of these programs, the Foundation’s assistance supported the leadership, administration, and concepts of Koreans who envisaged change and growth for their society.

When Korea was economically and politically beleaguered, the Foundation sought to keep Korean society vibrant and to provide valuable and practical exposure to the world through research grants at universities, overseas training, and international conferences. At a time when foreign textbooks were rare and foreign exchange to purchase them even rarer, the Foundation imported hundreds of thousands of volumes for universities, faculties, and educational institutions. It helped launch research centers and unique institutions to foster research into all aspects of Korean society. In keeping with a focus on person-to-person exchange as the basis for solid relationships, the Foundation has made a consistent effort to personalize its assistance, extending opportunities wherever possible to individuals in recognition of achievement. This approach has worked, and, in the process, established enduring friendships, some of which have spanned nearly five decades.

Without hesitation, the Foundation has emphasized the building of institutions and organizations that are responsive to Korean constituencies and the requisites of a changing society. The Foundation helped institutions grow
by assisting their pilot programs to serve as models for future development elsewhere in Korean society. Examples include support for the Graduate School of Law at Seoul National University and the Foreign Service Training Institute (now the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security), support for the administration of courts, assistance for the first, pioneering efforts at urban planning, and programs promoting local autonomy and provincial universities.

The Foundation also has promoted efforts to deepen Korean democracy by funding various nongovernmental citizens’ organizations, providing in the process multiple avenues of citizen participation. Each recipient organization is expected to encourage others to be heard, even when the government shows little need or obligation to listen. From its earliest days in Korea, the Foundation has demonstrated its belief that these organizations — whether they are focused on the environment, women’s activities, civil rights, local needs, consumer protection, transparency, or anticorruption — represent a vital force that is necessary for the strengthening of society.

As Korea’s economy matured and its foundations and corporate philanthropic programs developed, the Foundation shifted from being an innovative grant-giving institution to facilitating policy dialogue about issues critical to the country’s overall development. Foundation programming sought to create venues where individuals and groups representing Korean as well as international interests could discuss issues facing the country and the region. The Foundation began to move from being an organization that responded to Korean interests chiefly through programs administered by Korean host institutions, to one that promoted dialogue on major issues through partnership with local entities.

The Asia Foundation has been consistently responsive in its efforts to assist Koreans and their institutions in areas where government typically could not or would not go for financial, social, or political reasons. As a foreign private organization, the Foundation has been able to offer assistance that otherwise might have been construed as inappropriate or even impossible for a foreign governmental entity. Particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, programs — even though they were proposed by Koreans — often exceeded the government’s financial resources. Other programs, such as assistance to the media, were not considered appropriate recipients of state support at that time, since government involvement actually would have undercut the building of pluralism that is so important for democratic growth. The Foundation’s assistance also helped deter internal critics of reform-oriented programs that were considered threatening by an authoritarian government.
Throughout its involvement in Korea, The Asia Foundation has had modest resources to expend compared with the resources of governments — or, more recently, of Korea’s own conglomerates. Still, the Foundation’s impact has been considerable. A major factor in its success has been the range of the Foundation’s support, with programming addressing education, culture, democratic reform, public policy, and international relations. Most important has been the Foundation’s emphasis on partnering with Koreans and Korean institutions to both develop local solutions and build indigenous capacity for long-term impact. This pattern of shared concern and respect continues to distinguish the Foundation and its Korean programs and relationships.

On a personal note, I have been struck by the Foundation’s vision of a future built on the commitments, associations, and friendships of the past five decades. The traits that have proven important for such a long association with Korea and with Koreans — from rural villages to the ultimate seat of power — are mutual respect, empathy, consideration, and commitment. If The Asia Foundation can look back with pride on its contributions to Korea — and I believe that it can — it is because the Foundation truly has assisted and provided service to the Korean people as they shouldered the burden, progressed by means of their own high motivation, and sought reform and progress based on their own initiatives.

David Steinberg
Washington, D.C.
April 2017
Chapter ONE

1954–1959
Engaging the Nation
Korea experienced one of the twentieth century’s most destructive wars from 1950 to 1953, which brought destitution to the country’s entire population in every aspect of their lives. The ravages of war forced the Korean people to start anew, with few possessions, a fragile government, and nearly nonexistent institutional support.

Coinciding with the Korean War period, a group of people in California established the Committee for Free Asia (CFA) in 1951 as a private, nonprofit organization incorporated under the laws of the State of California. In 1954, the Committee’s name was changed to The Asia Foundation to indicate a more permanent status and a broader development role for the organization. The founding trustees were a group of prominent American civic, business, and academic leaders who, from their knowledge of Asia, became convinced that a private foundation, based on the ideals of mutual help and cooperation, could make a significant contribution to development in Asia and to Asian-American understanding and friendship.

The Korea Office of The Asia Foundation was among the first field offices to be established, and in this early stage the Korea Office engaged in grant-giving activities and programs to meet the immediate needs of the country as it recovered from war.

The First Program in Korea

In the summer of 1951, when Korea was still in the midst of one of history’s most sanguinary wars, a shipload of newsprint was unloaded at the port of Pusan, the country’s southernmost city. The newsprint was a gift from The Asia Foundation, then still known as the Committee for Free Asia, in response to an appeal by Dr. George Paik (Paik Nak-joon), minister of education from the Ministry’s wartime headquarters in Pusan. The supply of newsprint, a scarce resource at the time, was used to publish badly needed primary and secondary school textbooks for Korean children.

The grant of newsprint marked the first Foundation program in Korea, and was illustrative of the Foundation’s interest in developing education as a basis for Korea’s postwar recovery. The Asia Foundation’s support for education led to its reputation as an “educational philanthropist,” a reputation that remains firmly entrenched among Korean intellectuals today. Dr. Paik, the first Foundation
grantee in Korea, was subsequently named a member of the Board of Directors of the Korean Research Center, a Foundation-supported program from 1956 to 1962, and remained a close associate and staunch supporter of the Foundation.

Korea’s chaotic wartime conditions in the early 1950s precluded the establishment of a field office, so the newsprint grant had to be negotiated personally between Dr. Paik and James Stewart, then the CFA representative for Korea. The two had been well acquainted with each other since before the war, when Paik was on the faculty of Yonsei University and Stewart was the director of the United States Information Service in Seoul. Until the establishment of a field office in Korea in 1954, Stewart directed the newsprint shipment and other programs in Korea from the CFA’s operational base in Tokyo.

Until 1954, the more regularized Korea programs and administration were handled by CFA staff members Bob Shields and Noel Bush, both liaising from the Tokyo Office. Because of the rigid restrictions imposed on the entry of noncombatant personnel during war, Shields made his trips from Tokyo to Pusan with “press corps” status, clad in a khaki war-correspondent uniform. On each trip, Shields would bring with him a wad of “greenbacks” to cover program and logistics costs. The greenbacks were sold on the black market as needed, because the Korean currency was then being constantly devalued in the face of soaring inflation. Shields and Bush left the Foundation in the late 1950s to join the editorial staff of Reader’s Digest.
The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation made preparations for opening a field office in Korea when normalcy finally returned to the country with the end of war in 1953. Harold Noble, then on the executive staff at the Foundation’s home office in San Francisco, traveled to Korea in early 1954, bringing with him news of the Foundation’s decision to open an office in Seoul, and of the appointment of Philip Rowe as the first Korea Office representative. Harold had strong ties to the country, having been born to a missionary family in Korea and having worked for the political section of the U.S. Embassy in Seoul. He was well known locally and within diplomatic circles for his role in the U.S.-North Korea talks during the years prior to the outbreak of the Korean War.

Philip Rowe, who served as representative in Korea from 1954 to 1955, was similarly an “old Korea hand.” During the years before the Korean War, he worked at the United States Information Service in Seoul, where he was one of Jim Stewart’s colleagues. Phil brought the news that the Foundation had decided to no longer call itself the Committee for Free Asia for the reason that “the right to, and the responsibilities for, a free Asia rest with Asia itself rather than with any other non-Asian institutions.” The Korea Office, under Rowe’s stewardship, spent much of 1954 laying the groundwork for more regularized field operations.

The Asia Foundation as Foreign Voluntary Agency

War reduced most of the country to shambles and left many Koreans destitute. Vast and critical needs arose, necessitating outside help in all fields and in all sectors of society. The resulting proliferation of foreign and international aid and relief organizations, all offering charitable and humanitarian services, led to the Korean government regulation requiring all aid agencies to register themselves with the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (MOHSA).

The Asia Foundation was among those categorized as a relief agency, and as such was granted the status of a foreign voluntary agency “lawfully registered with the MOHSA.” This relationship between the Foundation and the MOHSA has continued to date, a link that officially sanctions the Foundation’s operations in Korea and requires that the Korea Office submit annual reports of activities and achievements to the Ministry’s Social Affairs Bureau.
From the very outset of its field-based operation in Korea, The Asia Foundation distinguished itself from other international voluntary agencies by applying a programming strategy that directed its largesse mainly to intellectuals as the driving force of Korean society, to those involved in education, culture, and communication then representing the areas of primary concern to the Foundation in Korea.

PROGRAMS 1954–1959

EDUCATION

War in Korea brought with it the disruption of the national school system and extensive damage or destruction of school buildings, infrastructure, and learning materials such as paper, textbooks, writing utensils, sporting apparatuses, and art supplies. In addition to school-age children seeking to continue their studies, university students and academic scholars in the postwar period also were devoid of the necessary resources and equipment with which to carry out their scholarly work. The Asia Foundation became a ready partner in the country’s efforts to rebuild its education facilities.

Yoon Suk-jung and Schoolchildren Programs

Until a stable operational base was established in Korea with the first field office in 1954, programming tended to be haphazard. Yet, in addition to the newsprint grant, two noteworthy programs were supported from 1952 to 1954 that also addressed the education needs of schoolchildren.

Both programs involved Yoon Suk-jung as “program principal,” the primary Korean partner in a Foundation-sponsored activity. Mr. Yoon was then and still is recognized as the “grand old man” of children’s literature, with a number of the most famous Korean nursery rhymes and children’s songs to his credit. His literary achievements earned him various awards, including the coveted Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature, and Creative Communication Arts in 1978.
The first program was a composition contest for schoolchildren on the subjects of “the war as experienced by me” and “roofless schools,” the latter an actual reality for many schoolteachers and children at the time. With the contest carried out at the height of war, the youngsters’ guileless, heart-rending writings about their sufferings and wartime experiences reminded readers of the colossal trauma inflicted by the fratricidal war.

The second program provided grants for the development and publication of a Classroom Library book series by Yoon Suk-jung. War not only deprived Korean schools of basic materials and textbooks, but also made nontextbook reading materials for schoolchildren scarce. The Classroom Library series was important because it was the only source of highly recommended literary works available for schoolchildren at the time.

**American Coaches**

Sports were then, as now, very popular among Koreans as a means of recreation and entertainment. Yet, war decimated the country’s resources for sports. A prolonged suspension of sports activities, together with the war loss of a large number of gifted leaders and athletes, meant that organized sport in Korea hardly existed when the war ended.

It was for this reason that Koreans responded enthusiastically to The Asia Foundation’s offer to help reestablish a Korean sports program. Foundation support consisted of the provision of two outstanding American coaches to help train the country’s athletes: John Bunn, head basketball coach at Springfield College, Massachusetts, and Flint Hanner, track and field coach at Fresno State University, California. Discussions for bringing these experts to Korea started in 1955, but their actual tour in Korea materialized in the summer of 1956.

Both did a fantastic job of coaching the Korean national teams in basketball and track and field, in addition to conducting a series of clinics for coaches, physical education teachers, and other leaders in the sports field. John Bunn in particular is still revered as the “father of Korea’s modern basketball.” Korean teams, particularly the female squads, displaying the “Bunn brand” of basketball, characterized by fast breaks and tight, man-to-man defense, have made remarkable performances at major international competitions, including winning a silver medal in women’s basketball at the 1984 summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.
Korean Research Center

Asia Foundation support of the Korean Research Center (KRC) is perhaps one of the most successful Korea Office programs to date. During the war, many universities’ buildings were reduced to rubble, and their libraries, when left intact, were stripped of furniture and books. It was under these circumstances that a proposal was made for the creation of a central institute to jointly serve the needs of professors and graduate students in the social sciences at various universities, to give them space for research and a collection of basic reference materials such as dictionaries and encyclopedias.

To address these needs, the Korean Research Center was inaugurated with Asia Foundation support in September 1956. Almost immediately, it became a heavily utilized resource in the academic community. The Center’s improvised library, with its scanty reference materials, was inundated with scholars and graduate students vying for the handful of available seats in the reading room. In fact, the Center was so popular that, in recognition of the competition among visitors to make use of the Center’s library, it was decided that the KRC’s board of directors should consist of the presidents of the four leading universities in the country — Seoul National, Korea, Ewha Womans, and Yonsei — to ensure that the resources were shared in a fair and equitable manner.
Dong Chon, the director of the Korean Research Center (1957–61), later became head of the History Department at Seoul National University. Lee Han-yong, KRC’s chief librarian (1957–63), pursued advanced study in library science and in later years was director of the Central Library at Yonsei University. Chief editor of the KRC Journal of Social Science and Humanities (1958–63), Youn Jung-suk pursued doctoral work in the United States and returned to Korea to join the Department of Political Science at Chung-Ang University; he is now a professor emeritus of that university.

The first to serve on the Korean Research Center Board of Directors were Yoon Il-sun of Seoul National University, Yu Chin-o of Korea University, Helen Kim (Kim Hwal-ran) of Ewha Womans University, and George Paik (Paik Nak-joon) of Yonsei University, all considerable figures in Korea’s education system. The addition of a fifth Board member, Yu Chang-soon, then governor of the Bank of Korea and later prime minister (1982–83), was a step taken to make the KRC financially viable.

Initially, the KRC was housed on the third floor of The Asia Foundation’s office building at Kwanhoon-dong, Chongno-ku. A steady increase in both the number of visitors and the resources of the KRC library necessitated a larger space to accommodate the program. Serendipitously, a three-story building in Seoul’s West Gate area was being vacated, and Board member Yu Chang-soon arranged with the government for the property to be purchased by The Asia Foundation for donation to the KRC at a bargain price of $60,000.

The KRC moved to its newly acquired building in 1958 and opened a much-enlarged reading section in its library. South Korea President Syngman Rhee visited the KRC in its new building the day after the opening ceremony and praised the program by commenting, “a job well done!” As well as acquiring more space, the KRC’s library holdings were augmented by a Royal Asiatic Society gift of a collection of English language books on Korea, still reputed to be the most comprehensive collection of its kind in the country.

With the Korean Research Center better equipped as a central institute for social science research, Asia Foundation support for the KRC began to stretch beyond institutional and library development to include support for local research and publications in social sciences in general and Korean studies in
The Korean Research Center is visited by President Syngman Rhee (center) at its opening ceremony on September 22, 1958. The Center’s director, Dong Chun (right) accompanies the President.
particular. Foundation assistance enabled the KRC to launch a “Korean Studies Series” program through grants to selected scholars for research in the field. It also led to the KRC publication of an annual English-language journal entitled *Social Science Research*, which contained English translations of selected monographs by Korean social scientists.

One of the first books to be published in the Korean Studies Series was *A Study of the Divorce System in Korea* by Dr. Lee Tai-young. She was the first woman in Korea to pass the national bar examination, in 1952, a pioneer of the legal aid movement in Korea, and director of the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations (KLACFR) from its founding in 1956. Madame Lee’s research on divorce in Korea, and the subsequent publication of her findings by the KRC’s Korean Studies Series in 1969, earned her a doctoral degree in jurisprudence at Seoul National University.

Similarly acclaimed KRC publications among scholarly circles included *A Study of the Traditional Music of Korea*, by Dr. Lee Hye-ku, and *A Sociological Study of Korea’s Agricultural Regions*, by Dr. Lee Man-gap. These works are acknowledged as classics in their respective fields. Lee Hye-ku was later appointed dean of the College of Music, Seoul National University, and often offered valuable counsel to the Korea Office in cultural programming. Lee Man-gap became a close friend of the Korea Office, participating in a number of Foundation-sponsored programs in his capacities as dean of academic affairs and the graduate school and director of the Central Library at Seoul National University.

Aside from providing crucially needed support to scholars, the KRC was an important training ground for a number of young people pursuing academic careers in librarianship and other disciplines in the social sciences. The Asia Foundation’s support of the Center provides a clear example of the Foundation working with local partners to develop the tools for progress and development in Korea.

The Korean Research Center soon became a self-supporting entity, with income from rentals to other occupants of the building, sales of publications, subscription fees, and contributions from the members of the board of directors, among other sources. Korea Office support for the KRC program was thus phased out in 1961.
English Teachers

Korea’s close alliance with the United States following the end of the Second World War and the Korean War, and the country’s ambitious plans to expand its international diplomatic and trade ties, made development of English-language proficiency among the general population one of Korea’s most acute needs.

The Asia Foundation responded to this need with the first-ever English-language instruction program in Korea, placing English teachers at selected universities in Korea. Six young men, all graduates of leading universities in the United States, were handpicked for the program and arrived in Korea to begin teaching in 1959. This was a forerunner of many later English-language instruction programs through the Peace Corps, the Fulbright Commission, and various missionary organizations.

In particular, this first group of English teachers was remarkable for their dedication to their assigned missions and their subsequent development of a genuine interest in the Korean people and culture. Except for one whose whereabouts is unknown, the English teachers have all become experts in various aspects of Korean studies, with a few still residing in Korea. The team of Asia Foundation English teachers and the universities at which they taught consisted of:

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Bradner</td>
<td>Kyungpook National University</td>
<td>Taegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Henthorn</td>
<td>Pusan National University</td>
<td>Pusan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frederick Dustin</td>
<td>Yonsei University</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
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<td>John Lewis</td>
<td>Seoul National University</td>
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<td>John Harvey</td>
<td>Korea University</td>
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<td>George Buffington</td>
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Of the six English teachers, the Korea Office would like to recognize a few notables. Having majored in political science at Harvard University, Stephen Bradner took an unusually strong interest in Korea’s political development, which at the time of his tour in Korea was fast reaching a crisis of significant proportions. He was often at the scene of student demonstrations, and was incensed by brutalities and harsh measures to which the police resorted in suppressing student antigovernment demonstrations.
In sympathy with the students and the large majority of the population out to overthrow the autocratic regime of President Syngman Rhee, Steve wrote a congressman from his home state of Rhode Island, protesting U.S. government inaction in the face of what he described as a deplorable political situation in South Korea. Enclosed with his letters were copies of photographs Steve had taken showing student demonstrators being assaulted by agents of the government’s antiriot police.

In response, the congressman wrote to the Korean government urging prompt remedial steps. The Korean government, angered by this unwelcome piece of advice, set out to investigate who in Korea was responsible for informing the U.S. legislator of sensitive political developments in the country. The government soon traced the source of information to Steve and discovered that he was in Korea under sponsorship of The Asia Foundation.

Foundation Representative Jack James was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be asked to tell Steve to refrain from “interfering with domestic political affairs.” This was one of the few times in which the Foundation found itself in the Korean government’s disfavor. However, within a few short months, President Rhee’s regime was overthrown, after a student uprising on April 19, 1960.
Following completion of his program with the Foundation, Steve returned to Harvard for a master’s degree in political science. He came back to Korea in 1964 to take the job of special advisor to the commander in chief of the United Nations forces in Korea, a position he held continuously for forty years (1964-2004). It can be said that his “Koreanization” was further accentuated in 1970 when he married Park Shin-ja, the legendary captain of the Korean National Women’s Basketball Team that finished second at the Fifth World Basketball Championship for Women in 1967.

**William Henthorn** was placed at Pusan National University. During his time there, Bill improved upon his academic specialization in Korean studies. After completing his English-teaching tour with the Foundation, Bill became one of the leading experts on Korea, heading Korean Studies programs first at the University of Hawaii and later at Princeton University. Bill married a Korean woman, Lee Taesoon, and published a book entitled *A History of Korea* in 1971.

**Frederick Dustin** was first assigned to Yonsei University, but later transferred to Chung-Ang University, both located in Seoul. Like Steve Bradner, Fred’s interest in Korea was strong enough to lure him back to the country after the end of his teaching tour. He returned to Korea in the early 1960s and engaged in a variety of pursuits, including trade, mining, and teaching English. Until the mid-1980s, Fred resided on Cheju Island, where he was a part-time instructor of English at Cheju National University, and advised the provincial government on tourism promotion.

### Student Unions

As a consequence of the April 19, 1960, student uprising, support for student union activities became an important undertaking of The Asia Foundation in Korea. Support, however, was restricted largely to travel grants for selected leaders of Korean student organizations, enabling them to participate in International Student Association (ISA) conferences abroad. These grants aimed to help Korean student union representatives connect with their counterparts from other parts of the world, and to familiarize them with the intrinsic roles and functions of student unions.

Grantees of this program included Kim Dal-choong, a student at Yonsei University and one of the executive officers of the Korean Federation of
Student Unions. Following graduation from Yonsei, Kim pursued advanced study programs in political science in Taiwan, and later in the United States, where he earned a PhD at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. As one of the foremost political scientists in the country, Dr. Kim remains a close Foundation associate, having been involved in a number of important programs under Foundation auspices.

CULTURE

One important aspect of restoring a war-torn country is the revival of culture in the daily lives of the general population. Whether it is popular culture presented across the cinema screen and in popular music, or national culture on display in museums and art galleries, the cultural expression of a people goes far in building a sense of national identity, solidarity, and cohesion. On a more palpable level, celebrating culture brings a sense of enjoyment and pleasure to people’s lives, something that was very much needed in 1950s Korea.

Korea’s Film Industry

Until the 1960s, support for Korea’s fledgling film industry constituted a significant program aim of The Asia Foundation. Motion pictures, both foreign and domestic, were a favorite form of entertainment for war-weary Koreans. Yet the domestic film industry lacked the equipment and trained personnel to produce professional feature films. War had decimated the country’s already meager resources in these areas.

The Foundation made grants to help meet these needs. From 1954 to 1955, the Korea Office helped to connect Korea’s domestic film industry with its regional counterpart, the Motion Picture Producers Association of Asia (FPA), giving domestic filmmakers more access to modern filmmaking techniques and broadening their international perspectives. In addition, travel grants were made to three Koreans to attend the FPA-sponsored Asian Film Festival held in Singapore in 1955: Kim Kwan-soo, president of the Korean Motion Picture Producers Association; Yoon Bong-chun, chairman of the Motion Picture Directors’ Association; and Lee Sung-chul, chief of the Motion Picture Unit, Ministry of Culture and Information.
The Asia Foundation’s support for Korea-FPA relations ended in 1959, as the industry by then had achieved a considerable degree of viability and independence, the development of which the Korea Office had been happy to encourage.

**Motion Picture Cultural Association**

One highlight of The Asia Foundation’s ongoing support for Korea’s film industry was the provision of an American filmmaking expert from 1955 to 1957. Jonathan Miller, a small-time movie producer in Hollywood, California, arrived in Korea in 1955 to assist in the development of Korea’s film industry. Miller’s advisory role led to the organization and development of the Korean Motion Picture Cultural Association (KMPCA) with a board of directors of prominent figures in the film industry, including producers, directors, scriptwriters, cameramen, and critics.

In the 1950s and well into the 1960s, filmmaking equipment was unobtainable on the open market. The only available filmmaking equipment, the government’s motion picture units within the Ministries of Defense and Public Information, was largely obsolete and unfit for the purposes of commercial feature films.

On the advice of Miller, the Foundation arranged for a set of filmmaking equipment to be shipped from the United States for donation to the KMPCA. Included in the shipment were a Mitchell camera, an automatic film developer, a reduction printer, and lighting fixtures, in addition to such minor but essential accessories as light meters, sensitometers, and densitometers. The KMPCA became custodian and rental agency for the equipment, which was lent to whomever possessed the rental fee and a promising film project. The rental proceeds, placed in a shared fund, went to finance the promotion and upgrading of Korea’s nascent film industry.

Foundation assistance to Korea’s film industry proved instrumental, not only in providing filmmaking expertise, equipment, and supplies, but also in radically improving the quality of Korean films, as can be seen in the production of Wedding Day, a comedy that swept all the major awards at the 1958 Asian Film Festival in Tokyo.

The KMPCA was dissolved in 1965, as the domestic film industry had achieved the status of a viable commercial entity, while its Foundation-supplied equipment was by then much worn out. The KMPCA Board of Directors decided
to sell its assets and use the funds to finance a new nonprofit organization called the Korean Motion Picture Academy, which housed a film library and a collection of materials on motion pictures for Korea’s filmmaking community.

The Korea Office provided a grant to the National Museum of Korea for the purchase of dehumidifying equipment, a camera, and some lighting sets to compile a photographic record of the Museum’s possessions. Grants were subsequently made to provide these supplies, making possible the Museum’s efforts to maintain the preservation of its artifacts until they were moved years later to a new location.

The Asia Foundation supported the efforts of the National Museum of Korea. Curator Kim Che-won (far right) pieces together broken Shilla pottery (1967).

National Museum

The Korean National Museum returned to Seoul following the end of the Korean War, but with the capital reduced to rubble, it was unable to find an edifice fit to house its offices and many artifacts. The items, still in crates and temporarily stored in the basement of the historical Duksoo Palace, one of the few buildings in central Seoul that had survived the war, were exposed to the dangers of theft, damage by mildew, and other harmful effects.

This critical situation prompted the curator of the Museum, Kim Che-won, to approach the Korea Office with a request for the purchase of dehumidifying equipment, a camera, and some lighting sets to compile a photographic record of the National Museum’s possessions. Grants were subsequently made to provide these supplies, making possible the Museum’s efforts to maintain the preservation of its artifacts until they were moved years later to a new location.
Dr. Richard Gard and Korea’s Buddhist Traditions

Still smarting from the devastating effects of war, Korea in the 1950s was rarely visited by foreigners unless they were on government or official business. The Asia Foundation was then, as now, among a handful of private, voluntary agencies with programs aimed at promoting Korea-U.S. relations by sponsoring travel for American experts and specialists from a broad range of fields concerned with Korea’s development.

One of the distinguished American visitors to the country during this unsettled postwar period was Dr. Richard Gard, a renowned scholar of Buddhism at Yale University, who arrived in Korea under Asia Foundation auspices in 1958 for a short-term observation and consultation tour on Korea’s Buddhist tradition.

The “observation” part of Dr. Gard’s program consisted of field trips, in the company of Foundation representative Larry Thompson and program advisor T.J. Cho, to nearly all the important Buddhist temples in the country. The “consultation” part featured a series of lectures on Korea’s Mahayana Buddhism before assorted groups of Korean Buddhist scholars and monks at the Korean Research Center, the Royal Asiatic Society, and a number of other similar academic institutes, in addition to meetings with leaders of the local Buddhist movement.

Dr. Gard’s tour was significant because it stimulated an interest in viewing Buddhism and the country’s Buddhist tradition from a scholarly perspective, while bringing The Asia Foundation into contact with various institutions and leaders in the Buddhist community. Dr. Gard’s program later resulted in Korea Office support for selected programs of the National Buddhist Youth Corps and several research studies at Dongguk University, realized mostly from 1959 to 1960. Dr. Gard made several subsequent trips to Korea after his Foundation-sponsored tour, though under different auspices.

Support for the Arts

With postwar resources as scarce as they were, The Asia Foundation arranged for the provision of art supplies to both Oriental- and Western-style painters and calligraphers in the early 1950s. The supplies were purchased in Japan, and consisted of Chinese-made rice paper (a rarity even before the outbreak of the Korean War), ink bases, pigment, canvas rolls, oil and poster
colors, and other supplies. In addition to established painters, recipients of the art supplies included selected students attending fine art schools. A second delivery of art supplies occurred in 1958, and the Foundation helped organize an exhibit, featuring the works of art supply grantees, in the YMCA building at Sokong-dong. This was the first art exhibit after the war to feature mass participation by almost all the big-name painters in the country.

**Bando Art Gallery**

During Jack James’s years as Korea Office representative, cultural programming continued with unabated interest. One novel program launched with Foundation support was the opening of an art gallery at the Bando Hotel in Seoul. Designed as a joint display center where painters and patrons of fine art could mingle, the Bando became the country’s first modern art gallery. Support for the gallery proved a great success, resulting in a proliferation of art galleries throughout the country in subsequent years.

The Asia Foundation’s support continued for three years until the gallery became fully viable, covering rent for the gallery space leased from the Bando Hotel, salaries for the receptionist-secretaries, and the costs of interior refurbishing. Lee Dai-won, manager of the Bando Art Gallery and
the Foundation’s program principal, was later named president of Hong Ik University, famous for its outstanding programs in fine art. Park Myung-ja started as a receptionist-secretary for the Bando Art Gallery and now owns an art gallery of her own. Ms. Park is today one of the most respected connoisseurs of fine art in the country.

Mask Dancing Development

The Asia Foundation’s Korea Office is credited with a major role in assisting the revival, development, and preservation of Korean mask dancing, one of the most popular genres of the country’s traditional folk art, which had been all but eradicated during Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945.

Though a major focus of programming efforts in the 1950s, Foundation support for the arts continued well into the 1960s. When folk-art scholars discovered a set of Yangdae (Kyonggi province) masks among the “junk” piled up in a corner of the Seoul National University (SNU) museum in the 1960s, a resurgence of interest in native mask dancing occurred. The group of scholars, led by Professor Lee Du-hyun of SNU’s College of Education, set out to produce exact replicas of the original set for preservation purposes, and to find the handful of surviving performers. Lee and his colleagues made similar efforts with the O-Kwangdae mask dancing in Chinju, South Kyongsang province, and the Hahoi mask dancing in Andong, North Kyongsang province.
Korea Office grants supported this effort during its initial phase. The Korean Mask Dancing Association was formed and is now among the country’s oldest and most active cultural professional societies. As of 2003, the Association is still headed by Lee, who was awarded life membership in the prestigious Korean Academy of Art.

**Music Grants**

Aside from the more significant programs in culture, the tenure of Representative Larry Thompson in the late 1950s resulted in a series of small grants in support of activities and individuals in the music field.

One of the best examples of how modest grant support can lead to significant outcomes both for the grantee and for the country is provided by the Korea Office travel grant to **Yoon I-sang**, enabling him to pursue an advanced study program in music composition in West Germany.

When the Foundation received his application for support, Yoon was a rank-and-file music instructor at Kyung Hee University. He came highly recommended, however, by the Korean Composers Association, whose members found in him some extraordinary talent and potential. True to their expectations, Yoon soon succeeded in turning out works that received international acclaim, with his global reputation skyrocketing almost overnight. His frequent lecture tours took him to various parts of the world, even to North Korea. For this reason, Yoon fell out of favor with the South Korean government for a number of years. At one point, he was charged with involvement in anti–South Korea espionage activity and was forcibly brought from West Germany to Seoul by a team of Korean Central Intelligence Agency agents, the so-called “East Berlin Spy Ring” case of 1967. This so angered the West German government that it threatened the South Korean government with a severance of diplomatic relations. Yoon became a naturalized German citizen in 1971.

Yoon was in the headlines again in 1988 when he announced in West Germany that he was “prepared to act as middleman in connection with South Korea’s overture for talks and joint rendition at Panmunjom between the musicians of the two Koreas.” His proposal for this North Korea–South Korea music festival never materialized, and he died in Germany in 1995.

**Rody Hyun (Hyun Jae-myung)** was — and more than four decades after his death remains — widely acknowledged as a pioneer of Western music in
Korea. Hyun was trained in the United States in the 1920s, taught at Yonsei University for a number of years, and later became the dean of the College of Music at Seoul National University (SNU).

The Asia Foundation arranged for music scores purchased in the United States to be donated to Rody Hyun’s programs at the SNU College of Music. At his recommendation, selected recitals by student orchestras and chamber music groups were supported by the Foundation, bringing the Korea Office into contact with leading local music figures including Lim Won-sik, founder of Seoul Art High School; Kim Se-hyung, former dean of the College of Music, Kyung Hee University; and Park Tae-jun, former dean of the College of Music, Yonsei University.

**Travel Grants to a Playwright and a PEN Conference Attendee**

A travel grant to **Yoo Chi-jin**, the country’s foremost playwright, a revered leader of the theater arts, and a member of the screening committee for the Freedom Literature Awards, assisted him in undertaking a professional observation tour of drama programs and theaters in Europe and the United States. Upon his return, Yoo built a drama center in the foothills of Seoul’s Namsan Mountain with a $150,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, which later evolved into the Drama Academy, the only college-level institution of its kind in Korea devoted exclusively to training young men and women in theater arts. The Asia Foundation donated drama books and theatrical study materials to the Academy in 1957.

**Chu (Joseph) Yo-sup**'s travel grant sent him to Europe in 1958 to attend an international PEN Conference for poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists (hence the acronym, PEN) who have made substantial contributions to the literary community. A professor of Korean literature at Kyung-Hee University and president of the PEN organization in Korea, Chu was the first Korean ever to attend an international PEN conference. In his time, Chu was known as the country’s most outstanding short-story writer. His classic work, “The Guest of Sarang-Bang,” is among the most acclaimed of Korean short stories.
COMMUNICATION

Along with culture, the ability to communicate is a key agent of national unity that spans age, gender, class, and geography. In the postwar period, however, resources for paper-based communications were scarce, hindering the spread of the written word. The negligible quantities of locally produced paper were barely sufficient to supply the demands of the “high-priority” printing establishments: textbook publishers, government offices, and newspapers. The Asia Foundation made several grants during the 1950s to support efforts in communication.

Grants of Newsprint and Offset Paper

The most important program in the mid-1950s was the provision of U.S. newsprint and Catalina offset paper to mostly private-sector recipients, a program that mirrored the earlier provision of newsprint for school textbooks both in substance and success.

In the war’s aftermath, Korea was faced with a critical shortage of paper. Private-sector publishing firms were denied access to scarce paper supplies. To circumvent this problem, they obtained paper from illegitimate sources, but at prohibitive prices, making publications either too expensive for the ordinary public or commercially unprofitable to their publishers.

The paper-grant program met private publishers’ needs for affordable paper supplies. The program served two purposes: (1) to make quality books and journals available to general audiences at prices they could afford, and (2) to support the growth of the country’s nascent book and periodical industry. Among the publications and publishers assisted under this program were the following:

Dictionary of the Korean Language

Commissioned by the Ulyu Publishing Company, and with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Hangul (Korean Alphabet) Society embarked on a long-range program to compile and publish a reliable version of the Korean language lexicon. Begun well before 1950, the program was interrupted by
war, which caused not only the loss of finished manuscripts but also resulted in kidnappings to North Korea of some leading members of the Hangul Society. It was only toward the end of the 1950s that drafts were finally ready to go to press, with publication made possible by a grant of paper supplies from The Asia Foundation. Since then, renewed editions have come out periodically in response to growing public demand. The book is acknowledged as the most authoritative and comprehensive of the Korean language dictionaries.

**Hyundae Munhak (Contemporary Literature) Magazine**

In the early years of The Asia Foundation in Korea, much of the assistance given to organizations or individuals was in the form of one-time grants of funds or resources. Efforts focused on programs that, after an initial period of support, would be able to operate successfully on their own, and would enable greater things to happen as a result. Foundation support to the monthly literary magazine *Hyundae Munhak (Contemporary Literature)* represents just such a program. This and other Foundation-backed monthly publications are examples of how the Foundation’s one-time, “shot-in-the-arm” grant assistance set into motion programs that eventually perpetuated themselves.

The Asia Foundation’s newsprint grant to *Hyundae Munhak* was intended to allow the magazine to continue publication for six successive months without having to worry about the sources or costs of paper supplies. The generally accepted rule of the periodical business was that six months was the minimum length of time for a magazine publisher to recoup its initial investment through individual subscription fees or payments from wholesale agents for copies entrusted to them for sale.

Not many publishers had the tenacity or the capacity to survive the six-month probationary period, a time of trial and hardship in which investments continued with little hope for substantial revenue. *Hyundae Munhak* had the good fortune of benefiting from relations with the semigovernmental Korean Textbook Publishing Company, whose president was a patron of creative literary activities. It provided *Hyundae Munhak* with office space, printing facilities, and a secretarial service free of charge, in a gesture to reciprocate the Foundation’s newsprint grant. The magazine represents one of the earliest precedents for The Asia Foundation and Korean institutions providing programs with matching support.
Hyundae Munhak was the brainchild of Cho Yon-hyon, a well-known literary critic determined to produce a functioning literary periodical that recognized promising members of Korea’s literati. His devotion to the magazine’s development, combined with timely Foundation assistance, accounted for its eventual success. Today, the magazine enjoys a solid reputation as the oldest and the most prestigious monthly periodical in the country, with its 600th issue appearing in December 2004. It currently prints 5,000 copies a month, a significant increase over the 2,000 copies of the January 1955 inaugural issue.

Sasanggye (World of Thought) Magazine

Like Hyundae Munhak, a newsprint grant to continue publication for six consecutive months made it possible for the monthly magazine Sasanggye (World of Thought) to become one of the most successful general interest journals for Korean intellectuals. For a number of years in the 1960s it was considered fashionable among college students and intellectuals to carry or display copies of the magazine. A subscription to the journal represented a status symbol among Korea’s thinkers.

By supporting Sasanggye, The Asia Foundation contributed both to the spectacular growth of the journal and to the development of the journal industry as a whole. The success of Sasanggye provided proof to other potential publishers that the periodical was a viable and profitable business venture, as later confirmed by the proliferation of periodicals in the country.

The story of the rise and fall of Sasanggye would not be complete without an account of its publisher-cum-editor, Chang Jun-ha. The popularity of the journal in Korea made Chang an overnight celebrity, especially among the educated and those in and out of government engaged in activities involving students. Soon, Chang took an interest in politics, and eventually affiliated himself with the opposition Democratic Party.

Chang’s interest in running the journal eventually declined in proportion to his increasing involvement in politics. Government authorities became displeased with the journal’s blatantly antigovernment editorial orientation, and began applying subtle pressure on the Sasanggye management, through moratoriums on bank loans and other similarly repressive measures. Unfortunately, the situation temporarily put the Korea Office under government surveillance because of the Foundation’s initial support of Sasanggye.
In early 1970, the journal went out of business for good. As this occurred, Chang became even more vocal and belligerent in his antigovernment activities. In August 1975, Chang died in an “accident,” falling off a cliff on a weekend mountain-climbing outing on the outskirts of Seoul. The true cause of his death remains a mystery. He was alone on the occasion, with no witnesses around. The members of his bereaved family are convinced, as are his colleagues in politics, that he was pushed off the cliff, and that the “accident” was a case of premeditated murder.

**Yowon (Women’s Garden) Magazine**

Korea Office assistance to *Yowon (Women’s Garden)* was similar in its aim to the newsprint grants to *Hyundae Munhak* and *Sasanggye* — to encourage the development of selected periodicals as a form of mass media. Like *Hyundae Munhak* and *Sasanggye*, *Yowon* made an outstanding contribution to the growth of the periodical publishing industry in Korea. *Yowon* also addressed intellectuals as its principal audience, and made effective use of Foundation assistance as it eventually evolved into a viable enterprise.

Unlike *Hyundae Munhak* and *Sasanggye*, however, *Yowon’s* target audience consisted exclusively of women. The magazine’s publisher, Kim Myung-yop, took note of the fact that in the years following the end of the Korean War, women rapidly emerged as active participants in the country’s socioeconomic and political development. Kim took part in this important transition by publishing a periodical devoted exclusively to women, and his business acumen paid off handsomely in the end. Support for *Yowon* is testimony to The Asia Foundation’s interest in raising the position of women in Korea, a priority program goal that continues to this day. *Yowon* eventually lost readership to other newly emerging magazines for women and went out of business in April 1970.

**Support for the Local Publishing Industry**

Support for Korea’s publishing industry constituted an important program objective for The Asia Foundation from the inception of its operations in Korea. In the early to mid-1950s, Foundation assistance to the publishing industry consisted almost exclusively of paper grants. During Jack James’s tenure as
representative, paper grants were phased out as supplies from local and other sources became adequate to meet demand. Korea Office support of local publishers began to take the form of grants to the Korean Publishers Association, for the planning and organization of a series of book exhibits in Seoul and at strategic locations in the provinces. The Foundation played a catalytic role in promoting the viability of book exhibits as an effective way to market new publications to potential audiences in areas of their respective interests. The book exhibits that The Asia Foundation helped set into motion eventually became a regular, annual activity of the Korean Publishers Association.

A variety of Asia Foundation programs in the 1950s that fall outside the themes of education, culture, and communication are worth noting.
“Freedom Writers” Series

The Freedom Writers program consisted of the publication of a series of books containing eyewitness accounts of experiences in North Korea by North Korean refugee writers. The first book in the series, *A Captive’s Life in North Korea*, by Chang Chol-su, became an immediate bestseller, as did subsequent books. The authors who wrote these books with Foundation support included Yang Myung-mun, Kim Cha-rim, Park Nam-soo, and many others who had fled from North Korea following the outbreak of war. The program participants are now renowned writers actively engaged in creative writing.

Camp Rising Sun

In early 1955, advocates of Camp Rising Sun, a program dedicated to youth education that was created by a California philanthropist, approached the Foundation with news that the camp program was being expanded to accommodate selected participants from Asia. The Asia Foundation Korea Office sponsored two teenage youths for the program in the summers of 1956 and 1957.

Although Foundation sponsorship lasted just two years, the camp program was extraordinary for two reasons: (1) the grant was the first fellowship award designed to expose Korean youth to the United States, and (2) one of the two participants in the program eventually became a foremost Korean political scientist.

The two teenagers who emerged at the top of a nationwide screening process to attend the camp were Lee Yung-koo, from Kyongbok Boys High School, and Han Hoon, from Kyonggi Boys High School, both class valedictorians. Lee’s marks were slightly better than Han’s, but it was Han (later known as Han Sung-joo) who was motivated by the Camp Rising Sun experience to train in political science. After acquiring a doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley, Han went on to join the faculty of political science and diplomacy at Korea University in 1978. He was director of the Asiatic Research Center (1983–86), later appointed minister of foreign affairs (1993–94), and Korea’s ambassador to the United States (2003–04). Han is a close friend of The Asia Foundation, having been a principal supporter of various Korea Office programs and an active participant in a number of Foundation events in both Korea and the United States.
Miscellaneous Grants

At the beginning of its time in Korea, the Foundation devoted considerable resources to one-off grants to individuals or organizations whose activities matched Asia Foundation objectives. This early form of support, known as “shot-in-the-arm” assistance, was later exchanged for other forms of support as the Foundation sought ways to make its efforts in Korea more sustainable and broadly useful.

In the mid-1950s, a grant was made to Lee Tai-hee, then just retired from his position as a public prosecutor in the Supreme Public Prosecutors Office, Ministry of Justice, to enable him to observe U.S. legal-aid program activities in New York for two weeks. On his return to Korea, Lee wrote detailed reports on the merits of legal assistance, which were played up by local dailies and professional legal journals. It is probable that his reports served as a source of inspiration for Dr. Lee Tai-young’s efforts to popularize legal aid for women with the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations. Lee Tai-hee was appointed prosecutor general for two years beginning in 1960.

Lee Min-Jae attended an international botanical conference in Canada under Foundation sponsorship in 1959. This was in recognition of his position as head of the Korean Botanical Association, then one of the few flourishing professional societies in the country. Lee later became the vice-minister of education and president of Kangwon National University in Chunchon. After retiring from government service, Lee headed the Korean Central Council for Nature Preservation (KCCNP), a private national organization for environmental protection. The U.S. Dakin Fund made a grant through The Asia Foundation to the KCCNP for the printing of nature conservation posters to distribute to schoolchildren throughout the country.

An extraordinary grant, associated with Representative Jack James, was made to Lt. Sung Ki-soo for a PhD program in engineering at Harvard University. Sung, a boyish-looking second lieutenant in the ROK Air Force, was a mathematics wizard. One morning in early 1960, Sung came to meet Jack with copies of correspondence between himself and a professor at Harvard University. That professor was a mathematician of international fame for having devised a formula to solve mathematical riddles previously considered unsolvable. Still, there were two or three riddles that remained unsolved despite the application of the new formula. Sung solved all these riddles, applying the Harvard University mathematician’s formula. Astounded by the awesome talent
of the young Korean Air Force officer, the professor invited Sung to come to Harvard to assist him in mathematical research.

Jack was similarly impressed, and arranged for a full scholarship grant that provided Lt. Sung with round-trip airfare to Boston, tuition, and a living allowance. The grant was unusual in that it went against the Foundation’s normal grant-making policy, which precluded support to individuals not “closely involved in an ongoing program in areas of priority programming interest.” Lt. Sung had nothing to do with any ongoing Foundation programs, nor was his field of interest directly related to the Foundation’s programming interests during those years.

Yet, when viewed as part of the Foundation’s broader objective of “leadership development,” the fellowship for Lt. Sung stands as one of the more successful examples. Just two years after the grant was made, Lt. Sung was back in Korea with a PhD in rocket engineering, earned at Harvard in record time. When the Korean government founded the famed Korean Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) in the 1960s, Sung was named head of its aeronautical research department. Widely admired as Korea’s Werner von Braun, Sung was appointed in 1982 to head the newly established Computer Systems Development Institute under KIST.

**Conclusion**

The Asia Foundation’s Korea Office was established amidst the ashes of war. The uncertainty of the time, combined with the Office’s new program tools and the absence of basic provisions and opportunities, meant that the Foundation spent a great deal of its resources in Korea on grant programs to benefit the broader population still recovering from the war. The Asia Foundation set about answering the needs of the Korean people by expanding and enhancing the country’s capability in the fields of education, culture, and communication, three necessary components of a dynamic society that are often overlooked in times of great hardship. In this, the Foundation worked closely with Korean intellectuals, organizations, and other driving forces in Korean society to spread the effects of its efforts.
About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

Philip Rowe, Representative, 1954–1955

The first Asia Foundation Korea Office representative, Philip Rowe commanded wide local respect for his intelligence, warm personality, and genuine affection for Korea. In his early thirties and an incredibly hard worker, Phil pioneered the Foundation’s activities in the arts, culture, and communication.

