Transition from Far Eastern/Eastern/ East Asian Studies to Korean Studies:

Focusing on the Practice of Korean Humanities
Institutes in Their Early Period*

KIM Hyun-ju

Abstract

In the context of the establishment of Korean studies, this paper reviews the practices and development of university research institutions that led the way toward production of humanities knowledge in support of the historical and cultural identity of Koreans after the Korean War. Studies on Korea, which had previously been defined within the three different but interrelated regional perspectives, such as Far Eastern, Eastern, or East Asian, gradually came to be independent from these regional study groups with the formation of Korean studies. Along with this move came the decline and loss of regional views, the blooming and subsequent peripheralization of culturalist Korean linguistics which succeeded the tradition of Joseon studies formed in the colonial period. To a large extent, the separation of Korean Studies, driven by university humanities research institutes in the 1960s and 1970s, transformed the terrain and character of discourse on humanities.

Keywords: university research institutes, humanities, U.S.-centered paradigm of regional studies, China-centered cultural paradigm, Korean studies

KIM Hyun-ju is Associate Professor at the Department of Korean Language and Literature, Yonsei University. She received her Ph.D. in Korean Literature from Yonsei University in 2002. E-mail: hjkimw@yonsei.ac.kr.

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Institutionalization of Korean Studies and the Status of University Research Institutes

The institutional foundation for the production of humanities knowledge aimed at supporting the identity and ideology of Korea as an independent nation-state developed over two decades from the time of national liberation to the mid-1960s. First of all, between 1945 and 1948, Colleges of Liberal Arts (and Sciences) with key humanities departments (Korean language and literature, history, and philosophy) and Korean studies-related majors were established at Seoul National University and several private universities. During the Korean war period, those departments and majors generated important academic organizations, which claim high academic authority and influence even today. The Korean Historical Association was founded in March 1952, the Society of Korean Language and Literature in December 1952, and the Korean Philosophical Association in October 1953. The establishment of university research institutes followed. The Institute of Far Eastern Studies (IFES) was set up at Yonsei University in 1953 and published its flagship journal Dongbang hakji (Journal of Korean Studies) the next year. Korea University launched the Korean Classics Translation Committee (KCTC) in 1957, and Sungkyunkwan University proposed the establishment of a research group of far eastern culture in 1957, which materialized as the Far Eastern Research Center (FERC) in 1958. In the mid-1960s, the appointment of faculty and other research staff was systematized to some degree in the fields of Korean language and literature, Korean history, and Korean philosophy, which was followed by a corresponding production of academic discourses within the humanities.

Among those institutional agencies that have produced humanities knowledge on Korea, this paper pays special attention to university research institutes. In the academia of Korean studies, university research institutes have occupied a different status and played a different role from academic departments and associations. They have assumed as their role and responsibility the collection, preservation, and dissemination of Korean studies basic research materials, the

planning and implementation of research requiring a relatively large amount of time and resources, and the organization of conferences and publications for communication of academic discourses. The output has taken various forms—photoprinting and translation of classic materials, publication of dictionaries and research collections, the production of journals, and the organization of seminars and symposiums. By carrying out these projects and programs, the research institutes have offered an arena in which diverse fields and majors involved in the production of knowledge on Korea cooperate and compete with each other, thereby working as vehicles for the collation of all research activities under the umbrella of Korean studies. The institutes have occupied a very special status in the historical progression of Korean studies by defining and constructing Korean studies rather than simply producing knowledge specific to certain disciplines such as Korean literature or Korean history.

However, there have been no historical reviews of how the institutes have formulated their objective significance as agents in the establishment of Korean studies. In the second half of the 2000s, research institutes that represent Korean studies began to publish their own accounts of their research accomplishments. The Institute for Korean Studies (IKS, formerly IFES), Yonsei University, released Yeonse gukhak yeongusa (Research History of Korean Studies at Yeonsei) in 2006; the Research Institute of Korean Studies (RIKS) at Korea University published Minyeon 50 nyeon 1957-2007 (The 50 Year History of RIKS, 1957-2007) in 2007; and the Far Eastern Research Center (FERC) at Sungkyunkwan University produced Daedong munhwa yeonguwon 50 nyeon 1958-2008 (The 50 Year History of the Academy of East Asian Studies, 1958-2008) in 2008 (IKS 2006; RIKS 2007; FERC 2008). Some other research institutes that have existed for a long while have also been compiling records of their experiences and activities. Despite all these developments, existing literature has paid insufficient attention to how to assess the history of university research institutes of Korean studies.

A brief look at the works compiled by the institutes allows us to see that the research institutes have a strong desire for "autobiogra-

phies" delineating the course of their development. Recollecting their past trajectory, they ask themselves such questions as "what were the important goals we set for ourselves?" and "what should we do to realize the goals and to what extent have we been successful in that?" If their accounts are written in the way of answering these questions—whether its goal is to define their work within the framework of Korean studies or East Asian studies—the institutes fall into the trap of portraying their history only as one of steady development, consistent with their intentions and plans, thus yielding discussions that are limited to an exclusive group of participants. Among the problems that may occur from this approach, the greatest limitation of such self-description by the institutes of Korean studies would be their lack of interest in understanding the objective structure of the surrounding circumstances, which exercised a great influence on their selection of goals and their work toward them.

From the inception, the institutes of Korean studies existed in a complex web of institutional and noninstitutional relations and networks inside and outside of the universities with which they were affiliated. They were engaged in institutional and noninstitutional relations with affiliated universities, (para-)governmental agencies, and private academic and cultural foundations in cultivating the research infrastructure (monetary resources and physical space) as well as in identifying and realizing their research objectives. Within universities, they were involved in specific forms of negotiation with administrative, educational, and research organizations and with professors at various levels. Besides, there were other important factors such as cooperative or competitive relations with other similar research institutes, and the support of and exchange with foreign governments, universities, and private academic foundations. In order to prevent a self-centered description of the trajectory of the institutes of Korean studies, it is necessary to look at the objective structure of relations surrounding them. Furthermore, those relations and networks around the institutes were affected by academic ideologies and paradigms as well as by human and material considerations. In order for a historical review of the Korean studies institutes to be

an effective tool for reflexive examination of the establishment of Korean studies and its own assumptions, it must look closely at the ways in which these institutes formulated their *raison d'être* by assembling and disassembling relationships with other academic paradigms of the time.¹

The objective of this paper is to review the characteristics of the initial process that university research institutes used to establish Korean studies in the academia. The time period under review spans from the mid-1950s, when the institutes were founded and began to be active, up until the mid-1960s, when they settled down as institutions within universities and formulated their academic ideology and identity, which continue to exert a great influence today. The focus of the analysis lies in studying the structure of relations that surrounded the institutes of Korean studies and the process by which they constructed the meaning of their own existence within the relationships they developed. These institutes created intricate relationships with private academic assistance organizations in the United States, (affiliated) universities, other departments of liberal arts, including senior and junior professors in those departments, and other research institutes of humanities. Within the relation networks, they formulated and reformulated the value and character of the knowledge they produced—Korean studies—while engaging in and disengaging from specific aspects of earlier study entities: Eastern studies constructed by imperial Japan in the early twentieth century and the culturalist legacy of Joseon studies formed in reaction to it, the U.S.-centered paradigm of regional studies which exercised great influence after World War II, the China-centered cultural paradigm reconstituted under the U.S. hegemony, and foreign studies of the time focusing on research of Western literature, history, and philosophy. My analysis gives special focus to the IFES of Yeonhui College (currently, the Institute for Korean studies at Yonsei University)—which can be considered a model case illustrating the early stage of Korean studies institutes

^{1.} My points on the problems of the analysis framework and the desire prevailing in the "autobiographies" of the three institutes (IKS, RIKS, and AEAS) are based on my argument in my previous paper (H. Kim 2010, 50-54).

since it was established as early as in 1949. In addition, the experiences and practices of university research institutes of other fields will be considered in order to examine the academic history during the formation period of modern Korean humanities.