By early 1955, The Asia Foundation was well settled in Korea, with initial preparations for full-fledged programming and operations almost complete. It was about this time that Phil began showing signs of declining health. In early July, Phil came down with what he thought was a minor case of the flu. Yet, his illness progressed. Phil complained of a nagging pain in his back that would not go away with ordinary medication.

On July 11, Phil was taken to the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital at Chongryang-ri on the outskirts of Seoul, where he learned he was stricken with polio. He died on July 17, exactly a week after he was hospitalized. His last request to the office staff was that his “parents be not notified of his conditions.”

A funeral service at the Jungdong Methodist Church was attended by a large number of Korean and American mourners, including Jim Stewart, who flew in from Tokyo, and Donald MacDonald representing the U.S. Embassy. There were no family members present, but it was at the request of his family that Phil was buried at the Seoul Foreigners’ Cemetery at Yang Hwa Jin in Hapjung-dong on the northern bank of the Han River.
At the news of Phil Rowe’s fatal illness and hospitalization, Richard Miller transferred from the Tokyo Office to oversee the Korea Office during this time of crisis. When Phil passed away, Richard acted temporarily as Korea Office representative until August 1955, when Mary Walker arrived in Korea. Richard returned to Japan, where years later, after leaving the Foundation, the U.S.-Japan Cultural Commission recruited him as senior editor of a translation project.

Mary Walker, Acting Representative, 1955–1956

Mary Walker, a graduate of Mills College with a bachelor of arts in physical education, came to the Korea Office as an administrative assistant. With a replacement for Phil Rowe yet to be appointed, Mary assumed the responsibilities of acting representative, overseeing the entire operation of the Korea Office in both programming and administration.

Whether Mary Walker’s physical education background had anything to do with the San Francisco Office’s decision to assign her to the “hardship post” in Korea was a matter of speculation at that time. Whatever the case, Mary was indeed well fit to take the harsh Korean environment in stride. She seemed least bothered by the adverse local conditions, staying in top shape physically throughout the duration of her term in Korea.

Mary displayed extraordinary efficiency in the development of a series of highly successful programs, in addition to helping streamline administration. All this she achieved despite her gender, then viewed as a serious handicap in traditional Korean society, especially for the leadership role she was playing. Mary completed her assignment to the Korea Office in 1956.
Lawrence G. Thompson, Representative, 1956–1958

Lawrence Thompson was the third person appointed as the resident representative for The Asia Foundation in Korea, the second with the status of an official representative, and the first to arrive with a family, large even by Korean standards: a wife, four sons, and a daughter.

Larry hailed from a missionary family in China and was fluent in Chinese, having spent his childhood and much of his adolescent years in various parts of China. This qualified him as a scholar in Chinese studies, a field in which Larry had many intellectual pursuits. Aside from this, Larry was an avid music fan. His devotion to and expertise in American jazz were particularly remarkable, and for this reason Larry often delivered lectures on the subject, both voluntarily and by invitation.

A year and a half after his assignment to Seoul, Larry was transferred to the Foundation’s Taipei Office. Larry’s departure from Korea in early 1958 produced much chagrin among Foundation staff and his friends in Korea. He is still remembered as one of the most beloved of the Foundation’s representatives due to his generous, warmhearted personality — attributes perhaps emanating from his missionary family background and from his typically scholarly mien.

John E. James, Representative, 1958–1960

John (Jack) James arrived in the fall of 1958, with his wife and son, to replace Larry Thompson as The Asia Foundation’s third Korea Office representative. His arrival was played up by the local press, because Jack was a legendary figure among local and foreign journalists in Korea due to his sensational “scoop” on the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, when he was United Press correspondent stationed in Seoul. His arrival in Korea in 1958 was hailed as a “hero’s return.”
While he was with the Foundation in Korea, Jack witnessed a second Korean crisis (the first being the 1950 outbreak of war): the historic student uprising of April 19, 1960, that overthrew Syngman Rhee’s autocratic regime. Jack thus became an eyewitness to two of the most crucial upheavals in the country’s modern history. It was sheer coincidence, of course, but Jack’s on-the-spot presence at each of these crises was often the cause of his fond joke that he was “bad news” for Korea.

The period of 1958–60, coinciding with Jack’s tour as Korea Office representative, was one of the most unsettled times in Korea’s recent political history. It was marked by recurring student demonstrations that culminated in the overthrow of Syngman Rhee’s Liberal Party Government in 1960, and by the democratic but short-lived caretaker government led by Prime Minister Chang Myon that ruled the country until it was usurped by a group of generals following the military coup of May 16, 1961. Jack’s popularity and the Korea Office’s acclaimed programs and grants ensured that, despite the turmoil, The Asia Foundation remained a valued resource in Korea.

**Korean Staff**

Prior to the establishment of a regular field office, the Korea representative required the assistance of a local liaison officer to assist in developing and monitoring Foundation programs. Cho Tong-jae and Cho Pung-youn were temporarily hired for this purpose.

Cho Tong-jae, known as T.J. Cho, was recommended by the American Embassy for the job of local liaison officer and was hired as “temporary program assistance” following an interview with Jim Stewart at the Mijin Hotel in downtown Pusan in late summer of 1952. Previously, T.J. Cho had been with the Political Section of the U.S. Embassy in its translation unit, and the Korean government’s Office of Public Information.
A few months thereafter, and at the recommendation of T.J. Cho, the Foundation’s local liaison staff was reinforced with the addition of Cho Pung-youn, or P.Y. Cho, as program consultant. A widely respected freelance journalist, writer, and essayist, P.Y. Cho built up and maintained extensive contacts with key institutions and individuals across a broad range of areas in which the Foundation was then interested.

With the establishment of The Asia Foundation Korea Office, T.J. Cho was the first to be formally hired as a full-time program advisor, with P.Y. Cho retained as program consultant. The Korea Office local staff was enlarged with the hire of Park Chung-sook as a receptionist and Lee Eui-chang as a driver. Toward the end of 1954, the first Korea Office car, a green Willys station wagon, was cleared through customs at Pusan, and driver Lee and Phil Rowe took turns driving it all the way up to Seoul, much of the two-day journey on a bumpy dirt road.

Office supplies, furniture, equipment, and the representative’s household effects, which had to be shipped from the United States, later arrived in Inchon. After a number of trips to Inchon, these cargoes were finally delivered to the Foundation office in Seoul. Over 50 years after they were brought to Korea, the fireproof safe and some of the filing cabinets were still in use at the Korea Office.

In 1955, the local staff welcomed Park Tae-jin, who joined the Foundation’s ranks first as an accountant and later as officer manager. He was followed in 1957 by Yi Yun-sae, who was employed as receptionist. Lee Ui-kwan, brother of driver Lee Eui-chang, was hired as an administrative assistant in 1958, bringing to six the number of full-time, local staff. Han Sung-lim replaced Park Chung-sook as receptionist for the Korea Office in 1959 after Ms. Park was married.
Office Building

First Korea Office in the Kyesung Building

The work of The Asia Foundation in Korea dates back to 1951 and the years preceding the establishment of a permanent operational base in the country. Officially, however, the opening of the Foundation’s field office in the Kyesung building at 198 Kwanhoon-dong, Chongno-ku, Seoul, in July 1954 marks the inception of The Asia Foundation’s programming in Korea.

In its history in Korea, the Foundation has twice agreed to help construct a building to house its own offices — the first at Kwanhoon-dong in 1954, and the second at Sakan-dong in 1970. In both cases, the decision to build was based on the unavailability of buildings meeting the Foundation’s requirements for location and facilities. With the building at Kwanhoon-dong, The Asia Foundation supplied not just half of the building costs (in return for an assurance of rent-free tenancy for a period of six years) but also overseas procurement of various fixtures not locally available at that time.

The building was completed in June 1954, and the Foundation occupied the second and third floors shortly thereafter. The Foundation’s offices initially were housed on the second floor, with third floor space set aside for storage and to accommodate the library and offices of the Korean Social Science Research Center (later renamed Korean Research Center), a project that in 1954 was still at an exploratory stage. With the landlord’s consent, a penthouse was constructed on the roof in 1956 to provide housing for the assistant representative.
Other Events of Interest

President Robert Blum’s trip to Korea

The Asia Foundation’s president, Dr. Robert Blum, arrived in Korea in early 1956 for a weeklong stay to observe firsthand the Korea Office’s programs and operations, to meet with program principals, and to make courtesy calls on senior government officials. He was the first Foundation president to visit Korea since the Foundation’s Korea Office had opened in July 1954. His second visit to Korea took place soon after the May 16 military coup in 1961. On his second trip, President Blum met with General Park Chung-hee. His discussions with the General no doubt played a role in keeping The Asia Foundation open and operating during Korea’s years of military dictatorship.
Chapter TWO

1960–1969
Forging Ahead
Marked by not one but two violent political upheavals, the early 1960s were a tumultuous period in Korea’s modern history. President Syngman Rhee’s Liberal Party regime was brought down by student uprisings on April 19, 1960. The country’s subsequent brief experiment with democracy under Prime Minister Chang Myon ended with the coup of May 16, 1961, that brought the military to power. Chaotic local conditions offered a less-than-ideal programming environment for The Asia Foundation, but the hectic circumstances underlined the country’s desperate need for broad range of national development assistance. The Korea Office answered that need, swiftly adjusting its programming and operations to the new situation.

The May 1961 coup ushered in an era of military dictatorship and what later would become phenomenal economic success. The Supreme Council of National Reconstruction (SCNR), the ruling organization made up of military generals and their aides and headed by General Park Chung-hee, seized power, declaring the “termination of old vice” and the “upholding of social justice” as its mission. A sweeping purge resulted in the removal of the “ringleader class” — ministers and political leaders deemed loyal to the former Rhee regime. Many others, while escaping serious penalty, were nevertheless deprived of their erstwhile positions and responsibilities in government, political parties, and business.

The Asia Foundation was also hard hit by this radical change. The Foundation’s grantees and associates were typically those playing leadership roles in various sectors of society, and for that reason they were not in the good graces of the new SCNR authorities. In addition, much of the Foundation’s resources and attention had to be diverted to establishing contacts with the new leadership groups emerging in government and the private sector. In certain programming areas, the Foundation suffered considerably as a result of the country’s political turbulence.

Yet, aside from a temporary setback in programming, the developments had little effect on the Foundation’s overall image in Korea. The Asia Foundation continued to be looked upon as a reputable, private, American source of support, accessible to anyone in need of assistance in the areas of its program objectives.

This period required extremely tactful representatives in both programming and public relations. That the Asia Foundation succeeded in carrying out its programs in this time of turmoil was thanks largely to Representative Bill Eiler’s exceptional diplomacy and uncanny ability to adroitly negotiate the
chaotic local situation. Bill understood that the Foundation could not continue its work without establishing and maintaining cordial relations with the SCNR authorities. In this, he was aided by an old friendship with a core member of the SCNR who was a close associate of Bill’s when he was a U.S. Army officer during the Korean War.

A state of normalcy was finally restored to the country in 1963, when General Park’s base of power was solidified and his presidency established; general elections for the National Assembly followed soon thereafter. Sweeping reforms that occurred under Park’s regime in the 1960s — particularly during David Steinberg’s tenure as Korea Office representative — offered a unique programming opportunity for the Foundation. Some of the programs supported during this period merit special note due to their catalytic role in addressing the country’s priority needs.

General Park’s regime embarked upon a series of planning activities for institutional and socioeconomic development in the first half of the 1960s. The Asia Foundation cooperated with these planning efforts in the interest of the Korean people, paying particular attention to institutional capacity building, legal and educational development, and the creation of opportunities for Koreans through exchange and training programs abroad. The results for national development were remarkable.

**PROGRAMS 1960–1969**

**INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING**

The building blocks of a country lie within its institutions, which are generally responsible for driving development in government, the economy, education, and society. With the Park regime came a series of efforts to forge a cohesive Korean nation — albeit one under great political constraint — and to quickly build its institutional capacity. The government made a formal request to The Asia Foundation to help set the stage for future national development through the creation of institutional infrastructure in the fields of diplomacy and university administration.
Foreign Service Institute

Support for the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) may go down in the annals of the Korea Office as one of the most extraordinary grants ever made. The form of assistance, which consisted of a $122,500 grant to construct a building to house the nation’s diplomatic training center, was unprecedented in Foundation operations in Korea. The grant for the initial three-year program was authorized by a letter of agreement, signed on October 31, 1962, between Choi Duk-shin, minister of foreign affairs, and Bill Eilers, representative of The Asia Foundation Korea Office.

The approval of a grant of this magnitude, and of the unorthodox use to which the funds were to be put, reflects the board of trustees’ assessment of the program’s long-term potential to advance the country and meet a priority need of the South Korean government.

The FSI program was first proposed by the SCNR’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs through Choi Woon-sang, a Harvard University PhD in political science who was a career foreign service officer with the Korean government. The program would help meet the nation’s acute and growing need for trained foreign-service personnel in the face of Korea’s rapidly expanding diplomatic and trade ties abroad.

In addition to the construction of a two-story building to house the program in Jangchoong-dong, the grant provided for Mr. Waldemar Gallman, a former U.S. ambassador to Iraq, to serve as advisor to the FSI’s first director for a period of one year from early 1963. Working closely with FSI director Choi Wan-bok, who later became South Korea’s ambassador to France and Spain, Mr. Gallman assisted in developing academic plans and curricula for a series of classes to train different echelons of foreign-service personnel.

As the Institute expanded to include a division of research in international relations, The Asia Foundation offered support in library development, in consultation with Mr. Gallman. At his recommendation, fellowship grants were provided to selected, midcareer foreign-service officers for short-term, nondegree study programs in foreign policy at American University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Before it was phased out in the early 1970s, ten Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials benefited from this program.

In the 1980s, the Foundation provided fellowships to five FSI faculty members to strengthen their expertise in their fields: Choi Young, for China studies at the University of California, Berkeley; Yu Suk-ryul, for Sino-
Soviet studies at George Washington University; Kim Kook-chin, to study South and Southeast Asia and Pacific regional cooperation at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University; Park Young-kyu, to study the role of the U.S. Congress in formulating U.S. trade and economic policy at Northeast-Midwest Congressional Coalition; and Lee Dong-hwi, to study the U.S. legislative process at the state level at the California State Legislature.

More than 40 years after its inauguration with Foundation support, the FSI, later renamed the Foreign Affairs Institute (FAI) and now known as the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), remains a major institutional associate of The Asia Foundation.

**Planning in University Administration**

The rapid expansion and proliferation of higher education institutions in Korea in the 1960s led to a campus-building boom, of which the Seoul National University (SNU) campus in Kwanaksan was typical. It soon became apparent that Korea’s universities needed to match the expansion of their physical facilities with greater long-range administrative and academic planning.

To meet this need, The Asia Foundation enlisted the expertise of President Goodrich of the University of Washington and Ray Olpin, a retired president of the University of Utah. Serving as short-term consultants for Shin Tai-hwan and Ryu Ki-chun, presidents of SNU from 1964 to 1965 and 1965 to 1966, respectively, the American advisors helped establish academic and administrative planning as an integral part of university operations.

The American experts’ advisory achievements culminated in the 1967 creation of the nation’s first office of university planning, at SNU, under the direct supervision of its president. Lee Hong-koo was named the first director.
of the newly created office. Shortly after Lee’s appointment, the Foundation awarded him a grant for a U.S. study tour on university academic program planning and administrative development.

The legacy of the Foundation’s support for this program is illustrated by the fact that an office of planning is now an institution common throughout the Korea’s higher education system.

ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Korea’s rapid and sustainable development in the 1960s is often referred to as the “economic miracle on the Han,” the Han being the river that runs through the capital city of Seoul. The Asia Foundation played a modest role in seeding this economic miracle by supporting two government-initiated programs that eventually resulted in the conception of a series of economic development plans that paved the way for Korea to progress from one of the poorest countries in the world to the twelfth-largest economy in just over four decades.

Economic Writers Tour

The Economic Writers Tour program had a crucial impact on the country’s subsequent economic development, and shows how initial Asia Foundation support for an activity related to the national interest — in this case, providing funds and administration for a short-term observation trip — can lead to significant gains for the host country.

The grant, made at the request of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (SCNR), enabled a group of five economics writers handpicked by the Korean Newspaper Editors Association to undertake an observation and study tour on economic development planning over a period of three months from November 1961 to January 1962. The group traveled to Asia (Taiwan, India, Pakistan, and Israel); Europe (France, the home of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and Belgium, the headquarters of the European Common Market, and West Germany); and the United States (Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico). Korea Office program officer Cho Tong-jae accompanied the group throughout the tour as escort and interpreter. The participants in this historic program were as follows:
* Lee Yul-mo, editorial writer for the *Hanguk Ilbo* and one of the most respected economic analysts in Korea  
* Kim Sung-jin, economics writer for the *Yonhap* Press and later Blue House spokesman (1971–75) and president of Daewoo Economic Research Institute (1995–97)  
* Kim Jin-hyun, economics writer for the *Dong-A Ilbo* and later a Foundation-supported Nieman fellow (1973), vice president of the Korea Development Institute (1981–84), and minister of science and technology (1990–93)  
* Chung Do-hyun, editor of the *Seoul Economic Daily* (died in 1979 in a traffic accident)  
* Kim Uk-yung, editor of the *Hanguk Economic Daily* and later secretary-general of the Duksung Women’s University Foundation

The writers’ post-tour reports were prominently serialized in their respective papers and played a vital role in motivating the SCNR authorities to eventually embark on long-range economic development planning for the country. The formulation of an economic development master plan got underway in the mid-1960s, during the initial years of David Steinberg’s tenure as Korea Office representative.

**Economic Development Planning**

A largely agricultural society until the Korean War, South Korea leaped ahead in the 1960s with a series of five-year economic development plans that served as the basis for the country’s miraculous postwar economic progress. Few, however, apart from the handful of people directly involved in the planning process, were aware of the role The Asia Foundation played in helping this national effort achieve success.

That the SCNR military government approached the Foundation to support an international study tour by a group of economics writers has been noted. The Foundation provided further support for the country’s economic planning efforts in the form of international expertise.

Charles Wolf, an expert in economic development and planning, came to Korea from the U.S. Rand Corporation in early 1962 under the auspices of The
Asia Foundation. Wolf worked with a team of three brilliant technocrats from the Korean government’s Economic Planning Board — Lee Hahn-been, Lee Kihong, and Chung Jai-suk — assigned by the SCNR to map out a comprehensive economic master plan for Korea. The results of their collaboration set the stage for Korea’s rapid transition from an agricultural economy to an industrial one, strong in manufacturing, textiles, transport, and consumer goods.

Six months after the team began working with Wolf, it produced a master plan that served as the basis for the nation’s subsequent economic expansion, the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan, covering 1962–66. The Second Plan (1967–71) continued and accelerated Korea’s economic drive, with the government systematizing industries and cultivating technically trained workers. Subsequent plans laid the foundations for heavy, chemical, and knowledge-based industries, with an emphasis on machinery, electronics, metals, and technology.

Urban Planning

One of the inevitable results of the government’s economic development planning and the subsequent rise of Korean industry was a growing need for urban and regional development planning to deal with the country’s rapidly growing cities. The beginning of Korea’s phenomenal economic boom caused an upsurge in migration to urban areas as people from the countryside left their farms in search of more lucrative industrial jobs. But with mountains covering nearly 80 percent of Korea’s terrain, space in the urban centers for migrant workers was scarce, and the low-lying houses that sprawled horizontally across cities such as Seoul became overcrowded, unsanitary, and derelict.

With the government lacking the necessary expertise, The Asia Foundation stepped in to offer its assistance. The Foundation’s home office in San Francisco enlisted an American urban planning expert, Oswald Nagler, a New York-based architect, and brought him to Korea in 1964.

On arrival, Nagler was assigned to the urban planning section of the Ministry of Construction to assist in high-priority programs, which included the planning, design, and construction of an apartment complex in Seoul’s Mapo region, notorious for filth, crime, prostitution, and impoverished families surviving in pigsty-like shanties. It was the first such cluster of apartments to be built for low-income families. This experimental program was launched
with the dual purpose of coping with a critical housing shortage and assessing the degree to which Koreans were willing to adopt apartments as a substitute for traditional low-rise residential units.

Nagler’s job was to convince government and private-sector officials of the practical values of apartment living in curbing urban sprawl. He did a first class job in his consultancy, and the Mapo apartment complex built under his watch proved a phenomenal success. To the surprise of the government and the public at large, applications for occupancy far exceeded the quota long before the buildings were complete. This success is due in no small part to Nagler’s insightful suggestion that the architectural plans contain unique features specific to the Korean culture, including ample space for storing kimchi pots, jars, and other items fundamental to Korean households.

The Mapo program heralded the era of apartments in South Korea, bringing revolutionary change to the urban centers of the country, not only in physical appearance, but also in lifestyle. The apartments brought with them structures and modern facilities that were safer, more comfortable, and more hygienic. Many traditional houses lacked hot or running water and had primitive facilities. Significantly, the extended outgrowth of The Asia Foundation’s urban development assistance led to the present-day accommodation of nearly 14 million people within the mountainous terrain surrounding the capital city of Seoul.
Nagler also devoted time and attention to manpower training and staff development in the urban planning field. This was done primarily through the Housing and Urban Planning Institute (HURPI) which he helped set up as a semigovernmental institution attached to the Ministry of Construction. At Nagler’s recommendation, the Korea Office backed this program with grants for HURPI’s institutional development, assistance with in-country training programs, and fellowships for advanced study programs in urban planning and development in the United States.

Meanwhile, the rapidly growing need for trained manpower in urban and regional development planning, which had been partially met by the HURPI in-service training program, eventually led to the establishment of a regular academic program. In 1973, the Department of Urban and Regional Planning in the Graduate School of Public Administration was established at Seoul National University. The excellent educational and training services of the department obviated the need for support for the HURPI, which was subsequently dissolved.

Oswald Nagler is reported to have made several trips back to Korea under the auspices of the Seoul municipality on short-term consultancy missions in housing development and city planning.

LEGAL DEVELOPMENT

Legal institutions in 1960s Korea were largely underdeveloped and underresourced. Few legal experts existed in the country, and most educational institutions lacked law professors and legal programs. Beginning what would become a decades-long campaign of support in the legal field, The Asia Foundation worked with both the government and Korea’s premier university to develop the country’s legal capacity.

Gisbert Flantz and American Advisors

The Asia Foundation Korea Office launched its law programs in 1965, the outcome of two years of consultation with an assortment of American legal scholars who laid the groundwork for the Foundation’s programming. The team of advisors included Dean Russell Niles of New York University; Carroll
Moreland, a law librarian; Will Shafroth, an advisor in court administration; Kenneth Redden, an advisor in legal education reform; and Gisbert Flanz of the New York University Law School, a specialist in constitutional law.

Gisbert Flanz’s tour in late 1964 is of particular note. Flanz came at the special request of the SCNR military government, which needed a constitutional law expert to consult with a team of law professors in the drafting of a new constitution. His expertise and advice, together with his friendly personality, so impressed the Korean government that he was asked to continue serving as its consultant in drafting legislation. Flanz made several return trips with the support of the Korean government.

Graduate School of Law, Seoul National University

Korea Office law programming in the 1960s focused largely on support for the Graduate School of Law of Seoul National University (GSL SNU). The Foundation recognized the pivotal role the GSL played in developing the nation’s judicial system.

In 1963, Paul Ryu (Ryu Ki-chun), the dean of the GSL and later president of SNU (1965–66), obtained government approval to certify the GSL to provide two-year advanced training for law school graduates and students who had passed the national judicial examination and were preparing for their appointments as members of the judiciary.

Foundation support for the GSL, initiated in 1965 and renewed annually until 1971, consisted of grants for library development, selected research, publications, and outreach programs such as special adult education courses for judicial scriveners. The Foundation’s most outstanding contribution to the GSL was enlisting an American legal advisor, Dr. Jay Murphy of the University of Alabama Law School. Working exclusively with the GSL as its legal advisor from 1965 to 1967, Murphy passed on knowledge of a wide range of issues in legal education, including curriculum modernization, use of the case method, legal research surveys, and a special lecture series on American law and the judicial system.

The two books Murphy authored while at the GSL, *Legal Education in a Developing Nation: the Korea Experience* and *Legal Profession in Korea: The Judicial Scrivener and Others*, are still valued by legal scholars as classics in the field that add to the scarce English-language source materials on Korea’s legal education and judicial system.
On the Supreme Court’s recommendation, the government in 1971 decided that postgraduate training for novice judges would be provided by the newly created Judicial Research and Training Institute (JRTI). The end of the GSL’s role in judicial training had allegedly been prompted by the boisterous contentions of legal practitioners that the GSL was neither suitable nor capable of providing the kind of “practical” training that probationary judges required.

Korea Office support to the GSL was phased out in 1971. Support was reactivated many years later for selected aspects of JRTI programs for prospective members of the judiciary.

**Legal Education**

The Korea Office showed its broad commitment to improving Korea’s legal education and legal system by assisting in the development of the law library of the GSL in 1968, and assisting the Supreme Court Library with the purchase of library equipment, law books, and reference materials in the Korean, Japanese, and English languages.

Major grants were made to the Law Research Institute of Seoul National University from 1969 to 1971 for the production, codification, and publication of Supreme Court records — a first in Korea — for use by graduate students of law. Support also went to a professional law journal, a field-training program for postgraduate students, and a study of legal aspects of corporate finance. Finally, the Institute of Law and Public Administration at Korea University received assistance for research on North Korean law and public administration.

**EDUCATION**

Building on past efforts, The Asia Foundation ambitiously expanded its education programming in the 1960s. From providing direct assistance to the country’s educational system through the establishment of language laboratories, student counseling services, and scholarships, to extending its support for learning to the broader population with the Books for Asia and Village Library programs, the Foundation made education a cornerstone of its programming efforts.
English-Language Laboratories

During the tenure of Representative Bill Eilers, English language continued as a priority program objective. After the departure of the English teachers brought to Korea by Representative Jack James in 1959, the Foundation’s support for English-language programming evolved into a new form, one that catalyzed language learning by sanctioning a tool of language development, the language laboratory. The Asia Foundation became an early advocate of the use of language laboratories for the improvement of English-language proficiency among Koreans, particularly in conversational skills.

Fred Lukoff, from the Korean Language Program at the University of Washington, was a proponent of and participant in this new phase of English-language programming. Not only was Fred a prolific scholar in linguistics, but he was also an expert in the operation of language labs. The Korea Office provided Lukoff’s expertise and a fully equipped language lab to Yonsei University as a model for emulation by other educational institutions throughout the country interested in setting up similar facilities.

The prototype language lab at Yonsei University was simultaneously used as a central training institute for language lab operators and local English teachers. Foundation support for this program included the preparation and production of a set of manuals for language lab operation. To popularize the language lab–based teaching of English on a nationwide basis, the Foundation helped set up language labs at selected provincial institutions of higher education, including Pusan National University, Kyungpook National University in Taegu, and Chonnam National University in Kwangju.

The value of this program was its catalytic role in demonstrating language labs as a viable institution. The Asia Foundation’s seed money sparked the adoption of the language lab by the nation’s entire school system as an instructional aid integral to the teaching of English.

While involved in the language lab program, Fred Lukoff wrote a comprehensive English-language guide to Korean that was published by the Yonsei University Press. The two-volume book, *Fred Lukoff’s Intensive Course in Korean*, was widely recognized and put to extensive use as one of the best English-language textbooks addressed to foreign students of the Korean language.
Student Guidance and Counseling

According to the Foundation’s basic tenets, “The Asia Foundation does not impose its ideas or promote American solutions to Asian problems.” Nevertheless, one of the distinct features of Foundation support consists of offering Asians the opportunity to study and possibly adapt selected American institutions and activities that suit local needs. Foundation backing of student guidance and counseling programs for Korea is a great example of this practice.

Until the program began in 1961, student guidance and counseling was a nonexistent concept in South Korea at all levels of the school system. With initial support from the Foundation’s Korea Office, student guidance and counseling has since evolved into a viable system and an integral element of the country’s academic institutions.

The Asia Foundation provided student guidance and counseling expertise to Korea’s educational system with Jesse Tarwater, the dean of Wharton College and the cardinal instigator of the program. During his time in Korea, from 1961 to 1962, Tarwater traveled extensively throughout the country, advising school authorities on ways in which student guidance and counseling programs could be properly set up and staffed.

On Tarwater’s recommendation, part of the Foundation’s support was set aside for long- and short-term training in the United States of selected education professors and student guidance and counseling staff. Among the beneficiaries of the training was Chung Won-shik of the College of Education, Seoul National University, who eventually received a doctoral degree in the field at George Peabody College and became one of the country’s foremost experts on student guidance and counseling. He served as the first director of the semigovernmental National Center of Student Guidance and Counseling when it was established in 1972. Chung in later years held the position of dean of the SNU College of Education (1979–83), was appointed minister of education (1988–90) and became prime minister (1991–92).

Science and Technology

The Asia Foundation’s broad program goals and country program objectives, jointly set by the field offices and the San Francisco home office,
determine the types of programs field offices take on. Within the purview of Foundation program priorities, however, programming is often influenced by the representative’s own proclivities, resulting from his or her educational background, experience, or specialized interests.

In this regard, Bill Eilers was science oriented, and a portion of the Korea Office’s resources were set aside during his tenure for support of science- and technology-related activities. Support consisted mainly of grants to a number of professional societies in the science and technology field, including the Korean Physics Society, the Korean Chemistry Association, and the Korean Biological Association, which enabled them to inaugurate and continue their respective journals.

Meanwhile, alarmed by the Soviet Union’s launch of Sputnik in the late 1950s, the United States embarked on an extensive reform of high school science textbooks. The Foundation made an effort to introduce the new U.S. science textbook series to Korea’s secondary school system. A team headed by Professor Chung Yun-tai at the College of Education, Seoul National University, received grants to translate into Korean the new U.S. textbook series in physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics.

Concurrent with these grants, the Foundation provided support to an organization called the Pi Club, a group of scientists with U.S. doctoral degrees, for programs and activities aimed at modernizing Korea’s development in science and technology. The Club’s membership of not more than ten included a handful trained in the United States in the years immediately following the end of the Korean War. These scientists admirably chose to return to their homeland despite the widespread phenomenon of “brain drain,” which saw many of Korea’s best and brightest leave the war-torn country to pursue opportunity elsewhere. Styling themselves as the “Young Turks” of the sciences, they subsequently rose to prominence, playing key roles in the country’s science and technology development.

The Korea Office in the 1960s broadened its support to include science and technology in addition to its established support for education and culture. Asia Foundation assistance in the sciences played a catalytic role in stimulating subsequent development in an important area of the nation’s need, the Foundation’s unique modus operandi. The initial programming of the Korea Office in science and technology helped lay the groundwork for the nation’s phenomenal science- and tech-based economic growth in later years.
Asiatic Research Center

Dr. Kim Jun-yop, a specialist in modern Chinese history on the faculty of Korea University, would often recollect that he used to say, “Three scholars, a dozen books on Asian studies, and a $200 grant from The Asia Foundation were just about all we had in the beginning.” The Asiatic Research Center (ARC), thus established in 1957 on the campus of Korea University, was by the mid-1970s recognized as one of the most prestigious research organizations for Asian studies in the country, both in terms of research faculty and the collection of materials on regional studies.

The types of ARC activities supported by The Asia Foundation from 1961 to 1976 included primary research, overseas training for research staff, the organization of international conferences, the invitation of foreign scholars to Korea, and material acquisitions from abroad.

Support of the ARC-sponsored International Conference on Modernization in Asia marked the first major Korea Office program that addressed Foundation program goals in international relations and regional cooperation. It was also the first truly international academic conference held in Korea, with as many as 40 foreign scholars participating. The conference, held at Korea University in the summer of 1965, coincided with the 60th anniversary of the founding of the University.
More recently, Asia Foundation grants continued to sponsor ARC conferences, with Han Sung-joo as program principal. The 1984 regional conference East Asian Security: Perceptions and Realities was held in Seoul with Foundation assistance. The conference brought together fourteen participants from Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States to discuss the nature of the security situation in North and Southeast Asia. Another Foundation-sponsored conference was held in Seoul in 1985, South Korea in the Year 2000: Prospects for Development and Change. The ARC organized the conference in collaboration with the Council on Religion and International Affairs of New York, and in commemoration of the 80th anniversary of Korea University. Nine high-quality research papers were produced in addition to the publication of a 351-page monograph.

Examples of Asiatic Research Center studies funded by The Asia Foundation:

* Kim Nam-sik (1964) *The Sino-North Korea Alliance: The Political Impact*
* Choi Sang-mie (1966) *North Korea and the Sino-Soviet Conflict*
* Suh Nam-won (1971) *A Study of Japanese Investment in Korea in the 1960s*
* Kim Kyung-won (1971) *Function of Law in Korean Society*
* Kim Kyung-won (1973) *Korean-American Relations*
* Lee In-ho (1973–75) *Russian Studies*
* Suh Nam-won (1973) *Economic Integration between North and South Korea*

Ten years later, in 1995, another Foundation grant enabled the ARC to host the workshop Bilateral System of Alliances in the Changing Environment in Asia-Pacific, with Park Choon-ho as program principal. Representatives from Australia, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand attended the workshop to discuss regional security issues, including the topic, “Would U.S. Military Presence in Korea Still Be Necessary after Unification?” Park was elected judge of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea by the United Nations in 1996.
Books for Asia Program

The Books for Asia (BfA) program was launched as a permanent program of The Asia Foundation in Korea in 1962, when the Korea Office moved from the Kyesung Building in Kwanhoon-dong to the Sungbo Building in Bukchang-dong. The new office featured ample space in the basement of the building, which was made available for the operation of the BfA program. Book for the Books for Asia program were brought to Korea duty free. In exchange for this privilege, the Foundation was obliged to abide by the Korean government’s directive that required program recipients to be restricted to institutions and not individuals. Recipients of the donated books consisted primarily of university and college libraries and research institutes throughout the country. In the early years of operation, the BfA program was not bound by these restrictions; the Korea Office was at liberty to distribute the materials to the needy regardless of whether they were institutions or individuals.

The initial years of the Books for Asia program featured two unique activities: (1) a Books Exhibit series, held at various strategic points in the provinces; and (2) the publication of a quarterly newsletter, Books Program News, that showcased selected book arrivals with reviews by renowned Korean scholars. The exhibits and newsletter made the program better known to academic and professional institutions as a valuable source of English-language materials, then significantly undersupplied. In turn, the BfA program made The Asia Foundation a recognized institution throughout the country.

The operation of the program was not without complaints of unfair book distribution from particular recipients until the program adopted a set of rules for fair distribution, in the early 1970s. The Foundation addressed the issue by sending out questionnaires periodically to potential recipients, inquiring as to their book numbers and specific fields of interest. Based on the questionnaire responses, the BfA program staff allocated appropriate titles in suitable numbers to each institutional applicant. The Korea Office representative or program officer periodically supervised this process.

The recipients, in return, were asked to submit a complete list of publications each time they received a supply. The Foundation then submitted copies of the lists of books to a Korean government agency to confirm and verify the legitimate distribution of books imported under the customs-duty exemption.

Until the mid-1970s, institutions of higher learning in the Seoul metropolitan area benefited most from the Books for Asia program, as urban recipients
had better access to the Foundation and could transport books more cheaply. However, when it became clear that many institutions in the provinces were in great need of English-language books, the Foundation gradually shifted the emphasis of its book distributions toward the provincial areas. Textbook materials were allocated to the provinces, while specialized materials continued to be distributed to selected recipients in the Seoul area.

By the early 1990s, the Books for Asia program regularly served some 150 institutions throughout the country, including 110 universities, 20 junior colleges, and 20 research organizations. Specialized collections for legal institutions, such as the Korean Legal Center, the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, and the Army Judge Advocate General Corps, complemented Foundation efforts to strengthen Korea’s legal systems and administration of justice.

During the span of the BfA program in Korea from 1962 to 1995, a total of 1,596,906 books and 277,142 journals were donated to almost all the institutes of higher education throughout the country. The Books for Asia program in Korea was finally phased out in 1995 due to the successful development of Korea’s book industry, the Korea Office’s budgetary constraints, and the BfA program headquarters’ decision to prioritize other Asian countries for book donations. Selected North Korean institutions became beneficiaries of the program beginning in 1996.

It is worth noting that the Books for Asia program in Korea received local funding from two donors: the Korean Traders Scholarship Foundation, which contributed a sum in local currency equivalent to $102,834 from 1980 to 1983;
and the Korean Council for University Education, which donated $191,546 from 1984 to 1992. These funds were appropriated to meet part of the BfA program’s operating costs, covering ocean freight and customs clearance charges, domestic transport charges, and some BfA office rent and utilities expenses.

**Village Library Program**

This unique program, launched in the early 1960s through private initiative, promoted adult education for the rural populace by providing “microlibrary” units to villages throughout the country. Each unit consisted of a bookshelf and a collection of recommended books and periodicals on farming, health, nutrition, and other important aspects of rural life. The books were housed in central village offices where local people regularly handled administrative chores. The program organizer, Ohm Dae-sup, used to tour from village to village on his bike to deliver book supplies from a makeshift book container behind the bike seat that was made out of an old army ammunition box. Ohm, previously secretary-general of the Korean Library Association, headed the program until 1970, when the government took it over and expanded the village library effort as a part of the Saemaul (New Community) Movement. A government-backed community development campaign, the Saemaul Movement emphasized self-help initiatives and thus complemented the highly successful village libraries. In 1982, Ohm received the Magsaysay Award for his pioneering role in the Village Library program and in the popularization of that innovation in other parts of Asia.

Korea Office grants supported studies and field surveys to evaluate the effects of the Village Library program on rural and community development. Grants also were made to help set up a number of “model libraries” at strategic points throughout the country. One of these, established at the county cultural center in Kangjin, South Cholla province, won national acclaim for its use of cultural center facilities and staff to service the entire network of village library units in the county by periodically inspecting, augmenting, and replenishing their respective holdings. The success of this innovative program was thanks largely to the active role played by dedicated county chief Kim Jae-ho, who later became the mayor of Yosu and in 1985 was elected to the National Assembly.
EXCHANGES

For The Asia Foundation, exchanges between Korea and the United States have a multifaceted purpose: to further Asian-American cooperation, understanding, and mutual respect through improved communication, and to share cultural experiences and achievements. The repressive governing regime in 1960s Korea, however, made exchanges particularly valuable for the transfer of knowledge and the exposure to ideas and learning opportunities for Korean participants.

David Steinberg’s tenure as Korea Office representative is marked by grants for Koreans to participate in a series of prestigious U.S. fellowship programs, including the Nieman Fellowship Program, the Harvard International Summer Seminar, the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship Program, and the Coro Foundation Fellowship Program in Local Administration.

Support for these U.S. fellowship programs represents one of the most successful undertakings of the Korea Office, not only in terms of the superior quality of the programs in meeting priority needs of the country, but also in terms of the handpicked Korean participants who subsequently assumed leadership positions in various private and government sectors of society.

Nieman Fellowship Program

Established in 1938, Harvard’s Nieman Fellowship is the oldest and best-known midcareer program for working journalists. Its aims are to promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States and to educate individuals deemed especially qualified for journalism from other countries. Kim Yong-koo was the first Korean participant in this program, from 1963 to 1964. Kim was with the Hankook Ilbo at the time of his acceptance as a Nieman Fellow. A few years after his return from the United States, however, he fell out of favor with the government for his sharp, antigovernment reporting and was forced to leave the paper. It was only after President Roh Tae-woo’s historic June 29, 1987, “democratization declaration” that Kim was reinstated as an editorial writer.

It was remarkable that Korean candidates were accepted in the initial years of the Korea Office’s involvement with the Nieman Fellowship. Competition was fierce — some of the world’s best journalists sought Fellowship positions — and the Nieman Foundation exercised stringent requirements for journalistic capability and ambition. That so many Korean candidates were accepted...
indicates the extent to which the Nieman Foundation was then interested in the development of journalism in Korea. At the same time, the Korea Office exercised the utmost care in the candidate screening process. The result was that the Korea Office’s Fellowship nominees were considered to be among the most prestigious and respected journalists in the country at that time.

Yet it was for this very reason that the program began to have problems. The Nieman Fellowship became a status symbol, an essential stepping-stone for those with an eye to achieving high status in their pursuit of a journalistic career. Competition for nomination to the Fellowship gave rise to intense lobbying on behalf of candidates.

This situation led the Korea Office in 1974 to phase out, albeit temporarily, support for Korean nominees to the Nieman Fellowship. Lee Jung-suk, then with the Chosun Ilbo and currently with the Korean Broadcasting System, was the last Korean Nieman fellow, in 1974–75. At this time, the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University also ceased to accept nominees from Korea, though that decision was occasioned more by the Nieman Foundation’s displeasure with the Korean government’s blatantly repressive policy on press freedom.

After a hiatus of fifteen years, support for Korean nominees to the Nieman Fellowship resumed in 1990 under the joint sponsorship of the Sungkok Journalism Foundation and The Asia Foundation. Since then, Korea has nominated Nieman fellows almost every year. In 2002, the Nieman Foundation set a policy that allowed for the consideration of nominees from Korea only every other year. The change in policy enabled more Fellowship opportunities for journalists from other parts of Asia where the media field has more need of specialized training, to which both the Sungkok Journalism Foundation and The Asia Foundation have no objection.

### Korean Nieman Fellows sponsored by The Asia Foundation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Current Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Kim Yong-koo</td>
<td>Hankook Ilbo</td>
<td>Former professor, Korea University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Park Kwon-sang</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Former President, KBS (Deceased)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Cho Se-hyong</td>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Lim Bang-hyun</td>
<td>Hankook Ilbo</td>
<td>Former member, National Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>Current Affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Nam Jae-hee</td>
<td>Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>Former Labor Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Kwon O-kie</td>
<td>Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Yim Hong-bin</td>
<td>Hankook Ilbo</td>
<td>President, Literature &amp; Thoughts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Lew Hyuck-in</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Kim Dong-ik</td>
<td>JoongAng Ilbo</td>
<td>Former President, Yong-In Songdam College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Kim Jin-hyun</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Chairman, World Peace Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Lee Jung-suk</td>
<td>Korean Broadcasting System(KBS)</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Kim Yong-tae</td>
<td>Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>Board member, The Sungchun Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Choi Kyu-chul</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Executive Advisor, Korea News Editor’s Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Shin Sung-soon</td>
<td>JoongAng Ilbo</td>
<td>Professor, School of Media &amp; Communication, Korea University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Lee Jin-sook</td>
<td>Munhwa Broadcasting Corp. (MBC)</td>
<td>CEO and President, Daejeon MBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Kim Jae-hong</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Spokesperson for Policy Committee Chair of Democratic and Peaceful Welfare Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Cho Gab-je</td>
<td>Monthly Chosun</td>
<td>CEO, chogabje.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Heo Nam-jin</td>
<td>JoongAng Ilbo</td>
<td>CEO, I-S Plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Rhee Byeong-gyu</td>
<td>Hankook Ilbo</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Lee Kwang-chool</td>
<td>Korean Broadcasting System(KBS)</td>
<td>Former Korean Service Director, Radio Free Asia (RFA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Lee Dong-kwan</td>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Former Ambassador for Cooperation in Public Opinion and Culture, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Rhee In-yong</td>
<td>Munhwa Broadcasting Corp.(MBC)</td>
<td>President, Samsung Electronics Co. Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Kang Young-jin</td>
<td>JoongAng Ilbo</td>
<td>Editorial writer, JoongAng Ilbo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The Asia Foundation sponsored Korean Nieman fellows from 1963 to 1973, while Lee Jung-suk (1974) and Kim Yong-tae (1975) were sponsored by the Sungkuk Journalism Foundation. The Nieman Foundation did not receive fellows from Korea from 1976 to 1989. Korean Nieman fellows from 1992 to the present were jointly sponsored by the Sungkuk Journalism Foundation and The Asia Foundation.
Columbia Journalism Fellowship Program

From 1964 to 1967, the Columbia Journalism Fellowship provided grants for four selected midcareer journalists for a year of advanced study in journalism at the School of Journalism, Columbia University. Unlike the Nieman Fellowship, which was designed to upgrade journalists through coursework and activities across a broad range of academic fields, the Columbia Journalism Fellowship focused solely on improving Fellows’ journalistic skills.

Korean Columbia Journalism Fellows sponsored by The Asia Foundation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Current Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Kim Chi-hoon</td>
<td>KBS Cheju</td>
<td>Vice President, Cheju Journalists Club (2000–)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Lew Chi-ho</td>
<td>Seoul Shinmun</td>
<td>Visiting Professor, Sunmoon University (1998–)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Congressional Fellowship Program

The Congressional Fellowship, established in 1953 and coordinated by the American Political Science Association, offers participants a prestigious opportunity to gain an inside view of the workings of the U.S. Congress. The advent of the Congressional Fellowship for Korea dates as far back as 1960, when the Korea Office sponsored Bark Dong-suh as the first fellow from Korea. Bark’s participation marked the inauguration of the Congressional Fellowship as an annual Korea Office program. Bark was followed by Lim Yun-young (1962–63), then a career Foreign Service officer with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Kim Chin (1963–64), then on the faculty of the Graduate School of Law, Seoul National University.