The Framework of Far Eastern/East Asian Studies versus Korean Studies

The university research institutes that claim to be the birthplaces of Korean studies did not actually use the title of Korean studies in their names at the time of inception. Yonsei University established the Institute of Far Eastern Studies (IFES) in 1953 and published the first volume of Dongbang hakji (Journal of Korean Studies) in 1954, presenting Far Eastern culture and studies as its subject of research. The Research Institute of Korean studies at Korea University (RIKS) started in 1957 under the name of the Korean Classics Translation Committee (KCTC), with a rather small-scale objective in mind. In the same year, Sungkyunkwan University conceived the idea of creating a research institute studying Far Eastern culture, including Confucianism, and established the Far Eastern Research Center (FERC) the next year. The FERC took up as its areas of interest "Korean studies centered around Confucianism" and "East Asian studies in a broad sense." These examples show that university research institutes of humanities, in most cases, put to the fore the title of Far Eastern or Eastern studies, or at least employed that of Korean studies in combination with them, when they were first established. An exception was Ewha Woman's University's Korea Culture Research Institute created in 1959.

Yun Young-Do has compared the restructuring of humanities at Seoul National University and National Taiwan University after World War II. At Seoul National University, knowledge on Korea in the humanities fields, which used to be formulated in the category of local studies within the context of imperialistic Orientalism during the Japanese colonial era, was repositioned in a new context as knowledge for constructing the national identity under the category of Kore-

an studies. Korean language, literature, and history formed the keys to constituting self-identity in humanities. Western languages, literature, and philosophy experienced a relative boost in importance, compared with the colonial period, while study on East Asian countries scaled down. Notably, Japan ceased to be represented in any of the humanities as a subject of study (Yun 2008, 151-177).

But Yun Young-Do's description on the rearrangement of humanities fields at Seoul National University somewhat contradicts the fact that, when they were launched, university research institutes used the titles of Far Eastern, Asian, Eastern, or East Asian rather than Korean. In 1951, Daegu University (today's Yeungnam University) established the Institute for Eastern Culture Studies (IECS). Korea University created the Asiatic Research Institute (ARI) in 1957, and Sookmyung Women's University launched the Research Institute of Asian Women (RIAW) in 1960. At Seoul National University, a group of professors involved in Korean studies and Eastern studies created the Institute of Asian Studies (IAS).² According to Kim Yerim, the term "Asian" was circulated to describe an imaginative political geography within the Korean government and among intellectuals in the early 1950s, whereas "Eastern" was used in association with the past regional community of civilization and culture. At that time, discourse on Asia and the East aimed to build anticommunist solidarity in Asia through the isolation or integration of certain countries, and culturally, aimed to overcome what was perceived as the backwardness of the East.³ Thus it would be useful to investigate the ways in

^{2.} The ARI of Korea University issued the first edition of Asea yeongu (Journal of Asiatic Studies) in 1958; the IEC at Daegu University launched Dongyang munhwa (Journal of Eastern Culture) in 1960; the RIAW of Sookmyung Women's University published Asia yeoseong yeongu (Asian Women) for the first time in 1962; and the IAS at Seoul National University was reorganized into a research institute affiliated with the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences in 1963 and produced the first volume of Donga munhwa (Journal of Asian Studies).

^{3.} According to Kim Yerim (2008), the discourse on the East and Asia formulated by the Syngman Rhee administration and intellectuals during the early 1950s was a dual attempt to locate the origin of the inferiority of the East in its cultural history and to drive an anticommunist regeneration of Asia.

which the notions of "Far Eastern," "Asian," "Eastern," and "East Asian," widely used within academic circles between the mid-1950s and the early 1960s, contributed to the continuation or discontinuation of the discourse. And how did they help the academics of the time respond to new demands?

A representative institute which began a systematic construction of Asian studies based on the contemporary imaginative political geography was the ARI of Korea University, created in 1957 "with a view to contributing to the mutual understanding and cultural promotion of humanity by ensuring scientific awareness based on research on the histories, cultures, and lives of peoples in Korea and other parts of Asia."4 At the ARI, Kim Jun-yeop, a scholar of Chinese history, along with a group of social scientists, attempted to interpret and respond to "Asiatic problems" based on a shared vision for solidarity and development of an anticommunist Asia within the Cold War context.⁵ On the contrary, other university humanities research institutes touting their Far Eastern/Eastern/East Asian studies initiatives can hardly be viewed as having sought the expansion, intensification, and systematic construction of knowledge of Eastern culture. In fact, the agenda claimed by the IFES, FERC, IECS, and IAS was rather vague in nature. In his remarks at the launch of the first issue of Dongbang hakji, Baek Nak-jun wrote on the character of the journal and the IFES's academic objective as the following:

Dongbang hakji is collected records of Far Eastern studies. In the Far Eastern cultural region, old culture has already come to fruition and new culture is at the growing stage. We try to understand and internalize the gist of the old culture and promote the development

^{4.} Article 2, Chapter 1 (General Rules), "ARI Rules and Regulations" (recited from ARI 1977).