The Congressional Fellowship evolved into a program of major importance to the Korea Office because of its high relevance to The Asia Foundation’s country objectives. In 1964, the Fellowship was deemed by the National
Assembly Secretariat to be an effective tool for legislative development, then an area of priority interest both to the Korean government and to the Foundation.

The National Assembly and The Asia Foundation signed an agreement stipulating that those eligible for Fellowship grants be restricted to qualified staff of the National Assembly Secretariat: those in a position to put to direct and practical use the experiences and insights gained from participating in the Congressional Fellowship program in the United States.

Consequently, the nine Fellowship participants from 1964 to 1969 were all staff of the National Assembly Secretariat. When the pool of suitable National Assembly candidates was finally exhausted in 1971, Korea’s participation in the program was temporarily suspended. In 1979, the Fellowship was reinstated in Korea with Kim Chull, a reporter from the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the first to take part.

The Asia Foundation’s contribution to the Congressional Fellowship during the 1990s was erratic, due both to a lack of applicants intending careers in politics and to the severe budgetary constraints of the Korea Office. The Fellowship was again reinstated in 2001, with Korean fellows selected through personal interviews with the Foundation representative and institutional recommendations. Fellowship costs are shared on a matching-funds basis between the nominating institution and The Asia Foundation. In all, 22 Korea Fellows have benefited from the Congressional Fellowship program over the past 42 years

### List of Asia Foundation Congressional Fellows through January 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Current Position</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Member of Congress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bark Dong-suh</td>
<td>Asst. Dean, Graduate School of Public Admin. Seoul Nat’l University</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>William Proxmire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim Yun-yong</td>
<td>Foreign Service Officer Korean Embassy, Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Bill Moorhead, Frank Moss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Chin</td>
<td>Professor of Law, California Western School of Law</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Dante Fascell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Ock-jin</td>
<td>Secretary to the Speaker, National Assembly</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Gerald Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Current Position</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Member of Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoo Ho-sun</td>
<td>Counselor for Budget &amp; Audit Committee</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>John Murphy, Thomas Dodd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Chong-il</td>
<td>Researcher, Steering Committee, National Assembly</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Bill Broomfield, Tom Sparkman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hau June</td>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Senate Rules and Administration and House Veteran Affairs Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwan Young-gun</td>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>House Public Works Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoon Ha-kyu</td>
<td>Legislative Analyst, Foreign Affairs Committee, National Assembly</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>James Fulton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Kwang-seuh</td>
<td>Acting Chief, Protocol &amp; Information, National Assembly</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>James Fulton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Jong-heup</td>
<td>Staff, National Assembly Secretariat</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Bill Broomfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Yong-moo</td>
<td>Staff, National Assembly Secretariat</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>W. J. Braun Dorn, Strom Thurmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Chull</td>
<td>Reporter, Political Section, Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Joel Pritchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Yong-il</td>
<td>Lawyer, Law Firm of Kim, Shin, &amp; Yoo</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Daniel Akaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dho Young-shim</td>
<td>Protocol/Executive Assistant to the Speaker, National Assembly</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Claude Pepper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The International Summer Seminar at Harvard University offers students and professionals alike the opportunity to advance their knowledge of a variety of subjects related to their field of specialization. The Seminar is said to have been the brainchild of Henry Kissinger while he was on the faculty of Harvard University.

Like the Congressional Fellowship program, Korea Office participation in the Harvard International Summer Seminar commenced in 1954. Early in its inception, Korean participants in the Seminar were nominated in a haphazard manner: Harvard University officials approached Korean candidates without

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Current Position</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Member of Congress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park Jai-chang</td>
<td>Ass’t. Professor and Chair, Dept. of Public Admin., Sookmyung Women’s University</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>William Roth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin Kyung-min</td>
<td>Current National Assembly Member</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>John Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Chang-su</td>
<td>Director, U.S. Studies, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Solomon Ortiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung Dahl-sub</td>
<td>Former Legislative Aide to Assemblyman Yoo Heung-soo</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Jay Kim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Chung-youl</td>
<td>Rep/CEO, Global Trading &amp; Consulting</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Illeana Ros-Lehtinen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Sun-kyu</td>
<td>News File 4321, KBS</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Ed Royce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suh Duk-weon</td>
<td>Deputy Director, Planning and Operations Division, National Assembly Secretariat</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>John Conyers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
prior consultation with the Korea Office, or they applied individually and at will. In 1959, Korean participation in the Seminar became more organized, with committed Foundation support. The Seminar complemented Asia Foundation objectives in international relations and Asian-American exchange. The leadership positions Harvard Seminar grantees subsequently held in various sectors of Korean society indicate the value of the program and the degree to which care was exercised in the selection of participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and Occupation</th>
<th>Major Position Held</th>
<th>Year Attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yang Ho-min</td>
<td>Editorial Writer, Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whang Sung-soo</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Yong-hee</td>
<td>President, Daewoo Foundation</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Dai-won</td>
<td>President, Hong Ik University</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyun Sung-yup</td>
<td>Dean, School of Music, Kyung Hee University</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh Yung-jin</td>
<td>Deceased, 1974</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Han-lim</td>
<td>President, Korea Tourist Bureau</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Jun-kyu</td>
<td>Speaker, National Assembly</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Yong-nok</td>
<td>No current information</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Kie-hong</td>
<td>Publisher, Business in Korea</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Kyu-hyun</td>
<td>Secretary to Prime Minister; later, Ambassador to Canada</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woo Byung-kyu</td>
<td>Secretary-General, National Assembly</td>
<td>1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Dong-whan</td>
<td>Deceased, 1980</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coro Foundation Fellowship Program in Local Administrative Development

The Coro Foundation’s fellowships have provided experiential postgraduate training programs in public affairs since 1942. The Coro Fellowship program in Local Administrative Development represents one of the most important and successful Korea Office exchange programs to date. The Fellowship, launched in 1965 at the request of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) and carried out in cooperation with the Coro Foundation of California, met Korea’s heightened interest in provincial development and directly tied in with Asia Foundation priority objectives in political decentralization.

The Fellowship program’s success came not only through its eventual impact in broadening development efforts throughout the country and reintroducing local self-government, but also through the Korean fellows’ subsequent rise to key positions in various branches of government where the Coro training was put to active and effective use.

The Fellowship offered both theoretical orientation and practical experience through internships at selected local government offices in California over periods ranging from six months to a year. Participation was individual or in groups of two or more, with fellows selected from qualified career officials of the MOHA, particularly those at the Bureau of Local Administration. The Fellowship put the Foundation in touch with a number of participating senior MOHA officials who later rose to key government positions. These people remain close Foundation associates: Kim Soo-hak, a former director of the National Tax Administration (1978); Kwon Soon-bok, former vice-governor of South Cholla province (1979) and director of the Local Autonomy Research Institute (2003); and Kwon Hyuk-shin, former chief of Hwengsung county, Kangwon province.
Civil servants who participated in the Coro Foundation Fellowship, 1965–71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Last Position in Government</th>
<th>Years of Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Han Yang-soo</td>
<td>Governor, South Chungchong province</td>
<td>1987–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Jong-ho</td>
<td>Minister of Home Affairs; Member, National Assembly, 1988–2003.</td>
<td>1986–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku Yong-sang</td>
<td>Mayor of Kwangju; Member, National Assembly</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung Chae-jin</td>
<td>Mayor of Pusan; Secretary-general, National Council on Saemaul Movement, 1991–94</td>
<td>1985–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park Sung-dal</td>
<td>Commissioner, Board of Audit &amp; Inspection; Senior Secretary to President on Public Admin., 1995–96</td>
<td>1990–94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon Chang-soo</td>
<td>Governor, South Cholla province; President, Korea Local Authorities Foundation for Int’l Relations, 1998–2000</td>
<td>1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee Hyo-gye</td>
<td>Vice-Minister of Home Affairs</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lim Hyung-ho</td>
<td>Governor, Kyunggi province</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Luce Scholars Program

Launched in 1974, the Luce Scholars Program is aimed at highly accomplished young Americans in a variety of professional fields who have no prior experience in Asia and who might not otherwise have an opportunity in the normal course of their careers to come to know Asia. The Henry Luce Foundation provides an opportunity for Luce scholars to live and work in Asia for a period of time.

The Asia Foundation began to administer the Luce Scholars Program in Korea in 1976. Working alongside the Henry Luce Foundation, the Korea Office helps identify suitable placement institutions for Luce scholars in Korea and assists in visa processes, housing arrangements, and other management tasks during the scholars’ stays. Each scholar spends approximately 10 months in Korea. Forty scholars have been placed through September 2004.
# Luce scholars supported by The Asia Foundation Korea Office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Scholar</th>
<th>Year Placed</th>
<th>Placement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald Hughston University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</td>
<td>1976–77</td>
<td>Korean Cultural Research Institute, Ewha Womans University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Darden II University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</td>
<td>1977–78</td>
<td>Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne West Stanford University</td>
<td>1977–78</td>
<td>Korean Cultural Research Institute, Ewha Womans University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Waxer University of Southern California</td>
<td>1978–79</td>
<td>Korean Health Development Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Marcom, Jr. Princeton University</td>
<td>1979–80</td>
<td>The Korea Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fancher Vanderbilt University</td>
<td>1980–81</td>
<td>Sogang University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Rees The Johns Hopkins University</td>
<td>1982–83</td>
<td>Korea Electrotechnology and Telecommunications Research Institute (KETRI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Rex Rice University</td>
<td>1982–83</td>
<td>Department of Microbiology, Yonsei University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis Scannell, Jr. University of Southern California</td>
<td>1983–84</td>
<td>Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Reckford University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</td>
<td>1986–87</td>
<td>Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Mazzio Mount Holyoke College</td>
<td>1987–88</td>
<td>Kim and Chang International Law Firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James O’Conor Univ. of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>1987–88</td>
<td>Lucky Goldstar Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Tangherlini University of California</td>
<td>1987–88</td>
<td>National Museum of Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sung Hui Kim Emory University</td>
<td>1988–89</td>
<td>Asiatic Research Center, Korea University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holly Ornstein Carter Colorado College</td>
<td>1990–91</td>
<td>The Sisa Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of Scholar</td>
<td>Year Placed</td>
<td>Placement</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Ellen Eisenlohr</td>
<td>1990–91</td>
<td>Korean Association for Voluntary Effort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Don Saroff</td>
<td>1990–91</td>
<td>Hallym University Medical School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vanderbilt University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Falk</td>
<td>1991–92</td>
<td>Systems Engineering Research Institute, Korea Institute of Science and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Johns Hopkins University</td>
<td></td>
<td>Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Princeton University</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sean McDevitt</td>
<td>1992–93</td>
<td>Management Consulting Center, LG Economic Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern University</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharon Greenberger</td>
<td>1993–94</td>
<td>Korea Research Institute for Human Resettlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>David Kennedy</td>
<td>1993–94</td>
<td>Social Welfare Center, Chung Ang University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stanford University</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jason Cox</td>
<td>1995–96</td>
<td>College of Agriculture and Life Science, Seoul National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kristin Rechberger</td>
<td>1995–96</td>
<td>Educational Broadcasting System</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duke University</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Gawain de Leeuw</td>
<td>1996–97</td>
<td>Sungkonghoe University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oberlin College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine DuRant</td>
<td>1996–97</td>
<td>Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furman University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Rogol</td>
<td>1996–97</td>
<td>Korea International Cooperation Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgetown University</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Wiltrout</td>
<td>1996–97</td>
<td>The Korea Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Notre Dame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Sober</td>
<td>1998–99</td>
<td>College of Oriental Medicine, Kyung Hee University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Hepler</td>
<td>1999–2000</td>
<td>Hong Ik University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberlin College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzanne Wiltgen</td>
<td>1999–2000</td>
<td>Laughing Stone Dance Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Holyoke College</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Exchange grants” were a form of support unique to the Korea Office. In the 1960s and well into the 1970s, Koreans with business travel abroad faced two major problems: passports and foreign exchange. A nonimmigrant, short-term traveler who was lucky enough to be issued a passport after surviving a tough screening process and security checks was further frustrated to learn that he or she was authorized to exchange foreign currencies only at officially licensed money changing agencies, and could carry an amount not exceeding a measly $500, regardless of the number of countries to be visited or the duration of travel.

Most travelers resorted to the thriving black market in foreign exchange — at the risk of detection by airport inspectors and being charged with violating the Foreign Exchange Control Law. This illegitimate exchange channel was useless for Korea Office contacts, consisting mostly of law-abiding university professors and other similarly conscientious sectors of the populace. Yet they often desperately needed to boost their foreign exchange holdings to successfully fulfill the purposes for which they were leaving the country.

In the early 1960s, the Ministry of Finance designated the Korea Office as the only foreign aid agency in Korea that could legally exchange Korean won for dollars at the prevailing rate. The Asia Foundation thus became the only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Scholar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam Wilcke</td>
<td>2000–01</td>
<td>Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Seoul National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toby Dalton</td>
<td>2001–02</td>
<td>Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kyungnam University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Ball</td>
<td>2002–03</td>
<td>People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher School</td>
<td>2003–04</td>
<td>Yonsei University College of Medicine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carl Fisher</td>
<td>2003–04</td>
<td>National Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DePauw University</td>
<td>2003–04</td>
<td>POSCO Research Institute</td>
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Exchange Grants

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<td>POSCO Research Institute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
government-authorized source for won-dollar exchange outside of the officially
designated channels (the government and private banks).

In addition to providing grantees with the amounts of foreign exchange
needed for international travel, the exchange grants helped grantees obtain their
passports. The exchange grant certificate served as an affidavit of financial
support from The Asia Foundation, as a non-Korean establishment, in conformity
with the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Control Law. Thanks to the
successful negotiations of Bill McDougal, Korea Office assistant representative,
the Ministry of Finance permitted the stipulation of this exceptional bylaw.

Even though the exchange grants had no cost for the Foundation, apart from
some minor paperwork and staff time, the exchange grants were just as effective
as other Foundation grants, meeting the population’s need for overseas travel
to realize outside opportunities. Though detailed statistical data is unavailable,
from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, when Korea’s economic growth and an
amendment to the Foreign Exchange Control Law finally obviated the need
for exchange grants, it is believed that an average of one-tenth of Korea Office
expenditures in won consisted of exchange grant transactions, from which
hundreds of individual and institutional contacts benefited.

OTHER NOTABLE PROGRAMS

One program undertaken in the 1960s, though not covered in the themes of
this chapter, is particularly noteworthy due to its reflection of a central aspect of
Korean society under the Park Chung-hee regime: the civil-military relationship.

Office of Veterans Administration

The Korea Office in the mid-1960s issued grants in support of a series of
research programs covering the role of the military in national development.
Under General Park, the military was pervasive in every branch of government
and in every aspect of Korean society. The civil-military relationship
dominated state affairs and in many ways established the building blocks
of Korea’s modern public administration, replacing the last remnants of the
Japanese system of colonial rule from the first half of the twentieth century.
The Korea Office grants included support for research studies that empirically
confirmed, contrary to the prevailing concept of the military as a source of unproductive budgetary spending, that the military was playing a major role in the promotion of literacy and in the provision of skills training that servicemen could put to effective and productive use following discharge.

The grants were made to the Office of Veterans Administration, headed by Lt. General (Ret.) Min Byung-kwon, who was later, in the 1970s, elected to the National Assembly. The research findings led to extensive revamping, at Lt. General Min’s insistence, of vocational training courses offered at the reservist division in Andong, North Kyongsang province, to which all interested soldiers are sent for a two-week orientation and skill training prior to their discharge.

One of the many scholars who participated in the military studies was Kim Kyung-dong, then a professor of sociology at Seoul Women’s College (now Seoul Women’s University) and later at Seoul National University, who has since been involved in a number of programs and events under Foundation sponsorship.

Conclusion

The Asia Foundation was in great demand throughout the 1960s, and the skill and reputation of the Korea representatives during this period, most notably Bill Eilers and David Steinberg, helped promote programs that were beginning to make significant contributions to priority areas of national development. Key programs during this period included exchange programs and the provision of expertise in university administration planning, urban planning, and economic development planning, to name a few.

Programming became disappointingly sluggish toward the end of the 1960s due to a drastically truncated budget. The Asia Foundation was obliged to maintain a nominal presence, giving grants to a handful of ongoing programs for which assistance had previously been committed. The severe budget cutbacks of the late 1960s prevented the Korea Office from delving into new, innovative programs requiring substantial funding until the early 1970s.
About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

William E. Eilers, Representative, 1960–1963

William Eilers arrived in Korea in November 1960 to replace Jack James as the Korea Office representative, following a two-year stint in Burma as assistant representative for the Foundation office in Rangoon. His wife, two sons, and a daughter joined him in early 1961.

Bill believed in the necessity of adapting to the local environment to do a good job as the representative of a private American aid agency like The Asia Foundation. Deciding that the semisecluded UN Village was not suitable in this regard, Bill and his family left the UN Village residence for a small but elegant western-style house in Shindangdong. The property remained the official representative’s residence for ten years thereafter, being occupied by subsequent representatives David Steinberg and John Bannigan.

Bill’s tour coincided with the outbreak of another crisis in Korea’s recent history: the May 16, 1961, coup that ushered in an era of combined military dictatorship and phenomenal economic success with the Supreme Council of National Reconstruction (SCNR). Bill worked hard to build relations with the new ruling authorities in South Korea, if only to be able to continue Asia Foundation programming to address the needs of the country under the military regime’s forceful rule. The SCNR authorities responded favorably, and often came to the Foundation to ask for help in their efforts to jump-start development in Korea. Thus, during Bill Eiler’s time and beyond, The Asia Foundation became closely associated with programs boosting Korea’s development and institutional capacity.
There was a personal reason for the Korea Office’s connection with the new ruling regime. Bill served in the U.S. Army as a young psychological warfare officer during the Korea War, working closely with counterpart Korean officers. Some of these Korean officers became the core of the SCNR nearly ten years later. Their reunion with Bill was merely a coincidental encounter, but it resulted in the establishment of relations between The Asia Foundation and the SCNR that proved critical to the Foundation’s programming efforts in the 1960s.

**Frank E. Dines, Assistant Representative, 1961–1963**  
**William McDougal, Assistant Representative, 1963–1965**  
**Robert Levine, Assistant Representative, 1965–1967**

Frank Dines arrived in the fall of 1961 as the second assistant representative for the Korea Office. Frank’s two-year tour in Korea covered the second year of Bill Eilers’s tour and the first year of David Steinberg’s tour as Korea Office representative,
thereby providing continuity for the Foundation in Korea both in programming and administration.

Frank fully lived up to the Foundation’s expectations of his position, performing as the representative’s right-hand man and helping oversee office operations. Frank streamlined administration by formulating a detailed, local-staff management policy and introducing a modernized filing procedure, a system that has guided the Korea Office’s administrative operations for many years. Frank returned to the Korea Office ten years later for another two-year tour — this time as the representative — and found the experience of his previous tour of great value in fulfilling his responsibilities as head of The Asia Foundation in Korea.

Frank Dines was succeeded as assistant representative by William McDougal (1963–65) and Robert Levine (1965–67). For several months in 1965, Bill McDougal was acting representative while official representative David Steinberg was on home leave. During the summer of 1965, the interregnum between Bill’s departure and Bob’s arrival, Jim Kokoris, one of the assistant representatives at the Foundation’s Tokyo Office, came to pinch-hit as Korea Office representative.

Two years in the country made Frank, Bill, and Bob “old Korea hands,” a field experience that made them logical choices for Korea Office representatives. Frank Dines returned to assume that position from 1971 to 1973. While Bill McDougal has not since returned for field assignment, he is nevertheless closely involved as area director for Korea in the Foundation’s San Francisco home office.

After Bob Levine, the Korea Office was without an assistant representative for more than two decades, until 1988, when the position was temporarily reinstated with Stephen Fuller assigned to the Korea Office.
David I. Steinberg, Representative, 1963–1968

David Steinberg replaced Bill Eilers as assistant representative for the Foundation’s Rangoon Office in Burma, and thereafter transferred to Korea, where he took over Bill’s job as Korea Office representative in 1963. David’s tour in Korea thus followed in the footsteps of Bill’s. Yet in other respects the two had little in common, aside from their dedication to the goals of The Asia Foundation. Unlike Bill, for example, David came without a family and eventually married a native Korean, Ann Myung-sook Lee. He also was the first Korea Office representative to extend his tour to last five consecutive years, in excess of the normal two-year term.

David was equipped with experience and academic training that qualified him as an ideal field representative for The Asia Foundation. He had taught English at Lingnan University in South China from 1948 to 1949, and thereafter completed a master’s degree in Asian studies at Harvard University. If Bill Eilers had the marks of a diplomat and a politician, David Steinberg was the archetypal scholar, an intellectual with a broad knowledge of the liberal arts and the social sciences, in addition to his expertise in Asian studies.

Within The Asia Foundation’s priority interests, programming often was influenced by David’s own academic orientation and proclivities. During his tenure, the Korea Office supported programs featuring academic research, workshops, seminars, and cultural accomplishments, and the individuals and institutions engaged in these pursuits. These programs brought the Korea Office into touch with local circles of intellectuals, particularly academics, among whom David (and through him the Foundation) commanded a wide respect.
That the Korea Office’s reputation was enhanced at this time is due as much to David’s official role as Foundation representative as to his unofficial personal interest in Korean studies. Soon after his arrival in Korea, David delved into an intensive course in Korean, subsequently achieving such proficiency in the language that he began translating articles and books with sophisticated contents.

His mastery of Korean is attested to by his translation of a best-selling book containing essays by Lee O-ryong, a professor of Korean literature at Ewha Womans University and one of the foremost literary critics in the country. The English-language version of the book *In That Wind, In That Earth* was the first such nonfiction Korean title to be published in English, and was immediately hailed by non-Korean audiences at home and abroad as an important addition to the sources of knowledge on Korean culture.
John A. Bannigan, Representative, 1968–1971

John Bannigan arrived at one of the most troubling times in the history of the Korea Office. The funding setbacks during the late 1960s were a stunning blow both to the Office’s fund-raising efforts and to its image as a private philanthropic organization.

When John arrived in 1968 to replace David Steinberg as Foundation representative, the uncertainty of the funding situation was already a source of looming anxiety among the local staff as a result of drastic, impending budget cuts. These four years were the most difficult period for the Korea Office in terms of funding its program and administrative budgets.

John’s jovial, happy-go-lucky mien contrasted with the gloom and dampened morale that then prevailed in the Korea Office. The salary level the Foundation could afford was so low that it barely held together local staff members. When complaints were made, John used to say, “There isn’t much I can do, but if you give me the money, I’ll raise your salaries!” This was his honest comment, as John well knew that any appeals to the Foundation home office for salary increases would have been fruitless at that time. The local staff were often amused by John’s sense of humor and his optimistic style of office administration.

Korean Staff

At the end of 1961, P.Y. Cho left his job as program consultant for the Korea Office. The broad base of contacts established in fields of priority interest to the Foundation meant that P.Y.’s position as communications consultant was no longer necessary. Moreover, P.Y.’s new job with the Hanguk Ilbo took up most of his time, as he was asked by publisher Chang Key-young to be a full-time editorial advisor.
Bang Sun-sook was employed as another receptionist-typist, a position she filled from 1965 to 1967. Following her immigration to the United States in late 1967, she worked briefly at the Foundation’s home office in San Francisco.

By 1969, the budget situation had become critical, and drastically shrinking program activities caused a severe decline in staff morale. The local staff began dwindling by natural attrition. The first to leave the Korea Office were two secretaries, Han Sung-lim and Bang Sun-sook. Lee Eui-kwan, then administrative assistant, resigned to start his own business, a small interior decorating shop in Taegu. In early 1969, office manager Park Tae-jin left the Foundation to join Huwin Corporation, an American construction firm in Seoul. The number of local staff thus was reduced to three: Cho Tong-jae, program advisor; Yi Yun-sae, accountant; and Kim Ki-shil, Books Program officer.

**Office Building**

**New Office at Pukchang-dong**

As the period of rent-free occupancy of the Kyesung Building offices in Kwanhoon-dong, Chongno-ku, expired in 1962, the Korea Office moved to a new location at Pukchang-dong, Chung-ku, in the Sungbo commercial building close to the main office of the Bank of Korea.

The interior of the Korea Office on the third floor of the Sungbo Building was redesigned by Oswald Nagler, a well-known American architect and Foundation-sponsored consultant to the Korean government’s Housing, Urban, and Regional Planning Institute. The office impressed visitors as a showcase of limited space partitioned and designed in such a way as to assure maximum administrative efficiency while at the same time providing a cozy atmosphere.
The budgetary constraints of the late 1960s forced The Asia Foundation to move out of the downtown Sungbo Building to a new location in Pukahyun-dong, Suhdaemun-ku, in the southwest of Seoul. The Korea Office could no longer afford the Sungbo Building’s high rent when the lease came up for renewal.

Other Events of Interest

Visits by President Haydn Williams

The era of Representative David Steinberg was marked by visits to Korea by Dr. Haydn Williams on three different occasions (May 1964, October 1965, and October 1966) after he became president of The Asia Foundation in January 1964.

At each of these visits, President Williams was provided with a red carpet welcome, which on Williams’ first trip in 1964 included an audience with President Park Chung-hee at the Blue House. During his second trip, in October 1965, at a ceremony held at the office of Prime Minister Chung Il-kwon, he was awarded the Cultural Medal Moran (Peony), one of the country’s highest orders of merit. On Williams’s third trip, in October 1966, coinciding with the 20th anniversary of the founding of Seoul National University as Korea’s premier institution of higher education, President Williams and Carlos Romulo, president of the University of the Philippines, were the two “distinguished foreign guests” on whom the University conferred an honorary doctor of law degree in ceremonies on the campus.
Chapter THREE

1970–1979
Expanding Development
Throughout the 1970s, Korea experienced political turmoil while its economy continued to advance. The political constraints the country experienced in the 1960s were exacerbated the following decade by a series of government actions that further consolidated its grip on power and hampered democratic development. The suppression of press freedom, national emergency decrees, the temporary forced suspension of the National Assembly, and the promulgation of the Yushin Constitution, which endowed the head of state with autocratic powers, kept power in the hands of the governing elite. The tense political situation finally culminated in the assassination of President Park Chung-hee in 1979.

During this time period, the country’s economy achieved steady progress with the adoption of the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plan. The Korean government embarked on the construction of major infrastructure that would be crucial to the country’s economic development in the 1970s, building dams and major river reservoirs, a nuclear power plant, express highways, and harbor facilities. The Asia Foundation began to shift its programming efforts from advancing Korea’s institutional capacity to spreading development efforts to the regions and throughout civil society. Programming tended to emphasize educational, regional, and legal development, social and civil society programs, and support for the country’s nascent nongovernmental organizations.

**PROGRAMS 1970–1979**

**EDUCATION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

By the 1970s, The Asia Foundation in Korea had a long history in, and a strong reputation for, supporting education. However, institutionalizing the advances made by the education sector, and expanding opportunities for learning, took on an increasingly important role in Korea Office programs as the decade wore on. The Foundation believed education to be the single largest determinant of the country’s future prospects, and worked hard with government officials and leaders of the academic community to deepen and broaden Korea’s educational prospects for both urban and rural populations.
Seoul National University, Kwanaksan Campus

A Foundation grant in 1968 supported a summer seminar, The Role of Higher Education in National Development in Asia, for Asian university administrators in Seoul. Stanford University and the Administrative Improvement Research Commission of Korea cosponsored the conference, bringing together educators from five countries — Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and the United States — for two weeks of discussions on education and national society. The participants concentrated much of their discussion on university planning and curriculum and instruction requirements.

The seminar proceedings, published the following year, made strong recommendations for long-term university planning and received careful attention from the Ministry of Education. Soon thereafter, the Korean government ordered all public colleges and universities in the country to begin preparing ten-year development plans. Because institutes of higher education tend to stimulate development and innovation, The Asia Foundation placed primary emphasis on working with Korea’s universities on campus development, staff training, guidance and counseling, curriculum development, and research.

A briefing on the Seoul National University Kwanaksan Campus master plan. (Right to left) Lee Hoon-sup, chief of Campus Construction Headquarters, SNU; Edwin Reischauer, Asia Foundation trustee; Kim Woon-se, director of planning, design, and control, SNU; and Frank Dines, the Foundation’s representative in Korea (1971).
As Seoul National University (SNU) (*Hahn Shim-suk)* continued to be the pacesetter for Korea’s higher education system, the Korea Office made a series of grants to assist SNU in preparing and implementing its ten-year development plan, including the construction of a new campus at Kwanaksan. In 1970, two American consultants, Mr. Paddock and Mr. Upton of DPUA, an architectural firm in Massachusetts, made preliminary assessments for the physical planning of the new campus. At the same time, Dr. Charles Odegaard, then president of the University of Washington, acted as a consultant on the draft academic plan for the SNU Planning Committee. Asia Foundation president Dr. Hayden Williams remarked on the program in his 1971 President’s Review: “Impressive reforms are being introduced in higher education in Korea, where a far-reaching reorganization is underway at Seoul National University, that country’s most influential university, which gives prospects of the institution becoming one of the most innovative in Asia.”

Seoul National University had been a small, centralized, colonial institution with 14,000 students and 1,200 faculty members on six, widely separated campuses in and around the city of Seoul. The construction of a new campus in 1971 at Shillim-dong, Kwanak-ku, on the southern outskirts of Seoul, consolidated facilities and streamlined academic and administrative structures. The new Kwanaksan campus was completed in 1975. The extent and character of the Foundation’s involvement in this endeavor included:

1. Providing advisory services from Dober, Paddock, Upton, and Associates (DPUA), a campus-planning firm based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for overall physical planning of the Kwanaksan campus (1970–71).
2. Travel grants for three staff members of the SNU Construction Headquarters (Lee Hoon-sup, Kim Woon-se, and Lee Hong-koo) to observe university planning in North America, Europe, and Asia (1971).
3. SNU participation in the University of Wisconsin’s Seminar on University Administration and Operations (August 1971).
4. Support for an international conference in Seoul, University Planning and Development, attended by representatives from the Asian Institute of Technology, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Chulalongkorn University,

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*Editor’s Note: in chapters 3, 4, and 5, the names of the heads of organizations working with The Asia Foundation, or principal partners of Foundation-sponsored programs, are often italicized and placed in parentheses following the organization’s name. Hahn Shim-suk was president of Seoul National University at the time of this Asia Foundation program.
Fu Jen Catholic University, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Hiroshima University, University of Malaya, University of Michigan, National University of Malaysia, Ruhr University Bochum, University of Singapore, University of Sussex, Tokyo University, University of Washington, and Yale University (October 1971).

5. A travel grant enabling Professor Lee Man-gap, SNU Central Library director, to undertake an extensive observation and study tour of libraries in Japan and the United States. The Foundation also gave a travel grant to an American consultant for the Central Library (1972).

SNU Graduate School of Public Administration and Environmental Studies

Assisting Seoul National University’s Graduate School of Public Administration (GSPA) (Lee Hahn-been) to upgrade its faculty and curriculum was a key Korea Office effort in education. Foundation support of the GSPA complemented programs in both local administration and environmental studies from 1967 to 1973. Arranged in consultation with Lee Hahn-been, GSPA dean and a staunch friend of The Asia Foundation, support took the form of grants for faculty seminars, selected research studies, publications, and advanced training fellowships for faculty.
Addressing concerns over environmental deterioration in the capital and other cities, the Korean government in 1973 formally authorized Seoul National University to upgrade its Department of Urban and Regional Planning to the Graduate School of Environmental Studies (GSES), the first such institution in Korea for the advanced study of the environment.

The GSES, however, suffered a shortage of faculty with training in urban planning and the environment. The Asia Foundation provided assistance for several members of the faculty to get advanced degrees in the United States. Faculty participants included Kim Hyung-kook, at UCLA (1972); Rho Wha-joon, at Syracuse (1973); Lim Kang-won, at Cornell (1973); Choe Sang-chuel, at Pittsburgh (1974); Kim An-jae, at Cincinnati (1974); and Kwon Tai-joon, at SUNY (1974). When they returned to Korea with advanced degrees, these scholars constituted the core of the GSES faculty.

On the recommendation of the GSES, the Korea Office provided two-year scholarships, from 1972 to 1974, to fifteen local officials from provincial and municipal governments throughout the country, for advanced study in regional and environmental planning at the GSES. This scholarship scheme was carried out in coordination with Director General Goh Kun of the Bureau of Local Administration, Ministry of Home Affairs. Scholarship recipients in later years helped institute regional and environmental planning in their respective local governments, a process that proved crucial for countrywide development.

At the 30th anniversary celebration of the GSES in May 2003, Dr. Rho Yung-hee, the first dean of the GSES, made a special congratulatory remark in his retrospective speech: “We were deeply indebted to The Asia Foundation for its invaluable and timely assistance, which enabled the GSES to successfully tide over the difficult transitional period in the early days of inauguration, especially in the faculty training program.”

**Education and Rural Development**

In the early 1970s, rural development became a growing concern, and the Korean government began to look for ways to promote more balanced...
national growth. Education was part and parcel of the government’s rural development efforts, consisting of the dispersal of industry, the Saemaul (New Community) Movement, and other measures meant to increase agricultural production, employment, and income. For several years, The Asia Foundation supported numerous programs for provincial university development under which universities, teachers’ colleges, and agricultural colleges upgraded their faculties and extended their resources to the surrounding areas through exchanges, research, and seminars on provincial issues, nonformal education, and community development.

One of the most pressing concerns in the academic community was the acute need to upgrade faculty expertise. Beginning in 1972, the Korea Office enabled 46 provincial university professors to pursue advanced training at academic institutions and research institutes, both in Seoul and abroad. Faculty upgrading proved to be of enormous assistance to Korea’s provincial universities, as were the relationships developed with American universities in the course of the exchange programs.

The Asia Foundation initiated a Seoul Sabbatical program with Chonnam National University in 1972, eventually expanding the program to include Chungnam National, Cheju National, and Chonbuk National Universities. Under this program, provincial professors gained specialized training by working with fellow scholars in Seoul, many of whom possessed overseas doctoral degrees and kept in close touch with developments in their respective fields. Because it offered effective incentives for better staff research and teaching, the program became a regular initiative of the Ministry of Education.

Students from Chonju Teachers College and villagers participate in a rural community development project (1974).
To help improve the quality of provincial university faculties, the Korea Office in 1977 sponsored eleven professors from four provincial universities (Pusan National, Kyungpook National, Chungnam National, and Chonnam National) for specialized training at several universities in the United States, including the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Alabama, SUNY Buffalo, the University of Washington, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Missouri. In addition, ten professors from Cheju National, Chungbuk National, and Chonbuk National Universities were given support to conduct research in their specialized fields at universities in Seoul.

When provincial universities and colleges took on the responsibility of administering educational resources throughout the country’s more rural provinces, The Asia Foundation provided them with grants to improve internal administration, reform curriculum, upgrade teaching staff, and encourage research pertinent to Korea’s rural development. The Foundation encouraged provincial universities to make education and training courses available to the rural populace, covering topics such as regional planning, rural modernization, migration, employment, and agricultural techniques for farmers.

As the decade progressed, the Foundation increasingly partnered with provincial institutions of higher learning as a programming vehicle in rural areas. In this regard, the Korea Office adopted a unique programming approach that was highly successful in spreading program efforts in the provinces. This successful model of development helped distribute knowledge and resources more evenly throughout the countryside, leading to more stable and equitable national growth.

In the early 1970s, the Korea Office supported a series of summer-winter work camps for joint teams of faculty and students from Kyungsang College. The work camp participants cooperated with residents of selected villages to produce a set of farmer’s manuals, which were then distributed to other educational institutions around the country. As the Foundation’s contacts widened in the provincial areas, assistance was expanded to include the two-year teachers colleges and agricultural vocational colleges, which often were the most important cultural or educational centers in the rural regions. Kyungpook National University, Cheongju College, Kongju College of Education, and Andong Teachers College were given support for a series of seminars and symposia on subjects relating to rural adult education and regional development.
A number of groups were encouraged to develop meaningful educational alternatives through nonformal means in 1975. The series of short-term, adult-education courses organized by the **Yongdong Development Committee** for housewives, fishermen, hotel managers, taxi drivers, and clerical workers provides an excellent example of nonformal education practices in the regions. More than 1,000 participants benefited from the Yongdong Committee’s courses. Another noteworthy program was the **Cheongju College Regional Community Research Center**, which developed a series of courses on law, family planning, health, and basic home economics for women in North Chungchong province. Among civic and voluntary agencies, nonformal education programs for women were quite successful in the provinces, and were enthusiastically received by both the participants and the local authorities.

Some twenty grants were made in 1976, enabling universities and colleges to extend their educational services to rural areas. **Taegu Teachers College** hosted a gathering with sister colleges to develop handicraft programs to generate supplemental income for farmers during the long, inclement winters. Participating professors provided necessary know-how in commercial handicrafts to abet farmers in making productive use of the off-season. **Cheju National University** worked to improve the productivity and income of farmers working on marginal land. **Kyungsang College**, at the time an institution specializing in agricultural education, proved to be a most effective programming vehicle for providing technical extension services to farmers, through the establishment of a Farmers Technical Guidance Center.

![Training farmers in grafting skills under the Farmers Education Project of Yesan Agricultural Junior College (1974).](image-url)
Among others, **Andong Teachers, Cheongju Teachers, Chunchon Teachers, Kwangju Teachers, Mokpo Teachers, and Yesan Agricultural Colleges, SNU College of Agriculture** in Suwon, and **Wonkwang University** received Foundation assistance in 1977 to carry out educational extension programs to provide learning opportunities in rural communities. **Kangwon National University** sponsored a “learning community” approach in the province, encouraging farmers to develop innovations and reforms in their agricultural practices. In later years, Foundation-backed technical training centers for farmers at **Chungbuk National University** and **Kyungsang College** (now Gyeongsang National University) began to be financed by the government, once the centers’ effectiveness as rural educational training tools was proven.

The Korea Office helped **Keimyung University**, a leading private university in Taegu, to establish a comprehensive adult-education program for community leaders in social integration and adjustment. The program helped address problems arising from rapid urbanization prompted by the construction of a gigantic steel mill in Pohang, now called Pohang Steel Company (POSCO). The Foundation provided assistance to **Kyungnam College** to help adolescent female workers in the Masan Export Zone adjust to an urban, industrial working environment through counseling and adult-education services.

**LAW AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Generally, the backbone of a modern, stable country is a highly developed legal system that functions as a guide to the workings of the state. A country’s laws set just limits on the authority of politicians, the state, and security officials, provide guidelines for the private and public sectors, and help order and protect civil society. The sophistication of a country’s legal system is often closely intertwined with the level of national development. During the 1970s, The Asia Foundation committed a great deal of time and effort to cultivating a cadre of Korean legal professionals and academics and spreading legal services more evenly throughout the general population.
Legal Education

Foundation assistance in legal education in the 1970s broadened beyond the intellectuals who were central to law programming in former years. The Asia Foundation continued its previous assistance to the law library at Seoul National University Graduate School of Law and maintained its support for the Supreme Court Library by supplying law books, reference materials, and library equipment. However, the Korea Office began to refocus its law programming efforts toward benefiting the general population more broadly, with the production of legal teaching materials and the support of programs designed to assist the underprivileged in legal matters.

Legal Teaching Materials

Many changes and reforms in legal education in the early 1970s called for new, case-oriented teaching materials. With Foundation assistance, the Law Research Institute at Seoul National University (SNU) undertook a major, 13-year project (1971–84) to develop new legal teaching materials.


This casebook series proved both popular and useful, and significantly contributed to legal scholarship in Korea, benefiting students, practitioners, and others concerned with the development of the rule of law and the administration of justice. The program was intended to help improve legal teaching methods, which ultimately could have led to the reform of the country’s legal education and bar examination system. However, its impact was never thoroughly assessed.

University-Based Legal Aid Programs

Professor Jay Murphy of the University of Alabama, a law advisor to the Korea Office, recommended that the Foundation consider promoting legal aid and
counseling services for the poor in rural areas, in part by enlisting cooperation from provincial universities. Murphy made the recommendation after visiting most of the provincial colleges of law during his two tours in Korea in the 1960s. The Asia Foundation, however, waited to implement such a program until the mid-1970s, when a provincial university staff specialist, Cho Tong-jae, was assigned to develop programs with institutes of higher learning in the provinces.

A joint, faculty-student team of Chungnam National University’s Legal Aid Center (Park Young-woo) in Taejon undertook the first program, which provided mobile legal-aid services to needy clients in the farming, fishing, and mining regions of South Chungcheong province. Legal services covered civil, criminal, commercial, administrative, and tax law, and featured public lectures on the role of law in community development. The program continued for three years from 1974, culminating in the publication of a layman’s legal manual in 1978. Due to its success, this form of support was reinstated with Foundation assistance through grants to several provincial universities from 1981 to 1983.

The fact that lawyer’s services were virtually unavailable in the Iri area of North Cholla province prompted Wonkwang University (Myung Hyun-sik) to establish its own Legal Aid Center in 1967. The Center aimed to extend legal aid services to meet the growing legal assistance needs in the Iri and North Cholla provinces. Foundation assistance to the Center, in the form of a full-time legal counseling assistant, enabled it to develop and expand its services into a viable outreach program. Wonkwang University eventually committed itself to provide full financial support to the Center, which allowed it to continue without further assistance from the Korea Office.

Established in 1981, Chonnam National University Legal Aid Center (CNU LAC) (Cho Byung-gap, Oh Hang-ki, Lee Hough-joon) received support for the expansion of the Center’s legal counseling and referral services for underprivileged clients in Kwangju and in the remote areas of South Cholla province. In addition, the LAC developed text materials for use in legal literacy education programs for female workers in industrial and rural areas. The textbook, Law and Women, published by the Center in 1985, was distributed to institutions and individuals in and outside the Honam region. After three years of Foundation support, Chonnam National University pledged its own resources to enable the Center to continue its programs.
For two years The Asia Foundation supported the Legal Assistance Center of Kangwon National University (KNU LAC) (Kim Un-yong). Kangwon’s LAC extended legal assistance, literacy, and counseling services to the underprivileged in two regions of Kangwon province: Chunchon-Chunsong and Samchok-Taibaik.

**Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations**

The Asia Foundation’s assistance to the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations (KLACFR) (Lee Tai-young) began with a small grant in the late 1950s to meet the cost of rent for its small office, just opened in downtown Seoul to help underprivileged people with legal-aid services. From 1973 to 1988, the Foundation supported the Center through various programs, among them the granting of a collection of Korean-language law books, the provision of young lawyers for counseling services, the improvement of its library holdings and research capacity, the training of counseling staff through observation and study tours in the United States, the publication of counseling manuals, counseling programs for juveniles and the aged, the facilitation of mobile counseling programs, and the publication of newsletters promoting legal literacy. Foundation grants helped the KLACFR reinforce its local network with the establishment of eight provincial branch centers, in Pusan, Kwangju, Taegu, Inchon, Chongju, Jongju, Iri, and northern Seoul.

The Korea Office contributed a collection of Korean-language law books to the KLACFR’s reference library, a library that eventually housed one of the country’s best collections of books on women, family relations, the law, and human rights. Foundation support for a question-and-answer book, *What Can I Do?*, served as a useful tool in both educating the general public on Korea’s family law and providing guidance to families with specific legal problems. KLACFR counseling programs and newsletters successfully heightened its image as an intermediary institution working for social and democratic change in Korea.

It was a long-cherished desire of Madam Lee Tai-young, the director of KLACFR, to provide the Center’s counseling staff with the opportunity to gain a better understanding of American programs and activities in counseling.
Three staff members, Cha Myong-hee, Chu Mee-tae, and Kim Soun-sook, were sent to the United States under Foundation auspices in 1980 to undertake a four-week observation tour (followed by a two-month internship for one of them) to familiarize themselves with U.S. legal-aid and counseling practices. This was the first opportunity for KLACFR counselors to gain international exposure. In recognition of the successful results achieved in the first program, The Asia Foundation repeated the observation tour in 1982 for three additional counselors: Kwak Pae-hee, Ahn Chong-hee, and Lee Hae-sook. The overseas training experience helped raise morale among KLACFR staff and effectively strengthened their competence in day-to-day counseling services.

The KLACFR was founded in 1956 by Madam Lee Tai-young as a private, nonprofit organization and is now one of the oldest in Korea. She devoted her life to aiding women suffering from domestic problems, through counseling and legal services. The first woman lawyer in Korea, and a charismatic one at that, Madam Lee constantly worked to strengthen the Center and its counseling staff to better serve its clientele, until her death in 1998. The first revision of the Family Law passed by the National Assembly in 1989 was a triumph that acknowledged thirty years of Madam Lee’s legal advocacy campaign. She received the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 1975.
SPECIAL PROBLEM-ORIENTED PROGRAMS

For several years, from the early 1970s, The Asia Foundation Korea Office engaged in a series of activities under the rubric of Special Problem-Oriented Programs (SPOPs) with grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and private funding sources. The SPOPs set out to improve national living standards by focusing on factors vital to the population’s domestic well-being. The SPOPs in Korea focused on three specific areas: population and family planning, food and nutrition, and healthcare delivery services.

Population and Family Planning

During the 1960s, policies of the Korean government to promote economic progress and social well-being barely made any gains. With average family income increasing only slightly, the burgeoning population tended to cancel out the meager economic and social gains achieved. The rate of population growth
was alarmingly high toward the end of the 1960s, registering at 2.8%. To alleviate the population problem, the Foundation felt a responsibility, as well as a special competence, to do substantially more on this issue in the 1970s. The Korea Office focused on ensuring that government- and nongovernment-sponsored population programs were effectively communicated and successfully implemented in Korea. To encourage such efforts, the Foundation identified the information, education, and communication (IE&C) aspects of population planning as a priority area of programming.

Considering that a number of national and international agencies were active in family-planning programs, The Asia Foundation made special efforts to consult and coordinate with them. Civic and community organizations, which had hitherto played little or no role in the family-planning process, became active partners in the Foundation’s population program endeavors. The Foundation encouraged civic and community organizations to act as resource and service centers for IE&C programs.

As a first step, grants were made to the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea (PPFK) in 1973 to undertake a program, in cooperation with the Two-Child Family Clubs, designed to promote the “Stop at Two” movement in the country. Along with the production of a practical field-worker manual on implementing population-planning programs, the PPFK appointed a full-time program coordinator, Kim Jae-hee, a journalist, to administer technical support for family-planning IE&C programs carried out by voluntary organizations in Korea. The Foundation was a major source of support for the PPFK’s activities.

Grants were made to the Federation of Korean Cultural Centers (FKCC) (Huh Chan-jong), a major national organization, to hold two population IE&C seminars for directors of provincial cultural centers in 1973. The seminars led to an expanded, three-month, family-planning IE&C campaign the following year. FKCC secretary-general Huh Chan-jong organized and directed the campaign to advocate family-planning practices in coordination with provincial cultural centers, local government agencies, and private volunteer organizations in eight provincial areas: Ansong, Yongwol, Chongwon, Hongsung, Kochang, Hampyung, Yongchon, and Miryang. The FKCC was so successful in extending family-planning programs to provincial areas that the program was expanded to include other provinces in 1975: Paju, Yangku, Chunchon, Tangjin, Okku, Tamyang, Hwasoon, Kyongsan, Yongju, Hamyang, and Kosung. In addition, the FKCC launched a series of campaigns from 1976 to 1977 to encourage the practice of contraception in rural areas.
The **Korean Federation of Housewives Clubs** (KFHC) (*Kim Chon-ju*) carried out a series of family-planning campaign activities under an innovative and wide-reaching slogan, “No Pregnancy Year,” beginning in late 1973. Highlighting the advantages of delaying pregnancy, the program coincided with the 1974 World Population Year. The campaign consisted of rallies, street campaigns, symposia, and mass publicity, and effectively activated public support for family planning, particularly from the media. The “No Pregnancy Year” slogan was considered so brash and bold at the time that The Asia Foundation’s home office in San Francisco was at first cautious about endorsing it, for fear the slogan might be socially and politically denounced. The Korea Office worked with the KFHC to obtain a formal green light from Korean government authorities prior to the program’s implementation, to allay home office concerns.

The KFHC launched another nationwide family-planning program in 1976. This time the campaign focused on men, with the slogan, “Increased Male Contraception Year.” Among the many forms of publicity used in the campaign was a quiz contest, which drew some 155,000 contestants from all over the country.

With Asia Foundation support, the **Korean Sociological Association** worked to increase the effectiveness of family-planning programs by helping to determine the social and cultural factors inhibiting further reductions in the population growth rate. Other partners in this endeavor included the **Korean Federation of Education Associations**, which conducted research on the effectiveness of in-service training programs on population and family planning. The **Mothers’ Club**, established in 1958 and committed to a democratic family and an equal society, also participated in the dissemination of population IE&C materials. The Club adopted family-planning education programs as their national policy as early as 1960.

That the implementation of population and family planning programs was such a success is largely due to the efforts of Foundation advisor Frank Wilder and Kim Jae-hee, the IE&C program coordinator. Their indefatigable efforts and devotion to the development of IE&C materials and campaign strategies suitable to Korean culture were a primary reason for the campaign’s effectiveness.

The birth rate in Korea has significantly declined over the last three decades (4.54 percent in 1970, 2.83 percent in 1980, 1.59 percent in 1990, 1.47 percent in 2000), with a notable drop during the time when The Asia Foundation, in
partnership with many nongovernmental volunteer organizations, played an important role in enhancing awareness of family planning among the general population. The Korean birth rate as of July 2003 stands at 1.17 percent. Ironically, the campaign was perhaps too successful. Faced with an aging population, the Korean government is now trying to find ways to convince families to have more children.

**Food and Nutrition**

If limiting population growth is one side of the Malthusian equation, the other side is increasing the food supply. Korea in the 1970s still was not self-sufficient in food, one of the major concerns of the government.

An important aspect of the Foundation’s food and nutrition assistance was improving the country’s ability to produce, store, and preserve food and agricultural products. In 1976, the Foundation supported the Chonnam National University’s Center for Regional Development in a program to improve the food-production potential of the offshore island regions of South Cholla province. The study focused mainly on the development of the region’s vast tidal land into a salt field, mussel breeding ground, and deep-sea fishing base. Lawmakers considering the comprehensive development of the South Cholla offshore islands utilized the study’s findings in their deliberations.

While Kwangju Teachers College carried out a joint faculty-student work camp with sweet potato farmers in the Honam region to foster increased food and fodder production, Cheju National University conducted experiments in freezing and cold storage of Cheju sea breams, abetting the development of fish exports to the mainland and Japan, which subsequently enhanced the livelihood of many Korean fishing families. Meanwhile, Cheju Teachers College, with Foundation backing, carried out a research program on local varieties of citrus plants to preserve the native plant species and to boost Cheju Island’s citrus industry.

Deans of the home economics colleges at Seoul National University and Sookmyung Women’s University were sent to seminars in Washington, D.C., to upgrade faculty expertise in nutrition program management. The Korea Office assisted Cheong University’s Regional Community Center in a study on food- and nutrition-related educational programs that later informed the Center’s recommendations on school curriculum reform. The grant enabled
the Center to undertake a comprehensive review of the curricula on food and nutrition at all levels of education, both formal and nonformal, the first ever undertaken in the country. The Ministry of Education made use of the findings to strengthen national food and nutrition curricula. Finally, Andong Teachers College and Ansong Agricultural Junior College conducted special training courses to improve nutritional and agricultural practices of rural women. Using the resources and expertise of the colleges’ home economics departments, the program provided a series of short, intensive, nutrition education training courses for selected farm-women, with a special emphasis on nontraditional foods. Subjects included different methods of growing and preparing potatoes and sweet potatoes, corn, flour, and various beans.

Much of the Foundation’s involvement in food and nutrition was focused on vegetables. The soybean in particular proved important to research efforts. In 1976, Chinju Agricultural Junior College conducted applied research to stimulate increased yields and protein content of soybeans, while Chungbuk National University undertook a research program to promote fuller utilization of marginal slopes and intercropping for increased soybean yields. The local branch of the Office of Rural Development in North Chungchong province utilized the research results, generating agricultural intercropping information to guide farmers in improving quality and increasing production of soybeans.

The Asia Foundation’s home office, the Korea Office, and several other field offices cooperated in launching a new program to promote knowledge and use of the winged bean (Psophocarpus tetragonolobus), a hitherto neglected but protein-rich tropical legume which was believed to hold great promise for improving the nutrition and income of poor farmers. Konkuk University (Kim Ki-jun) conducted a research program to test the adaptability of the winged bean to Korea’s climate and soil conditions through experimental plantings at four different latitudes: Seoul, Yesan, Chinju, and Cheju. The tests were carried out over a period of three years, from 1978 to 1980, but the results were not promising. Although the winged bean vines flourished, the yield of beans was negligible. The program was supported with funding from the Continental Illinois Bank.
Experimental cultivation of the winged bean at Konkuk University. To the left is Konkuk University Professor Kim Ki-jun, and Asia Foundation Program Officer Park Tae-jin is to the right (1979).
Health-Care Delivery Service

Korea in the 1970s was deficient in its delivery of health-care services, especially to the more rural areas in the provinces that had far-from-adequate health-care facilities. Efforts to bring needed health services to rural areas and the poorer populations outside of urban centers became a priority program of The Asia Foundation. A fine example of Foundation efforts to this effect is the pilot Barefoot Doctors program, initiated by the School of Public Health, Seoul National University. Between 1976 and 1978, a team of faculty members, Professors Park Hyung-jong, Chung Kyung-kyun, and Han Dal-sun, implemented a pilot program to extend health delivery services to 22 villages east of Chuncheon, in Kangwon province, through the training and supervision of “barefoot doctors” consisting of local Mothers’ Club members. The barefoot doctors acted as medical auxiliaries in their home villages, providing first aid, disseminating public-health information, and serving as midwives. The highly successful program was supported by the Korea Office with funding from the Chase Manhattan International Foundation.

The Barefoot Doctors program proposal was initially submitted to The Asia Foundation and the Canadian Overseas Development Agency. Both organizations approved funding for the program almost simultaneously. When the grantee institution decided to receive the grant from The Asia Foundation, the Canadian agency was displeased with SNU’s decision. Louis Lazaroff, who directed the Barefoot Doctors program from the Foundation’s home office, diplomatically mediated between the two to win a peaceful concession from the Canadian agency.

Chongju Nurses’ Training College in 1977 received Foundation assistance for their efforts to raise health standards in the rural areas of North Chungchong province. The funds enabled a team of professors to publish teaching manuals on health education for use in primary schools, manage a model health-education school, and offer an adult-education course in health and hygiene for village women.

The Graduate School of Health Science and Management, Yonsei University, conducted a study of rural childbearing behavior and traditional folk illnesses in 1978 to explain the nonuse of readily available, modern maternity and health facilities in rural Korea. The studies sought to promote understanding among modern health professionals of traditional health attitudes. Dr. Dorothea Sich, the program’s coprincipal, wrote a monograph on
the studies that gave vital information to those concerned with the development of Korea’s health-care system in rural areas. The Institute for Industrial and Social Development, Kyungpook National University, carried out research to document the health conditions, attitudes, and behaviors of small-scale, “sweatshop” industries in the Taegu area not covered by mandatory government health regulations. A research report was published in an effort to improve health standards in small industries, and with subcontractors and other operators not fully registered with the government in the rapidly industrializing Taegu area.

One of the major institutions in the field of health, the International Medical Education Center of Chung-Ang University (Lee Kwang-soo), was assisted in establishing a modern toxicology laboratory at its Medical Research Institute (MRI) to help cope with increasing health hazards resulting from Korea’s rapid industrialization and urbanization. A three-year program to establish the laboratory, the first of its kind in Korea, was approved in 1978 by The Asia Foundation’s Board of Trustees; the International Foundation of New York provided the necessary funds. A set of critical lab equipment was imported from the United States to outfit the toxicology laboratory, including an atomic absorption spectrophotometer, a refrigerated centrifuge, a Mettler Balance, and a four-channel Grass Polygraph with accessories, among other
pieces of equipment. The lab provided tests for toxicity in pharmaceutical products and offered toxicology services to hospitals, the general medical profession, and “user-groups” on a contract basis. Laboratory analyses covered the detection of toxic additives in food, pollution in air, soil, and water samples, and toxic drug reactions.

The lab program principal, Dr. Lee Kwang-soo, returned to Korea in 1978 after spending 30 years of his life working as a pharmacologist at various medical institutions in the United States, including the Downstate Medical Center and the State University of New York. Dr. Lee assumed the directorship of the MRI at Chung-Ang University and played a key role in establishing the laboratory.

In 1979, The Asia Foundation assisted a number of medical schools in Seoul in carrying out research activities in the field of health: Yonsei University Graduate School of Health Science and Management, for a study of child-rearing behavior on Kangwha Island that led to the development of a comprehensive maternal and child health-care program; Catholic Medical College, for its study, Traditional Folk Concepts Related to Physiology and Pathology of Female Reproduction in Korea, which attempted to bridge the barriers between tradition-bound patients and Western-trained physicians in the clinical treatment process; and Seoul National University College of Medicine, for a study on nutritional anemia to aid the government in designing an approach to rein in the disease.

SUPPORT FOR NGO DEVELOPMENT

With advancements in education, social capital, and living standards in the 1960s and 1970s, Korea began to witness the formation of public and community organizations, as people mobilized to improve their situation or to work for a cause. The nascent public voice of these nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) grew into an active and impressive force in the years that followed, and is very much a central part of Korean society today. The Asia Foundation began to focus more of its efforts on support for Korean NGOs and their goals to further develop Korean society.
Korean Council on Scholarship Foundations

As the Korean economy advanced, a variety of new foundations were established towards the latter 1970s with endowments substantial enough to ensure that in the coming years they would have significant influence on the direction of developments in education, culture, welfare, health, and other areas of public concern. The Korean Council on Scholarship Foundations (KCSF) approached The Asia Foundation with the idea of training the permanent staff of its member foundations by sending them abroad to observe the operations of foundations in other countries.

The program materialized in March 1980 with a four-person delegation undertaking a month-long observation and study tour in the United States to become familiar with the philosophies and operations of American foundations. The group commented in their evaluative report that the program had given them an incomparable “live education,” and that the opportunity should be available to other member foundations of the Council. A second group of participants visited U.S. foundations in 1981, while in the third and final year of the program, in 1982, a two-person delegation called on foundations in the Philippines, Malaysia, and the state of Hawaii.

Korea Office representative Chris Sigur stated in his assessment of the program, “Although each of the past programs was successful, there is still a great deal to be accomplished in order to develop Korean foundations to the level where they can really profit from this type of observation program.”

KCSF attempted to induce larger foundations, such as Daewoo, Samsung, and Asan (Hyundai), to participate in the observation and study tour. They hoped these larger foundations would form a core force, influencing policy development within the Council and working to diversify foundation efforts in Korea beyond distributing scholarship funds. Yet these hopes were in vain.

Representative Ben Kremenak’s evaluative comments on the KCSF program are worth noting:
It was an eye-opening experience for the participants, and has already had some noticeable ripple effect with other foundation people in Korea. In that the concept of a modern private foundation is new to the country, this tour exposed some key people to a large number of innovative and hopefully infectious ideas. Hereafter
(especially if this tour is followed up by others in the coming years) it will be less likely that Korean philanthropy will be content to simply dole out scholarships to graduates of selected high schools or company employees as an off-hand exercise of noblesse oblige. At the same time, the development of a more professional attitude among foundation administrators, armed with more sophisticated concepts of programming and a sense of philanthropy’s role within a modern society, should counteract the tendency of the government or corporate founders to use it for more banal purposes.

Conclusion

If the 1960s was a time of change and development, The Asia Foundation in the 1970s turned its attention to expanding the benefits of that development from the capital city of Seoul and other major cities to more rural areas in the regions and provinces on the peninsula. Education and self-development, legal resources, health, and nutrition were all top priorities of Korea Office programming in the 1970s. Program efforts generally targeted the middle and lower classes in both urban centers and rural areas. Partly as a result, the welfare of the general population greatly improved, despite the continued political repression of the Park regime. The Asia Foundation is proud of responding to the needs of the Korean people during this period in Korea’s history. The end of the decade was marked by the assassination of President Park Chung-hee in 1979, which unleashed a political furore in the ensuing years that eventually resulted in the reestablishment of democratic government in Korea.
About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

Frank E. Dines, Representative, 1971–1973

Frank Dines arrived in Korea in April 1971 to replace John Bannigan as representative, serving a term of two years, through January 1973. This was Frank’s second assignment to the Korea Office; his first was as assistant representative from 1961 to 1963. With a Foundation affiliation reaching back over four decades, Frank is among the most seasoned of The Asia Foundation’s program staffers.

During his time as Korea Office representative, Frank approved funding for several new, important programs in addition to continuing Foundation support for important research institutions, such as the Asiatic Research Center. Among the new programs initiated and managed by Frank were the ten-year university development plan, the development of the Seoul National University Kwanaksan campus, the preparation of modern legal teaching materials by the SNU Law Research Institute, and the provision of an American food-processing adviser (John Perry) to the Agriculture and Fishery Development Corporation.

Frank was well liked among the local staff: calm in character, a bachelor, and a gentleman. He was a strong steward at a time when the Foundation was recovering from the severe budget cuts of the late 1960s. Frank was highly regarded among the faculty of Seoul National University and elsewhere due to his concentrated efforts on SNU’s behalf.
Lindley Sloan, Representative, 1973–1976

Lindley Sloan arrived in Korea in January 1973 to replace Frank Dines as Korea Office representative and stayed nearly four years, through November 1976. He came to Korea from Malaysia, his previous post with The Asia Foundation.

With his work in the office, Lin was very punctual and systematic. The first thing he did upon arriving at the office in the morning was to quickly distribute job assignments to the staff, and almost invariably his desktop was neatly cleaned off before he retired for the day.

Lin made frequent field trips to the provinces accompanied by T.J. Cho, who was then proactively exploring rural programming options using provincial institutes of higher learning. During his tenure at the Korea Office, Lin placed a heavy emphasis on programs that expanded efforts and resources in these regions. These programs often required partnering with provincial institutions, and encompassed nonformal education and rural development (with agricultural and teachers colleges), exchange programs for professors of regional universities, population and family planning (with nonprofit and private organizations), food and nutrition programs (with agricultural colleges), and support for legal aid programs (with provincial university legal centers). These programs reflected, in part, a major funding partner of The Asia Foundation at the time, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Benjamin Kremenak, Representative, 1976–1981

Benjamin Kremenak became Korea Office representative in November 1976, guiding the Korea Office for four and a half years, through April 1981. Ben was already familiar with the ongoing operations of the Korea Office. Prior to his assignment to Korea, he oversaw Korea Office programs as an Asia area director in the San Francisco home office.
Ben was familiar with the country, having performed his military service in Korea during the Korean War. He enjoyed taking field trips to the provinces whenever the opportunity arose. Korea Office staff considered Ben a professional photographer, and on his field trips he invariably carried his camera bag and tripod. Some of the photos of Korea used in The Asia Foundation’s President’s Reviews are his work. He was chiefly absorbed with capturing on film the colorful eaves and elegant curved lines of the ridges of Buddhist temple structures, shrines, and pavilions. As well, Ben rarely missed beautiful natural scenes in the countryside as he traveled.

A sociologist and historian by training, Ben was well versed in Korea’s modern history. This background, combined with his insightful nature, meant that Ben readily understood Korea and its people, and quickly adapted to new program challenges.

One immediate task Ben tackled was the establishment of a toxicology laboratory at Chung-Ang University with funds from the International Foundation of New York. The Asia Foundation Board of Trustees approved the program for implementation in 1978. Among other outstanding programs Ben developed were the exchange programs — mainly observation and study tours in the United States — for selected directors of Korean scholarship foundations, faculty members of the Judicial Research and Training Institute, and public prosecutors of the Ministry of Justice.

Ben paid particular attention to programs addressing regional needs. He personally observed field counseling activities of Chungnam National University’s legal-aid service for the west-coast, offshore islanders. Two rural programs overseen by Ben and backed by the Foundation’s home office with private funds were especially memorable: the village Barefoot Doctors program in Kangwon province (in partnership with the Seoul National University Graduate School of Public Health), and the Konkuk University winged bean experimental cultivation program.
Korean Staff

An increase in funding enabled the Korea Office to reinforce local staff with the employment of Park Hang-woong as administrative assistant, Kim Sang-sook as secretary, and Han Byung-do as office clerk.

When Representative Lin Sloan first arrived in Seoul, he worked to overhaul the functions of the Korea Office to meet his desire for efficient office operation. Former Korea Office representative Jack James, then vice president of The Asia Foundation, visited Seoul in March 1973 to help restructure program strategy and the local staff. As a result of the consultation between Jack and Lin, T.J. Cho was assigned to serve as provincial programming staff specialist, and Park Tae-jin was asked to rejoin the Foundation as program officer. Lee In-hae was hired as secretary, replacing Kim Sang-sook, and Han Byung-do replaced Kim Ki-shil as Books program officer.

Office Building

An improved budget allowed The Asia Foundation to move its office from Pukahyun-dong to an office building at 79 Sakan-dong, Chongno-ku, in 1971. Yet when the lease was up in 1977, the Foundation moved its office from Sakan-dong to a private house at 333-52 Shindang-dong, Chung-ku, in the southeast of Seoul. After two years, the Korea Office again moved to a new location, renting a private house at 415-6 Shindang-dong, Chung-ku, in late 1979.
Chapter FOUR

1980–1994
Building a Modern Korea
Korea saw many important political changes from the early 1980s through the mid-1990s. The end of the Park Chung-hee era gave rise to nationwide public demonstrations for democratic government, resulting in the bloody suppression of student protestors in Kwangju in 1980 by the succeeding Chun Doo-hwan administration. The post-Kwangju period saw increasingly authoritarian rule and the pacification of civil society. Nevertheless, the seeds of eventual democratization had been sown, and the Chun regime was continuously harassed by social unrest, unabated student demonstrations, and politicians demanding a transfer of political power from the military to a civilian regime. In June 1987, ruling party leader General Roh Tae-woo mitigated the tense political situation by pushing the country closer to democratic government with the Declaration of Democratization. Roh was elected president through a direct popular vote in 1988. Kim Young-sam, in 1992, the first civilian president of the country since 1961, followed him. Meanwhile, outside factors helped draw Korea into the international community: Seoul hosted the 24th Summer Olympic Games in 1988, bringing the Korean people together in solidarity with their country. Three years later, both South and North Korea were admitted to the United Nations. Korea was becoming a respected member of the international community.

The Asia Foundation during the 1980s and early 1990s worked to prepare Korea for the obligations and responsibilities of a modern state, with grants for extensive training, research, and exchange. The Korea Office foresaw the necessity of priming the country for the reinstatement of local government, the advancement of court administration and legal tenets, and the participation of all segments of society, particularly women. The Foundation thus devoted its efforts to strengthening private and public institutions by giving priority support in the fields of local autonomy, rule of law, political progress, and women’s political participation.

PROGRAMS 1980–1994

LOCAL AUTONOMY

The Local Autonomy Act was passed in Korea on July 4, 1949, and implemented on December 30 of the same year. Historically, the political,
social, and economic interests of the entire country were decided in Seoul, the administrative and government capital of the country. Administrators of the outlying provinces had little say in policy decisions that affected their region. The Local Autonomy Act meant to extend the capacity of the provinces to handle more administrative responsibilities themselves and to encourage local government input in the central government’s decision-making. This, in turn, advanced prospects for a democratic system and more balanced countrywide economic development. The process of adopting the provisions for local autonomy into the political system, however, was interrupted by the many difficulties the nation encountered in the mid–twentieth century: the Korean War (1950–53), which severely curtailed local political development, and the abrupt suspension of the fledgling local self-government system with the 1961 military coup.

Of the wave of democratizing reforms that swept South Korea starting in the mid-1980s, one of the most highly acclaimed was the movement to restore local autonomy through the reinstatement of elected governors, mayors, and local council members. Although the first round of local elections did not take place until 1991, The Asia Foundation Korea Office took the early lead in promoting activities that helped lay the groundwork for a smooth transition to democratic local self-government. Activities included study tours abroad, training programs for local government officials and ordinary citizens, scholarly research and publications, the development of new academic programs at the university level, and the strengthening of private organizations engaged in the study of local autonomy.

Local autonomy was perhaps the most important of the Foundation’s programming areas for the expansion of democratic activity and civic engagement in the 1980s, a movement crucial to the actual establishment of democratic governance in South Korea in 1989. The Asia Foundation’s grants to support local-autonomy activities were many and varied.

In a 1992 evaluative study, *Local Autonomy in Korea and The Asia Foundation*, the vice president of the U.S.-Japan Foundation, Dr. Ronald Aqua, summarized The Asia Foundation’s efforts as follows:

When the Foundation began to focus on local government issues in the mid-1980s, it wisely pursued a broad agenda and did not limit its grantmaking
to one or two narrowly specialized fields. The decision to invest in training opportunities, curriculum research and development, and scholarly symposia covering a wide range of disciplines and institutions proved to be a sound one. Many of these programs were pioneering efforts, with notable impact on the ensuing national debate on the pace and scope of local government reform.

“Local autonomy,” as it has come to be understood in the Korean context, now encompasses many different elements, including electoral reform, local public administration, intergovernmental relations, fiscal policy, citizen participation, and regional development, among others. Broadly speaking, these tend to cluster around two major themes, namely, institution building and citizen involvement in local affairs. It should be noted that certain other Foundation programs in such areas as women’s participation, civic education, labor-management relations, and judicial reform have also touched upon the “local autonomy” theme.

Training Senior Provincial Government Officials in Local Autonomy

One notable Korea Office program in the local-autonomy field was the training of provincial government officials and private-sector leaders in central Korea. Professors Suhr Myong-won, Kim Yeong-seong, and Kim Dong-hoon of Chungnam National University Graduate School of Public Administration (CNU GSPA) undertook a six-year program, supported by The Asia Foundation, from 1984 to 1989. With a faculty of 36 professors (16 from universities in Seoul), the CNU GSPA initiative trained senior provincial government officials in preparation for the eventual return to some form of local autonomy in Korea. The program, consisting of two, 12-week sessions per year, covered topics such as the modern concept of local autonomy, local autonomy and democracy, the problems of local finance, policy implementation, the Constitution and local autonomy, and the theory of local politics. Roughly 30 participants took part in the first-year training from August 1984 to June 1985, including high-ranking government officials, heads of government corporations, civic leaders, and military commanders of general’s rank from the Taejon and South Chungchong provinces.
The initial idea for the program originated with the proposition of Moon Chang-soo, then vice-governor of South Chungchong province, that The Asia Foundation help prepare country officials for the reinstatement of local autonomy. On an exploratory field trip in South Chungchong, Program Consultant Cho Tong-jae and Program Officer Park Tae-jin of the Korea Office visited the vice-governor in his office. When the discussion turned to local autonomy, Mr. Moon said that it was his belief that some training opportunities should be provided to senior government bureaucrats in his province to help them understand the concept of local autonomy and thus prepare them for the gradual implementation of autonomous local government. He then suggested Chungnam National University as a good institutional partner to explore how such a training program might be organized.

Mr. Moon had been a grantee of The Asia Foundation in the 1960s as a midcareer official in the Local Administration Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs. He had undertaken a local government internship program in California under the joint sponsorship of The Asia Foundation and The Coro Foundation. In later years, Mr. Moon wrote a book in English, *Local Government in Korea*, while serving as president of the Korea Local Authorities Foundation for International Relations (KLAFIR) from 1999 to 2000.

Whether to support this program beyond the third year was discussed at length between the grantee institution and the Korea Office, as the Foundation normally phases out its support for programs after three years. Because the program was so successful, and because of the strong support of Governor Ahn Ung-mo (South Chungchong province), Mayor Kim Hong-sik (Taejon), President Park Ho-dal (Chungchong Development Committee), and President Lee In-koo (Taejon Chamber of Commerce), The Asia Foundation agreed to extend the program for three additional years, with the following requirements: (1) that the benefits of the program be expanded to include two adjacent provinces, North Chungchong and North Cholla; and (2) that the Foundation’s share of funding would gradually scale down, and CNU’s would gradually increase.

The program life span was extended to six years under Foundation support (1984–89), resulting in the training of nearly 200 participants. In the program’s last year, CNU Professor Kim Dong-hoon organized a forum for the graduates of the local-autonomy training program: provincial government, civil, and military officials and private sector leaders. The forum brought together some 86 participants to explore the evolution of local autonomy and provided the opportunity for dialogue and exchange of ideas among the alumni.
The Korea Office report on the forum is interesting to note, as it indicates that The Asia Foundation’s efforts in this field were both timely and constructive:

The participants’ remarks were interspersed with praises towards the CNU GSPA and The Asia Foundation for their “prescience” and “audacity” in launching the training program in local autonomy as early as in 1984, when discussion of local autonomy was considered tantamount to an antigovernment move. One of the panelists, an alumnus of the fourth term class, admitted he was “flabbergasted” when [he] learned of the training program inaugurated at the University.

The local-autonomy system was finally reinstated, after a hiatus of 30 years, with the first local elections of March 1991. At least one-third of the program trainees ran for public office in the 1991 local elections. The program was so successful in training potential candidates to run for public office that CNU GSPA decided to continue the program on its own from 1990 onward.

In part due to its success in training public and private officials in local-autonomy issues, the CNU GSPA acquired the approval of the Ministry of Education to inaugurate the country’s first, four-year undergraduate program in local autonomy. CNU Professors Kim Dong-hoon and Kim Kwon-jip jointly completed the development of a model curriculum for the study of local autonomy at the university level in 1988. The Ministry of Education thereafter formally authorized CNU to inaugurate the new Department of Local Autonomy within its College of Social Sciences. This was the nation’s first undergraduate program to admit students through a specialized entrance examination, and was a culmination of the series of programs on local autonomy under Asia Foundation support. The CNU’s efforts encouraged many other universities throughout Korea to follow suit.

At the end of the third year of Korea Office support, Representative Ben Kremenak stated in his evaluative comments that an important achievement of this program was that it resulted in the formation of a regional center of expertise in the preparation of a countrywide undertaking of local autonomy.
Ben commented further on the significance of this program:

This project has targeted the strata of Korean officialdom which can either make a success of, or torpedo, local autonomy and the whole democratization process. The trainees included not only high ranking government officials at the provincial level, who in the regular career patterns will circulate to and from other provinces and the central government in Seoul, but also three generals from the sprawling nearby ROK Army complex. The feedback that the Foundation received from the organizers and lecturers indicates that these people are very much dedicated to making democracy work. Furthermore, it was surprising to find that in some cases the officials were more liberal minded and more impatient to get on with the task of putting local autonomy into effect than some of the American-trained [professors] who had come down from Seoul to conduct the classes. This ran opposite to the usual assumptions about liberal/radical professors vs. conservative bureaucrats bent on protecting their positions, power, and privileges. It is true that the people in this course were self-selected, and therefore cannot be considered as representative of the Korean civil and military officials in general, but they nonetheless represent a promising aspect of the nation’s elite.

Local-Autonomy Training for County Government Officials

The Asia Foundation backed another Chungnam National University (CNU) program to train county officials in local autonomy from 1986 to 1989. Administered by CNU’s Legal and Public Administration Research Center (LPARC) (*Ka Jae-chang)*, this four-year program addressed Korea’s acute need for local-autonomy education and training for numerous provincial government bureaucracies. During the first year of Foundation support, the program team, led by LPARC professor Ka Jae-chang, initiated a benchmark survey in five counties (Taedok, Asan, Poryong, Kongju, and

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* Editor’s Note: in chapters 3, 4, and 5, the names of the heads of organizations working with The Asia Foundation, or principal partners of Foundation-sponsored programs, are often italicized and placed in parentheses following the organization’s name.
Tangjin) representing Korea’s semi-urban, rural, mining, and fishing regions. The program team developed a textbook in the process, *Improving County Government Administration in Preparation for the Restoration of Local Autonomy*, and distributed it throughout the counties.

The LPARC continued its first year of program activities with an extensive, in-service training program in 19 cities and counties of South Chungchong province. The training, based on LPARC’s local-autonomy textbook materials, aimed to acquaint county-level government officials with the theory and practice of local autonomy. A total of 250 county government officials participated in the program, training in important aspects of local administration such as planning, organization, personnel management, and financing.

The program’s second-year activities built upon the first, covering an additional 12 cities and counties: Taejon, Puyo, Chongyang, Yesan, Sochon, Nonsan, Chonan, Kumsan, Hongsong, Sozan, Chonwon, and Poryong. In the second year, 350 midcareer county government officials were trained. The third and final year saw the training of nearly 1,000 municipal and county officials in seven cities and counties: Taejon, Sozan, Daechon, Onyang, Sochon, Nonsan, and Hongchon. The three-year training program required 252 hours of lecture by seven faculty members of CNU, from which a total of 1,600 municipal and county government officials of South Chungchong province benefited. Through the training programs, provincial government officials began to realize the responsibility they would have, under a more autonomous governing system, to develop improved ways to run local administrations.

Professor Ka Jae-chang, LPARC program principal, commented in his summary report on the training program’s value:

Government officials are now so used to the centralized administrative system that a great deal of impediments and issues are expected once local autonomy is restored. To solve this problem, managers of local administration are keenly aware of the need for education and training in the field, but resent their inability to undertake the needed training and education due to lack of time and funding. Accordingly, the in-service training program supported by The Asia Foundation has received unexpectedly enthusiastic responses from the clients. We are convinced that the project has greatly contributed to ensuring successful
implementation of local autonomy, and to fostering [an] administrative environment that serves to have the system well settled in the country. Thus, there is no doubt that the project has contributed significantly towards the democratic development of the nation.

Local Administration Research Institute

Another key, Foundation-supported, local-autonomy venture was the development of an information center on local administration, the Local Administration Research Institute (LARI) (Kwon Soon-bok). Established in 1981 as a private, nonprofit organization, the LARI was the only one of its kind in Korea, providing up-to-date knowledge and information about administrative development, citizen participation, and decentralization of government authority in expectation of the eventual establishment of local autonomy. The Asia Foundation’s assistance from 1984 to 1986 enabled the LARI to develop a broader audience by disseminating its work through the publication of a journal, a seminar series, and the establishment of an information center on local administration.

The LARI journal *Comparative Local Administration* was published under the supervision of an editorial board consisting of the country’s leading specialists on local autonomy, including Chairman Kim An-jae, Kwon Tae-joon, Kim Soo-hak, Kim Won, Jeong Sae-uk, Park Moon-ok, and Kwon Soon-bok. Two issues (3,000 copies each) were published in the first year, four issues in the second year, and six issues (5,000 copies each) in the third and final year of Foundation support. In 1987, the LARI renamed its journal *Local Government Studies* and made it into a monthly publication. The journal has published prolifically for the last 18 years, with a circulation of 10,000. The journal’s main audience consists of 248 local governments plus departments of local governments and university libraries throughout the country.

In addition to the journal, the LARI conducted a series of seminars over a period of three years. The first one, held in 1984, New Dimension of Local Administration for the 1990s, drew 125 participants consisting of university professors, researchers, journalists, former ministers, governors, central and local government officials, citizens, and graduate students. A set of
recommendations resulting from the seminar was submitted to the Research Committee of Local Autonomy Implementation under the prime minister. The seminar gave momentum to many groups in other parts of Korea to instigate forums on local autonomy.

The second seminar, An Approach to the Local Autonomy System in Korea: Development of a Korean Model of Local Autonomy, was held in 1985. The conference drew some 150 participants, including National Assemblyman Goh Kun (later mayor of Seoul City and prime minister). Discussions highlighted issues of local finance. While the importance of expanding local economic resources was emphasized, the debates attracted more attention to the need to transform Korea’s centrally controlled financial management system into more autonomous, provincial financial management.

The third and final seminar series took place in 1987. Economic Roles in Local Autonomy focused on regional economic development as the base of a successful local-autonomy system. The meeting presented specific guidelines for vitalizing local economies through central government efforts, and strongly suggested implementing a local-autonomy system.

Another three-year Foundation grant was issued to the LARI in late 1987 in support of a pilot program providing in-service fiscal-management training for officials of selected provincial government offices. The first program, held in Songnam in 1988, trained 87 officials from the Kyonggi province. The program was the first such effort to feature field training and text materials in fiscal, financial, and budgetary management, areas identified as crucial to the successful implementation of a local-autonomy system.

In the second year, the program trained 246 executive officials of semigovernmental enterprises in Taejon, Kwangju, and Taegu (1989–90). Program training focused on the management and operation of public enterprises in the provinces, including water supply and sewage management offices, industrial park development agencies, and municipal and provincial general hospitals.

The program’s third and final year featured three field-training sessions in Kwangju, Seoul, and Taegu (1990–91). Targeting government officials engaged in the tasks of planning, implementing, and evaluating local-autonomy systems, the sessions in Kwangju and Taegu trained 160 officials in basic knowledge and techniques in local financing, taxation, and public enterprise development management in the provinces.
The session in Seoul was particularly significant in that 243 attendant local council members seeking training on local finance and efficient management of local assemblies had just been elected in the historic local elections of March 1991. Most of the trainees came from local municipality and county councils in Seoul, Kyonggi province, and North and South Chungchong provinces.

**Local-Autonomy Observation and Study Programs**

To increase public understanding of local autonomy, The Asia Foundation sponsored observation and study programs of local autonomy in the United States. A group of five journalists selected by the Korean Provincial Newspaper Editors’ Association (KPNEA) undertook a two-week observation and study tour of the United States in 1988 to gain increased knowledge and perspective on local government systems. The program intended to improve the quality of local-autonomy reporting in the country.

The journalists found the tour highly rewarding, as the opportunity enabled them to view firsthand the exercise of political power in administration. Observing the connections between representative government and public administration brought the participants closer to understanding the distribution of power between governments at the state and county/city levels. In addition, the tour highlighted financial aspects of local autonomous systems: the journalists studied taxation systems, budgetary needs, and federal government financial sources at various levels.

Interestingly, the experience led them to conclude that there was much Korea could learn from parliamentary politics, election processes, and political party roles. The group felt that the practical and rational way in which campaign funds were managed in the United States was especially informative, and that the consolidated electoral system in the United States was particularly impressive and worth emulating. These conclusions were timely, given that they coincided with growing Asia Foundation support for programs dealing with election issues, which is covered later in this chapter. The group’s editors, led by Lee Sang-hoon, serialized a travelogue of the visit in their respective papers.

As a follow-up to its 1988 U.S. observation and study tour, the KPNEA put on a public forum in Chunchon, Kangwon province, the following year to discuss the role of community newspapers in keeping the local populace properly informed of the ideals and functions of local government systems.
There were 24 editors and senior reporters, representing 18 provincial dailies and six provincial broadcasting stations, in attendance at the seminar. While hosting a dinner in honor of the event, Vice-Governor Sung Ki-bang of Kangwon province pointed out that the seminar promoted dialogue among senior editorial staffs of the provincial newspapers and shed light on the changing roles of provincial newspapers in the era of local autonomy.

Korea Saemaul Movement Center

The Saemaul (New Community) Movement, a government-backed village development campaign, significantly contributed to the advancement of Korea’s rural modernization from the early 1970s through the mid-1980s. Collaboration between the government and rural communities led to the improvement of the provincial environment with investment and infrastructure, increased income levels among the rural population, and stimulated public consciousness through the Saemaul campaign of diligence, self-reliance, and cooperation. In many ways, the Saemaul Movement complemented efforts toward local autonomy.

At the same time, the movement was severely criticized for its commanding, centralized manner of carrying out its activities. With this in mind, the Korea Saemaul Movement Center (KSMC) (Kim Soo-hak), in the process of revising programming strategies to take account of local-autonomy issues, carried out an empirical, countrywide survey in 1989 to investigate rural expectations of the Saemaul Movement. The Foundation-sponsored survey found that 79.3 percent of respondents recognized the mutual relevance of the Saemaul Movement and local autonomy, while 77.8 percent believed the local-autonomy system would positively impact the Saemaul Movement. The survey was followed by a seminar, The Era of Decentralization and the Role of the Saemaul Movement. In his presentation, Professor Kim An-jae of Seoul National University pointed out that the grassroots Saemaul Movement could be nurtured to be more complementary to local autonomy, and argued that the two systems — Saemaul and local autonomy — could coexist. Discussants proposed that elder Saemaul leaders serve as mediators in disputes engendered by the process of grafting the Saemaul Movement onto the local-autonomy system, ensuring continued cooperation between the two forces in the provinces. With the reinstatement of local autonomy in 1991, the KSMC gradually phased out its activities and now exists only nominally.
Cheju Local Autonomy Study Association

From 1989 to 1990, The Asia Foundation provided assistance to Cheju National University’s Cheju Local Autonomy Study Association (CNU CLASA) to conduct research and surveys examining the prospects for Cheju Island’s self-development of local autonomy. Traditionally, outsiders had conducted Cheju’s regional development, resulting in the islanders’ deference to exogenous actors. The CLASA sought to mediate between residents and the government in order to foster a more cooperative atmosphere for Cheju’s development. A series of local-autonomy educational meetings were held targeting the island’s opinion leaders, including public officials, journalists, industrial and business leaders, representatives of youth organizations, heads of farmers’ and fishermen’s organizations, judges, and lawyers. The educational meetings addressed prospects for island-based regional development. The functions of the central and local governments and the roles of mainland investors in the island’s cultivation were discussed, as well as activities that could increase Cheju residents’ ability to shape their own development. Specific characteristics of Cheju’s industrial structure were examined to identify possible industries for self-development. The research, overseen by Professor Cho Moon-boo, led to the launching of Cheju’s Second Five-Year Development Plan (1992–97).

The Foundation continued to support the CLASA after the first local elections in 1991, sponsoring an in-depth research program for Cheju Island’s self-development. The research program included field surveys, interviews, workshops, and consultations with specialists to examine residents’ attitudes toward the central government and non-native, private-sector investors. The CLASA created education programs for selected residents to train them for principal roles in regional development. The program yielded valuable empirical data for political leaders and other policy planners concerned with the development of the island, including those involved with the Second Five-Year Development Plan.
Korea Local Authorities Foundation for International Relations*

The Korea Local Authorities Foundation for International Relations (KLAFIR) and The Asia Foundation jointly organized and implemented a program, Strengthening Local Government in Korea. Funded by the U.S. Information Agency, KLAFIR, and The Asia Foundation, the program sought to improve the autonomy and operations of local government. KLAFIR saw this as an essential underpinning of the democratization process, which would increase government transparency at all levels and make local authorities more responsive to the legitimate demands of their citizenry. The program was carried out in three phases from 1996 to 1997.

Phase I — Partnership Committee and Roundtable Discussion in Korea. During the first phase, an ad hoc committee was formed, bringing four Korean and four Californian local government officials together for a series of roundtable discussions held in Seoul, Pusan, Taegu, Uiwang, and Suwon in November 1996. Korean committee members explained their problems and local-autonomy issues, while the Californians used their knowledge and similar experiences to explore creative solutions for the Korean context. However, the Koreans were concerned more with technical aspects of specific problems than with the political orientation that the American delegation was better equipped to provide. A separate dinner meeting with a group of several leading scholars in the field, including Kim Kwang-woong, Lho Kyung-soo, and Hahn Seung-duk, was arranged for the American delegation to better grasp the circumstances of Korean local autonomy. A number of issues discussed during Phase I were reflected in the preparation for Phase II.

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<td>Lim Soo-bock</td>
<td>Vice-Governor</td>
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<td>Jin Man-hyeong</td>
<td>Vice-Mayor</td>
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<td>Lee Jae-yong</td>
<td>Chief, Nam-Gu district</td>
<td>Taegu Metropolitan City</td>
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<td>Leo McCarthy</td>
<td>Former Lieutenant Governor</td>
<td>California</td>
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<td>Art Agnos</td>
<td>Former Mayor</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
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<td>Carol Whiteside</td>
<td>Director, Intergovernmental Affairs</td>
<td>California</td>
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<td>Lisa Mills</td>
<td>Santa Ana City Council</td>
<td>California</td>
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* Editor’s Note: The KLAFIR is included in the Local Autonomy section of chapter 4 despite the fact that the program occurred outside the designated time period of this chapter. The editor made this exception to maintain the book’s organization by program themes, and because the KLAFIR is among the Foundation’s most important local-autonomy programs.
Phase II — *U.S. Observation Program in California*. In Phase II, a group of thirteen local government officials — three from Kyonggi province, two from Pusan Metro City, three from Nam-gu district of Taegu Metro City, three from Uiwang, and two from Puchon — and one official from KLAIFR undertook a two-week observation and study tour in February 1997. The Korean officials concentrated their activities in the state of California, examining local government issues with a comparative perspective relevant to the Korean political environment. This was a real eye-opening experience for the Korean delegation. By exposing themselves to the actual workings of local governments in the United States, they were able to effectively assess and compare the differences and similarities between the Korean and American systems.

Phase III — *Follow-up Seminar Series in Korea*. In the last phase, three seminars were held, in Uiwang, Pusan, and Taegu, in July 1997 to conclude the program. Dr. Maynard Skinner, city councilman of Davis, California, and Dr. Ronald Aqua of Mississippi State University were invited to attend. The seminars were well organized and executed by each local government, drawing impressive audiences of citizens from a variety of backgrounds. Several major themes surfaced during the course of the discussions, highlighting important aspects of the Korean local-autonomy system. These included the role of public interest groups, the methods by which local governments communicate with their citizens, the role of the media in covering regional and local administration, and interjurisdictional conflict resolution.

Other Notable Local-Autonomy Programs

Professor Kim Dong-hoon of Chungnam National University received a travel grant to undertake a one-year, nondegree, advanced training program in local autonomy at Western Michigan University in 1980, which resulted in the publication of a monograph, *A Study of Environmental Change and Reorganization of Local Government in the U.S.*. Professor Kim’s capability and keen interest in the subject made him an asset to the university and to the Korean government in later years. He played a key role in facilitating local-autonomy training programs for senior government officials at Chungnam National University from 1984 to 1989 under Asia Foundation sponsorship.
Seoul National University Institute of Social Sciences Professors Kim Kyong-dong and Ahn Chung-si headed a project team that conducted research to investigate local conditions conducive to or inhibiting the materialization of a democratic self-government system in Korea. The project covered six major cities — Seoul, Taegu, Kwangju, Chunchon, Chonan, and Ulsan — and five counties from 1984 to 1985. Other participating scholars included Lee Hong-koo (Seoul), Kim Il-chul (Seoul), Kim Kwang-woong (Seoul), Im Sung-han (Kangwon), Kim Kwang-soo (Chonnam), Ro Dong-il (Kyongbuk), Hong Dong-shik (Pusan), and Park Jae-mook (Chungnam). The research results were widely disbursed through the publication *Local Government and Community Development in Korea*.

The Asia Foundation supported Kangwon National University (KNU) in conducting local-autonomy research in 1986: A Study of Policy Mechanism of Regional Development: Proposing Legal-Institutional Rearrangements for Local Self-Government. The program resulted in a 327-page monograph, “A Study of Local Self-Government Systems and Regional Development Policymaking,” which was published in the KNU *Journal of Regional Development Studies*. Professor Kim Byung-joon, one of three research team members who initiated the program with the Korea Office, was appointed chairman of the Presidential Committee on Government Innovation and Decentralization in April 2003.