^{5.} With support from the Ford Foundation beginning in September 1962, the ARI was able to press forward on research projects. A major focus of its research was placed on comprehensive studies of the politics, economy, society, culture, and history of South Korea, communist countries (China, Russia, and North Korea), and the (South) East Asian region. Humanities fields (history, philosophy, language, and literature) took a relatively minor role in the research. See ARI (1977).

of the new culture by conducting academic research on neighboring areas and their cultures. . . . In order to carry out research projects of extensive scale, leading scholars in the academic circle have gathered with the entire areas of Far Eastern studies in mind, and some financial support has been secured from Harvard-Yenching Institute (Baek 1954).

According to the above citation, the IFES purported to conduct academic research on cultures of neighboring countries, under the name of Far Eastern studies. Yet it did not explain on what ground "Far Eastern" was selected as the boundary of discourse, or which areas were included in it. Nor did it specify clearly what the "old culture" already in completion was and what the "new culture" in the making was. Sungkyunkwan University's FERC defined its subjects of study as "Confucianism-centered Korean studies" and "Eastern studies in a broad sense" (S. Yi 1958). Also, tapping the need for "a research institute for Eastern studies and Korean studies," Seoul National University's IAS was established as "one that would cover all areas of Korean studies and Eastern studies" (W. Kim 1963, 159-160). Placing in parallel the two disciplinary categories, which seem at different levels and of different character, might be seen as a piece of circumstantial evidence that the institutes were unclear about their goals and subiects of research.

Most leading figures of the South Korean academic community in the post-war era had attended college in the academia of imperial Japan, including the Keijo Imperial University. Particularly, the humanities academia could not be free from the system of Eastern studies that Japan had reorganized for its own purposes upon entering the imperialist period of the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, that the institutes set for themselves the research agenda of Far Eastern/Eastern/East Asian culture did not mean that they would continue in the old way. Yi Seon-geun advocated for "Eastern studies by Easterners" in the first issue of *Daedong munhwa yeongu* (Journal of Far Eastern Studies) in 1963, borrowing the rhetoric used by Inoue Tetsujiro to advocate Eastern studies in Japan decades before, but he

did not seem to be concerned with restoring or preserving the framework of Eastern studies of the past. Korean humanities academia felt the need to monopolize the existing knowledge on the East and reconstruct and recontextualize it in the postcolonial setting, and this desire was reflected in the juxtaposition of Far Eastern/Eastern/ East Asian studies and Korean studies (W. Kim 1963, 159-160).

Here one needs to take note of the fact that those who actively participated in the humanities research institutes in the early period were mostly scholars studying Korean literature, history, and philosophy.6 In the remarks on the publication of the second issue of Dongbang hakji, Baek Nak-jun outlined the IFES as an institute "studying our culture and those of our neighbors" and, among those papers listed in the volume, commented only on those dealing with Korean language and music, stressing the value of Korean archive research and Korean studies and asserting the need to "build our studies" (Baek 1955). A major academic research project of the IFES at the time was to reprint old books that would provide reference materials for the study of Korean language, literature, and history, under the name of "Collected Publication of National Archives." This indicates that it was knowledge on Korea rather than on East Asia that the humanities scholars who founded and played a leading role at the IFES in its early period tried to build up and expand.

The fact that professors majoring in Korean language, literature, history, and philosophy borrowed the title of Far Eastern/Eastern/East Asian studies in establishing research institutes implies that at the time Korean studies alone lacked sufficient depth and material

^{6.} At SNU-IAS, Yi Sang-baek (sociology and Korean history) served as the first director, and Jeong Byeong-uk (Korean literature) and Han U-geun were managing officers, and Yi Seung-ryeong was the auditor. Daegu University's IEC attempted to conduct comprehensive studies linking Eastern/Asian studies and Korean studies, as well as humanities and social sciences. See IECS (1960).