Chungnam National University’s Taejon Municipal Education Association (CNU TMEA) (Kim Dong-hoon) received Foundation assistance in 1988 to hold a Symposium on Local Autonomy and Education. The symposium examined connections between the local-autonomy system and the country’s educational system, to promote understanding of the concept and practice of educational autonomy among the Association’s members, and to prepare them for changes that would result from the restoration of the local-autonomy system. TMEA members include some 6,500 teachers at the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels in the Taejon region.

In 1988, The Asia Foundation supported Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (Ahn Byung-man) to hold a Workshop on Academic Programs in
With the 1988 arrival in Korea of Tam Ormiston, a legal specialist and law advisor to The Asia Foundation, the Korea Office began to explore program options with legal institutions in Korea to further its objectives in the field of law. These included the promotion of sound administration of justice, the independence of the judiciary, and the rule of law — all crucial components of a modern, well-functioning state. Through Tam’s exploratory work, the Judicial Research and Training Institute was identified as one of the key partners for law program development, along with the Ministry of Court Administration, the Constitutional Court of Korea, the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Public Prosecutors’ Office (now Supreme Prosecutors’ Office), and the Korean Bar Association.

The Korea Office supported a number of judicial officials in observation and study programs in the United States:

- A Taegu District Court judge for trial advocacy training in the United States
- Two senior judges of MCA to observe the architectural and management systems of U.S. court buildings in preparation for the construction of new court buildings at Socho-dong
- A Taegu High Court judge to attend the National Judicial College in Reno, Nevada
- A judge of Seoul District Court to attend a nondegree program in information science and computerization for the legal field at the University of Santa Clara Law School
• Two senior judges to participate in a seminar on administration of justice and constitutional rights at Georgetown University
• Two judges to attend the Second National Conference on Court Management in the United States
• Two MCA judges for a court management internship program to explore aspects of the American court system at courts of various levels in the United States
• Fifteen judges to participate in a specially designed court management placement program.

Judicial Research and Training Institute

The Judicial Research and Training Institute (JRTI) first approached The Asia Foundation in 1980 for assistance in sending a group of its faculty members on an observation and study tour in the United States. JRTI officials wanted faculty members to gain conceptual knowledge of American legal institutions and initiate international contacts to help with the restructuring of the JRTI and the Korean bar examination system. Six months later, four faculty members (Dean Pang Ye-won and Professors Kim Hyung-pyo, Kim Hak-man, and Kim Jin-woo) left on a specially arranged tour of the United States for in-depth exposure to American legal training and bar examination systems.

Late in 1989, The Asia Foundation expressed its interest in establishing a regular exchange program between the JRTI and the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) in the United States. Judges and prosecutors serving as faculty members at the JRTI were selected as participants for the exchange program. The Korea Office arranged for the first group of three faculty members (Judges Yoo Hyun and Park Jae-yoon and Prosecutor Yoo Myoung-gun) to visit selected U.S. legal institutions. The group, escorted by Tam Ormiston, learned firsthand about the American legal system at the state level and how various aspects of that system assured the independence of the decentralized American judicial system. U.S. institutions participating in the program included the Center for Judicial Education and Research and the NAAG, which invited the exchange group to attend the NAAG Winter Conference in Arizona.
In June 1990, the second group of three faculty members (Judges Kim Yong-dam and Kang Wan-goo and Prosecutor Cho Jin-jae) undertook a similar observation tour to the United States, also in the company of Tam Ormiston. NAAG’s summer conference in North Carolina was on the itinerary, in addition to a visit to the National College of District Attorneys in Texas, the Federal Judicial Center in Washington, the National Judicial College in Nevada, and the Center for Judicial Education and Research in California. The third and fourth groups followed in the winter of 1990 (Judges Choung Ho-young and Choi Byung-hak and Prosecutor Jung Choong-soo) and the summer of 1991 (Judges Lee Kong-hyun and Kwak Dong-hyo), completing the JRTI observation and study tour program.

Those who participated in the JRTI exchange program greatly contributed to the development of a broader and more significant judicial education experience for judges in the Korean court system. Participants had direct input into the JRTI and Supreme Court revision of the Korean judicial education system and curriculum. Soon thereafter, the JRTI announced a more comprehensive schedule of continuing education programs for Korean judges.

Ministry of Justice

Asia Foundation support for legal institutions and the rule of law enjoys a long history in Korea. Assistance in the development of a nascent probation system is one example of such efforts. Throughout the 1970s, Korea experienced numerous social problems as a result of rapid urbanization and industrialization. The country’s law enforcement had problems with rehabilitation and prevention of recidivism among juvenile and adult offenders, and correctional institutions were overcrowded with inmates. In light of this, the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) decided to put into place a probation system in Korea.

Following a series of discussions with the staff of the MOJ’s Research Division, The Asia Foundation in 1980 organized a tour for four officials of the MOJ (Kim Young-eun, director of the Research Division; Choe Youn-hy, prosecutor, Research Division; Kang Chang-ho, director of management; and Choi Chang-shik, vice president, Civil Rehabilitation Agency) to observe and study probation systems in the United States, the Philippines, Europe, and Japan.
The results of the tour led to the appointment of thirteen apprentice probation officers and officer trainers from the MOJ and the Civil Rehabilitation Agency. In 1982, with Korea Office support, these probation officers were given intensive, on-site training in probation systems and practices in the Philippines and Japan. The success of the training program owed much to the participating probation centers and bureaus in the Philippines and Japan, as well as to the special assistance of the of The Asia Foundation representatives in Manila and Tokyo, who helped to set up the training.

As a part of the Foundation’s continuing effort to assist the Ministry of Justice in the development of a probation system, five staff members of the MOJ’s Probation Bureau were sent to the Republic of China in 1983 for an observation and study tour on the cost-effectiveness of Taiwan’s system of probation. In the interim, the MOJ itself sponsored observation and study tour programs in Europe and other Asian countries.

The observation and study program enabled the MOJ to take initial steps toward the development of a viable probation system in Korea for juvenile and adult offenders. The MOJ established a pilot probation program in Pusan in early 1983, and expanded the program to Taejon and Chonju in the succeeding year. The probation law was promulgated in 1984, with full-scale implementation of the probation system nationwide in 1986. In the past 15 years, rehabilitation services have been successfully institutionalized.

Ministry of Court Administration

From 1982 to 1993, The Asia Foundation assisted the Ministry of Court Administration (MCA) of the Supreme Court in carrying out programs related to the development of court administration. The Korea Office supported judicial officials in legal observation and training programs in the United States (see information box). In addition, a number of judicial officials received in-country training and support from the Foundation. The Foundation’s in-country programs included assistance for:

· The Supreme Court Library, for the purchase of a collection of English-language books on the Anglo-American legal system.
· The Taejon District Court, to hold seminar and training programs for court clerks and judicial scriveners.
• The Kwangju High Court, Chunchon District Court, and Suwon District Court, to conduct three-month, in-service training programs for court clerks.
• The Seoul Appellate Court, to conduct in-service training courses in corporate taxation for judges, and workshops on the Supreme Court rulings on lawsuits involving administrative procedures.
• The publication of a book, *The American Judicial System*.

One judicial training program in the United States worth noting is the trial advocacy training of Judge Park Tae-ho of Taegu District Court. Judge Park was given the opportunity to train in trial advocacy at the Hastings Center for Trial and Appellate Advocacy in California, and at the Attorney General’s Advocacy Institute in the U.S. Department of Justice, in 1982. The program provided intensive training for the young Korean judge and exposed him to one of the most democratic aspects of America’s legal system: trial procedure. Although the training was conducted in the setting of a non-Korean legal system, the program was instructive for Judge Park, and helped him understand the need to further develop Korea’s court system. Several months after the completion of the program, Park wrote in his report to the Foundation, “I tend to find myself trying to become more democratic and patient in the courtroom and to rely less on my insight and genius than on the common sense of the society in finding fact.” Judge Park then went on to serve at the Taegu Appellate Court.
Since the inception of a more democratic, civilian-led government in 1988, the judicial system in Korea has become steadily more independent and progressive. With a legal system based on Continental civil law, leaders of the judiciary periodically review Korea's civil and common laws to ensure that they effectively serve the country and to assess needed reforms. Accordingly, The Asia Foundation has sought to assist the judiciary's reform efforts, helping to modernize Korean court organization and structure. In 1992, the Korea Office sent 15 Korean judges to California for a two-week court-management program with seminars and court attachments. Participating judges gained practical understanding of, and experience in, the U.S. court system, with a particular focus on pretrial procedures and court administration practices. Their input helped shape the subsequent court reforms in the mid-1990s, one example of which was the Ministry of Court Administration’s adoption of pretrial conferences and the continuous trial system, thus alleviating problems of court delay.

**Korean Legal Center**

The Korean Legal Center (KLC) was established in 1956 to promote and enhance Korean legal culture through international exchange and legal erudition. The membership of the KLC, currently totaling 10,695, comprises all legal professionals in Korea, including judges, public prosecutors, lawyers, law professors, army judge advocates, legislative officers, justices, and researchers of the Constitutional Court.

Foundation support enabled the Korean Legal Center, in 1982, to publish the fourth edition of the English-translated *Laws of the Republic of Korea*, comprising three volumes of 224 major laws and regulations. The newest edition was the product of the work of 29 Korean legal experts, aided by several American lawyers, and took 20 months to complete. It was, at the time, the only available English translation of many of Korea’s laws. The book was indispensable to foreign firms in the country, to Korean government agencies dealing with foreigners, and to Korean companies working overseas. The KLC chairman at the time, Kim Doo-hyun, stated, “This is the most accurate and authoritative English translation of Korean domestic laws.” He praised The Asia Foundation’s timely support, which induced several other donors to raise necessary funds to complete the program: Samsung, Hanjin, Daewoo, Korea Explosive, Sunkyung, Lucky-Goldstar, and Hyundai.
Under Foundation auspices, the KLC in 1984 started a four-week lecture program on Anglo-American law. The Korea Office invited Professor Philip Jimenez of the University of Santa Clara, California, to lead the law orientation program, which was attended by 79 participants consisting of judges, public prosecutors, practicing attorneys, judge advocates, and law students. Many participants subsequently pursued short-term, specialized programs or long-term, degree programs at American law schools. Due to its success, Jimenez was invited again, in 1985, to repeat the program, reaching 52 participants. In 1986 and 1988, the Foundation invited Professor Joseph Kelly of The Dickinson School of Law, Pennsylvania, to administer the law orientation program, which drew 54 and 74 participants, respectively. By 1988, a total of 259 Korean legal professionals had graduated from the Anglo-American law program.

A series of open lecture programs on American law were given in 1987 at the KLC, the Federation of Korean Industries, Seoul National University, and Korea University. The lectures, delivered by Richard Buxbaum of the Boalt School of Law, University of California, Berkeley, dealt with issues of trade relations and technology transfer. The following year, the KLC organized a weeklong lecture series, inviting Professors Jesse Choper and John McNulty of U.C. Berkeley to deliver presentations on “U.S. Taxation Policy” and “The U.S. Supreme Court and the Independence of the Judiciary.” The lectures were given at the Supreme Court Auditorium, the Judicial Research and Training Institute, and Seoul National and Korea Universities.

The Foundation continued support for the KLC from 1989 to 1990, aiding its efforts to enhance the use and value of existing Anglo-American legal resource materials held by judicial and legal institutions, university libraries, and law firms throughout the country. The KLC conducted a comprehensive field survey to examine the institutions’ present holdings and anticipated need of Anglo-American law books and materials. The survey resulted in the development of a computerized Anglo-American law resource database to help facilitate legal resource sharing.

**Korean Army Judge Advocate General Corps**

The Korea Office in 1984 helped the Republic of Korea Army judge advocate general (ROKA JAG) to send Lt. Col. Park Moo-yong for advanced training in comparative law at the National Law Center, The George Washington
University (GWU). Park successfully completed his master’s degree under the guidance of Professor William Mallison, with course work covering government contract law, international law, corporate law, United Nations law, government procurement law, and international humanitarian law. When he returned to Korea in 1985, Park was assigned to the ROK-U.S. Combined Forces Command as staff judge advocate. In his report to The Asia Foundation, Park expressed his interest in preparing a brochure on humanitarian law to educate others in his unit. He later submitted an article on military procurement to the dean of the College of Law, Korea University, for possible publication.

Following satisfactory evaluation of Lt. Col. Park’s training at GWU, the program was repeated in 1986 to train Major Chung Jin-seong, appellate prosecutor of the Fifth Corps, ROK Army, for two semesters. Upon completion of his program at GWU, Chung returned to Korea to be promoted to Lt. Col. and was assigned to the ROKA JAG Corps.

In 1993, at the request of the ROKA JAG Corps, The Asia Foundation purchased a collection of 31 English-language law books to help facilitate the research activities of the Committee for Military Judicial Studies within the JAG Corps, and to enhance understanding among JAG officers of the judicial systems of the United States and other countries.

Korean Bar Association

The Judicial Reform Study Committee of the Korean Bar Association (KBA) (Kim Un-ho) approached The Asia Foundation for support in the publication of a book, Human Rights Cases for 1986. The KBA, a national organization of 1,300 practicing lawyers, became increasingly active after the 1985 election of its president, Kim Un-ho. The KBA worked for reform of legislation and trial procedures that encroached on the constitutional rights of citizens. Published in December 1986, the book commemorated the Declaration of Human Rights, and served as a cornerstone of the human-rights movement in Korea, providing a valuable guide for human-rights protection campaigns.

From the mid-1980s, the role of the KBA in promoting judicial independence steadily increased in proportion to the country’s changing political climate. To further encourage its efforts, the Foundation assisted the KBA in 1987 in the Korean translation of a collection of monographs outlining U.S. procedures for appointing judicial officials and the independence of the court system in the United States.
Oh Suk-rak, a KBA member and former chief judge of the Chongju District Court, collected and published 41 monographs from his 1988 Foundation-backed U.S. observation and study tour in a book entitled *The Role of the American Bar Association in the Appointment of U.S. Federal Court Judges*. Five thousand copies of the book were distributed to lawyers, judges, prosecutors, law professors, and public and university libraries. The KBA believed the publication would serve as a useful reference for the restructured Korean judiciary under the Constitution of the Sixth Republic.

In the latter half of 1988, the Foundation helped the KBA conduct a seminar series to promote judicial democratization. The seminars, Expanded Functions for Lawyers, Press Abuses and Remedial Steps, and Amendments to the Lawyers Act, covered a wide range of progressive judicial and court administration reforms. The experience helped the KBA further its objectives to promote self-regulation and autonomy for the bar associations, to democratize the judicial system, and to safeguard the constitutional rights and interests of the people. Proposals were made for statutory amendments to be presented at the National Assembly.

In 1991, the Foundation provided assistance to the KBA (Kim Hong-soo) in holding the Second Conference of the Presidents of Bar Associations in Asia. The two-day conference in Seoul promoted international exchange and cooperation among the presidents of the bar associations of Asia. The conference encouraged joint efforts to popularize the rule of law, strengthened the collaboration of regional bar associations, and gave public recognition to the rightful functions of lawyers. The meeting was attended by 32 representatives from 17 Asian countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and Thailand.

In the early 1980s, the rules of criminal procedure in Korea were badly in need of reforms to better protect the constitutionally guaranteed rights of criminal defendants. To stimulate discussion on this subject, the Seoul Bar Association, with Asia Foundation assistance, undertook a mock criminal court trial demonstrating certain features of American trial method, and advocated improved courtroom procedure. The *Chosun Ilbo* identified the project in late 1982 as a major vehicle through which recommendations were made to
the Supreme Court. The Court subsequently used these recommendations to formulate new rules of courtroom procedure. The new rules went into effect in March 1983.

Supreme Public Prosecutors’ Office

The Asia Foundation supported the Supreme Public Prosecutors’ Office (SPPO), then headed by Prosecutor General Kim Ki-choon, in hosting the Second Conference of Attorneys General of Asia and the Pacific in 1990. Held in Seoul, the conference brought together 80 participants from 20 countries to (1) strengthen international cooperation among the offices of the attorneys general; (2) provide a forum for the exchange of ideas, information, and legal materials on the role and responsibilities of the attorney general; and (3) promote ties of friendship and professional exchange among the attorneys general of the region.

The conference’s success owes largely to the hard work of the SPPO administrative staff and the heads and staff of prosecutorial offices. Credit is also due to the Korea Office law advisor Tam Ormiston, who assisted with all aspects of the conference. Tam administered preconference questionnaires, handled the program organization, and even wrote speeches for the SPPO. In particular, Tam’s efforts to include conference topics on the role of the office of the attorney general in a democratic system increased the conference’s importance.

Worth noting is that participation of Attorneys General came from some of the most important countries of the Asia-Pacific region, including the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, Australia, and India. The attendance of the Soviet attorney general marked the first visit to Korea by a cabinet-level official of the U.S.S.R., and the participation of the attorney general of socialist Burma marked the fruition of South Korea’s diplomatic policies toward North Korea. Finally, the SPPO felt that this first large-scale international event contributed to its own internationalization and advancement.

The attorneys general attending the conference represented the following countries: Australia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Republic of China, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Vanuatu. The president of the U.S. National Association of Attorneys General represented the United States.

In 1992, SPPO prosecutor general Jeong Ku-yeong and prosecutor Cho Chang-koo visited the United States to meet with high-ranking officials of the Federal Trade Commission and the U.S. Department of Justice. The prosecutors’ visit to the U.S. Department of Justice ultimately led to the establishment of the extradition and criminal enforcement treaty between Korea and the United States. The prosecutors also participated in the summer conference of the National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) in Pennsylvania. The Foundation-backed visit enabled Jeong and Cho to broaden their understanding of the role and responsibilities of the U.S. Attorney General, especially regarding public-interest law. As an outcome of their visit, the SPPO issued a return invitation for a group of several state attorneys
general to visit Korea to confer on methods of promoting public-interest law and prosecuting corrupt government officials.

As a follow-up activity, the SPPO invited five NAAG members to meet with Korean legal and government officials through a one-week program arranged by the SPPO and The Asia Foundation in 1993. The program provided NAAG members and Korean prosecutors an opportunity to discuss the criminal justice systems of Korea and the United States.

The final SPPO exchange program organized by Tam Ormiston (then Korea Office representative) granted eight senior public prosecutors the opportunity to participate in a specially designed attachment program in the United States in 1994. The public prosecutors studied the U.S. federal prosecutorial system and procedures. The program was highly effective in conveying the role and responsibilities of the U.S. attorneys general to the group, information that helped shape SPPO reforms and furthered cooperation with the United States in the spirit of the new Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty. Those who participated in the program were Han Boo-whan, Pusan District PPO; Oh Byung-joo, Seoul District PPO; Lee Jong-baek, Prosecution Bureau, MOJ; Kim Hee-kwan, Kwangju District PPO; Kim Choo-deok, Taejon District PPO; Yang Dong-chul, Pusan District PPO (Eastern Branch); Park Sang-ok, SPPO; and Jun Chang-young, Taegu District PPO.

Constitutional Court of Korea

The Constitutional Court of Korea (CCK) was founded in September 1988 with nine justices, selected by the President, the National Assembly, and the Supreme Court. Empowered to pass judgments on the constitutionality of legislation enacted by the National Assembly, the CCK was permitted to oversee the exercise of governmental powers. The Asia Foundation strongly felt the establishment of the CCK was a key step in the direction of a genuine democratic system in Korea, especially given the country’s long tradition of administrative dominance. As such, the Korea Office has given assistance to the CCK for research, training, and library facilities.

Since the CCK had no precedent in Korean history, there was an immediate need to research and review the experiences of other nations with similar institutions to provide guidelines for successful and effective operation of the system in Korea. With this in mind, the Foundation sponsored Lee Shi-yoon...
to undertake research on the litigation procedures of other constitutional court systems, immediately after he was appointed a justice of the CCK. A year after completing his research, Justice Lee and his staff helped establish a set of litigation procedures and guidelines for the Court’s effective operation.

In the fall of 1990, with Korea Office support, Justice Lee attended the Fifth International Appellate Judges Conference in Washington, D.C., where he met and discussed matters of constitutional judicial development with a variety of senior judicial officials from the United States and other countries. His contacts included Supreme Court justices, federal judges, and chief justices of state supreme courts. The Asia Foundation San Francisco Office also arranged a one-week, postconference tour for Justice Lee to observe a unified court system and to meet with state supreme, appellate, general jurisdiction, and limited jurisdiction court personnel. These experiences enriched Lee’s knowledge base, thus indirectly contributing to the development of the Constitutional Court in Korea and to the successful completion of his term as Justice. After completing his term at the CCK (1988–93), he was named president of the Board of Audit and Inspection (1993–97), another constitutional entity of Korea. He has been a visiting professor at the College of Law, Kyung Hee University, since 1999.

Exactly one year after the CCK was established, the Korean Bar Association (KBA) (Park Seong-suh) approached the Foundation with a program to assess the role of the constitutional court system in Korea’s judicial development. The Asia Foundation supported KBA’s efforts to objectively study the CCK’s first year of activity, and helped disseminate the study’s findings throughout the various branches of government and to the public at large, believing the study would help establish the CCK as a recognized institution in Korea’s legal and political systems. Having an organization such as the KBA to conduct the research was made doubly important by the press’s lack of experience or specialization in legal reporting. The research findings were evaluated at a follow-up seminar with government officials, legislators, and members of the judicial community. The seminar proceedings were later published, largely in The Law Times in October 1989.

To assist the CCK library in strengthening its collection of Anglo-American law materials, The Asia Foundation in 1991 purchased and donated to the court a set of the 122-volume *American Jurisprudence Legal Encyclopedia*. The encyclopedias boosted research activities among justices and research staff. In addition, the Foundation helped acquire a collection of American law books for the CCK library under a “service grant.” While the Foundation assisted in the

In 1993, The Asia Foundation assisted the Secretariat of the Constitutional Court of Korea, then headed by Secretary-general Kim Yong-kyun, in carrying out a comparative study of the selection and appointment process for justices in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, Japan, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy. The findings and recommendations from the study were presented in 1994 to the National Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the Office of the President for their reference in adopting a process for appointing new justices to the CCK.

A 1994 grant enabled Kim Yong-kyun to undertake a four-week research program on U.S. constitutional theory and case studies in Washington, D.C. The experience helped Kim gain professional knowledge of the dynamics of U.S. constitutional cases, and shaped his preparation of a key reference tool to be used at the CCK for easy and systematic access to case studies. His report was published in the fifth issue of the Constitutional Court of Korea’s journal, *Constitutional Review*. Kim, in later years, was elected to the National Assembly (2000–04).
POLITICAL PROGRESS

After nearly a quarter century of authoritarian rule, the Koreans in the 1980s began to make headway in pushing for a more democratic system of government. Political institutions and think tanks responded by seeking to develop greater know-how in legislative and representational affairs. The Asia Foundation aided their efforts to improve parliamentary politics in support of the growth of democracy in Korea.

The National Assembly and Legislative Development

When Chris Sigur arrived in Korea in April 1981 as Korea Office representative, one of his primary concerns was the development of new program areas. After a series of consultations with various leaders of civil society, he started to explore programming in the field of legislation. Chris began meeting with people in the National Assembly Secretariat to discern long-term needs to which The Asia Foundation could effectively respond. As a result, a series of leadership and training programs for both Assembly members and Secretariat staff were implemented in the ensuing decade (1982–94). The observation and study tours and the training programs, which mostly occurred in the United States, stretched through Ben Kremenak’s second tenure as representative.

The first program with the National Assembly, in 1982, brought Choi Young-chul, chairman of the Health and Social Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, and committee member Kim Mo-im to undertake an observation and study tour of national health policy approaches of the United States, Japan, and the Philippines. The experience gained from the trip helped the Committee analyze government plans for the development of a primary health-care system in Korea. Choi and Kim were able to point out some of the plan’s weaknesses and suggest alternative ways to improve the system. Choi, in later years, was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of unification (1992–93), and Kim Mo-im became minister of health and social welfare (1998–99).

In late 1985, Dho Young-shim, then staff specialist for the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly and formerly a Foundation-supported congressional fellow (1984), approached Representative Ben Kremenak with a request for an observation and study tour of the United States for a group of influential Korean legislators:
Chung Nam, NA member, DJP (Democratic Justice Party) (ruling)
Kang Yong-sik, NA member, DJP
Park Kwan-yong, NA member, NDP (New Democratic Party) (opposition)
Park Han-sang, NA member, NDP
Lee Jae-won, Secretary for Political Affairs, Office of the Prime Minister
Lee Yang-hee, Director, Planning and Coordination, DJP

The group was provided with a two-week observation and study tour in early 1986, escorted and interpreted by Asia Foundation program officer Park Tae-jin. Through the program, the group gained first hand knowledge and understanding of (1) the American system of government; (2) local autonomy at the state and local level, with visits to San Francisco and Chicago; and (3) the workings of the U.S. Congress and how its procedures affect the trade relationship between Korea and the United States.

The program was significant in that it offered The Asia Foundation an opportunity to address important issues that had arisen between Korea and the United States, particularly with regard to trade. An unforgettable meeting took place at the International Trade Commission (ITC), marked by sharp exchanges between U.S. chairwoman Paula Stern and Korea assemblyman Chung Nam on the issue of Korea’s trade imbalance with the United States. Stern denounced Korea as a violator of Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act, which prohibited the “dumping” of foreign products at unfair prices in U.S. markets, to which Chung responded that Korea was not another Japan and should be given special consideration by the United States. While the ITC session was conducted under tension, the one-hour meeting with Sandy Kristoff of the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative was held in a comfortable atmosphere and provided for a healthy exchange of views, as Kristoff had an admirable understanding of the Korean economy.

Two members of the tour delegation have held important positions in the legislature: Assemblyman Park Kwan-yong served as speaker of the National Assembly from 2002 to 2004, and Assemblyman Kang Yong-sik served as secretary-general of the National Assembly Secretariat, also from 2002 to 2004.

In 1992, The Asia Foundation sent Staff Director Park Jong-heup of the House Steering Committee and Secretary to the Speaker of the National
Assembly Noh Jean-sang to participate in the Regional Consultation Meeting of Legislative Support Structures in Asia, in Manila. Park presented a paper entitled, “The Level of Legislative Support Services in Korea: Strengths, Needs, and Responses.” Both came away from the conference with an increased interest in committee operations as a vital component of an independent legislature.

Two years later, Park Kwon-sang, chairman of the National Assembly Advisory Commission and a former Nieman fellow (1965), approached The Asia Foundation with a request for help in the Commission’s efforts to reform the National Assembly’s parliamentary system. Responding to this request, the Foundation provided the Commission — composed of representatives from the media, academia, law, and the legislature — with a two-week observation and study tour of the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament. The tour was undertaken by a five-member delegation headed by Korea University professor Hahn Bae-ho. The delegation studied legislative procedure, the committee system, the budget process, the oversight mechanism, legislative support agencies, constituent relations, and the hearing process. The delegation’s findings led to the Commission making 61 recommendations for reform, of which the National Assembly adopted 51 while revising the country’s Parliamentary Law in August 1994. The media reported drastic changes in the standing committees due to the reforms.

The National Assembly training program was another legislative priority area of The Asia Foundation. In particular, the Korea Office directed efforts to upgrade staff at the request of the National Assembly. Over a period of some ten years (1984–94), 24 staff members selected from the National Assembly Secretariat and Library were trained in the United States through observation and study tours and internship programs on U.S. legislative processes, management, the legislative information service system, and legislative information analysis.

Two officials in the National Assembly Secretariat have been closely associated with the Foundation through its staff training program. In 1990, Park Sang-moon, then secretary-general of the Secretariat, approached the Korea Office with a proposal for one of its staff members, Lim Jong-hoon, a legislative researcher on the Health and Social Affairs Committee, to pursue advanced study in the United States. Lim studied in the United States for four years (1991–94) under a Foundation fellowship, pursuing degree programs in constitutional law and the legislative process, first at the University of Wisconsin Law School at Madison, for a master of laws degree (LLM), and later at Georgetown University, for a doctor of judicial science degree (SJD).
Lim has been the chief counsel for the Legislation and Judiciary Committee of the National Assembly since 2002, after serving at various posts in the Secretariat and the Committee since his return to Korea in 1994.

In 1992, Koo Hee-kwon, a Secretariat legislative researcher, was awarded the opportunity to participate in the Seminar on American Politics and Policy, in Berkeley, California. The experience he gained through the seminar proved useful, and Koo later became the director general of the Secretariat’s Bureau of International Cooperation. Both Lim and Koo have been most supportive of The Asia Foundation.

More recently, the Korea Office partnered with the National Assembly Secretariat (NAS) to hold a seminar on Legislative Cost Estimates for Bills and the Revenue Estimates at the National Assembly Members Building in May 2003. The Foundation invited two American participants from the U.S. Congressional Budget Office (CBO): Mary Sadoti, Budget Analysis Division, and David Weiner, Tax Analysis Division. The seminar was an outgrowth of a CBO-NAS relationship established in 2001, when the Foundation arranged for Dr. Paul Postner, the General Accounting Office (GAO) managing director, to meet then–secretary general Kim Byung-oh, who expressed interest in sending NAS delegations to GAO and CBO.

Korean Legislative Studies Institute

The Korean Legislative Studies Institute (KLSI) (Bark Dong-su), a National Assembly think tank, was founded in March 1981 with the objective of contributing to the development of parliamentary politics in support of the growth of democracy in Korea. The KLSI encourages academics, legislators, lawyers, the press, and others to engage in research and other activities to strengthen parliamentary institutions and their administration.

The Asia Foundation’s first grant to the KLSI, then headed by President Bark Dong-suh (the first Foundation-sponsored congressional fellow in 1960), was made in 1983 to support research and seminars on Korea’s legislative process and development. KLSI research and seminar activities received continuous support from the Foundation from 1984 to 1987. The Korea Office supported other notable KLSI programs through 1990, such as KLSI vice president Kim Kwang-woong’s 1984 observation and study tour of Thailand’s parliamentary internship program.
The KLSI created the National Assembly Fellowship Program (NAFP) in 1984 with Foundation assistance, the first of its kind in Korea. It emulated the Congressional Fellowship Program administered by the American Political Science Association. The program selected 12 graduates to gain first hand knowledge of the workings of the National Assembly through the NAFP for a period of six months. Asia Foundation assistance to the NAFP continued for three years until 1986, after which the KLSI sponsored the Fellowship Program on its own. Two outstanding fellows from the classes of 1985 and 1986 were given special fellowships to undertake a two-month combined observation, study, and internship tour on legislative issues and processes in the United States.

Finally, the Korea Office backed KLSI’s in-service training program for selected legislative aides from 1988 to 1990. The training acquainted them with the workings of the legislature and its relations with the executive and judicial branches of government. A total of 85 legislative aides were trained under this program.

**Korean Political Science Association**

The International Political Science Association (IPSA) in 1982 held an international conference, The New International Economic Order and Political Development in the Asia-Pacific Region. The Asia Foundation sent a four-member delegation from the Korean Political Science Association (KPSA) (*Hahn Bae-ho*) to attend the Tokyo Round: KPSA president Hahn Bae-ho, Oh Kie-pyung of Sogang University, Han Sung-joo of Korea University, and Lee Hong-koo of Seoul National University. This was the first grant the Korea Office made to the KPSA. During the trip, the delegation initiated exploratory work to bring an IPSA meeting to Korea. Just 16 years later, the KPSA hosted the IPSA World Congress in Seoul, which was attended by some 2,000 leading political scientists from all over the world.

In 1983, the Korea Office assisted the KPSA (*Kim Young-kook*) in holding its Fifth Biannual International Conference in conjunction with Korean political scientists in the United States. Conference topics of discussion dealt with the development of democracy in Korea (specifically, how traditional political thought affects democratic development), democratic participation, democratic consciousness, the parliamentary system, interest groups, and Korean political organizations. The Asia Foundation supported the publication of the 780-page conference proceedings.
The KPSA (Yoon Hyung-sup) in 1985 held its sixth international conference with Asia Foundation support. Jointly sponsored with the Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America (AKPSNA), the conference was entitled Korea’s Search for Democracy: Reflections and Prospects, partly in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of Korea’s independence from Japan. The conference drew some 150 participants, including 85 scholars in Korea and 27 AKPSNA members, to examine the process of Korea’s political development during the previous four decades and to develop future programs.

Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, The Asia Foundation backed a variety of KPSA publications:

• “Problems of Local Autonomy,” a special feature of its professional journal, the Korean Political Science Review, documented the proceedings of the 1986 KPSA conference.
• The proceedings of KPSA’s seventh conference, held in conjunction with AKPSNA in 1987, were documented in “Korean Politics in the Period of Transition.”
• In 1990, the KPSA (Kim Sang-joon, Kang Min) presented its conference proceedings in book form, Industrial Society and the Tasks of Korean Politics.
• Foundation assistance helped fund the conference publication, Korean Politics in the Challenging Global Order, in 1991.

Following the Declaration of Democratization on June 29, 1987, the “struggle for democracy” became a ubiquitous catch phrase in South Korea. It was doubtful, however, that the general population was sufficiently knowledgeable of the workings of democracy. With this in mind, the KPSA (Min Joon-ki) in 1988 launched an educational publication with the semiannual journal Open Forum on Democracy. The publication, meant to promote popular knowledge of the theory and practice of democracy, was introduced with Asia Foundation support. The following year, eight papers were reviewed for publication, on the following topics: democratization of the sixth republic, the need for and the possibility of ideology parties, labor-management relations, and democratization and local autonomy.

In late 1994, the KPSA (Kim Ho-jin) received Korea Office backing for its international conference, Democratization and Reform in South Korea:
Appraisal and Prospect. The conference, a comparative and systematic examination of the democratic transition in Korea, explored topics relevant to Korea’s fledgling democratic system: democratization and political transition, democratization and political consolidation, political process in transition, administrative reforms and changing bureaucracy, and political reforms by the Kim Young-sam administration. Conference organizers devised a set of recommendations from the presented topics for the further refinement of democratic reform and consolidation in Korea.

The Asia Foundation provided another grant to the KPSA (Kim Yu-nam), in 1999, to support its international conference, The United States and the Two Koreas at the Crossroads: Searching for a New Passage. The conference was jointly sponsored by the Korea-America Friendship Society, the Chosun Ilbo, the Sejong Institute, and The Asia Foundation, and brought together 20 scholars and specialists from the United States and South Korea. Participants conferred on South Korea’s “sunshine policy” toward North Korea, investigated the implications of the North’s long-range-missile development and nuclear weapons program, and discussed trilateral relations between the United States and the two Koreas. Dr. William Perry’s special keynote speech attracted a large audience and the news media. The conference proceedings were published for broad distribution.

ELECTIONS

For a decade, from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, one of the main objectives of the Korea Office was to support the growth and popular understanding of the institutions of representative government and democracy. Representative Ben Kremenak placed a priority on programs to develop the capacity of Korea’s electoral system. The efforts of The Asia Foundation to shore up the democratic practice of casting ballots came at a time when Korea was shifting toward more representational government.
Central Election Management Committee

Constituting a fourth branch of government, the Central Election Management Committee (CEMC), now known as the National Election Commission, approached The Asia Foundation in 1983 for assistance in staff training. The CEMC previously had sent a number of people to observe U.S. elections, but did not offer the opportunity for in-depth study of U.S. electoral systems. The plan called for a series of observation and internship programs for CEMC staff with the purpose of (1) developing an improved collection of materials on the American election process at the federal and state levels; (2) gaining a better understanding of how changing political, social, and economic conditions affect a nation’s election processes; (3) training in election management techniques; (4) broadening staff perspective on the election system; and (5) assisting CEMC efforts to upgrade Korea’s election system.

In order to achieve these objectives, the CEMC asked the Foundation to proffer financial support and to help arrange well-structured observation and internship programs in the United States. The request fell within Korea Office program objectives: to support the growth and popular understanding of the institutions of representative government and democracy, and to foster mutual understanding and respect for the political, economic, and social systems of Korea and the United States.

In responding to this need, The Asia Foundation sent four groups of CEMC officials to the United States over several years (1984–89) to undertake observation and internship programs at the U.S. Federal Election Commission. To gain maximum benefit from the program, the first two groups underwent intensive English-language training at the American Language Institute of Georgetown University, the third group was accompanied by a Korean political science professor, and the fourth was assisted by an escort and interpreter sent by the Foundation home office. In his letter of appreciation to The Asia Foundation, the chairman of CEMC wrote, “While in the U.S., the trainees broadened their perspectives with regard to various aspects of the U.S. election system, and the knowledge gained and the various materials collected will doubtless prove of great value to the Committee in the performance of its activities.”

These relatively modest grants were made at the right place and the right time, maximizing South Korea’s chances to develop a free and fair electoral system. The election process today has a greater sense of legitimacy than at any other time in the short history of Korean democracy.
Korea Office Representative Ben Kremenak made the following noteworthy comments when he evaluated the program:

An election system is the one key element which defines and identifies a democracy. Certainly it is possible to have elections of a sort and still not have a democracy, and perhaps this is true in a majority of countries around the world. But without elections, democracy is a logical impossibility.

Korea’s election officials have, for the most part, demonstrated that they are competent, honest, and dedicated. However, coming from a tradition wherein there have rarely been two elections in a row that were run on the same set of rules, they understandably feel the need to professionalize their operations as much and as quickly as possible. The Asia Foundation’s short observation programs have done far more to help them do this than the size of the projects would suggest. We feel that this program has been highly successful on a number of counts: (a) the way that it addresses the country’s needs and the Foundation’s objectives, (b) the quality of the programming, especially in terms of getting the observers to see the right people, and (c) in terms of the enthusiasm and receptivity of the participants.

**Election Studies Program**

Studies of voter behavior play an important role in the political processes of Western democracies, yet they were relatively unknown in Korea in the mid-1980s. Recognizing a need, The Asia Foundation supported several academic institutions in conducting a series of research programs on election issues. The resultant program data and analyses received due attention from political scientists and others in the political field, and helped to advance the science of election studies in Korea.

* Editor’s Note: in chapters 3, 4, and 5, due to the large number of organizations participating in Asia Foundation programs from the 1970s to the present, names of organizations grouped under a common subheading are set in bold to help the reader easily distinguish the numerous programs.
In 1985, the Regional Studies Institute, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS), carried out a survey and analysis of Korean voters’ political consciousness prior to the 1985 general elections. The research team — Ahn Byong-man of HUFS and Kil Soong-hum and Kim Kwang-woong of Seoul National University — compared research data with two previous benchmark electoral studies, conducted at the time of the 1963 and 1978 elections by Yoon Chon-ju and Kil Soong-hum, respectively.

In cooperation with the Central Election Management Committee, and with the support of the Korea Office, the same research team of Ahn, Kil, and Kim undertook a comprehensive and historical study of the Korean election system in 1986. The results led to the recommendation of changes to the system, with the publication of a report, A Study of Elections in Korea. The following year, three weeks prior to the 1987 presidential election by direct popular vote, the first such election in 18 years, the Ahn, Kil, and Kim team carried out a nationwide survey. The results were published in a monograph entitled Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior of the Korean Electorates in the 1987 Presidential Election.

The series of studies by Ahn, Kil, and Kim culminated in the 1988 book Elections in Korea. The book was deemed the most significant publication of the year by the Korean Political Science Association. Representative Ben Kremenak committed Korea Office resources to translate the book into English, because he felt it was something the broader non-Korean-speaking public, in both Korea and the United States, should be exposed to.

Perhaps Ahn, Kil, and Kim’s most sophisticated work came in 1992 when, three weeks prior to the 14th presidential election, they conducted systematic, in-depth interviews of voters across the country. The survey yielded an empirical assessment of Koreans’ political attitudes and patterns of voting behavior, evaluated their political orientation toward democratic participation, and compared continuity and change in the voting patterns and political opinions of Koreans over the previous two decades. This work contributed significantly to the study of Korea’s elections and political organization.

Another landmark election study in Korea came from the research team of Ahn Byong-man, Kim Kwang-woong, and Kim In-chul. The team conducted nationwide surveys and research on Korean voters’ political attitudes and voting behavior in the 1991 local elections. These were the first local elections since local government had been abolished by the military regime three decades earlier. The study was significant because its subject matter — the
elections — was crucial to the development of representative democracy in Korea, and because the study formed a valuable baseline for judging electoral progress in the future. Ahn and Kim In-chul of HUFS later conducted the same nationwide survey during the 1995 local elections. As a result, the team published a monograph, *Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior of the Korean Electorates in the 1995 Local Elections*, containing comparative analyses of the attitudinal changes in voting behavior from 1991 to 1995.

With Foundation backing, Lee Yong-sun, Byun Dong-gun, and Lee Chong-un of the Research Institute of Social Science, Kookmin University, conducted a survey on voters’ understanding of democratic political concepts during the 12th general elections, held in February 1985. Their research analyzed recruiting patterns and career paths of the nation’s political elites and sought to connect political candidates to voter preferences. The findings, published in the Kookmin University journal *Law and Political Review*, indicated that constituent voting patterns were largely commensurate with voter preferences as to the candidates’ sociopolitical backgrounds and campaign promises. Lee Yong-sun presented the findings at the annual convention of the Korean Political Science Association in December 1986.

The Asia Foundation assisted the Korean Social Science Research Council in holding a national symposium, Elections and Democracy in Korea, in 1986. The symposium was the first such activity in Korea focused on election research methodology, and the well-established grantee institution helped ensure the participation of most of the nation’s leading scholars in the field. The symposium was of great value to those concerned with analyzing elections professionally.

The Social Science Research Institute, Sungshin Women’s University (Kwon Yong-woo), in 1988 conducted a spatial voter study in the newly urbanized areas surrounding Seoul. Researchers Lee Bum-joon and Song Il-seong evaluated voting behavior through an in-depth, empirical analysis of voting trends. Interestingly, the study found that Seoul’s satellite urban areas were relatively unaffected by the regional loyalties that constituted the predominant voting criteria elsewhere in the nation during the 1987 presidential and general elections. The *Hankyoreh Shimmun*, highlighting the findings of the study, indicated that “there was little sign of regional sentiment during the presidential election in 1987.” The program proved of great interest to politicians, political scientists, research institutes, and the Korean media.

A team of three professors from the Institute for Korean Political Studies, Seoul National University — Kil Soong-hum, Lee Jung-bok, and Park Chan-
wook — won Korea Office support for a study of the 1992 National Assembly elections. Based on a nationwide questionnaire of 1,514 respondents, the Institute provided an assessment of voters’ attitudes and behavioral patterns. The study enabled the research team to make comparisons with three previous benchmark studies conducted at the time of the 1963, 1978, and 1985 elections. The study results were published in a monograph, *Political Orientations and Voting Behavior among Korean Citizens: A Survey Analysis of the 14th National Assembly Election in 1992*. Findings showed that Korean voting patterns had become more democratic, and that older people were more likely to vote. A high level of political distrust, regionalism, and individual-oriented voting was shown to persist. The survey team concluded that the electorate did not yet possess sufficient political interest for a stable participatory democracy.

**WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Asia Foundation programming in the field of women’s participation has been extensive over the past three decades. Aside from its continued assistance to the three major women-focused NGOs in Korea from the 1970s to the present — the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations, the Korea League of Women Voters, and the Center for Korean Women and Politics — the Korea Office also addressed the needs of numerous women’s organizations to enhance women’s participation in politics and society.

A street campaign for fair elections by members of the Korean League of Women Voters (1992).
Korean League of Women Voters

The Korean League of Women Voters (KLWV) (Kim Chung-rye) has a long relationship with The Asia Foundation, encompassing some 27 programs over a span of more than 30 years. Established in 1969 as a private, nonprofit, volunteer organization, the KLWV started out as a small and embattled group. Yet it was perhaps the single most important pressure group in Korea at the time. The Korean government viewed the League as subversive during the first ten years of its existence, and at one time KLWV President Kim Chung-rye was even placed under house arrest. When The Asia Foundation began its assistance to the KLWV in the late 1970s, the League still felt certain constraints in Korea’s rigid political climate. For example, when a KLWV report on the status of female factory workers in major industrial areas was found unfavorable to the government, it was censored on its way to the Foundation’s home office by government authorities.

By the mid-1980s, however, the Korean League of Women Voters was recognized as a significant national organization. The League’s operation of seven regional branches in the provinces, with Foundation support, played a vital role in promoting its image. KLWV efforts helped women voters deepen their understanding of local autonomy and promoted among them a sense of participation in the system. That the League held a forum on the fulfillment of election pledges shortly after democratic government was reinstated in Korea underlined the correctness of the Foundation in nurturing the KLWV during earlier and more difficult times.

Asia Foundation support for the KLWV has covered a myriad of programs over the years. Among the more notable collaborations was the Korea Office’s sponsorship of five members — Kim Chong-rye, Oh Sun-joo, Choi Jae-bock, Choi Sun-kyu, and Kim Kyung-ai — to attend the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women in Copenhagen in 1980. The trip was followed by a three-week observation and study tour of the American League of Women Voters and other women’s activists groups in the United States. The experience helped the KLWV expand its potential as a nationwide organization capable of fulfilling its role of investigating, educating, and publicizing issues of public concern, especially in the area of women’s rights. Another notable Foundation-backed program was the informal education training of approximately 180 female workers from the Kuro industrial estate outside of Seoul in women’s socioeconomic roles, trade unionism, consumerism, and women’s rights and duties in a democratic society.
Other constructive programs raised the Korean League of Women Voters’ position in Korea to one of the more influential NGOs committed to improving the nation’s democratization process. It is noteworthy that the three people who served as president of the League advanced to the political arena: Kim Chung-rye as a National Assembly member and minister of health and social affairs; Lee Ke-soon as minister of political affairs; and Shin Nakyun as a National Assembly member and minister of culture and tourism.

Some of the League’s major projects sponsored by The Asia Foundation include:

• The English translation of the book *Women and the Law in Korea* (1973)
• A study on the problems of working women in three major industrial areas (1979)
• KLWV staff participation in the UN Decade for Women Conference in Copenhagen, in addition to an observation and study tour to the United States and a nonformal education program for female factory workers (1980)
• Nonformal legal literacy education programs for women workers (1982)
• The establishment of League branches in seven provincial urban centers, staff education, and membership training (1986–87)
• A symposium to promote women’s participation in the political process, plus a second observation and study tour to the United States (1988)
• The publication of a booklet on local autonomy, a survey and forum to evaluate the fulfillment of election pledges, and women’s voter education (1989)
• A forum on national policy and popular consciousness, a survey on voter expectations and appraisals of National Assembly members, and education for women voters (1990)
• Voter education on National Assembly members’ voting records, and a seminar on fair election campaigns (1991)
• A street campaign for fair elections and a countrywide series of forums on election platforms (1992)
• An exchange tour to Japan for women leaders in local politics, and training of local citizen watchdog groups (1993)
• Research on newspaper coverage of women’s issues, and a survey on the performance of local assembly members in the policymaking process (1994)
• Training for election volunteers for the 1995 local elections (1995)
• Support of a women voters movement for better local government (1999)

Korean Women’s Political Caucus

The Korean Women’s Political Caucus (KWPC) (Kim Hyun-ja) is a women’s organization in Korea, established in 1991. The Asia Foundation’s history with the KWPC actually preceded its formal existence: in 1988, the Korea Office sent six women political leaders to meet their U.S. counterparts and undertake an observation and study tour of legislative procedures and electoral processes. These six women leaders — Kim Chung-rye, Kim Hyun-ja, Kim Yung-chung, Han Yang-soon, Kim Young-ja, and Hong Sa-im — ultimately served as the core members of the KWPC. Among the organization’s
The top priorities was the raising of women’s political consciousness and status through support of progressive legislative policies.

At the second anniversary celebration of the Korean Women’s Political Caucus (Kim Chung-rye), in 1993, The Asia Foundation invited Claudine Schneider, a former congresswoman from Rhode Island, to deliver a keynote address, “Women’s Participation in Politics: Can Women Really Make A Difference?” Schneider led three leadership and training sessions on strategies to increase the number and value of women’s political participation. She encouraged Korean women leaders to become more interested in fostering women’s political consciousness, and conducted training in fundraising techniques and the organization and management of election campaigns.

In early 1998, on behalf of the Korean Women’s Political Caucus, The Asia Foundation invited Anita Ferguson, the president of the U.S. National Women’s Political Caucus, to Korea to conduct a one-week training program for women political leaders and prospective women candidates. Some 200 women leaders attended the program. Ferguson’s field training helped prepare the women for the June 1998 local elections. As a follow-up program, the Korea Office assisted the KWPC in publishing the text of Ferguson’s lectures and speeches in pamphlet form for future training purposes.

The Foundation assisted KWPC (Kim Mo-im) in carrying out a three-day strategic planning workshop to enhance women’s political participation in 2001. The Foundation invited two foreign specialists to present at the workshop, Josefa Francisco and Noel Racho, both from the Philippines. The workshop trained 20 Korean women leaders representing three organizations in preparation for the 2002 local elections: the Korean Women’s Political Caucus, the Korean League of Women Voters, and Korean Women’s Political Solidarity.

**Center for Korean Women and Politics**

The Center for Korean Women and Politics (CKWP) (Sohn Bong-scuk) was another major women’s organization that the Korea Office paid particular attention to, as it exclusively devoted its efforts to enhance women’s political participation. The Center was founded in 1990 by Sohn Bong-scuk and backed by four prominent advisory members — Kim Chung-rye, Bark Dong-suh, Lee Tai-young, and Lee Hahn-been — all of whom are close associates of the Foundation in Korea. The first Asia Foundation grant to the CKWP, in
1990, aimed to promote women’s political participation and representation in government and decision-making processes.

The CKWP specifically focused on increasing women’s candidacy for public office. Dr. Sohn organized the campaign-school program in 1992, which provided 40 participants (both men and women) with an overview of what it takes to run a campaign, from creating a positive public image to raising money and polling voters. As a by-product of the program, a 184-page textbook, *Strategies for Election Campaigns*, offered step-by-step instructions for candidates on how to conduct a campaign, and information on election laws and laws on political campaign funds. The campaign-school program and publication, the first of their kind in Korea, stirred a considerable amount of public and media interest, and stimulated calls for political education among potential women candidates.

Two years later, Dr. Sohn participated in The Asia Foundation Women in Politics unit’s first regional workshop and strategic planning meeting in Manila. In addition, she was instrumental in establishing the Asia-Pacific Women in Politics Network (APWIP), serving as its regional secretary. The APWIP later selected the CKWP to be its regional resource center.

Dr. Sohn has been publicly recognized as a scholar and NGO leader highly devoted to democratic political development and the promotion of women’s political participation. She also specializes in the field of election management: Dr. Sohn has been a serving member of the National Election Commission since 1997. Moreover, she served as chairwoman of the International Election Management Committee in East Timor during its 2001 Constitutional Assembly election. Dr. Sohn was elected to the 17th National Assembly in April 2004.

CKWP programs under the auspices of The Asia Foundation from 1991 to 2000 included:
- Research on women’s political consciousness
- A lecture program on political campaign strategy and tactics for women
- The publication of manuals on election campaign strategy
- A series of training programs for future women leaders
- Research on local autonomy and the role of women politicians
- A mock election campaign enlightening the public on the revised election law
- Recruitment of women candidates for local elections
OTHER WOMEN’S PROGRAMS

A variety of partners — both university-based organizations and NGOs — have worked successfully with The Asia Foundation to promote women’s participation in politics, leadership, and women’s status issues since the early 1980s. Although the purpose of this book does not allow for a full listing of programs, some of the more notable programs are featured below.

Women’s Political Participation

Sookmyung Women’s University Research Center for Asian Women (RCAW) (Sung Young-hae) in 1989 hosted a symposium, Democratization and Women’s Political Socialization. The symposium aimed to explore the traditional and cultural values of Korean society, a factor considered a hindrance to the participation of women in politics. Sookmyung Women’s University Department of Political Science (Kim Ok-yul) in 1991 conducted a study on Korean women’s political participation, resulting in the 1992 monograph, The Political Participation of Korean Women. The study was timely: Korea elected only 40 women in the 1991 local elections (0.9 percent of total), and not a single woman was elected from district constituencies in the 1992 general elections.

The Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) (Kim Jung-ja), in conjunction with the Women in Politics Unit of The Asia Foundation, worked to assess the needs of, and opportunities and resources for, women’s political participation in Korea. An assessment report, Evaluation Report on Korean Women’s Participation in Politics, was submitted to The Asia Foundation home office in 1993.

The Korean Institute for Women and Politics (Kim Chung-sook) held a seminar in 1995, Strategies for Expanding Women’s Political Participation with a Focus on the Role of NGOs. The seminar examined existing strategies for women political leaders in the Asia-Pacific region and studied specific strategies for Korean women’s political participation.

The Foundation supported WomenLink (Chung Kang-ja) in 1999 to carry out a research program on how women’s groups monitor the activities of local assemblies. The program enabled WomenLink to accomplish several goals: (1) investigate and analyze the current status of organizational monitoring
activities, (2) discuss the future direction of monitoring activities, (3) disseminate the research to women’s organizations in Korea, and (4) suggest a new model for monitoring local assemblies. The research findings discussed ways that women could more effectively monitor, report on, and network with their local assemblies.

Ewha Womans University Korean Women’s Institute (KWI) (Chang Pilwha) in 2000 received Foundation assistance to carry out a research program on women’s participation in local politics. The research resulted in the publication of a booklet, *Women, Community Self-Government, and the Politics of Life*, which was used to support a campaign for feminist political participation in the 2002 local elections. Two workshops cultivated leadership power among local women activists and led to the discovery and support of women candidates for local elections.

The National Election Commission Electoral Training Institute in 2001 partnered with The Asia Foundation on a training program for women candidates for the 2002 local elections. Four, three-day training sessions were conducted nationwide for a total of 120 women candidate-trainees. A questionnaire administered at the end of the program revealed that 112 of the trainees, 81.8 percent, were determined to run in the upcoming local elections.
Under the joint sponsorship of the Ministry of Gender Equality and The Asia Foundation, the Sejong Leadership Institute (Kim Eunkyung) in 2002 held a workshop for newly elected women local council members. The three-day workshop provided 36 novice local councilwomen the opportunity to discuss topics on local legislative activities, good local governance, gender mainstreaming, and budgets. It also led to the establishment of a network among women council members. A website in support of the women council members, Women’s Assembly, was developed as a follow-up program.

**Women’s Leadership and Status**

Asia Foundation assistance enabled the Korean National Council of Women (Kim Kyung-o) to conduct research on discriminatory employment of civil servants in 1993. The results showed extensive sexual discrimination in public offices with regard to age limits, promotions, and educational training. Research findings were sent to pertinent government offices, with proposals for policy changes, and to the media, for broader publicity and public awareness.

The Korean Women’s Hotline (Shin Hye-soo) conducted a two-day leadership-training workshop in 1995 for 55 senior officers representing ten local branches of the Hotline throughout the country. The workshop strengthened trainee professionalism and helped them develop a network of contacts with other local civic organizations. The program specifically helped trainees prepare for a campaign that led to legislation on the prevention of family violence. In 1997, the Korea Office supported the Hotline’s three-day training program on monitoring local government policy on women, which was meant to raise women’s status and to improve the welfare system for women. The Hotline in 2000 held a workshop and conducted a series of training sessions for intermediate-level women to vitalize a regional women’s movement. The objectives of the workshop were to determine the direction of the women’s movement and to help activists and volunteers augment potential woman power. Five, three-day training sessions were conducted with Foundation support in the regions of Kyonggi, Chungchong, Cholla, Kyungsang, and Kangwon.

The Korean Women’s Association United (KWAU) (Chi Eun-hee) conducted a workshop, The Role of Women’s Organizations and Development of Local Government, in 1999. The participants at the meeting, which was
attended by 15 representatives of women’s organizations including four Seoul councilwomen, examined municipal issues and women’s policies, evaluated action plans to enhance women’s status, and discussed ways to improve the relationship between the Korean government and women’s NGOs. Chi Eun-hee, one of the standing representatives of KWAU, was appointed minister of gender equality in 2003.

The Foundation invited Professor Katharine Moon of Wellesley College to undertake research to better understand the scope of trafficking in persons in Korea. Her 2002 field investigation discerned the general outlines of the trafficking problem and made a set of detailed strategic and technical recommendations on how to address the trafficking issue both domestically and internationally.

Also in 2002, The Asia Foundation made a grant to Magdalena House (Lee Ok-jeong) in support of their Peer Education Program. The program trained seven former and current sex workers as field-workers to provide effective, specialized services to women involved in prostitution. The trainees participated in a one-week workshop in the Philippines on the rights of women involved in the sex industry, in coordination with the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women.

The Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) (Jang Ha-jin) held a workshop in 2003, Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking in Women. The workshop, the first collaborative effort on the issue with The Asia Foundation, brought together some 45 participants, mainly representing NGOs. Dr. Aurora de Dios, a trafficking expert from the Philippines, was especially invited to the workshop. Particularly impressed with Dr. Dios’s lecture, the participants agreed on the importance of networking between the Korean and Philippine antitrafficking NGOs to share experience and information.

Kang Eun-hee of the Kyunggi Provincial Government and Kim Dong-shim of Durebang (My Sister’s Place) were supported by the Korea Office in 2003 to participate in the workshop Implementing the Laws: Protecting Victims and Prosecuting Traffickers, in Bangkok. Organized by The Asia Foundation and attended by representatives from East and Southeast Asian countries, the workshop intended to improve cooperation among multidisciplinary teams of professionals, agencies, and organizations working to protect victims of trafficking or to prosecute traffickers, and to create a network of practitioners in the region.
Conclusion

The Korean people made massive gains during the 1980s and early 1990s, with stirring developments in local autonomy and self-government, the rule of law, political progress, and women’s participation. Perhaps for the first time, Korea joined the international community of states, building political and economic ties abroad as it emerged from a long period of isolation. In short, Korea was becoming a modern nation.

Progressive social forces and the proliferation of interest groups during this time resulted in a large number of community organizations The Asia Foundation could collaborate with on programs of priority interest to Korea. Accordingly, Foundation assistance evolved from grant giving to partnering and resource sharing with nongovernmental organizations on a variety of issue areas.

About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

Christopher J. Sigur, Representative, 1981–1984

Christopher Sigur came to Korea from Indonesia in April 1981 to replace Ben Kremenak as Korea Office representative, staying over three years, through October 1984. Before he joined The Asia Foundation, Chris worked with the U.S. Peace Corps in Hongchon, Kangwon province, for some years in his twenties, where he picked up the Korean language (Hangul). His ability to speak Korean and his familiarity with the country offset the disadvantage of his youth (he was then in his early thirties), age being an important factor in leading an organization in Korean society.

Chris was unusually ambitious and meticulous in his work. He was a diligent learner and trained himself hard: he drafted most of the letters
of agreement himself during the entire period of his tenure in Korea. For efficient grant administration and record keeping, Chris devised a new filing system, allocating one file for every individual grant made in sequential order according to the grant number. The older filing system was arranged by organization, and it was often difficult to locate needed documents quickly. The ease of use of the system helped the writer of this book immensely in locating old records, without which this history would have been virtually impossible.

As representative, Chris developed a number of new programs in partnership with important institutions, including the Ministry of Court Administration, for the training of judges; the Korean Legal Center, for U.S. law orientation programs; the National Assembly, for observation and study tours for members and Secretariat staff; the Korean Political Science Association, for international conferences; and the Local Administration Research Institute, for publications on local-autonomy issues. He placed great emphasis on supporting the expansion of the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations to serve the underprivileged in legal matters. Chris also began support for women’s studies programs at Ewha Womans and Sookmyung Women’s Universities.

**Benjamin Kremenak, Representative, 1984–1991**

In September 1984, Chris Sigur left for the San Francisco home office and was replaced by Benjamin Kremenak as Korea Office representative. Ben’s second tour as representative continued for a full seven years, through September 1991.

Ben brought with him from San Francisco an Apple I desktop computer with a dot matrix printer for word processing. The local staff was fascinated to watch how the new apparatus worked, as all of them were still using Royal manual typewriters that had been brought to Korea from San Francisco some thirty years earlier in 1955. The secretary was the only other tech-savvy staff member at the time,
with her IBM Selectric typewriter. It was not until May 1986 that the Korea Office began to make use of computers for word processing. The very first model employed was the IBM-compatible XT type with an Epson dot matrix printer. An intern at the Korea Office pursuing a doctorate in Korean history at Harvard University, Milan Hjetmanek, equipped the system with the software program “Framework.” Four years later, the Korea Office received its first fax machine.

Ben’s previous years of experience as Korea Office representative played a valuable role in the strategic planning of new programs during his second term. While continuing and expanding assistance in the area of local autonomy, where the Korea Office invested a good portion of its resources at the time, Ben began to stress the importance of election issues. More than a dozen officials of the Central Election Management Committee (now the National Election Commission) were sent to the United States for observation and study tours of election management. A series of grants were given to a group of academics to explore the ultramodern field of election studies, culminating in the publication of a book, Elections in Korea, which was translated into English. In addition, the Foundation gave support to the Korean League of Women Voters, an important institutional grantee for voter education, to enhance women’s political participation.

Continued efforts for legal reform were made during Ben’s tour with the in-service training of judges and court officials in judicial independence. Ben brought Tam Ormiston, an attorney from the state of Iowa, to Korea in 1988 as a legal specialist to lecture and consult with legal and judicial institutions on Anglo-American law. Tam later was named representative, succeeding Ben Kremenak in 1991.

**Stephen A. Fuller, Assistant Representative, 1988–1990**

Stephen Fuller came to the Korea Office in 1988 as assistant to representative Ben Kremenak. Steve was a program officer at The
Asia Foundation’s San Francisco home office prior to his assignment to Korea. His wife, Laura, who had a background in journalism, accompanied him. Their first child was born in Seoul.

Steve was an amiable man who got along very well with the local staff and the many contacts of The Asia Foundation in Korea. When he was not working or with his family, he often played soccer at the U.S. Eighth Army field with colleagues.

Steve’s main area of work at the Foundation was organizing and facilitating exchange programs between Korea and the United States. For example, in partnership with the Korean League of Women Voters, Steve administered a two-week program for eight members of the (American) Women’s Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures to visit Korea in September 1989. The tour enabled the American delegation to build relations and exchange ideas with their Korean counterparts. Steve also handled exchanges of Korean nationals to overseas events such as the Young Professionals Conference at the Keck Center in California and the Georgetown Leadership Seminar at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

Tam B. Ormiston, Representative, 1991–1994

Tam Ormiston became representative of the Korea Office in September 1991, a position he held for three years, through October 1994. Tam succeeded Ben with ease, as he had been working for the Korea Office the previous three years.

Tam had a wife and two children, the second child adopted in Korea. He was a very easygoing, collegial person. Whenever the opportunity arose, Tam, his family, and the office staff enjoyed outdoor activities and trips to the countryside for leisurely picnicking. With his friends among the Foundation grantees, he went mountain climbing on the weekends around Seoul. His wife, Dr. Andrea Heiss, was a diligent
A scholar who taught at Yonsei University. Occasionally, Andrea dropped by the office, where she was beloved by all of the local staff members.

An attorney by profession, Tam continued his previous efforts as The Asia Foundation’s legal specialist, encouraging the advancement of Korea’s legal systems and administration of justice. He organized a number of exchange programs for prosecutors and judges to observe and study American legal systems. Tam accompanied several of these tours, among them the Supreme Public Prosecutors’ Office and the Judicial Research and Training Institute tours. Tam also personally advised the Constitutional Court of Korea (CCK) in selecting Anglo-American legal materials for CCK research and library development.

The success of two major conferences on international law was attributed to Tam’s expertise in organizing and setting the agendas of the gatherings. Tam worked in partnership with the Supreme Public Prosecutors’ Office for the conference of the attorneys general of Asia and the Pacific region in 1990, and with the Korean Bar Association for its Presidents of Bar Associations in Asia conference in 1991. By the time he left Korea, Tam was well known by many Korean judges, lawyers, and public prosecutors, many of whom rose to high positions in the courts and government.

**Korean Staff**

In August 1984, Lee Kyung-sook was employed as secretary, replacing Kim Kwi-ok. Just over 20 years later, Lee became the senior program officer at The Asia Foundation Korea Office. T.J. Cho, the Korea Office’s veteran staff member, died on June 30, 1991. He devoted 37 years of his life to the exploration and development of hundreds of programs that were assisted by the Korea Office.

In 1991, Kim Hee-dong was employed as program officer, augmenting the local staff. The San Francisco home office dispatched Tony I.
Kang (Kang Hong-il) to the Korea Office on the recommendation of Allen Choate to further reinforce the staff from 1992–96. Lim Eun-young was added to the staff as junior secretary in 1991, and was later promoted to financial officer in 1998. She remains an important figure in the Korea Office.

Office Building

Where The Asia Foundation goes, so does the Books for Asia (BfA) program. After two years of occupancy, the structure of the house at 415-6 Shindang-dong, where the Foundation’s offices were located, was determined to be insufficiently sturdy to hold the weight of books in storage for BfA. The Korea Office had to move elsewhere. Luckily, a private house that could accommodate both the Foundation and BfA became available for rent in the same neighborhood, and the Korea Office relocated to 333-36 Shindang-dong, Chung-ku, in July 1982.

Three years later, that house was sold, and the Foundation moved once again, in November 1985, to the Kyungwoon Building, centrally located north of the Han River, at 91 Kyungwoon-dong, Chongno-ku. Just over four years later, in January 1990, the Kyungwoon Building was slated for demolition. The Korea Office moved to the south side of the Han River, to the Woori Building at 1624-8 Socho-dong, Socho-ku. Budgetary constraints forced the office to move to a private house at 106-5 Hwa-dong, Chongno-ku, in November 1993.
Chapter FIVE

1995–2004
Preparing for the Future
For five decades, the programs of The Asia Foundation Korea Office evolved alongside the country’s needs and priorities. As Korea modernized politically, economically, and socially the Foundation moved from providing development and institutional assistance to supporting public forums on issues critical to the country’s development, and shifted from issuing grants to being a broker of ideas, facilitating public debate on domestic and foreign policy issues in collaboration with local partners.

The program objectives of the Foundation began to reach beyond the country’s borders in the late 1990s. At the Korea Office’s 50th anniversary celebration in 2003, Representative Scott Snyder noted in a speech how the focus of the Foundation in Korea had changed to match the times. Instead of concentrating solely on domestic issues as it had in the past, the Foundation at the turn of the century was increasingly involved in regional affairs, and Korea was both learning from and advising other countries on a variety of policy issues. Snyder underlined the benefits of sharing Korea’s national development experience with other Asian countries through The Asia Foundation’s vast network of field offices:

In many cases, Korea’s national development experience can be useful to Asia’s developing countries. Korea’s political development experience can be shared with other countries as an effective model for consideration in dealing with…the challenges of promoting economic development and transitioning effectively from authoritarianism to democracy.

Over the past decade, the Foundation’s efforts have been directed toward supporting international conferences on issue areas of importance to Korea, engaging with North Korea, and facilitating public-policy forums.
PROGRAMS 1995–2004

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Starting in the mid-1990s, Foundation-sponsored international conferences became an effective vehicle for domestic and international public-policy debates. The conferences brought together experts and professional authorities from different countries to discuss common concerns or share best practices on particular policy matters. In the process, Korea’s domestic public policy debate gained from a comparative perspective, while participating Korean professionals and organizations developed beneficial ties with counterparts in other countries. Other conferences were designed to explore Korea’s relations with its regional neighbors and global partners.

Governance and Law*

The Asia Foundation gave assistance to the Korean Association for Policy Analysis and Evaluation (Kim Myoung-soo)* to hold an international conference, New Perspectives on Public Management and Evaluation for Enhancing National Competitiveness, in May 1995. A group of scholars and practitioners from North America, Europe, and Korea came together to explore novel approaches in public management and performance evaluation. Officials from several government agencies, including the Board of Audit and Inspection and the Ministry of Government Administration, attended the conference to learn about foreign practices of policy evaluation for possible application in Korea. The ensuing discussions helped improve reform efforts of Korea’s civilian regime.

The Asia Foundation sponsored the Second International Symposium on Administrative Law in May 1997, organized by the Korea Research Association on Administrative Law (Suh Won-woo). The symposium brought together leading scholars of administrative law from China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan to discuss environmental laws and administrative adjudication systems through a comparative legal approach. Many participants agreed that while

* Editor’s Note: in chapters 3, 4, and 5, due to the large number of organizations participating in Asia Foundation programs from the 1970s to the present, names of organizations grouped under a common subheading are set in bold to help the reader easily distinguish the numerous programs.
the administrative legal systems in East Asia were making strong progress in reform efforts, few attempts had been made to compare concurrent studies on administrative law in the region. The Chinese delegation agreed to host the third meeting in China in 1999.

The Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) hosted the two-day Seoul Anti-Corruption Symposium 2001 with assistance from The Asia Foundation and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. The symposium’s 150 local and international participants discussed anticorruption efforts, with a special focus on the SMG’s innovative e-government service system, the Online Procedure Enhancement (OPEN) system. The OPEN system was designed to enhance government efficiency in providing services to the public, and to prevent corruption in the process of administration. Senior officials and representatives from Transparency International, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the World Bank attended the program, in addition to 15 participants invited by the Korea Office from Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Thailand. These participants subsequently became partners with The Asia Foundation in its efforts to highlight e-government as a potential tool for fighting corruption in other parts of Asia.

The Institute for Korean Political Studies, Seoul National University (Ahn Chung-si), hosted an international conference in April 2002 that was jointly sponsored by the SNU Institute of Public Administration and The Asia
Foundation. The conference, New Developments in Local Democracy in Asia: Korea and Asia Pacific Countries, brought forty scholars and specialists from Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand to share views on major developments in local government reform. Seven papers assessed ten years of local governance in South Korea after its restoration of local autonomy in 1991, covering the following topics: the historical and institutional dynamics of local governance, local elections, local finance, civic participation and social development, effectiveness and accountability, intergovernmental relations and conflicts, and the international dimension of local governance. In addition, three international papers dealt with comparative perspectives on local governance. The postconference program in Taegu, arranged by the U.S. Embassy, was a smashing success, with Filipino participant Jesse Robredo, a former mayor of Naga City, giving a keynote address on local autonomy and administration issues. The Asia Foundation was asked to facilitate Mr. Robredo’s return for another meeting, in October, organized by the Taegu Council on Local Autonomy.

In February 2003, the Institute for Social Development and Policy Research, Seoul National University (Song Ho-keun), facilitated an international conference, Welfare State and Health Policy of the 21st Century in Korea. Sponsored by The Asia Foundation with funding from The Pfizer Foundation, the half-day conference dealt with two specific issue areas of health-care reform in Korea: the health insurance system and the separation of the prescription-dispensing system. Fourteen participants comprising academics, representatives of health institutions, government officials, NGO leaders, journalists, and an American health policy specialist discussed ways to refine Korea’s controversial health-care reform policy. The grantee organization submitted the conference proceedings to various concerned recipients, including the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, the Korean Doctors Association, and civil organizations involved with public health.

Civil Society

With Foundation backing, the Seoul National University Institute for Social Development and Policy Research (Lim Hyun-chin) organized an international conference in September 1995, Aging in East and West: Demographic Trends, Sociocultural Contexts and Policy Implications. Leading scholars in the field of sociology, social gerontology, and social policy studies
from China, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Korea, and the United States met to discuss various aspects of aging from a comparative and integrative perspective. Many of the issues discussed were of political significance, and the domestic and social policy implications of the conference were quite timely, as Korea’s rapidly aging population is now fast becoming a major concern. To quote Choi Sung-jae of the SNU Social Welfare Department, traditionally, the guiding principle of government policy for the elderly has been “care by the family first, social security second.” This phrase reflects an increasingly outdated perspective by the government: that the problems of aging should be the responsibility of families, a tradition in East Asian societies. Choi warned, “Unless the Korean government abandons such an erroneous perspective on the problem of aging and its means of solving it, it will take a long time before fundamental measures will or can be instituted.”

The Asia Foundation assisted the Korea Council for Overseas Cooperation (KCOC) in holding its 2002 international symposium in Seoul, The Role of NGOs in International Cooperation and the Development of Korean NGOs’ Strategy on Overseas Aid. In cooperation with British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) and Oxfam, KCOC brought together professionals from the United Kingdom and the United States to share field experience and best practices on the cultivation of NGO staff and structure. At the symposium, Barnett Baron, then Asia Foundation executive vice president, presented “Effective and Sustainable Development of NGOs,” a paper that focused on the legal and regulatory environment for NGOs and local fundraising strategy. The conference proceedings were published and distributed among KCOC members and others concerned with NGO development.

**Economic Reform**

In June 1996, the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP) (Yoo Jang-hee) facilitated an international conference, International Economic Implications of Korean Unification. The conference, cosponsored by the Korea Herald, the Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI), and The Asia Foundation, provided the opportunity for a group of internationally renowned scholars from China, Germany, Japan, Korea, and the United States to share views on the global and regional economic implications of Korean unification. The conference resulted in the publication of a 225-page book in English.
The Korea Corporate Governance Service (Chung Kwang-sun) and The Asia Foundation cohosted the international conference Building an Effective Corporate Governance Structure in Korea, in April 2003. Sponsored in part by the Dong-A Ilbo, Kookmin Bank, and the Korea Stock Exchange, the conference analyzed Korean corporate governance practices, with a focus on the role of institutional investors in improving governance structure. The meeting brought together 12 academics and leading members of the American and Korean business communities to provide comparative perspectives on corporate governance structures in the United States and Korea. Five papers were presented during the conference: “U.S. Institutional Investors as Corporate Monitors,” “Institutional Investors and Their Impact on Corporate Governance,” “Barriers Placed on Foreign Institutional Investors in Korea,” “The Best Example of Improving Corporate Governance: A Case of Kookmin Bank,” and “Effectiveness and Reliability of Corporate Governance Ratings Institutions.”

Women’s Empowerment

The Asia Foundation and WomenLink in 2003 collaborated on an international conference, Women, Work and Childcare, with assistance from the Government Information Agency. The conference brought together experts from Korea and abroad to discuss modern employment policies to better utilize human capital necessary for Korea’s economic growth. Participants conferred on the creation of a work environment that would make it easier for women faced with conflict between work and domestic affairs to stay on the job. The conference attracted over 250 participants from the business community, government, labor unions, and women’s organizations, and was cosponsored by several other organizations, including the Ministry of Gender Equality, the Ministry of Labor, the Hankyoreh Shinmun, the Women’s News and the Woman Times. The Asia Foundation invited two keynote speakers: Ms. Toshico Ochi of IBM’s Asia-Pacific Workforce Diversity group spoke of IBM’s gender workforce strategies in the Asia-Pacific; and Mrs. Waltraud Dahs of the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth presented Germany’s policy of engaging more women in the workforce. The 410-page conference proceedings were published for distribution.
International Relations

The Kyungnam University Institute for Far Eastern Studies (Kwak Tae-hwan) held an international conference in October 1995, The U.S.-ROK Alliance, under the cosponsorship of The Asia Foundation, the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, and the Korea Society. The meeting brought together internationally renowned regional security specialists to discuss the alliance and Northeast Asian security issues. Among the many topics were the U.S.-DPRK nuclear agreement; ROK and U.S. strategies in the post-Cold War era; the United States and a united Korea in the twenty-first century; and the future of the U.S.-ROK alliance system. The discussions pointed to a future direction for the alliance to promote peace and security on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia. The program principal and head of the Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Kwak Tae-hwan, stated in his conference evaluation, “Of particular interest to the people of Korea was a serious argument over the linkage between the alliance and the improvement of U.S.-DPRK (North Korea) relations.”

The Korea University Asiatic Research Center (Park Choon-ho), with Korea Office support, hosted the Seoul workshop Bilateral System of Alliances in the Changing Environment in Asia-Pacific, in December 1995. Representatives of five countries — Australia, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand — attended the workshop to develop new ideas and concepts for the cooperative and peaceful management of security in the Asia-Pacific region. Participants agreed on the importance of knowledge and information sharing on regional security issues between academics, research institutes, and governments.

The Institute of East and West Studies, Yonsei University (Jung Ku-hyun), held an international conference, Korea, Japan, and the U.S.: Reconstructing History, Cognition, and Peace in East Asia, in November 1996. The event was cosponsored by the Korean Press Center, the Pacific Century Institute, and The Asia Foundation. Conference proceedings examined the historical origins and present status of perceptions among the elites of each participating country in order to explore ways of removing misperceptions and enhance mutual understanding.

In September 2001, the New Asia Research Institute (Rhee Sang-woo) organized an international conference in Hawaii, Future Relations between Korea, Japan, and the U.S. The two-day conference was jointly sponsored by Pacific Forum CSIS and The Asia Foundation, and brought together some 24
scholars and specialists from Japan, South Korea, and the United States to discuss issues of trilateral cooperation. Four topics were covered: “Current State of Trilateral Security Cooperation,” “Economic Factors: Progress and Perils,” “Values, Ideology, and Culture,” and “Domestic Politics and Public Opinion.” The conference proceedings were later published.

In June 2002, The Institute of Asian-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Zhang Yuling), was supported to hold an international conference, Promoting Cooperation in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, in Beijing. The two-day conference — jointly sponsored by the Korea Economic Institute of America, the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, the Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs and The Asia Foundation — brought together scholars and specialists from China, South Korea, and the United States to share views on several issues related to the Korean Peninsula. Forum themes covered the major powers’ approaches to the Korean Peninsula, the prospects for economic change in the DPRK and Korean Peninsula economic cooperation, the role of NGOs in aiding cooperation and reconciliation on the peninsula, and Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asian energy and transportation cooperation.

The Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs (L. Gordon Flake), with Asia Foundation backing, hosted an international meeting, Trilateral Retreats: Toward New Regional Relations in Northeast Asia, in Hawaii in October 2002. In the first of several meetings sponsored by the Center, Japan and Korea sent eight experts representing the sectors of politics and policymaking, print and broadcast journalism, social sciences, civil society, and the arts. The aim of the gatherings was to “foster understanding and build cooperative relationships among a core group of emerging opinion makers and leaders” of China, Japan, and Korea. The historical legacy of the twentieth century had hindered bilateral and regional relations in East Asia. By pledging to host the Trilateral Retreats in a series of six meetings between opinion makers, leaders, and experts from China, Japan, and Korea (2002–05), the Mansfield Center hoped to foster intraregional networks and improve mutual understanding among the three national societies.

In partnership with the Korean National Defense University, the Korean Association of International Studies (KAIS) (Kang Tae-hoon) organized and hosted an international conference, Fifty Year Alliance: Reflections and Future Vision on ROK-U.S. Security Cooperation, in August 2003. During the two-day meeting, experts from China, Japan, Korea, and the United States analyzed emerging issues in U.S.-Korea relations, deliberated on the changing interests of
South Korea and the United States in the alliance, and discerned new strategic grounds for cooperative relations between the two Koreas. The event was cosponsored by the Korea Foundation, the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, the Ministry of Defense, and The Asia Foundation.

Security Issues

The Sejong Institute (Hahn Bae-ho) partnered with The Asia Foundation Korea Office to hold two major international conferences, both dealing with Korean Peninsula security issues. In May 1997, the Sejong Institute hosted a two-day conference, North Korea Today and Its Future Relations with the U.S., in Seoul with the cosponsorship of The Keck Center and The Asia Foundation. The conference drew 41 participants from the United States, Korea, Japan, and China, and was divided into three sessions: “North Korea Today,” “Negotiating with North Korea,” and “U.S. Policy toward North Korea.” After observing the entire series of sessions, Richard Wilson, from the Foundation’s home office, commented that the conference was a success due to superb timing, the key roles of the American presenters in the bilateral relationship, and the exceptionally influential nature of the Korean participants. Wilson recommended that The Asia Foundation be alert to rough spots in the long-standing bilateral ties to see if it could do its part to ease tensions that might exist at the official level. He suggested another conference be considered with the Sejong Institute after the new Korean government took office in February 1998.

A few years later, nodding to Wilson’s suggestion, the Korea Office again partnered with the Sejong Institute (Kim Dalchoong) to hold a two-day conference, Practical Steps from War to Peace on the Korean Peninsula, on Cheju Island in September 2000. The agenda was carefully planned and organized by Foundation Representative Scott Snyder in conjunction with the Institute. The conference brought together 46 participants (21 from the United States, two from Japan, and 23 from Korea) to share their views on inter-Korean issues and U.S.-ROK security relations. The meeting consisted of three sessions: “From Confrontation to Reconciliation,” “Practical Steps on the Way to Reconciliation,” and “Implications of Inter-Korean Tension Reduction for U.S. and ROK Security Strategy.” William Perry, the former U.S. secretary of defense, delivered a keynote speech. Barnett Baron, executive vice president
of The Asia Foundation, attended the conference and commented, “The quality of presentation and discussion on both the Korea and U.S. sides was superb. This was one of the most substantive conferences I have ever participated in. Several of the U.S. and Korean participants made a point of expressing similar assessments to me — as a compliment to Scott.”

The Research Institute on National Security Affairs, Korea National Defense University (Hwang Byong-moo), was granted support to hold a trilateral conference, Security in Northeast Asia, in April 2001. The two-day conference brought together some 30 scholars and specialists from China, South Korea, and the United States to explore the potential impact of the U.S.-China relationship on inter-Korean reconciliation efforts, and to examine regional security relationships to help decrease prospects for instability. First steps were taken to develop confidence-building measures and to promote mutual reassurance among the three countries. The proceedings deepened American and Chinese understanding of the changes occurring on the Korean Peninsula, and allowed participants to explore ways of avoiding an arms build-up in the region due to misunderstanding or confrontation. Lastly, participants mapped out a viable post–Cold War and post–Korean confrontation security order in the Asia Pacific region. The conference proceedings were published for dissemination.

NORTH KOREA PROGRAMS

The Asia Foundation has made modest but consistent efforts to build relationships with counterparts in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) and to convince those counterparts to participate in exchange and training programs outside their country. Regardless of the sporadic difficulties in securing a positive response from the DPRK to Foundation proposals, and despite major changes in the context and prospects for a U.S.-North Korean relationship, The Asia Foundation continues to regard its program efforts as an indication of North Korea’s willingness to consider reform-oriented activities, and as a vehicle to help facilitate the opening of the country to the outside world. With generous assistance from the Chong-Moon Lee Foundation from 1998 to 2004, the Korea Office was able to actively develop programs with and for North Korea.
Books for Asia Program

Since 1996, The Asia Foundation’s Books for Asia program has sent more than 80,000 English-language books to North Korea, covering a wide variety of subjects. Book recipients, mostly institutions, include the Grand People’s Study House, Pyongyang University for Foreign Studies, and Kimchaek University. The books provide access to outside knowledge and expertise that could aid North Koreans in education, medicine, and other fields. With this and other programs, the Korea Office aims to broaden the exposure of North Koreans to other parts of the world and, in the process, facilitate their interaction and integration with the international community.

International Business Law Seminar Series

Between December 1998 and April 2001, the Korea Office proposed and organized a series of four law seminars for North Korean legal specialists on the subject of international business law in Beijing and Shanghai. The seminar
series was conducted with the assistance of Professor Jerome Cohen and other faculty of the New York University School of Law, and legal specialists from the People’s Republic of China. The curriculum covered legislative drafting skills, with a focus on company law and international arbitration law, alongside a host of other international business and economics issues.

Conference on The Evolution of the Korean Issue Since the Cold War

The Foundation provided a grant to Fudan University in January 2000 to support the costs of American and North Korean participation in an academic conference in Shanghai on recent developments on the Korean Peninsula and the prospects for future East Asian security following an inter-Korean rapprochement. The conference shed light on Chinese views of developments on the Korean Peninsula. Although the conference organizers failed to secure representation from Pyongyang, the North Korean Embassy in Beijing did send its representatives, and local North Korea supporters also attended.

Agricultural Exchange with the Academy of Agricultural Sciences

One of The Asia Foundation’s most active and successful areas of North Korea programming is agricultural training. This active program, which gave North Korean experts an experience of the outside world and U.S. experts a chance to visit North Korea, started in March 2000, with a delegation of North Korean agriculture specialists in viticulture and enology visiting the University of California Davis. Based on the experience of this first visit, a second agricultural delegation, specializing in cold-climate grape cultivation and processing of grape products, visited Cornell University, in New York State, in September 2000. The change of venue came about because the climate and soil of New York is more comparable than Northern California’s to those of North Korea.

In June 2001, The Asia Foundation organized a return visit to North Korea by Dr. Robert Pool, of Cornell University, who played a critical role in organizing the agricultural study tour for the North Koreans. This visit, accompanied by Foundation staff, enabled Dr. Pool to determine more
specifically the climatic conditions and challenges that would face the North in its efforts to grow grapes, while making specific recommendations regarding the types of grapes that would likely grow well in North Korea.

The third North Korean agricultural study tour took place, once again, at Cornell University in September 2001. The North Korean delegation studied Cornell’s expertise in the breeding and cultivation of fruits other than grapes, including apples, pitted fruits such as plums, apricots, and peaches, and a variety of small vegetables. The trip gave the North Koreans the opportunity to learn more about a variety of breeding and cultivation methods, and to observe the relationship between Cornell’s agricultural research and extension programs.

Training in the Detection and Treatment of Tuberculosis

The Asia Foundation provided a grant to the Eugene Bell Foundation in May 2004 in support of a tuberculosis workshop for North Korean doctors working in Hwanghae Province. The workshop covered methods of detecting and treating tuberculosis through the Directly Observed Treatment System (DOTS), which is internationally recognized as the most effective treatment
for tuberculosis. The Eugene Bell Foundation invited Dr. Lawrence Geiter, a Sequella Foundation specialist in tuberculosis detection and treatment, to take part in the workshop. The initial phase of the tuberculosis program did not go as smoothly as hoped, due to rising tensions between the United States and North Korea. The class of North Korean doctors was drastically cut from the 100 local tuberculosis caregivers scheduled to attend.

Nevertheless, the American delegation visited more than a dozen tuberculosis hospitals and care centers in the western half of North Korea. The experience gave the delegation a first hand look at tuberculosis care in the DPRK, and also provided opportunities to give informal instruction on site. Eugene Bell’s program sent regular assistance packages to 60 of North Korea’s 80 tuberculosis care facilities. Bell also invested heavily in tuberculosis diagnostic training by refurbishing 71 microscopes and purchasing staining kits for North and South Hwanghae Province medical technician training institutes. During the delegation’s 2002 spring visit, the North Hwanghae Province Tuberculosis Hospital was turned into a tuberculosis training hospital.

**Third Int’l NGO Conference On Humanitarian Assistance to North Korea**

In cooperation with The Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs, The Asia Foundation supported the Korean Sharing Movement (*Suh Kyung-suk*) for a 2001 conference that brought together representatives of international organizations and NGOs with experience working in North Korea from Europe, America, South Korea, and Japan. With an increasing number of foreigners working and gaining practical experience in several areas of the North, the conference’s objective was to harness and interpret the practical insights gained from their experiences in order to shape a more effective humanitarian approach towards North Korea. The conference underlined a continuing need for the humanitarian community to support the North Korean people’s right to adequate food, shelter, health care, and clean water. In order to provide long-term food security, the participants discussed the need to go beyond food aid and agricultural rehabilitation, to deal with the energy crisis, and to rehabilitate infrastructure and revitalize industry, with a special emphasis on human resource development. The NGOs agreed that despite their various focuses, they shared a common commitment to continue efforts to assist the people of North Korea.
Teaching English as a Foreign Language and for Special Purposes

In July 2001, The Asia Foundation organized a delegation from the Pyongyang University of Foreign Studies to visit the United States on an exploratory study tour of techniques for teaching English as a second language (ESL) and English for special purposes (ESP). The delegation was introduced to language institutes where modern language-training operations, methodologies, and programs and related technologies were demonstrated. The Foundation was made aware of North Korea’s current and future needs regarding this specific area of knowledge.

Introduction to Library Information Science and U.S. Library Systems

The Asia Foundation organized an observation and study tour in the United States for a North Korean delegation interested in library systems in January 2002. The tour gave the North Koreans the opportunity to explore state-of-the-art library systems and emerging technological trends in the field, while considering possibilities for interlibrary loans, training, and other future linkages. Participants in the library and information science exchange were drawn from North Korea’s library system, universities, and Ministry of Education. The exchange spanned several cities in the United States, and introduced the delegates to major research and university libraries, public and private libraries, the Library of Congress, and various library associations.

Other North Korea Programs

Study of Finance and Economy at Australia National University

At the request of Professor Peter Drysdale, head of the Australia-Japan Research Centre at Australia National University (ANU), The Asia Foundation provided tuition support for two North Korean students to enroll in ANU’s Asia Pacific School of Economics and Management in October 2000.
Information Technology (IT) Conference Participation by North Korean Specialists

CSCAP Meeting on Confidence and Security Building Measures
The Asia Foundation covered North Korean travel expenses to five meetings of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), from October 2001 to May 2004. The purpose of this support was twofold: to promote wider communication channels between North Korea and the international community, and to further internationalize its policymaking community.

ASIA FOUNDATION PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAMS
As Korea developed into a mature democracy and economic force, The Asia Foundation kept in step with this dynamic transformation, collaborating with Korean institutions to identify and advocate public debate on emerging issues of importance to Korea. Although symposiums and conferences had always been a natural outcome of the research funding the Foundation provided to academic institutions, starting in 2002 the public policy programs became a regular feature of Korea Office activities. Today, The Asia Foundation is proactive in devising public programs on important political, security, economic, and social issues. In the process, the Foundation has worked with a variety of Korean organizations on a wide range of issues, from foreign policy to health care.