^{7.} The IFES's "Collected Publication of National Archives" (1955-1960) is known to be the first photoprint published by a university research institute. The FERC was one of the forerunners in producing photoprints of old Korean classics, notably, the works of leading Confucian scholars, including Yi Hwang, Yi I, and Yu Seongryong. See AEAS (2008, 476).

content to assert its own value. Hwang Byeong-ju noted that although the contemporary intellectuals wanted to accept modernization as their agenda in the late 1950s, the discourse on modernization often proceeded in the structure of West-East, instead of West-Korea, because the idea of the nation overlapped with that of the East or was posed as a subcategory of the East. When scholars were accused of toadyism under such West-East juxtaposition, not West-Korea, it was directed at Asia, a vague entity, rather than directed at the nation. This framework of West-East/Asia was commonly employed to create academic divisions at that time. The fact that the scholars of Korean studies adopted such regional references as "Far Eastern," "East Asian," or "Eastern" reflected that within the intellectual milieu of the late 1950s, discourse on nation was very weak.

The Harvard-Yenching Institute and Influences of U.S. Regional Studies

Within the scope of academic discourse, the approach of juxtaposing Korean studies and studies of Far East, East Asian culture, and Eastern culture was directly mediated by the China-centered paradigm of culture theory and the U.S.-centered paradigm of regional studies.

For instance, the term "Far Eastern" used by the IFES and the FERC was newly formulated by eliminating some of the thick layers of meaning that had accrued during the colonial period and by preserving views that continued to be meaningful. Through the colonial era, a concept called "Far Eastern" was constructed under variant intellectual and ideological orientations. In the 1920s, Choe Nam-seon tried to build Korea-centered Far Eastern Studies as a paradigm to counter Japanese-initiated Eastern studies. He conceived the notion of a "Far East-Bulham cultural zone" as the modern boundary representing

^{8.} See B. Hwang (2008, 109-113).

^{9.} *Bulham* 不咸 means "the thought of brightness." According to Choe Nam-seon, this "bright thought" can influence regions even as far away as the Balkan peninsula, a name which sounds similar to "bright peninsula" in the Korean language.

self, or the origin of self. Meanwhile, in the 1920s Chinese socialist intellectuals believed that the problems of imperialism could be resolved through an alliance of oppressed nations in Asia, and the notion of Far Eastern as a symbol of this conception of Asia was introduced to Korea as well. Sim Hun's novel *Dongbang-ui aein* (Lovers of the Far East) (serialized in *Chosun Ilbo* in 1930) was reflective of this idea. Sim Hun dealt with conflicts of modernity in China, Korea, and Japan (as reflected in Korea) and the path of the national liberation movement. In the novel, China was credited with providing inspiration for Korea's socialist movement. While the concept of "Far Eastern" was constituted by sociopolitical ideologies such as nationalism and socialism in the colonial period, it was divested of nationalist unity and socialist solidarity characteristic of the postcolonial period.

The term "Far Eastern" used in the names of the IFES and the FERC tended to remind people of the traditional homogeneous cultural community centered upon China, and this was similar to the term "Eastern" used in the name of the Institute of Eastern Culture (IES) in Japan. The IES was founded in 1947 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the period of the U.S. military government, with a view to promoting and supporting the development of academic research on Eastern culture. Its main research subjects included ancient Chinese history, literature, philosophy, and thought. The IES published a biennial journal Tohogaku 東方學 (Eastern Studies), beginning in March 1951. The holdings of the Academic Information Center of Yonsei University include almost a complete run of the journal in addition to Tohogaku ronshu 東方學論集 (Collected Works of Eastern Studies), an ad-hoc publication from 1954 onward, and Tohogakkai shupan mokuroku 東方學會出版目錄 (Publication List of the Institute of Eastern Culture). 11 Thus, it is apparent that, from the early 1950s, humanities

^{10.} See G. Han (2008). Among the Chinese socialist intellectuals of the early 1930s, the term "Far Eastern" held the meaning of a space of the oppressed resisting against the oppressors and seeking liberation from them, surpassing geographic and racial limits and national boundaries (H. Kim 2007).

^{11.} Some issues of the Tohogaku ronshu were donated by Hong I-seop and Yi Jong-

scholars in Korea were exposed to "Eastern studies" with an Orientalist undertone that had been rearranged in the postwar Japan under the hegemony of U.S. regional studies, or in a narrower sense, to "Far Eastern culture/studies" as a representation of "Chinese studies."

It is worth noting that the Japanese translation of tohogaku 東方學 (dongbanghak in Korean) was Eastern studies, whereas its Korean translation was Far Eastern studies. The English name of Dongbanghak Yeonguso at Yonsei University was the Institute of Far Eastern Studies. The equivalent for the Daedong Munhwa Yeonguwon of Sungkyunkwan University—which started in 1957 as a research group of Far Eastern culture and became an institute in 1958—was the Far Eastern Research Center. The title of its journal Daedong munhwa yeongu (first printed in 1963) was translated into English as the Journal of Far Eastern Studies. It is said that a Korean professor of English literature translated the word as Far East, not knowing that it was an old vernacular term referring to Korea (FERC 2008, 479). This erroneous translation shows that Korean humanities scholars were greatly influenced by the imaginative geography of international politics and the regional studies approach of the United States. While dongbang represented the China-centered homogeneous cultural community of the past, "Far Eastern" was intimately associated with the U.S.-centered international politics and regional studies at the time.

It was the Harvard-Yenching Institute (hereafter Yenching) that led to the influence of the conceptual framework of U.S. regional studies upon humanities scholars in Korea.¹² Having the main office

yeong, who were history professors at Yonsei University at the time. The Academic Information Center of Sungkyunkwan University holds all print copies of the *Tohogaku* beginning from volume 18 (1959).

^{12.} In 1928, Harvard University established institutes of East Asian studies with donations from a successful businessman named Charles Hall and designated Yenching University in China as a collaborating university. Harvard-Yenching Institute has its headquarters at Harvard University and had a branch office in China. While the Center for East Asian Studies, established by J. K. Fairbank, studied modern China from the historical and social science perspective, Yenching Institute studied China from the perspective of humanities, including literature, arts, and philosophy. On the creation of Yenching, see S. Kim (2008, 278), a translation of Ronald Suleski, *The Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University: A Fifty Year*

at Harvard University in the United States and a branch office at Yenching University in China, Yenching Institute has done extensive research on China with special focus on the humanities fields since its foundation in 1928. After China was communized in 1949, the institute could not avoid a change in direction. Its financial assistance to Yenching University came to a complete halt after the Korean War, as the possibility of restoring U.S.-China relations evaporated. Yenching Institute decided to reroute its aid to China to other East Asian nations for educational and cultural projects, ¹³ and a portion of that aid went to Korea.

It is widely known that Yenching's financial assistance was a crucial factor in realizing the creation of the IFES. Baek Nak-jun, then president of Yonsei University, approached Yenching in December 1949 with a plan to create a research institute and secured financial commitment from the Institute. It was only in July 1953 that Yenching's Board of Directors made a final decision on providing funds for the establishment of the IFES. The delay occurred because of a change in its aid policy for academic research on East Asia. Serge Elisseeff, Professor at the Department of Far Eastern Languages and Director of Yenching with a specialty in Japanese studies, visited Taiwan, Japan, and Korea in March 1953 to familiarize himself with local conditions. When he visited the temporary campus of Yeonhui College in

History, 1955-2005 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

^{13.} After the communization of China, Yenching University was faced with double hardships. Firstly, under the Chinese government's drive to reform the higher education system on the Soviet model, universities were forced to sever ties with "pro-Western" or "bourgeoisie" countries. Secondly, since the possibility of the restoration of China-U.S. relations evaporated due to the Korean War, Yenching's Board of Directors stopped providing supplementary funds to Yenching University. Yenching University had no alternative but to ask the government to undertake it and eventually it was absorbed into Beijing University and Chinghwa University (Chiang 2010, 75-76; S. Kim 2008, 291).

^{14. &}quot;Hwibo" (Proceedings), *Dongbang hakji* (Journal of Korean Studies) 6 (June 1963): p. 291.