Between 2002 and 2004, The Asia Foundation initiated 37 public policy programs, partnering with a large number of Korean institutions. These public policy programs provide an opportune forum for the exchange of ideas and frank discussion on major policy issues facing Korea.
Asia Foundation Public Policy Programs
(With program cosponsors and foreign participants noted)

March 7, 2002
The Rise of Anti-Americanism in Indonesia and Southeast Asia
Yonsei University Institute of East-West Studies
Douglas E. Ramage, PhD, Representative, Asia Foundation Indonesia Office

March 19, 2002
American Foreign Policy and the War on Terror
Walter Russell Mead, Senior Fellow on U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

May 27, 2002
The Use of Executive Power at a Time of Crisis
Chosun Ilbo, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, American Chamber of Commerce
Timothy Flanigan, Deputy Counsel & Deputy Assistant to the U.S. President

October 16, 2002
East Asian Multilateralism in the 21st Century
Yonsei University Department of Political Science & Diplomacy
Ralph Cossa, President, Pacific Forum CSIS
Reinhard Drifte, Professor, University of Newcastle

October 17, 2002
Recreating Asia: Visions for a New Century
Korea Institute for Future Strategies
Frank-Jürgen Richter, Director in Charge of Asian Affairs, World Economic Forum

January 8, 2003
The Korean Media and Perceptions of ROK-U.S. Relations
Korean American Association
James Brooke, Asia Correspondent, New York Times
Andrew Horvat, Japan Representative, The Asia Foundation
Sawada Katumi, Seoul Correspondent, Mainichi Shimbun

February 7, 2003
The Welfare State and Health Policy of the 21st Century in Korea
Seoul National University Institute for Social Development and Policy Research
The Pfizer Foundation
William Kissick, Professor of Public Health and Preventive Medicine,
University of Pennsylvania

February 24, 2003
Alliance Management and Inter-Korean Relations
Seoul Forum for International Studies
Michael Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow for Political Affairs,
Stanford University
Victor Cha, D.S. Song-Korea Foundation Chair in Asian Studies and Government,
Georgetown University
Ralph Cossa, President, Pacific Forum CSIS
Michael Finnegan, Korea Country Director, U.S. Pacific Command
Thomas Flynn, Vice President of External Relations, The Asia Foundation
Thomas Foley, Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld, LLP
William Fuller, President, The Asia Foundation
Chong-Moon Lee, Chairman and CEO, AmBex Venture Group, LLC
Marcus Noland, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics
Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Harvard University
Robert Scalapino, Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus,
University of California, Berkeley
David Steinberg, Director of Asian Studies, School of Foreign Service,
Georgetown University

February 26, 2003
The United States Role in East Asia and the Korean Peninsula
Michael Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow for Political Affairs,
Stanford University
Thomas Foley, Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld, LLP
William Fuller, President, The Asia Foundation
Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Harvard University
Robert Scalapino, Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley

March 21, 2003
American Public Attitudes on Korea After 9-11
East Asia Institute
Marshall Bouton, President, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

March 24, 2003
Relief for North Korea: A United States Perspective
Patrick Cronin, Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development

April 8–9, 2003
New Developments in Local Democracy in Asia
Seoul National University
Steven Rood, Philippines Representative, The Asia Foundation
Jesse Robredo, Mayor, Naga City, the Philippines

April 18, 2003
Building an Effective Corporate Governance Structure In Korea
Korea Corporate Governance Service
William Dale Crist, Chairman of Pacific Pension Institute, Former Chairman of CalPERS
Paul Matthews, Chairman, Matthews Asian Funds
Franck Wiebe, Chief Economist, The Asia Foundation

April 19, 2003
Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking in Women
Aurora Javate-de Dios, Office of the President, National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
May 6–7, 2003
DMZ Forum 2002 Spring Conference
DMZ Forum
Korea Foundation for Environmental Movement

May 12, 2003
Legislation Costs and Revenue Estimates
National Assembly Secretariat
Jeff Holland, Chief of Projections Unit, Budget Analysis Division, Congressional Budget Office
Christina Hawley Sadoti, Analyst, Budge Analysis Division, Congressional Budget Office
David Wiener, Unit Chief for Modeling, Tax Analysis Division, Congressional Budget Office

June 19–21, 2003
Towards a New Asia: Founding Growth on Diversity
World Economic Forum

June 25, 2003
Refugee Protection: Challenges and Prospects
Minbyun Lawyers for a Democratic Society
Joel Charny, Vice President for Policy, Refugee International

August 28, 2003
Fifty Year Alliance: Reflections and Future Vision on ROK-U.S. Security Cooperation
Korean Association of International Studies
Korea National Defense University
Ministry of Defense
The Korea Foundation
U.S. Embassy in Korea
Joongang Ilbo
August 26–28, 2003

**Market Mechanisms and the Environment**
The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

*George M. Dennison*, President, University of Montana

*Daniel Dudek*, Senior Economist, Environmental Defense Fund

*L. Gordon Flake*, Executive Director, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

*Abyd Karmali*, Director, ICF Consulting

*Li Xiaolin*, Vice President, Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

*Brian McLean*, Director, Clean Air Markets Division, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

*Okajima Shigeyuki*, Executive Director, Japan Environmental Education Forum

*Zhang Ji Qiang*, Blue Moon Foundation

August 29, 2003

**Paved With Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea**
The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

*L. Gordon Flake*, Executive Director, The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

*Michael Schloms*, Associate Fellow, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung

September 3, 2003

**Equality in Work and Childcare**
WomenLink

Government Information Agency

*Waltraud Dahs*, Head of Division for International Gender Equality Affairs, German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth

*Toshiko Ochi*, Program Manager, AP Workforce Diversity, IBM

October 13, 2003

**The Asia Foundation in Korea: Challenges for the Future**

*William Ball III*, Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Asia Foundation

*Barnett Baron*, Executive Vice President, The Asia Foundation

*William Fuller*, President, The Asia Foundation
David Steinberg, Director of Asian Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
Linda Tsao Yang, Chairman, Asian Corporate Governance Association
Casimir Yost, Marshall B. Coyne Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University

October 14, 2003
Korea and Its Role in East Asia
Michael Armacost, Shorenstein Distinguished Fellow for Political Affairs, Stanford University
Howard Baker, United States Ambassador to Japan
William Ball III, Chairman, Board of Trustees, The Asia Foundation
William Fuller, President, The Asia Foundation
Harry Harding, Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University
Susan Pharr, Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics, Harvard University
J. Stapleton Roy, Managing Director, Kissinger Associates
Robert Scalapino, Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, University of California, Berkeley
Tadashi Yamamoto, President, Japan Center for International Exchange

October 23, 2003
Crisis on the Korean Peninsula: Dealing with a Nuclear North Korea
Kyungnam University Institute for Far Eastern Studies
Michael O’Hanlon, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

November 20–21, 2003
North Korea, Multilateralism and The Future of the Korean Peninsula
Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security
Center for Strategic and International Studies
Ilmin International Relations Institute at Korea University
Institute 21 for Peace Studies
Friedrich Naumann Foundation
Shizuoka Research Institute
Donga Ilbo
Doosan Heavy Industries

**Ruediger Frank**, Professor, University of Vienna

**Hajime Izumi**, Director, Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Shizuoka Research Institute

**Charles Pritchard**, Visiting Fellow, Brookings Institution

**Alan Romberg**, Senior Associate and Director of the China Program, Henry L. Stimson Center

**Yinhong Shi**, Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China

**Frank Umbach**, Senior Research Fellow, German Council on Foreign Relations

**Alexander Vorontsov**, Head of Section for Korea Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

**Joel Wit**, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies

January 12, 2004

**Korean Political Activists’ Dialogue with U.S. Congress**

**Frank Januzzi**, Professional Staff, United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee

**Keith Luse**, Professional Staff, United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee

April 21, 2004

**Korea’s New Generation and Perceptions of International Relations**

Korean-American Association

April 26, 2004

**Strategy and Sentiment: South Korean Views of the U.S. and the Alliance**

Center for Strategic and International Studies

Yonsei University

**Derek Mitchell**, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**Katherine Moon**, Jane Bishop Associate Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College
June 4, 2004

How to Prevent Corporate Corruption
World Bank
Center for Strategic and International Studies
Yonsei University
Ronald Berenbeim, The Conference Board
Paul Makosz, PDK Control Consulting International
Charles Neimeier, U.S. Public Company Accounting Oversight Board
Behdad Nowroozi, World Bank
James Paterson, CLSA Securities Korea

June 25, 2004

Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies
Korea Institute for Future Strategies
Victor Cha, D. S. Song–Korea Foundation Chair in Asian Studies and Government, Georgetown University
David Kang, Associate Professor of Business Administration and Government, Dartmouth College

July 8, 2004

North Korea’s Weapons of Mass Destruction
Korea Institute for National Unification
Joel Wit, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Corey Hinderstein, Assistant Director, Institute for Science and International Security

July 13, 2004

Historical Reconciliation in Europe and in the Asia-Pacific
UNESCO APCEIU
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Gebhard Hielscher, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Wolfgang Hoeppen, Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research
Motohiro Kondo, Nihon University
Orhan Silier, History Foundation of Turkey
Daqing Yang, George Washington University
September 17, 2004

**International Aid for North Korea: Realities and Prospects**
Adventist Development and Relief Agency International

**Marcel Wagner**, Country Director, ADRA DPRK

November 5, 2004

**Shifting Terrain: Local Views on U.S. Presence in the Asia-Pacific**
East-West Center
The East Asia Institute

**Patricio Abinales**, Associate Professor, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University

**Naoki Kamimura**, Professor of American Studies, Hiroshima City University

**Katherine Moon**, Jane Bishop Associate Professor of Political Science, Wellesley College

**Sheila Smith**, Fellow in Politics, Government, and Security Studies, East-West Center

November 15, 2004

**Humanitarian Aid to North Korea: Where Do We Go From Here?**

**Kathi Zellweger**, Director of International Cooperation, Caritas Hong Kong

December 10, 2004

**America’s Role in Northeast Asia: Views for the New U.S. Administration**

**Frank Januzzi**, Professional Staff, United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee

**Yoshio Murakami**, Director of International Division, Asahi Shimbun

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**Conclusion**

In the last ten years, The Asia Foundation has undergone a major shift in its program activities: from giving grants to working with local and global institutions on symposiums and conferences; from a domestic to a more regional concentration; and to a focus on public policy issues as a means of furthering debate on Korea’s development. As Korea and its priority interests
continue to change with the times, the Foundation’s Korea Office will adapt its operations and program objectives to meet the country’s evolving needs.

About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

David I. Steinberg, Representative, 1994–1998

David Steinberg replaced Tam Ormiston in October 1994 for a second term as representative of the Korea Office. He served nearly four years, through August 1998. During this time, much discussion went on in the Foundation’s San Francisco and Washington Offices on the question of maintaining the Korea Office. With the Korean economy pretty well advanced by the 1990s, and with slight budgetary cutbacks, the Foundation began to wonder whether their efforts should be focused on less-developed countries in Asia. Upon his arrival in Korea, David stated that keeping the Korea Office open would depend upon how successful it was in raising local funds, in no way an easy task.

David tried hard, and in a variety of ways, to garner funds, including forming a “corporate development committee,” but his efforts were not fully rewarded. Limited funds meant that no significant development of new programs was possible, except for the giving of small grants and the facilitation of ongoing projects.

The scope of program activities gradually diminished in the mid-1990s, yet The Asia Foundation remained visible in Korea thanks to David. An excellent writer, David began to contribute articles to a local English-language paper, the Korea Times, in 1995. His Asia Foundation byline in the newspaper helped enhance the image of the Korea Office. Soon thereafter, he began contributing a weekly column, “Stone Mirror,” writing throughout his tenure and continuing
even after he left Korea. David wrote candid articles on various aspects of Korea, including subjects such as Korean culture and tradition, education, politics, U.S.-Korea relations, and international relations. Some of his selected articles were published in a 2002 book, *Stone Mirror: Reflections on Contemporary Korea.*

One project implemented during David Steinberg’s tenure as representative is definitely worthy of note. He organized an exchange program for local government officials of Korea and the State of California under the joint sponsorship of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), the Korea Local Authorities Foundation for International Relations, and The Asia Foundation. David submitted a timely proposal in response to an advertisement by the USIA office in Seoul. The proposal aimed to introduce Korean government officials to the workings of the California government. Amazingly, David drafted the voluminous program proposal while he was hospitalized in the U.S. Army Hospital in Yongsan with a broken thighbone that took several months to heal. Vera Young, of the Asian-American Exchange Division in the San Francisco home office, and Park Tae-jin, of the Korea Office, gave particular attention and support to this significant program.

Another of David’s accomplishments in support of the Foundation, arranged in concert with Chung Bom-mo and Park Kwon-sang, was the Foundation’s receipt of the Order of Diplomatic Service Merit (Heung-in Jang), awarded by the Republic of Korea in recognition of its outstanding contributions to the country’s development over four decades.

**C. Kenneth Quinones, Representative, 1998–1999**

Kenneth Quinones replaced David Steinberg in August 1998 as Korea Office representative, but his tenure was short-lived and he left the Foundation the following June. As a North Korea specialist, Ken was responsible for developing and inaugurating a law lecture series in China for North Korean officials with funds from the CM Lee Foundation.
The Korea Office was without a resident representative for several months. In the interim, Asia Foundation vice president Barnett Baron served as acting representative, visiting Seoul numerous times and working “out of a suitcase” until Scott Snyder was selected as the next Korea Office representative.

Scott Snyder, Representative, 2000–2004

Scott Snyder arrived in Seoul in January 2000 to take over the responsibilities of Korea Office representative. Like Ken Quinones, Scott was a Korea specialist, and during his tenure he actively devoted himself to the development of projects related to North Korea with funds provided by the CM Lee Foundation.

While David Steinberg raised The Asia Foundation’s visibility in Korea by writing his “Stone Mirror” series in the Korea Times, Scott contributed heaps of articles to local and overseas media. He gave interviews at every opportunity and was indefatigable in his efforts to facilitate and participate in various local and international conferences. In tandem with Scott’s efforts to elevate the image of The Asia Foundation, the Korea Office began to shift its program efforts under his watch from grant-giving activities to public forums in partnership with Korean institutions. This was a crucial programming adjustment that well served both the slim office budget and Korea’s need for more dialogue on important domestic and international policy issues.

Aside from the regular program activities of the Korea Office, Scott and Program Officer Moon Chun-sang spent seven months beginning in early 2002 on a contract to help organize and implement the Global Leadership Program — Korea 2002 (GLP), hosted by the Boeing Leadership Center. The four-week program, conducted in coordination with Nancy Stebbins of GLP, was a smashing success.
Korean Staff

Severe budgetary constraints in the 1990s required several painful measures to improve the financial standing of the Korea Office and preserve it for future activities. Books for Asia ceased operations in Korea in 1995, after 32 years of operation in the country. Han Byung-do, the BfA program officer, left The Asia Foundation after 22 years. The office driver was dismissed, and both Yi Yun-sae and Park Tae-jin retired from full employment in 1996, remaining as part-time workers. Tony Kang returned to the States, and Kim Hee-dong also left the Foundation.

Officer manager Yi Yun-sae died in 2001 after devoting 45 years of his life to the management of the Foundation’s Korea Office. Lee Hyunjung was employed as secretary to replace Kim Min-jung in 2001. Moon Chun-sang was added to the staff as program officer in 2001, as was Ban Seon-yong in 2002.
Other Events of Interest

The Asia Foundation and “Heung-in Jang”

On February 27, 1997, The Asia Foundation was awarded the Order of Diplomatic Service Merit (Heung-in Jang) by the Republic of Korea for its outstanding contribution to the democratic growth, economic development, and social, educational, and cultural modernization of Korea over 43 years. The Order was conferred to Dr. William Fuller, president of The Asia Foundation, by Mr. Yoo Chong-ha, minister of foreign affairs, at his office, on behalf of the president of the Republic of Korea. Korea Office representative David Steinberg was in attendance.

To celebrate the occasion, an ad hoc committee of 27 staunch supporters of the Foundation, the Friends of The Asia Foundation (FOTAF), was formed under the guidance of Dr. Chung Bom-mo, a former Foundation grantee. The FOTAF held a reception on February 28 at the Press Interview Hall of the Korea Press Center, inviting some 200 local and foreign dignitaries and Foundation grantees. President Fuller made a five-day visit to Korea at the invitation of the Korea Foundation to receive the award and to attend a series of related events, including a visit to Mayor Cho Soon of the Seoul metropolitan government.

Because of the event, The Asia Foundation received widespread publicity. President Fuller gave interviews to several daily newspapers (Dong-A Ilbo, Joong-Ang Ilbo, Munhwa Ilbo, Hankook Kyungje Shinmun, Chosun Ilbo, and Seoul Kyungje Shinmun), two English-language dailies (Korea Times and Korea Herald), and one weekly magazine (Sisa Journal).

That The Asia Foundation was awarded the Heung-in Jang is largely due to the efforts of Dr. Chung Bom-mo (former president of Hallym University and member of the National Academy of Sciences), Mr. Park Kwon-sang (former president of KBS and Nieman fellow), Dr.
Han Seung-soo (former deputy prime minister, minister of finance and the economy, and member of the 16th National Assembly), and Mr. Lew Hyuck-in (former Nieman fellow and minister of information).

The Friends of the Asia Foundation Korea

Officially constituted in July 2004, The Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea is an organization committed to the principles of the Foundation’s Korea Office, namely to work to achieve peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region in general and on the Korean Peninsula in particular. The organization seeks to address issues and problems of democratic countries with a comparative approach, through the exchange of international perspectives and public discussions. Helping to support projects executed by the Korea Office in the fields of international relations, law and governance, economic reform, development, and women’s participation, The Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea’s goal is to support the efforts and purposes of The Asia Foundation.
Chapter SIX

2005–2017
Partner for Development
Cooperation in Asia
By the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Republic of Korea had emerged as a full member of the group of economically advanced economies. The great majority of the population enjoyed a standard of living far above what could have been imagined when The Asia Foundation began its work in Korea in the 1950s. Korea certainly still faced serious challenges, including the stabilization of its governance institutions and the sustainability of economic growth, as well as the continuing security threat created by North Korea. Nevertheless, the Republic of Korea was now a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and was looked to by less developed countries as a source of lessons and assistance for economic and political development. Korea was also beginning to assume a leadership role in addressing global issues, including green growth and development cooperation.

These developments sharply brought into focus the question of the Foundation’s continuing role in Korea. The expansion of the Korea Office’s role, beginning in the 1990s, from primarily grant-making to include facilitating national and regional political dialogue, isolated the Korea Office to a certain extent from the dynamic and growing development assistance role played by the Foundation in the rest of the Asia region. Also, the budget of the Korea Office, which reflected the relatively higher costs in Korea, continued to be funded predominately from the flexible but limited General Grant that the Foundation received from the U.S. government. Meanwhile, the funding base of the Foundation as a whole was rapidly diversifying through partnerships with national and international aid agencies — sources of funding not available to the Korea program.

It was in this context that the new president of the Foundation, Douglas Bereuter, mandated in 2005 that the Korea Office and other offices based in advanced economies shift their program focus from assistance to resource partnerships. These offices were grouped into a cross-country program, Partners in Asian Development (PAD), under the leadership of Vice President Allen Choate. As explained by Mr. Choate: “The primary goal of the Foundation’s PAD initiative is to mobilize funding and in-kind resources in the advanced economies of Asia to support Asia Foundation programs and projects elsewhere.” At the same time, the Korea Office was to seek local funding for its own operations, reducing dependence on the General Grant. (It was recognized, however, that opportunities for appropriate engagement with North Korea should continue to be pursued with the support of external donors.) Although reporting structures have since changed, this mandate played a critical role in reorienting the programs of the Korea Office and shifting its funding base during this period.
A New Strategy for the Korea Office

In response to the PAD mandate, the Korea Office launched a strategy to refocus The Asia Foundation’s program in Korea. Building on the Foundation’s solid reputation and existing networks, the Korea Office reached out to new constituents and partners active in the area of development cooperation.

The first step was to expand the role of the newly established Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea (FOTAF), so that it could become a key partner in achieving the PAD goals. The prominent leaders and extensive membership of FOTAF would provide critical guidance and openings for this new direction, while also acting as a channel for funding support from Korean corporations.

It was also necessary to reintroduce the Foundation to Korean audiences as an international development organization with strong credentials and wide reach in the Asia region, and with the expertise to be a development cooperation actor and partner. New programs were developed that offered The Asia Foundation’s network of offices throughout developing Asia as a learning resource to Korean official and nongovernmental development cooperation organizations, as well as to university programs. This positioned the Foundation as a valuable facilitator of Asia-wide dialogue on development cooperation issues. Based on demonstrated expertise as a development partner, the Korea Office pursued operational and funding partnerships with Korean official development cooperation programs and agencies.

The most difficult challenge for the Korea Office was the mandate to tap Korean government and corporate donors to fund the Foundation’s programs in the developing countries of Asia. Ultimately, one result of this effort was funding agreements with the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) to channel funds to Foundation-managed programs outside of Korea. Efforts to secure major funding for regional programs from Korean corporations, however, met with only moderate success.

This shift in programming meant a major change in the operational structure and style of the Foundation’s Korea Office. It required substantially increasing The Asia Foundation’s visibility among the Korean public, adding expertise in development issues, and shifting from a grant-maker role to that of a grant seeker. Indicators of at least partial success in this transition included...
a shift in the Korea Office budget from over 80 percent dependency on the Foundation’s General Grant in 2005 to around 40–50 percent after 2014, sustained corporate support through FOTAF, and ultimately, securing direct KOICA funding for Foundation programs in developing Asian countries.

FRIENDS OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION KOREA

Throughout the history of its work in Korea, The Asia Foundation has benefited from the advice and support of many prominent figures in the Korean educational, business, and political spheres. Many of these individuals were beneficiaries of early Foundation scholarship and grant programs. In mid-2004, leaders from among these supporters, who were particularly instrumental in Korea’s hosting of the 50th anniversary of the Foundation, formally inaugurated the Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea (FOTAF). As the Korea Office expanded its scope of work under the newly launched PAD program, FOTAF, under the leadership of former prime minister Lee Hong-koo, came to play a critical role in providing guidance, opening doors to new public and private partners, and mobilizing financial support from both individuals and corporations. As Prime Minister Lee noted:

Our organization is a firm supporter of The Asia Foundation’s practical and active engagement in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole and with North Korea in particular. Consistent with these shared values, the Friends of The Asia Foundation will continue to provide relevant perspective to the Korea Office of the Foundation so that they can better carry out their programs with efficiency and expertise.

While the FOTAF leadership understood the logic of the Korea Office’s shift toward local fundraising and regional programs, they also strongly affirmed their desire that the Foundation maintain a focus on issues directly relevant to Korea. In fact, they emphasized that most local contributors would look for a Korea connection in programs that they might support. The FOTAF leadership’s advice and support in meeting these expectations while also achieving the PAD goals was extremely helpful. As a member of the Board of Directors of the Asia Foundation, Prime Minister Lee was able to bring his nuanced perspective directly to the Foundation’s leadership during this period of transition.
FOTAF has two forms of membership, individual and corporate. Individuals contribute an annual membership fee, receive frequent updates on Foundation programs, and participate in public events and closed-door, special forums. Corporate donors make an annual contribution of 10 million won (about US $10,000) toward support of Foundation programs and are recognized at all public events and in published and online documentation. This individual and corporate support has given the Korea Office the flexibility to organize public forums and conferences in response to evolving circumstances. The Board of Directors of FOTAF meets quarterly to review program and fundraising progress and provide input on program planning. Particular members of the board have played critical roles in providing linkages and endorsements that have led to the successful launch and funding of many of the new programs described in this chapter.

**Special Programs of the Friends of The Asia Foundation**

In 2009, the Friends of The Asia Foundation initiated a scholarship program for 50 Vietnamese high school girls living in the Mekong River Delta region, managed by the Foundation’s Vietnam Office. This is a low-income, rural area with a high dropout rate. In August 2012, in order to expand on this important program, FOTAF awarded a new grant to support two-year
high school scholarships for 50 more disadvantaged girls in the same region. As of 2015, 100 university students and 416 secondary school students have been supported by the program. In this way, FOTAF members have actively contributed to Korea’s role in assisting the development of other countries in Asia through the Foundation.

Another important activity sponsored and hosted by FOTAF is the Annual Reception, held in the first half of each year. The program includes a report by the chairman of FOTAF and the Foundation’s Korea representative, followed by a keynote address by a distinguished speaker that highlights a current issue in Korea’s international relations. Among the distinguished speakers during this period were Asia Foundation presidents Douglas Bereuter and David Arnold; Foundation trustee and Johns Hopkins University professor David Lampton; former U.S. ambassadors Michael Armacost, J. Stapleton Roy, Mitchell B. Reiss, and Thomas Hubbard; L. Gordon Flake, executive director of the Mansfield Foundation; and Korean foreign minister Yun Byun-se.

FOTAF supports Vietnamese girls’ scholarship program (2009–)
Members of the Board of Directors of FOTAF (2015)*

Lee Hong-Koo, Chairman (2004–2013)
Chairman, The Seoul Forum for International Affairs; former Prime Minister; former Ambassador to the United States

Han Sung-Joo, Chairman (2013–)
Chairman, International Policy Studies Institute of Korea; Professor Emeritus, Korea University; former Minister of Foreign Affairs; former Ambassador to the United States

Hong Seok-Hyun,
Chairman, JoongAng Media Network

Kim Jin-Hyun
Chairman, World Peace Forum; Chairman, Gyeonggido Business & Science Accelerator; former Minister of Science and Technology

Kim Ki-Hwan
Emeritus Chairman, Seoul Financial Forum; former Ambassador-at-Large for Economic Affairs

Moon Kook-Hyun
Chairman and CEO, New Paradigm Institute; CEO, Hansoll Textile Ltd.; former National Assembly Member

Kang Kum-Sil
Senior Advisor, One Law Partners, LLC; former Minister of Justice

Min Sun-Shik
Vice Chairman, YBM

Park Jin
President, Korean-American Association; President, Asia Future Institute; Member of 16th, 17th, 18th National Assembly; Former Chairman of Foreign Affairs, Trade and National Unification Committee
THE ASIA FOUNDATION AS AN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

At the beginning of this period, most of The Asia Foundation’s Korean partners viewed the Foundation primarily as a funding and networking organization with a primary focus on national and regional issues relevant to Korea’s political, economic, and social development. It was necessary to reintroduce the Foundation as an international development organization with strong credentials and wide reach in the Asia region — a potential working partner in development cooperation. This was accomplished by bringing Foundation development experts from its offices around Asia to engage with Korean government and nongovernmental organizations on current, critical development issues. At the same time, outreach to Korean audiences was expanded through a new communications and networking strategy.

Communications and Networking

Building on the momentum (and the mailing list) created by the 50th anniversary celebration in 2004, the Korea Office launched a carefully planned communications strategy to continue and expand outreach to a wide and diverse audience in Korea. Under the skillful management of the Korea office’s Cho So-young, a number of outreach initiatives were launched including a website, a quarterly newsletter, and FOTAF annual reports, all produced in both Korean and English. Articles regarding Foundation activities and programs were placed in the media, and opportunities were created for FOTAF board members, the country representative, and visiting senior Foundation
staff to join televised public affairs programs and to provide commentary on current events for national and international news reports. News stories related to Foundation programs in developing countries were also placed in the media. Gradually, The Asia Foundation became a known and respected source of information and analysis not only on national and regional political issues, but also on development challenges in the Asia region and development cooperation strategies.

Asia Foundation Development Experts Program

By the early 2000s, Korea had joined the group of middle powers with potential to contribute to strengthening and improving the liberal world order that had been the context for its own success. The Korean government, especially during the tenure of President Roh Moo-hyun (2003–2008), employed soft-power diplomatic tools to pursue this new role. One important strategy was to significantly increase its foreign assistance program for less developed countries, and actively engage in international development cooperation dialogues and collaborative undertakings. Seeking a leadership role in this field, the Korean government substantially increased its development aid budget, set the goal of membership on the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD (which they achieved in 2010), and committed to hosting the 4th High Level Forum on Development — the largest and most important global gathering on development — in 2011.

This political direction provided the ideal context for The Asia Foundation to reintroduce itself to Korea as a resource on development issues, and to explore ways to actively collaborate with the Korean government, Korean development NGOs, and potential donors. The Korea Office initiated a program to contribute Foundation expertise on critical development issues and complex development challenges in Asia. Country Representative Edward Reed held an advanced degree in development studies, and was thus well positioned both to network and to contribute to the expanding discussion. Supplemental financial support from the Friends of the Asia Foundation created the flexibility to embark upon this new program direction.
Asia Foundation Contributions to the Development Cooperation Debate in Korea
(With program cosponsors, Asia Foundation staff, and foreign or prominent presenters noted)

October 13, 2005
Current Dialogue on International Development and the Future of Korean ODA Policy
Public forum organized by the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)
Edward Reed, Keynote Speaker, “Sink or Swim Together: Why Development Has Become a Global Necessity”

April 18, 2006
Development Challenges in Islamic Societies: A Focus on Indonesia and Afghanistan
Public forum: The Asia Foundation
Douglas Ramage, Asia Foundation Indonesia Country Representative
Jon Summers, Asia Foundation Afghanistan Country Representative
Shin Heisoo, Vice Chair, UN Commission on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

September 20, 2006
Vietnam’s Economic Transition and Implications for Korea
Public forum: The Asia Foundation
Kim Ninh, Asia Foundation Vietnam Country Representative
Le Dang Doanh, Senior Advisor, Vietnam Ministry of Planning and Investment and Advisor to The Asia Foundation in Vietnam
Lee Jai Min, Director General, Korea Export-Import Bank

September 4, 2007
The Asia Foundation’s Economic Development and Reform Program
Ministry of Planning and Budget workshop for 40 Ministry staff
Bruce Tolentino, Director, Asia Foundation Economic Reform and Development Program (ERD)

September 6, 2007
Building Support for ODA: Aid Effectiveness and the Role of the MDGs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade workshop on ODA by non-DAC Members
Bruce Tolentino, Director, Asia Foundation Economic Reform and Development Program (ERD)
Richard Manning, Chair, Development Assistance Committee, OECD
Richard Carey, Director, OECD
Koro Bessho, Director General, Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Denes Tornaj, Director General, Hungary Ministry of Foreign Affairs

October 18–19, 2007
Development Cooperation Programs in India
Seminar and open forum organized by The Asia Foundation
Rajendra Abhyankar, Asia Foundation India Program Development Consultant
Tarun Das, Chief Mentor, Confederation of Indian Industry, and Advisor to The Asia Foundation
October 25, 2007
Promoting Poverty-Reducing Economic Growth in Asia: A Multisectoral Approach
Ministry of Planning and Budget study tour to Korea for Philippine finance officials
Edward Reed, Asia Foundation Korea Representative

July 27, 2007
Afghanistan and Pakistan, Political and Economic Development
Seminar organized by Ewha Womans University and The Asia Foundation for students and members of the Korean Association for International Development Cooperation.
Jon Summers, Asia Representative at Large and former Asia Foundation Representative in Afghanistan and Pakistan

February 13, 2008
Google, Omidyar, and Social Investment: A Hybrid Approach to Corporate Engagement
Open forum organized by The Asia Foundation and Friends of The Asia Foundation
Barnett Baron, Senior Vice President, The Asia Foundation

October 13–15, 2010
Potential Partnerships Between The Asia Foundation and Korean Development Cooperation Organizations
Consultations held with Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, KOICA, and Korea Civil society forum on international development cooperation
Anthea Mulakala, Asia Foundation Malaysia Country Representative (now Asia Foundation Director of International Development Cooperation)

November 15–16, 2010
Economic Development and Impact Evaluation
International conference organized by the Korean Development Institute
Bruce Tolentino, Director, Asia Foundation Economic Reform and Development Program (ERD)
Nina Merchant, Assistant Director, ERD, The Asia Foundation
December 2–3, 2010

South-South Development Cooperation Dialogue: More than One Way to Achieve Aid Effectiveness

Workshop organized by The Asia Foundation for Korean government and NGO development agencies

Bruce Tolentino, Director, ERD, The Asia Foundation
Anthea Mulakala, Asia Foundation Malaysia Country Representative
Nick Langton, Asia Foundation India Country Representative
Jonathan Stromseth, Asia Foundation China Country Representative
Herizał Hazri, Asia Foundation Malaysia Program Director (later Country Representative)
Peggy Kek, Asia Foundation Singapore Senior Advisor

The Foundation also sponsored expert speakers from India, China, Pakistan, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States

The Asia Foundation's expertise and experience in development issues and practice, collaboration between the Foundation and Korea’s official development agencies increased. In 2007, the Korea Office entered into negotiations with the Ministry of Planning and Budget (now the Ministry of Strategy and Finance) regarding Korean government funding for a regional program. The proposal was approved, and the Korea Development Institute (KDI) School of Public Policy and Management was designated as the Korean partner for program collaboration and funding. In March 2008, an agreement was signed with the KDI School for the multiyear International Development Cooperation Capacity Building Program. Under this program, several types of activities were organized and implemented by The Asia Foundation for the dual purpose of (1) strengthening Korea’s capacity for implementing aid programs and (2) allowing the Foundation’s Asian partners to learn from Korea’s development experience. The KDI School funded all direct costs of the program, while The Asia Foundation covered most of its own staff expenses and other indirect costs.
The Korea Development Institute, established in 1971, played a critical role in developing the economic policies that led to Korea’s rapid economic expansion; and the affiliated KDI School of Public Policy and Management, founded in 1997, had gained international recognition as a high-caliber institution for training development planners and administrators from developing countries. The Asia Foundation’s partnership with Korea’s premier think tank and graduate school of development was a turning point in the Korea Office’s efforts to position the Foundation as a go-to organization on development issues for Korean official and nongovernmental organizations; it was also significant in positioning the Foundation to approach corporate and other private donors for support for its development work in Asia.

This partnership between the KDI School and The Asia Foundation has been renewed and strengthened over a number of years. Between 2008 and 2016, the KDI School contributed a total of $2,292,636 to this innovative collaboration. The multifaceted program has also involved cultivation of strategic partnerships with Foundation offices throughout the region. Lee Kyung-sook, director of programs in the Korea Office, supported in recent years by program officer Lee Sun-mee, has ably managed the details of this program throughout this period. The productive cooperation of a number of counterparts at the KDI School has also been essential for the success of the partnership.

The agreement with KDI encompasses several major programs: development fellowships, allowing individual Koreans to study Asian issues and providing visits to Korea for Asians to study the Korean experience; development study trips, for Korean groups to visit Asian countries and for Asians to visit Korea, focusing on specific development issues; and a program of international conferences organized by The Asia Foundation that bring regional experts to Korea to focus on issues particularly relevant to Korea’s development cooperation efforts.

**Asian Development Fellowship Program**

One of the major challenges created by Korea’s rapid emergence as a provider of development assistance was the need to expand the number of individuals qualified to administer the new governmental and nongovernmental programs. Academic programs offered development theory, but with heavy emphasis on Korea’s own development path — one that was not entirely
relevant to the circumstances in most developing countries today. With the notable exception of Korea’s overseas volunteer program, now known as World Friends Korea, there were relatively few opportunities for young Koreans to supplement their academic studies with concrete experience in developing countries. The Foundation stepped in to help meet this need through long-term and short-term fellowship programs.

With program offices in almost all of the developing countries of South and Southeast Asia, The Asia Foundation represents a valuable regional network with deep ties in each country. Working in partnership with other Foundation country offices, and with support from the KDI School, the Korea Office offered extended fellowships to young Korean development workers in government, NGOs, and universities. The purpose of the program was to provide these Asian Development Fellows (ADFs) with in-depth exposure to the cultures, problems, and development approaches in developing Asian countries. For up to three months, ADFs worked as interns in Asia Foundation offices while conducting research on a specific development issue, and upon their return to Korea they made written and oral reports to their institutions and to The Asia Foundation.
2008 Development Fellows

Yang Jin-A, KDI School of Public Policy and Management
Sri Lanka Office
“Korean Development Assistance NGOs in Sri Lanka: A Comparative Analysis”

Chung Ju-jin, unaffiliated
Nepal Office
“Peace-Building and Conflict Resolution: New Approaches to International Development”

Cho So-hui, Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)
Vietnam Office
“Expanding Women’s Empowerment and Cooperation with International NGOs”

Yu Don-ju, Duke University, Sanford School of Public Policy
Thailand Office
“Encouraging Sustainable and Voluntary Environmental Activities”

Noh Jae-eun, Good Neighbors International
Bangladesh Office
“Rights-Based Programming of the Local Economic Governance Program”

2009 Development Fellows

Kim Hyun-joo, Yonsei University Graduate School of International Studies
Philippines Office
“Transparent Governance and Development in Asia”

Yoo Ji-young, KOICA
Bangladesh Office
“Comparative Research on Education Programs of The Asia Foundation
Bangladesh and KOICA”
2010 Development Fellow

Lee Chang-pyo, World Vision Korea, International Development Department, Laos Office
“Sustainable Development by Integrating Economic Development and Environmental Issues at the Local Level”

2012 Development Fellow

Ha Kyoung-hwa, unaffiliated
Sri Lanka Office
“Social Protection and Pro-poor Growth Strategy in Sri Lanka”

2013 Development Fellow

Kim Min-young, Global Civic Sharing
Sri Lanka Office
“Empowerment and Participatory Governance: Community-Oriented Policing in Sri Lanka”

2014 Development Fellow

Kim Yu-jin, International Women and Family Foundation
Sri Lanka Office

2015 Development Fellow

Park Ho-guen, doctoral candidate, Michigan State University
Mongolia Office
“Modeling Informal Urban Expansion Using an Agent-Based Approach in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia”

2016 Development Fellow

Jun Jee-eun, Founder, INDI LAB (Information and Data Innovation Lab) Philippines Office
“Open Government and Citizen Engagement for Sustainable Development Goals”

Development Fellowships to Korea

In 2010, the Foundation and the KDI School agreed to expand the development fellowship program to enable fellows from Asian developing countries to stay for extended periods in Korea. Each fellow was attached to a Korean institution where he or she could focus for up to three months on a particular development challenge. With this expansion, the fellowship program became a two-way learning process, enabling Koreans to study the development context in other Asian countries, while also providing opportunities for individuals from developing countries to observe Korea’s development efforts and outcomes first-hand and draw lessons relevant to their own countries.

2014 fellow Rama Devi Prajuli, Attorney General of Nepal, conducted research at the Korean Institute of Criminology.
2010 Development Fellow to Korea

Oyundelger Bavuudorj, Mongolian National Development and Innovation Committee
KDI Public and Private Infrastructure Investment Management Center
“Public Investment and Sectoral Development Formulation System in Korea”

2011 Development Fellows to Korea

Guteriano Neves, La’o Hamutuk (Timor-Leste local NGO),
Asia Foundation Korea Office
“Korea’s Economic Development Experience and Its Relevance to Timor-Leste”

Thinzar Htun, Myanmar Thingaha Gender Working Group
Korean Working Women Academy
“Organizing and Training of Working Women in Korea”

Fitri Yanti, Myanmar Thingaha Gender Working Group
Korean Working Women Academy
“Women’s Empowerment and Organizational Skills”

2012 Development Fellows to Korea

(Both Fellows were based at the Korean Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade)

Dr. Priyadarshi Dash, Research and Information System for Developing Countries, India
“Foreign Direct Investment, Catch-up, and Growth Dispersion: The Korean Experience”

Dr. Fahmida Khatun, Centre for Policy Dialogue, Bangladesh
“Korea’s Green Growth Strategy: Lessons for Bangladesh”
2013 Development Fellows to Korea

Dr. Babar Shahbaz, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad, Pakistan  
Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade  
“Rural Development and Sustainable Livelihoods in Pakistan: Lessons from Korea”

Anushka S. Wijesinha, Institute of Policy Studies, Sri Lanka  
Korean Development Institute  

Nguyen Ngoc Luan, Institute of Policy and Strategy for Agriculture and Rural Development, Vietnam  
Korea Rural Economics Institute  
“Korea’s Community and Rural Development Experience”

2014 Development Fellows to Korea

Suvdaa Damiran, National University of Mongolia  
Korea Institute for Industrial Economics and Trade  
“Small and Medium Enterprise Development and Financing Policy”

Govinda Shah, Centre for Development and Communication, Nepal  
KDI School of Public Policy and Management  
“International Politics and Development of South Korea”

Rama Devi Prajuli, Office of the Attorney General, Nepal  
Korean Institute of Criminology  
“A Study on Crime Victim Protection System in Korea”

2015 Development Fellows to Korea

Mahboob Murshed, Advocate at the Supreme Court in Bangladesh
Korea University Law School
“A Comparative Analysis between Bangladeshi and Korean Legal Frameworks for Combating Cybercrime to Ensure Cyber Security.”

Souphy Norintha, Legal Affairs Department of the Lao PDR Ministry of Justice
Korean Institute of Legislative Studies, Inc.
“The Legislative Process in Korea”

2016 Development Fellow to Korea

Udagedara Susantha Chandrasiri Udagedara, Ministry of Mahaweli Development and Environment, Sri Lanka
Korea Environment Institute
“Assessing the Level of Climate Change Awareness among Selected School Teachers in South Korea”

Asian Development Cooperation Study Trips

There was high demand for the type of direct exposure to developing countries and issues that The Asia Foundation could offer, but most Korean development workers could not take several months off for study. Therefore, the program also included intensive study trips of one week to ten days for groups of five to eight participants from Korean governmental and nongovernmental development agencies as well as graduate schools. Priority was given to participation by staff of KOICA and the Export-Import Bank’s Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF), Korea’s two primary development cooperation agencies. These intensive-exposure experiences were organized by Asia Foundation offices in the destination countries, and usually included orientation to the country’s development challenges, visits to particular field projects, meetings with government and international organization officials, and facilitated discussions of the development issues encountered. Staff from the Korea Office accompanied the group to facilitate interactions and ensure follow-up upon return to Korea. The fellowships and study trips served the dual purpose of introducing the participating Koreans to practical
issues related to development cooperation, and demonstrating to their home agencies The Asia Foundation’s expertise and reach throughout the Asia region.

Study Trips to Asian Countries

May 11–17, 2008
Study trip to Mongolia on “Environment and Development of Mongolia”
Four Korean participants: staff of Korean NGOs and government development agencies, as well as KDI School advanced students

August 24–31, 2008
Study trip to the Philippines on “Peace-Building and Development in Conflict-Affected Regions”
Six Korean participants: one from KOICA and five from NGOs and the media

May 9–15, 2009
Study trip to Bangladesh on “Development Cooperation in Islamic Societies”
Five Korean participants: four from government agencies and one NGO representative
October 25–31, 2009  
**Study trip to Cambodia on “Governance and Development in Asia”**  
Five Korean participants: two from government agencies and three from NGOs and universities

May 9–15, 2010  
**Study trip to Indonesia on “Development and Women’s Empowerment”**  
Five Korean participants: three from government development agencies and two from NGOs

June 6–12, 2010  
**Study trip to Sri Lanka on “Local Economic Governance”**  
Six Korean participants: two from government agencies and four from NGOs

May 28–June 5, 2011  
**Study trip to Timor-Leste on “Development Cooperation in Fragile States”**  
Eight Korean participants: two from government agencies and five from development NGOs

May 23–June 3, 2012  
**Study trip to Laos on “Development Cooperation in Resource Dependent Countries”**  
Nine Korean participants: government officials, development NGO staff members, and Korean graduate students

April 2–May 5, 2013  
**Study trip to Nepal on “Development Cooperation in Post-conflict States”**  
Ten Korean government officials: NGO staff members, and graduate students

May 16–24, 2014  
**Study trip to Bangladesh on “Economic Opportunities for the Poor and Development Cooperation”**  
Eleven Korean participants: government officials and NGO staff

September 20–27, 2014
Study trip to Mongolia on “Urbanization and Development Cooperation”
Fifteen Korean participants: government officials, NGO staff, and graduate students

June 6–14, 2015
Study trip to Vietnam on “Climate Change and Development Cooperation”
Ten participants: government officials, researchers, NGO staff, managers from the private sector, and graduate students

July 25–August 2, 2015
Study trip to the Philippines on “Labor Migration and Development Cooperation”
Twelve participants: government and NGO development experts

May 14–21, 2016
Study trip to Myanmar on “Economic Development Cooperation in Countries in Transition”
Twelve Korean participants: government officials, NGO staff, graduate students
Hosting Development Study Visits to Korea

In response to the strong interest in Korea’s development experience and modern capacities, The Asia Foundation-KDI School partnership program organized group study visits to Korea from developing Asian countries. Each study visit focused on an issue identified by the participating country as having particular relevance to its own circumstances. The Asia Foundation country offices around the region helped identify candidates for the study groups, and frequently sent one of the local Foundation staff as well. The Korea Office used its wide range of contacts to organize one-week intensive programs in Korea that included field visits, lectures, interviews, seminars, and a conclusion session to review and discuss what the participants had learned.

Environmental specialists from several developing Asian countries, Korean study trip on “Urban Climate Change Resilience,” November 1–8, 2015
Most participants also prepared a written report for their home agencies after returning home, and the local Asia Foundation offices ensured institutional follow-up. Interest in these study visits was strong, and several additional visits were requested by Asia Foundation offices in the region with funding from their own sources.

Study Trips to Korea from Developing Countries in Asia
(An * indicates funding from sources other than the KDI School)

December 4–10, 2004
“*Institutional Structures and Processes of the Korean Constitutional Court***
Indonesia: five participants, including two justices of the Indonesian Constitutional Court
(Funded by USAID grant to Asia Foundation Indonesia Office)

May 18–20, 2006
“*Small and Medium Enterprise Development***
Bangladesh: nine participants
(Funded by Training and Technology Transfer, Ltd., New Zealand)

September 9–15, 2007
“*State Compensation Law***
China: nine participants
(Funded by The Asia Foundation China)

August 3–9, 2008
“*Korea’s Economic Development Model and Institutions***
Vietnam: nine participants

October 26–November 1, 2008
“*Environmental Protection and Rapid Economic Growth***
Mongolia, China, Laos, and the Philippines: four participants
April 19–25, 2009
“Good Governance and the Role of Civil Society”
India, Cambodia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines: eight participants

June 21–27, 2009
“Freedom of Information: Information Disclosure by Public Agencies”**
Vietnam: 10 participants
(Funded by The Asia Foundation Vietnam, Vietnam Lawyers’ Association, KDI School)

October 25–29, 2009
“Freedom of Information: Information Disclosure by Public Agencies”**
(The same program was organized twice for two different country groups.)
China: nine participants
(Funded by The Asia Foundation China)

April 4–10, 2010
“Development and Women’s Empowerment”
Indonesia: five participants

June 20–24, 2010
“Government Transparency and Accountability”**
Mongolia: five participants
(Funded by USAID grant to Asia Foundation Mongolia)

October 23–30, 2010
“Public-Private Partnerships and State-Owned Enterprises”
Sri Lanka: five participants

March 6–11, 2011
“Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment”**
Indonesia: three participants from the Women’s Research Institute
(Funded by AusAID grant to Asia Foundation Indonesia)
November 4–12, 2011
“Macroeconomic Policy Planning”
Timor Leste: six participants

October 21–27, 2012
“Korea’s Experience in Human and Institutional Capacity Building”
Laos: nine government officials and NGO leaders

November 25–December 1, 2012
“Public-Sector Monitoring and Evaluation”*
Mongolia: seven participants
(Sponsored by the UN Population Fund)

July 7–13, 2013
“Korea’s Political and Economic Development Experience”
Nepal: 15 government officials, politicians, and NGO leaders

October 27–November 7, 2013
“Korea’s Development and Parliamentary Capacity Building”
Bangladesh: 15 government officials and NGO leaders

November 24–29, 2013
“Lessons for Legal Reform in China”*
China: nine professors, researchers, and journalists
(Funded by Dutch Embassy, China)

April 5–10, 2014
“Structures and Functions of Parliamentary Organization”*
Myanmar: nine parliamentary delegates and officials
(Sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia)

June 15–21, 2014
“Capacity Building for Smart Government”
Mongolia: 15 government officials
October 26–30, 2014

“Building an Effective National Resource Development Strategy”
Laos: 14 government officials

November 30–December 5, 2014

“Korea’s Experience in Building a National Police Force”*
Sri Lanka: seven high-level police officials
(Funded by DFID Programme Partnership Arrangements, Sri Lanka)
International Conferences on Development Issues

The International Development Cooperation Capacity Building Program also included a series of international conferences in Korea focusing on current topics in development cooperation. The Foundation’s capacity to organize topical gatherings with the participation of high-caliber development experts from around the region and beyond had been ably demonstrated in the earlier series of conferences. The partnership with the KDI School enabled the Foundation to continue this series. One or two major conferences were held each year, some with additional funding support from FOTAF or other sources. Presenters at the conferences included experts from around the region,
including Foundation senior staff. Invited Korean participants came from government agencies, NGOs, and educational institutions. Once again, the cooperation of the Foundation offices in the relevant countries was essential in identifying and arranging the participation of experts from around Asia.

**International Conferences on Development Cooperation Issues**
*(With program co-sponsors, and Asia Foundation and prominent or foreign presenters, noted)*

March 20–21, 2008

**Korea’s Changing Roles in Southeast Asia: Expanding Influence and Relations**
*Cosponsored by Yonsei University’s Institute of East and West Studies*

*Surin Pitsuwan*, Asia Foundation Trustee and Secretary-General, Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

*David Steinberg*, Distinguished Professor of Asian Studies, Georgetown University and two-time Asia Foundation Korea Country Representative

*Kwon Jong-rak*, Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

*David Koh*, Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

*Pavin Chachavalpongpun*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore

*Dewi Fortuna Anwar*, Deputy Chair of Social Science and Humanities, Indonesia Institute of Sciences

*Pham Chi Lan*, Senior Consultant, Prime Minister’s Research Committee, Vietnam

*Samuel Lee*, Secretary-General, Korean National Commission for UNESCO

July 7, 2008

**Development Assistance in Areas of Conflict in Asia: Lessons from the Field**
*Cosponsored by the Korean Association of International Development and Cooperation (KAIDEC)*

*Thomas Parks*, Asia Foundation Regional Director for Conflict and Governance

*George Varughese*, Asia Foundation Afghanistan Country Representative

*Nilan Fernando*, Asia Foundation Sri Lanka Country Representative

*Steven Rood*, Asia Foundation Philippines Country Representative

*Anthea Mulakala*, Asia Foundation Malaysia Country Representative
October 30, 2008

Protecting the Environment and Enhancing Economic Growth: Practical Approaches in Asia
Cosponsored by the Korean Business Council for Sustainable Development

Chris Plante, Asia Foundation Director, Environmental Programs
William Infante, Asia Foundation Sri Lanka Country Representative
Zhao Lijian, Asia Foundation Environmental Program Manager, China
To Kim Lien, Asia Foundation Program Manager, Vietnam
Terry Foecke, Asia Foundation Consultant on Environmental Programs
Xiu Changbai, Rural Development Institute, Inner Mongolia Agricultural University, China
Laode Muhammad Syarif, Chief of Cluster, Security, and Justice Governance, Kemitraan, Indonesia
K. Vijaya Lakshmi, Vice President, Development Alternatives, India

November 24–25, 2009

Development Challenges and International Cooperation: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan
Cosponsored by the Korean Association of International Development and Cooperation and FOTAF
(An edited publication containing the proceedings of this major conference was produced and distributed.)

Jon Summers, Asia Foundation Regional Representative at Large for South Asia
Syed Al-Muti, Asia Foundation Director, Local Economic Governance Program, Bangladesh
Shahid Fiaz, Asia Foundation Senior Program Manager, Pakistan

Experts from the region and international organizations:
Kul Chandra Gautam, Former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations and former Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF (keynote presentation)
Abdul Wassay Arian, Senior Strategic Advisor, Ministry of Education, Afghanistan
Ershad Ahmadi, Advisor to the President, Afghanistan
Barna Karimi, Deputy Minister, Independent Directorate of Local Governance, Afghanistan
Golalai Safi, Member of the National Assembly, Afghanistan
Fawzia Karim Firoze, President, National Women Lawyers Association, Bangladesh
A.T.M. Shamsul Huda, Chief Election Commissioner, Bangladesh
Manzoor Hasan, Director, Institute of Governance Studies, BRAC University, Bangladesh
Shafqat Mahmod, former Senator, and journalist, The News, Pakistan
Shahnaz Kapadia-Rahat, CEO, Empowerment through Creative Integration, Pakistan

September 28, 2010
Asia-Pacific Forum on Development and Gender: Good Practices, Sustainable Partnerships and Effective Aid
Cosponsored by the Korean Women’s Development Institute with the support of the Korean Development Institute and UNIFEM

Veronique Salze-Lozac’h, Asia Foundation Regional Director for Economic Programs
Experts from the region and international organizations:
Joanne Sandler, Deputy Executive Director, UNIFEM
Rebecca Calder, Social Development Advisor, Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
Ruly Marianti, Gender Advisor, Asian Development Bank
Elisa Fernandez, Program Specialist, UNIFEM
Rosette Najneenn, President, District Women’s Business Forum
Nita Nuryanthy, Executive Director, DeTara Foundation
Semjidmaa Choijil, Executive Director, Mongolian Family Welfare Association
The successful, multiyear Asian Partnership program (initiated in 2008), co-funded by the KDI School of Public Policy and Management, led to expanded cooperation with the Korean Development Institute. Based on discussions between Dr. Lim Won-hyuk of KDI, Korea Representative Edward Reed, and Anthea Mulakala, Asia Foundation Malaysia representative and regional advisor on donor relations, in late 2010 The Asia Foundation and KDI signed an MOU for a multi-country, regional research project on Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation (AADC). The aim of the project was to explore and document the aid approaches of nontraditional donors in the Asia region. The initial dialogue series included China, India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, with Korea as the convening country. The concept was based on the fact that a number of countries in the region that were not members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee were engaged in development cooperation efforts, and that this trend was growing. The guiding questions for the project were, What are the modalities of this “nontraditional” aid, how did such cooperation differ from the aid programs of the more advanced economies, and what lessons could be learned from such South-South cooperation?

An important, initial driving force for the project was the fact that Korea was scheduled to host the global 4th High Level Forum on Development
Cooperation, in Busan in late 2011. Successfully hosting this international gathering of aid experts was a high priority for the Korean government. Bringing the experience and views of nontraditional donors as well as their development partners to the Forum was a key goal for the first year of the joint Asia Foundation-KDI project. With the successful achievement of this goal, the project was extended for several more years. In each project year, researchers from selected countries were invited to participate in workshops around Asia to discuss presentations focused on a particular annual theme. The final meeting, an authors workshop, was usually held in Korea with the aim of sharpening the research papers, leading in several cases to published reports. Perhaps a more important development from this multiyear project was the collaborative working relationships built across the region and between the region and Korea. The project further strengthened the Foundation’s reputation as an important national and regional partner for Korea in its development cooperation programs.

AADC 2011
Nontraditional Donor Countries and Development Effectiveness
Participating countries: Korea, China, India, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand
Workshops:
Seoul: December 2–3, 2011 (organizing meeting)
Kuala Lumpur: March 23–24, 2011
Colombo: June 15–17, 2011
Seoul: September 29, 2011 (authors workshop)
Publication: Emerging Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation

AADC 2012
Pro-Poor Growth and Development Cooperation
Participating countries: Korea, China, India, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia
Workshops:
New Delhi: March 5–7, 2012
Beijing: June 27–29, 2012
Seoul: November 1–2, 2012 (authors workshop)

A postworkshop open conference on Rising Inequality in Asia: Asian Strategies for Effective Pro-Poor Growth was held in Seoul on November 2, 2012. Dr. Juzhong Zhuang from the Asian Development Bank gave the keynote speech.
Presentations were also made by Joo Hyung-hwan, deputy minister of strategy and finance, and Asia Foundation vice president for programs Gordon Hein.

**AADC 2013**

**Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Resilience**

**Participating countries:** Korea, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Pacific Islands, Thailand, Vietnam

**Workshops:**
- Seoul: April 11–12, 2013
- Hoi An, Vietnam: August 1–2, 2013
- Bangkok: December 3–4, 2013 (authors workshop)

**AADC 2014**

**Asian Approaches to Social Mobility: Experience, Lessons, and Opportunities for Cooperation**

**Participating countries:** Korea, Australia, Bangladesh, China, India, Malaysia, Mongolia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, United States, Vietnam, and the International Organization for Migration

**Workshops:**
- Colombo: August 21–22, 2014
- Seoul: November 24–25, 2014 (authors workshop)
AADC 2015
The Future of South-South Development Cooperation in Asia
Participating countries: Korea, Australia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)
Workshops:
Phnom Penh: May 27–28, 2015
Jakarta: October 28–29, 2015
Seoul: December 9–10, 2015 (authors’ workshop)

AADC 2016
Partners in Asian Development Cooperation: The Role of Nonstate Actors
Participating countries: Korea, Australia, Bangladesh, China, India, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Thailand, UK, UNDP
Workshops:
Beijing: April 19–20, 2016
New Delhi, August 10–11, 2016
Seoul: November 24–25, 2016 (authors’ workshop)
4th HIGH LEVEL FORUM ON AID EFFECTIVENESS

Busan, November 29–December 1, 2011

Successfully hosting this most important global gathering of international leaders focused on development cooperation was a high priority for the Korean government as the newest member of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD. Participation by world leaders, including the U.S. Secretary of State, added to the significance and high-stakes. The Asia Foundation’s partnership with key planners and actors in this undertaking put the Foundation at the center of the action. David Arnold, the new President of the Foundation, signaled the importance of the event for The Asia Foundation as a whole by his personal participation. Throughout 2011, The Asia Foundation contributed to Korea’s preparation for hosting the High Level Forum by sponsoring special presentations on key issues, supporting preparations by Korean NGOs, and organizing, with KDI, the series of regional workshops on Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation described above.
Pre–High Level Forum Seminars on Aid Effectiveness  
*(Cosponsored by the Korea Association of International Development and Cooperation)*

April 6–7, 2011

**Professor Kenneth King**, University of Edinburgh, spoke at a forum, organized by Yonsei University, on China’s expanding role in development cooperation in Africa. He also addressed officials of the Export-Import Bank of Korea on implications of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

May 26–27, 2011

**Professor Carol Lancaster**, Acting Dean of the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, gave the keynote address at a panel, “Does Asian ODA Differ Significantly from that of the West?” hosted and organized by Ewha Womans University, the Organizing Office for the Busan HLF-4, and KOICA.

October 13–14, 2011

**Professor Stephen Howes**, Director of the Development Policy Centre at Australian National University, spoke at Busan National University on the topic, “Significance of the Aid Effectiveness Debate and the High Level Forum in Busan.” He also spoke to staff of the Korean Export-Import Bank.

Asia Foundation Participation in the Busan High Level Forum

The Asia Foundation’s delegation to the High Level Forum was led by President David Arnold and included Gordon Hein, Vice President for Programs, Anthea Mulakala, and Edward Reed. The Foundation, together with KDI and the Korean Association for International Development and Cooperation, hosted two major events in Busan.

With additional support from KOICA and the Export-Import Bank of Korea, a pre-forum conference was held on November 28, 2011, on the theme *Toward a Global Compact for Development Effectiveness.*

Presenters included:
Richard Carey, former Director for Development Cooperation, OECD, and former Cochair, China-DAC Study Group, OECD
Homi Kharas, Deputy Director, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution
Raelyn Campbell, Senior Program Officer, Asia-Pacific Region, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
Charles Gore, Special Coordinator for Cross-sectoral Issues, Division for Africa, LDCs, and Special Programmes, UNCTAD
Akio Hosono, Director, Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI)
Christoph Beier, Managing Director, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
Xiaoyun Li, Professor, China Agricultural University

The Foundation also hosted the conference luncheon, where David Arnold gave the keynote talk on The Asia Foundation’s approach to addressing development issues in Asia.

On November 29, as part of the official program, The Asia Foundation, together with KDI and Vietnam’s Ministry of Planning and Investment, organized a special High Level Forum side event on the theme Emerging Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation, and distributed a book of the same title, which included the papers that resulted from the yearlong, multicountry project. David Arnold moderated the forum and made opening remarks. Project participants from China, India, Vietnam, and Korea gave presentations, while AusAID Director General Peter Baxter provided commentary. More than 250 delegates participated in the forum, making it one of the most popular special-sessions.

KOREAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY (KOICA) PARTNERSHIP

Following the PAD mandate to focus on facilitating Korea’s contribution to development in the less advanced economies of Asia, The Asia Foundation actively sought collaboration with Korea’s two official development cooperation agencies: the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), operating under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and managing the grant program, and the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF),
the soft loan program of the Export-Import Bank under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Strategy and Finance. Dialogue was initiated with senior officials in both agencies, representatives from the agencies were invited as experts to Foundation-sponsored conferences, and agency staff were given priority in the fellowship and study trip projects described above.

The first funding agreements with KOICA took the form of fee-for-service activities, in which KOICA contracted with the Foundation to provide expertise for two of its programs. In January 2008, Rod Brazier, Asia Foundation Cambodia representative, and Barbara Groth, Asia Foundation assistant director of public sector development services, made presentations in a workshop for 20 staff of KOICA and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade on the topic of partnerships between bilateral aid agencies and NGOs, drawing on the Foundation’s direct experience. In January 2009, KOICA contracted with the Foundation to provide experts for an expanded workshop/seminar for some 100 staff from the same two agencies plus the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, the EDCF, representatives of Korean development NGOs, and academics. This two-day workshop on “Best Practices in Developing Country Assistance Strategies” was planned and presented by the following Foundation staff: Bruce Tolentino, director of economic reform and development, Anthea Mulakala, Malaysia country representative, Erman Rahman, Indonesia Office director for economic programs, and Edward Reed.

KOICA Partnership for Local Economic Governance Project in Sri Lanka

The Korea Office sustained a dialogue with KOICA regarding funding support for Foundation projects in Asia through several changes in KOICA leadership. The major issue was that KOICA had never provided grant funding to an international nongovernmental organization, and government regulations seemed to forbid such funding. This was the critical point at which personal interventions at the ministry level by members of the FOTAF board, in particular Minister Lee Hong-koo and Ambassador Han Sung-Joo, helped move the process along. Ultimately, a determination was made that the Foundation could be classified as an “international development agency,” and thus qualify for support from KOICA. Later, in 2015, the legal status of the Foundation’s Korea Office was changed, from foreign nongovernmental aid
organization to local office of an international NGO, through which new lines of KOICA funding could be channeled. This meant a more solid basis for the Foundation to receive Korean government funding. However, by making the Korea Office the middleman in the funding process, it created much more work for the office, for which there was no compensation in the Korean grants.

Meanwhile, The Asia Foundation worked intensely with KOICA staff (some of whom had participated in Foundation fellowship and study trip programs) to identify Foundation country programs in Asia that might qualify for KOICA support. Since it was one of KOICA’s high-priority partner countries in Asia, Sri Lanka was identified as the first country for a funding partnership between KOICA and The Asia Foundation. In December 2011, an MOU was signed for the launch of a collaborative, KOICA–Asia Foundation, three-year project that enabled the Foundation to work on a range of special issues related to regional economic development at the sub-national level in Sri Lanka, particularly innovative approaches to revenue generation through private-public partnership opportunities focused on regional economic development in five post-conflict locations in the Eastern Province. Project implementation was managed by the Foundation’s Sri Lanka Office, while KOICA provided five hundred thousand dollars of funding, as well as technical assistance. An AusAID grant to the
Sri Lanka Office enabled the Foundation to undertake complementary local economic governance work throughout the rest of the country.

After the successful implementation of the KOICA-funded Sri Lanka project, the Korea Office discussed with KOICA extending this same funding arrangement to other Foundation projects in Asia, including Bangladesh and Mongolia.

**KOICA Partnership Women’s Business Center Project in Mongolia**

As The Asia Foundation’s collaboration with KOICA progressed, both in Korea and in aid-receiving countries in Asia, other opportunities for collaboration emerged. In 2015, after preliminary conversations with the KOICA country office in Mongolia, Meloney Lindberg, the Foundation’s Mongolia country representative, and Dylan Davis, newly appointed Korea country representative, met with senior KOICA staff in Seoul and secured support for an innovative Asia Foundation Mongolia project supporting women entrepreneurs. The Foundation’s proposal was selected for funding through a third-party-experts screening process organized by KOICA. Finally, on July 6, 2016, The Asia Foundation, in partnership with KOICA and the City of Ulaanbaatar, launched Ulaanbaatar’s first Women’s Business Center and Incubator to empower female entrepreneurs. The Foundation assembled a public-private partnership to provide finance, business, and marketing training to the burgeoning female business community of Ulaanbaatar. The pilot project will last three years and create a supportive environment for women entrepreneurs to start new businesses and grow existing small businesses. The business center also offers training programs, business consultancy services, and networking opportunities. Additionally, the incubator provides a select group of women with specialized training and professional mentoring. KOICA provides financial support to the Ulaanbaatar Women’s Business Center through its Civil Society Organizations Partnership Program (CPP).

The multi-year process of negotiating partnerships with KOICA led to a new organizational relationship between The Foundation and KOICA. Instead of KOICA country offices considering proposals submitted by various Foundation offices around the region, the Korea Office was designated by KOICA as another channel for submission of Foundation proposals, release of funding, and submission of reports. This was made possible by changing
the registration of the Korea Office, from field office of an international NGO to domestic development NGO. This arrangement has created the basis for future funding partnerships with KOICA and other Korean aid agencies. It has also required major changes in the programming, budgeting, and reporting procedures in the Korea Office. Fortunately, the Korea Office’s experienced
veteran staff, Director of Programs Lee Kyung-sook and Finance Manager Lim Eun-young, have met the new challenges with a high level of professionalism.

During this same period, a parallel dialogue between The Asia Foundation and the Ministry of Strategy and Finance led to the Ministry’s recommendation that the Foundation apply for funding, for projects in developing Asian countries, to the Korea Trust Funds established at the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. The Korea Office worked closely with Foundation headquarters to test this possible new source of funding. However, various technicalities related to the Foundation’s nongovernmental status foreclosed this option, at least for the time being.

CONVENER OF DIALOGUES IN A CHANGING REGION

Throughout this period, the Korea Office continued to sponsor various activities to foster dialogue on critical issues among regional actors in Northeast Asia and the subregions of Asia. Many of these activities are listed below. In 2012, the Foundation formalized this role by giving the Korea Office a leadership role in working with other Foundation offices and actors to organize regional programs for addressing critical political, economic, and social issues. From the beginning, it was envisioned that the participation of North Korea in these regional programs would be a priority. However, given the difficult political climate, it has not been possible to arrange North Korea’s participation.

Public forum on Korea-China relations, June 13, 2006, Seoul
Borders and Human Security in Northeast Asia
April 6, 2005
(Cosponsored by the Monterey Institute and the Ilmin Institute of International Studies)
Robert Scalapino and regional scholars discussed issues related to migration and human security in Korea, Japan, and China.

Northeast Asia Youth Peace Forum: “Beyond History of Conflicts”
August 15–19, 2005
(Cosponsored with the Korea Sharing Movement)
Organized to promote mutual understanding and cooperation among NGO representatives from Japan, China, Russia, the United States, and Korea.

China and Korea: Partners or Competitors?
June 13, 2006
(Co-organized with the Samsung Economic Research Institute)
Experts from Korea, China, and the United States discussed strategic bilateral issues.

East Asia Community-Building
November 29, 2006
Experts from the region discussed the economic, political, and sociocultural dimensions of building an East Asian community.

Southeast Asia and Korea: Expanding Influence and Relations
March 19–21, 2008
(Co-organized with the Center of East West Studies, Yonsei University, and with support from the Pacific Century Institute and the Korea Foundation)
The climax of a nine-month research project coordinated by former Korea representative David Steinberg, the conference focused on the expanding range of interests and relationships between Korea and the countries of Southeast Asia. The keynote address was given by Asia Foundation trustee and ASEAN secretariat-general Surin Pitsuwan.

Protecting the Environment and Enhancing Economic Growth: Practical Approaches in Asia
October 30, 2008
(Cosponsored by the KDI School of Public Policy and Management and the Korea Business Council for Sustainable Development)
Experts from throughout the region analyzed factors underlying environmental problems and identified best practices for addressing them.

The Past, Present, and Future of Territorial Disputes in East Asia
May 10–11, 2012
(Cosponsored with the Northeast Asia History Foundation)
Some of the difficult territorial disputes in East Asia were discussed by scholars from China, Japan, Korea, Russia, and the United States.

Implementing Appropriate Green Growth Strategies and Policies at the Municipal Level
Ulaanbaatar, September 21–22, 2015
Participants included mayors, heads of delegations, and representatives from six Northeast Asian countries: China, Japan, North Korea, Mongolia, Russia, and South Korea.

KOREA-U.S. DIALOGUES AND CONFERENCES

While shifting the primary focus of the program to development cooperation in Asia, the Korea Office continued to play a role in facilitating dialogue and the sharing of perspectives between Koreans and Americans on selected critical issues. Meanwhile, between 2005 and 2011, much of the Foundation’s bilateral dialogue program was carried forward by the Center for U.S.-Korea Policy, headed by former country representative Scott Snyder. This initiative, based in the Foundation’s Washington D.C. Office, organized forums and produced publications focusing primarily on strategic economic and political issues in the U.S.-Korea relationship. In September 2011, the Center moved to the Council on Foreign Relations, where Snyder has continued his program as Senior Fellow for Korea Studies and Director of the Council’s program on U.S.-Korea policy. (A complete list of the studies produced by the center through 2011 can be found here: http://asiafoundation.org/tag/center-for-u-s-korea-policy/.)

The following is a partial list of the events focusing on U.S.-Korea relations that the Korea Office sponsored during this period.

First-term members of the Korean National Assembly study trip to the United States
April 5–13, 2005
The Korea Office organized a multicity study tour of the United States for six first-term members of the Korean National Assembly. The group visited the district office of a U.S. House Representative as well as congressional offices and government agencies in Washington, D.C.

Young Korean media professionals study trip to the United States
November 11–21, 2004
Five young Korean media professionals participated in a study tour of
the United States. They engaged in dialogue with media counterparts and policymakers in San Francisco, Pittsburgh, and Washington, DC.

**Policy Forum on New Areas of Cooperation in the U.S.-Korea Alliance**
November 4, 2009
The Asia Foundation’s Center for U.S.-Korea Policy and the Korea Office hosted a joint seminar to assess prospects for expanding the U.S.-ROK alliance into new areas of cooperation.

**Workshop on Influence and Role of Domestic Stakeholders in the U.S.-ROK Alliance**
February 22, 2010
The Korea Office, the Center for U.S.-Korea Policy, and the East Asia Institute (EAI) hosted a joint workshop on the role and influence on the bilateral alliance of the media and business sectors and the legislative bodies in the two countries.

**U.S.-Korea Dialogue on Strategies for Effective Development Cooperation**
October 17–18, 2011
(Cosponsored with FOTAF and the Korea Foundation)
Participants including representatives of KOICA and USAID, plus U.S. and Korean development experts, exchanged analysis and lessons on best practices in international development cooperation.
WOMEN'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

The role of women in Korean society has long been a focus of the Korea Office. Early in the period under review, this theme was identified as a separate program focus, particularly related to women’s political participation and the sexual exploitation of women. Several activities implemented under this rubric are listed below. After 2006, the focus on women’s role was treated as a crosscutting issue to be emphasized in all Foundation programs. The emergence of development cooperation as a major program focus presented an opportunity for women to play an expanded role in the Foundation’s programs. Women academics and government officials, who have been prominent in advancing Korea’s role as an aid provider, became natural partners for the Foundation. In particular, the Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) continued to be an important partner and advisor on Foundation programs focusing on the role of women in development. It should also be noted that women staff in Korean development agencies and NGOs and women in graduate programs constituted more than 70 percent of the participants in the Foundation’s various regional study trips and fellowships that focused on development issues.

Publication, Introduction to Women and Politics
2005
The Foundation supported the development and publication (in Korean) of this textbook for use as an information source in university courses and by the general public. Eight universities had adopted the textbook by 2006.

Korea-Philippines exchange on sex-trafficking
2005
The Korea Office, in cooperation with the Asia Foundation office in the Philippines, arranged for two Philippine-based counselors of trafficked women to spend four months in Korea observing the working conditions and needs of Filipino women living around U.S. military bases. Their findings provided input to programs for women in counseling programs in the Philippines.

Combating Sexual Exploitation and Human Trafficking: International Comparisons
September 21, 2005
The Korea Office and Korea Women’s Associations United co-organized an
international symposium for Korean women leaders to evaluate Korea’s anti-sex-trafficking law and to provide comparative analysis with similar efforts in Australia, Japan, Sweden, and the Philippines.

**Expert Group meeting on gender and development and the “Portraits of Leadership” exhibit**
April 24–27, 2007
The Korea Office supported the Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) in organizing this regional gathering of women leaders, including the participation of Carol H. Yost, director of The Asia Foundation’s Women’s Empowerment Program. In conjunction with the meeting, the Foundation’s exhibit of “Portraits of Leadership: Women Changing the Face of Asia” was displayed and discussed.

**PRACTICAL COOPERATION WITH NORTH KOREA**

The tragedy of the divided Korean peninsula, and the challenges posed by a hostile North Korea, have been important concerns for the Foundation’s Korea program for several decades. Although it remains a closed and repressive society, North Korea has given some signals that it is open to international engagement in practical ways that might contribute to its gradual economic transition. The Asia Foundation has supported a quiet approach that fosters greater contact between North Korea and the international sphere and encourages economic change. The level of Foundation programming concerning North Korea depends on the overall political environment on the peninsula, North Korea’s openness to engagement with U.S. partners, and the availability of private funding.

In April 2005, the Foundation’s senior vice president, Barnett Baron, and Edward Reed visited Pyongyang at the invitation of the Flood Damage Rehabilitation Committee, the first visit by Foundation staff in a number of years. During this visit, collaboration in a number of areas was discussed, including agriculture, English-language education, legal training, and continuation of shipments of English-language books to North Korean educational institutions. Resumption of activities related to North Korea was made possible by a generous and flexible grant from the Henry Luce Foundation. This grant provided $375,000 for the period March 2005–December 2011.
Support for Agricultural Development

Building on earlier projects in the 1990s, The Asia Foundation continued to engage North Korea in the area of increasing agricultural productivity. The Foundation arranged for Professor John Duxbury, a soil scientist from Cornell University, to visit Pyongyang in November 2005, accompanied by Edward Reed. Dr. Duxbury met with specialists at the Korean Academy of Agricultural Sciences (KAAS), where he gave a short presentation and discussed possible collaboration between Cornell and the Academy. Following this visit, the Cornell University Department of Agriculture and Life Sciences, with support from the Foundation, arranged shipment to the Academy of The Essential Electronic Agricultural Library (TEEAL), a full-text, searchable database of articles from more than 425 high-quality research journals in agriculture and the related sciences.

Following this visit, the Foundation organized a visit to Cornell University, from December 2 to 10, 2005, for six North Korean scientists from the Academy. The visit focused on soil rehabilitation in particular, and the University’s approach to research and teaching in agriculture and life sciences more generally. The group was accompanied by Moon Chun-sang, from the Korea Office, and Ben Leslie, from the Asian-American Exchange Program based at Foundation headquarters.
The next step was a proposal from Cornell University for several North Korean agricultural scientists to spend up to six months at Cornell pursuing joint agricultural research on soil health and other issues with Cornell scientists. This invitation was delivered by Jim Haldeman, a Cornell administrator responsible for international exchanges, on a visit to Pyongyang in June 2006 accompanied by Barnett Baron and Edward Reed. Although the Academy expressed strong interest, and steps were taken to move forward, it was impossible to follow through with this plan, due to a change in the political climate.

In response to these developments, the Foundation shifted to basing agricultural cooperation with North Korea in the Asia region. With support from the Foundation, the China National Rice Research Institute in Hangzhou organized a workshop on System of Rice Intensification (SRI), a method of rice cultivation that requires less fertilizer and irrigation. The North Korean Agricultural Academy had shown strong interest in this concept. The three-day workshop (February 28–March 2, 2010) was attended by four rice scientists from North Korea’s KAAS. Detailed presentations were made by scientists from China’s Heilongjiang province, which borders North Korea and shares similar soil and climatic conditions. A recognized expert on SRI, Professor Norman Uphoff of Cornell University, was a key resource at the workshop. As practical follow-up to the workshop, two visits to HelongJiang by North Korean agricultural scientists were organized in May and October of 2010 to enable the Koreans to observe SRI practices in both planting and harvest seasons. Moon Chun-sang from the Korea Office traveled to China to facilitate these activities.

The Asia Foundation also facilitated consultations between the North Korean KAAS and the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines. The Foundation provided support for a senior KAAS scientist to visit IRRI in April 2010 to discuss scientific collaboration. Also with Foundation support, a KAAS delegation participated in the Third International Rice Congress held in Hanoi in November of that year.

**Dialogue with U.S. Nongovernmental Organizations**

U.S. NGO support for humanitarian and relief programs in North Korea had declined in the early 2000s. In response to a request by North Korea’s Flood Damage Rehabilitation Committee, the Foundation organized a study tour to
the United States by a four-person FDRC delegation in April 2005. The purpose was to meet with representatives of U.S. humanitarian organizations that had provided aid to North Korea in the past, to explore prospects for resuming cooperation. The delegation, accompanied by Foundation staff, visited several cities, and the tour culminated with a dialogue with NGOs in New York.

The Korea Office also on several occasions organized workshops in South Korea bringing together Korean, U.S., and other international NGOs implementing humanitarian programs in North Korea. The purpose was to share information about conditions in the North and perspectives on the challenges of delivering humanitarian aid to those in need in North Korea.

North Korea U.S. Visit Focused on Economic Issues

The Foundation, along with the University of California’s Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) and the Asia Society, hosted a two-week (March 20–April 3, 2011) observation trip to the United States for a group of 12 mid-level North Korean officials. The visitors represented key ministries and institutions in North Korea that deal with economic planning, international trade, and foreign investment. The program included a workshop at the IGCC and field visits to businesses and industrial sites in San Diego, San Francisco, and New York City.

Legal Training for North Korean Officials

The Foundation organized two, week-long seminars in Hong Kong (the first in December 2013 and the second in June 2014) for North Korean legal professionals on the theme of “Increasing Knowledge of the Rule of Law Principles.” Professors Jerome Cohen of New York University and Dean Johannes Chan of Hong Kong University were key partners in organizing the seminars. The project aim was to improve the understanding of international legal frameworks and processes related to international trade and foreign investment. Topics covered included business law and legal institutions, settlement of disputes, arbitration, court adjudication, legal education, and dispute resolution. Altogether, 17 North Koreans participated in the two seminars.
Donation of Books to North Korean Libraries

The Books for Asia program for North Korea, which began in 1996, continued throughout this period with annual donations. The Grand People’s Study House (the national library) continued to receive the bulk of the donations, but special allotments also went to Kimchaek University and Kim Il Sung University, as well as to colleges in provincial capitals. In addition to their educational value, these book shipments provided the opportunity for fairly regular Asia Foundation staff visits to Pyongyang. During the most recent visit, in September 2013, Foundation vice president Gordon Hein, Books for Asia director Melody Zavala, and Korea representative Peter Beck were able to confirm the arrival and distribution of books, and also engaged in dialogue with North Korean counterparts regarding other collaborative projects. Between 1996 and 2015, over 200,000 volumes were delivered to North Korean libraries.
 Assistance to North Korean Women Migrants in South Korea

The vast majority of North Koreans who have sought refuge in South Korea are women. Recognizing this, in 2011 The Asia Foundation provided technical assistance to the Coalition for North Korean Women’s Rights (CNKRW), through the project, “Vocational, Entrepreneurial, and Leadership Training for North Korean Female Refugees.” The vocational training program, supported by the U.S. government, assisted some 90 North Korean migrant women, mostly in their 30s and 40s, through on-site training at workplaces. The program was divided into three components: (1) textiles (sewing machines), (2) cosmetology (skincare), and (3) window-blind manufacture. Most participants then went on to regular employment that allowed them to better adapt to life in South Korea.

In another program, eight young North Korean women migrants were provided scholarships to study at the prestigious Ewha Womans University. The scholarships were granted by The Stephen and Maria Kahng foundation based in California. The Korea Office managed the scholarship fund, implemented the selection process, and monitored the students’ progress. Meanwhile, with another generous grant from the YBM Language Institute,
North Korea’s Economic Transition: Lessons from Asia

The Asia Foundation and the Asan Institute for Policy Studies conducted a yearlong research project to explore lessons that might be relevant to North Korea if it were to choose the path toward a more open and prosperous economy. The first seminar was held in Ulaanbaatar, July 22–23, 2013, and focused on the experiences and lessons of Northeast Asian economies, particularly Mongolia and China. The seminar was hosted by the Mongolian Development Research Center and included participants from China, Mongolia, South Korea, and the United States. A second seminar was held in Hanoi, September 5–6, hosted by the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. Development specialists and government officials from seven countries (China, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, Taiwan, South Korea, and the United States) made presentations and shared perspectives on lessons from transitional economies in Southeast Asia. Selected papers from the seminar were published by the Asan Institute. The project papers were made available to North Korean counterparts in a separate meeting.
60TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

On November 6, 2014, The Asia Foundation marked its 60th anniversary with a special, daylong event and dinner in Seoul, hosted by former South Korean foreign minister Han Sung-Joo, Chairman Hong Seok-Hyun of JoongAng Media Network, and former South Korean minister of science and technology Kim Jin-Hyun. Speakers included Asia Foundation chairman David M. Lampton and Ambassador Michael H. Armacost. Events included a roundtable on “America’s Role in Asia: The Implications of America’s Rebalancing Policy to Asia,” a panel discussion featuring former Asia Foundation Korea representatives, and a celebratory dinner featuring an address by Ambassador Armacost. About 200 people from government, academia, research institutes, and NGOs attended the dinner.

About The Asia Foundation Korea Office

Representatives

Edward P. Reed, Representative (2004–2011)

Ed Reed arrived in Seoul in October 2004 to replace Scott Snyder as Korea Office representative. He would eventually become The Asia Foundation’s longest continuously serving Korea representative. Ed had served in Korea with the Peace Corps, subsequently pursuing a doctorate in Korean rural development, and later working to provide humanitarian assistance to the DPRK. He was well versed in Korean culture and history, with a vast knowledge of Korea’s development trajectories and North Korea issues.

Ed arrived at a critical time for the Korea Office, which was redefining its role in a nation that had now emerged as an advanced, developed economy. His main task was to move the office from its previous focus on in-country development assistance toward a new
resource partnership with the ROK, supporting programs in other, developing Asian countries. Ed sought to reintroduce the Korea Office to Korean society as a credible development partner, a task at which he was successful. With help from the Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea, he established priorities for raising private and public funds, and developed several new programs addressing the needs of Korea as an emerging donor country.

Ed’s tenure was marked by several new programs supported by funds from the Korean government. Two of the most prominent, both funded by the Korea Development Institute (KDI), were the International Development Cooperation Capacity Building Program, launched in 2008 and continuing as of 2017, and the Asian Approaches to Development Cooperation (AADC) dialogue series, which began in 2011 and became one of the Asia Foundation’s signature programs. He was also successful in establishing a working relationship with the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), which, after a two-year effort by the Korea Office, made its first grant to an international NGO in support of an Asia Foundation project in Sri Lanka. The MOU was signed just the day before Ed resigned from the Korea Office in December 2011, and would open the door to more KOICA funding opportunities for the Asia Foundation.
Peter Beck, Representative (2012–2014)

Peter Beck arrived in late December 2011 to replace Ed Reed as Korea Office representative, and served about two and a half years, through June 2014. A specialist in North Korea and the Korean Peninsula, Peter laid the groundwork for potential expansion of programs related to North Korea while continuing to reinforce the Foundation’s contributions in South Korea.

Upon his departure, former executive vice president Allen Choate served briefly as acting country representative, as did Senior Program Officer Lee Kyung-sook until a full time representative was appointed.

Dylan Davis (2015–present)

Dylan Davis assumed the role of Korea Office representative in March 2015. Dylan had extensive professional experience focused on Korea and its development, working in-country with government and academic institutions. His experience included a Fulbright grant in Korea and positions at Yonsei University Health System (Severance Hospital), the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, and the University of California, Berkeley, where he served as program director of the Center for Korean Studies. With this background, he arrived at the Asia Foundation with a solid grounding in the history, networks, and culture of Korea.

Over a period of two years, and at the time of this publication, Dylan has led the Korea office through a series of intensive outreach activities, events, and projects that have expanded and deepened the Foundation’s donor partnerships in Korea and funding for projects across the Foundation, strengthened Korea’s international development assistance, and raised the overall visibility and role of the Korea Office in fostering regional cooperation.
Korean Staff

As it embraced its new role and its new mandate to raise resources in Korea, the Korea Office hired Cho So-young in 2003 to help prepare the Office’s 50th anniversary celebration and to assume responsibility for public relations and outreach. So-young managed relations with the newly established Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea, and helped the Korea Office develop strategies to raise funds from the public and private sectors. After about nine and a half years, So-young left the Korea Office in January 2012 and emigrated from South Korea to the United States.

Following the successful tenures of three Program Officers: Ban Seon-yong, Moon Chun-sang, and Min Yoo-kyeung—Lee Sunmee took on the role and assumed responsibility for the International Development Cooperation Capacity Building Program funded by the KDI School in 2012.

Two long-serving staff members, Lee Kyung-sook and Lim Eun-young, remain important and valuable assets to the Korea Office. Kyung-sook, who joined the office in 1984, was promoted to Director of Programs in 2015 after holding several positions. Eun-young, who joined the Foundation in 1991, is now the Finance and Administration Manager.

Lee Hyun-jung, Secretary, 2002-2008
Lee Bora, Secretary, 2008-2011
Han Eun-hye, Secretary (now Executive Assistant/Exchanges), 2011-Present

Moon Chun-sang, Program Officer, 2001-2011
Ban Seon-yong, Program Officer, 2003-2007
Min Yoo-kyeung, Program Officer, 2010-2011
Lee Sunmee, Program Officer, 2013- Present
Lee Ji-eun, *External Relations Officer*, 2012-2015  
Bang Min, *External Relations Officer*, 2015-Present  
Lee Sunmee, *Program Assistant*, 2012-2013  
Choi Jongbeom, *Program Assistant*, 2016-Present  

**Short-Term Contract Staff**  
Park Soo-mee, *Public Affairs Officer*, February 2009–September 2010  

After 12 years in a private house in the Hwa-dong residential area, the house was sold and the Korea Office had to move. In July 2005, the office was relocated near Insadong, to the Bunam building at 447 Samil-daero, Jongno-gu.
Other Events of Interest

In July 2015, The Asia Foundation Korea Office changed its legal status to *branch office of a corporate body* after about 60 years as a *foreign nongovernmental aid organization*.

When the Korea Office was established in 1954, it was registered with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare as a nongovernmental aid organization, based on the Foreign Nongovernmental Aid Organizations Act, which was established to encourage foreign aid NGOs to help restore Korea after the Korean War. Over 40 foreign-aid NGOs that were active in the early years eventually left Korea, and among the handful that remained, The Asia Foundation was the only U.S. organization.

In early 2015, the Korea Office was informed by the Ministry of Health and Welfare that the government had decided to abolish the Foreign Nongovernmental Aid Organizations Act, since Korea had attained economic development and been transformed from an aid recipient to an aid donor. The Korea Office now holds the legal status of a Korean NGO.
Conclusion
Looking Ahead:
Korea and The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation has a long history in Korea. Throughout the past 60+ years, the Foundation has served as a witness to Korea’s development, and partnered with individuals and institutions alike through extraordinarily difficult periods of national division, poverty, political repression, and ultimately, democratic transformation. Korea entered the twenty-first century as a nation free from foreign assistance, ready to take on a leadership role in Asia. With its thriving economy, technological advancement, and strong democratic institutions, Korea is respected throughout the world as a model of successful political, economic, and social development.

In 1951, at the height of the Korean War, a shipment of newsprint was delivered to the Port of Busan to be used in printing textbooks for Korean schoolchildren. This was the first project of The Asia Foundation in Korea, and it led to decades of Foundation support for rebuilding and strengthening education and democratic institutions in Korea. More recently, the Foundation partnered with the Korea Development Institute School of Policy and Management to host a visit to Korea by parliamentarians and NGO representatives from Myanmar to share Korea’s experience in the formation of its own legislative system, all at a time when Korea was facing the challenge of its first impeached president, some three decades after the country moved from authoritarian rule to genuine democracy. Meanwhile, between 1998 and 2017, the Foundation shipped more than 200,000 English-language textbooks and other education materials to universities and libraries in North Korea.

These examples illustrate the endurance of The Asia Foundation’s partnership with Korea, and the evolution of our programs to respond to the radically changing circumstances on the Korean Peninsula. Guided by a local board of former grantees and prominent leaders in Korea, known as Friends of The Asia Foundation (FOTAF), the Foundation now works with Korean civil society, private corporations, government, and governmental organizations to introduce other nations to Korea’s experience. At the same time, we provide opportunities for Korean development assistance experts to deepen their understanding of other societies through study visits and research fellowships based in Asia Foundation offices in developing Asian countries.
While the Korean Peninsula remains divided, The Asia Foundation will continue to prepare for effective and responsive political, social, humanitarian, and economic engagement with the DPRK in ways that will foster contact between the DPRK and the ROK as well as other nations. Given the current alignment of political and strategic factors, the Foundation is convinced that this approach has the best chance of improving the lives of ordinary North Korean people in the future. Additionally, engagement offers the opportunity for quiet, unofficial dialogue that will eventually help improve the welfare of its people and encourage economic reform and opening.

Korea is the fourth-largest economy in Asia and a member of the OECD Development Assistance Committee. Although the Foundation’s role in Korea has changed dramatically, its commitment to Korea has not. Korea has accomplished many development goals, including forming aid agencies of its own. The Korea Development Institute (KDI), the KDI School, and the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), all partners of the Foundation, are shining examples of such organizations.

Looking ahead, The Asia Foundation will continue to work closely with the private and public sectors in Korea to support programs in developing Asia similar to those we formally supported in Korea itself — building strong institutions in various sectors, including international relations, civil society, women’s empowerment, higher education, and economic development — but now working in partnership with Korea as a force for positive change in the region.

Dylan Davis
Country Representative, Korea
The Asia Foundation

Han Sung-Joo
Chairman
Friends of The Asia Foundation Korea
Appendices
About The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation is a nonprofit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, our work across the region addresses five overarching goals—strengthen governance, empower women, expand economic opportunity, increase environmental resilience, and promote regional cooperation.

Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries and in Washington, DC. Working with public and private partners, the Foundation receives funding from a diverse group of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, foundations, corporations, and individuals. In 2016, we provided $87.8 million in direct program support and distributed textbooks and other educational materials valued at $9.5 million.

For more information about The Asia Foundation, visit www.asiafoundation.org. For more information about the Korea Office of The Asia Foundation, visit www.asiafoundation.or.kr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Washington, DC</th>
<th>Korea Office</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><a href="mailto:country.korea.general@asiafoundation.org">country.korea.general@asiafoundation.org</a></td>
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</table>
The Asia Foundation

Korea Office Staff (2017)

Dylan Davis
Representative

Lee Kyung-sook
Director of Programs

Lim Eun-young
Finance & Administration Manager

Lee Sunmee
Program Officer

Bang Min
External Relations Officer

Choi Jongbeom
Program Assistant

Han Eun-hye
Executive Assistant/Exchanges
The Asia Foundation

Representatives in Korea

Philip Rowe                                    Christopher J. Sigur

Mary Walker                                    Benjamin Kremenak

Lawrence G. Thompson                           Tam B. Ormiston

John E. James                                  David I. Steinberg

William E. Eilers                              C. Kenneth Quinones

David I. Steinberg                             Scott Snyder

John A. Bannigan                               Edward Reed

Frank E. Dines                                 Peter Beck

Lindley S. Sloan                               Dylan Davis

Benjamin Kremenak                              Dylan Davis
1976–1981
Assistant Representatives

Thomas Colahan 1958–1960
Robert Levine 1965–1967

Frank E. Dines 1961–1963
Stephen Fuller 1988–1990

William McDougal 1963–1965
SIX DECADES OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION IN KOREA

Characterizing 60 years of continuous operations of any organization is an ambitious task. Attempting to do so in a nation that has witnessed fundamental and dynamic change is even more challenging. The Asia Foundation is unique among foreign private organizations in Korea in that it has maintained a presence here for more than 60 years, and, throughout, has responded to the tumultuous and vibrant times by adapting to Korea’s own transformation. The achievement of this balance, adapting to changing needs and assisting in the preservation of Korean identity while simultaneously responding to regional and global trends, has made The Asia Foundation’s work in Korea singular.

David Steinberg, Korea Representative
1963-68, 1994-98