^{15.} Serge Elisseeff, a Russian-American scholar of Japanese studies, worked at Harvard University from 1932 to 1957 and served as Director of Yenching Institute from 1936 to 1956. Established by Yenching at Harvard University in 1937, the

Busan during the wartime years, Baek Nak-jun and his fellow professors approached him for financial support. By July, Yenching's Board of Directors approved US\$13,000 in academic aid to IFES, making it the first research institute in Korea to receive financial help from Yenching. ¹⁶

Yenching's support to the IFES was granted with the intention of fostering regional studies, particularly East Asian studies. The aid was made to the IFES as a representative organization in the humanities circle of Korea. It appears that, having little information on the Korean academia, Yenching opted for an approach of indirect support to the Korean academic community via Baek Nak-jun (who had broad networks in the United States) and the IFES. The IFES was not the final recipient but the distributor of the funds. Edwin O. Reischauer, an expert in Japanese studies, was appointed as Director of Yenching in 1957. Upon his appointment, he set up bodies in Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan to assist with its academic aid projects, and the one created in Korea was the Seoul Research Council for East Asian Studies (SRCEAS). The SRCEAS became Yenching's branch office in Seoul, delegated with the responsibility of distributing the aid funds in Korea (D. Im 1998; H. Min 2006).

The SRCEAS consisted of seven prominent scholars: Yi Byeongdo, Yi Sang-baek, Baek Nak-jun, Yu Jin-o, Yang Ju-dong, Yi Sungnyeong, and Kim Jae-won. Kim Jae-won served as the first Chairperson and was later replaced by Yi Byeong-do. Yenching transmitted an annual subsidy of US\$25,000 to US\$30,000 through the SRCEAS.

Department of Far Eastern Studies engaged in research and education on China from a humanities perspective, similarly to Yenching. Elisseeff received an honorary doctoral degree from Yeonhui College in 1955 (Y. Min 1975, 171-175; S. Kim 2008, 41-42).

^{16.} According to an interview with President Baek Nak-jun, Baek offered to continue the research initiated by Yenching and transfer it to Korea. Yenching's Board of Directors accepted the proposal (*Yeonhui chunchu*, July 15, 1953).

^{17.} All members of the committee except Baek Nak-jun and Yu Jin-o were professors of College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Seoul National University and members of the Jindan Society. Not much is known about how the seven members were selected and in what capacity they served on the committee.

Academic organizations such as the Jindan Society, the Society of Korean Language and Literature, and the Korean Historical Association (KHA) received assistance for publishing academic journals. Also, some scholars belonging to those organizations received research funds and aid for training in the United States. In 1961, the SRCEAS was transformed into a coordinating body of research institutes and academic organizations, In involving Yonsei University's IFES, Korea University's ARI, Seoul National University's IAS, KHA, and others. Its annual reports (1961-1969) mention the continued financial support for journal publication for three academic associations and research funds for 15 to 20 scholars. Aid for academic associations was concentrated in the first few years, the main recipients being Seoul National University's IAS and Korea University's ARI and KCTC.

Seoul National University's IAS is an interesting case. Yi Sangbaek, a founding member of the SRCEAS, organized the IAS in 1961 with a group of professors at the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Yi Sung-nyeong, another SRCEAS member, participated in the IAS as an auditor. In 1961, the IAS joined the SRCEAS and enjoyed the privilege of receiving financial support for its regular operational expenses and research projects. The ARI, another major beneficiary, received assistance from Yenching for translating the *Hanguk yeongu mun*-

^{18.} The Jindan Society received financial assistance for its journal publication between 1957 and 1976, and the Korean Historical Association (KHA) did from 1958 to the early 1970s. In addition, Yenching funneled research money to 15 KHA members from 1958 to 1960 to support research on the Chinese influence on Korean history and culture. See D. Im (1998, 141-152).

^{19.} The role of SRCEAS as a coordinating body of research institutes and academic organizations did not last long. According to ARI records, its own director negotiated with Yenching directly for support. See ARI (1977).

^{20.} See IKS (2006, 72-73). The IFES published five volumes of *Dongbang hakji* from 1954 to 1961, using Yenching funds for research and publication. The SRCEAS's Annual Reports (1961-1969) have no record on financial assistance to the IFES at the organizational level and list few names of individual researchers in association with IFES. A large proportion of the funds were directed to human and social scientists at Seoul National University and Korea University, including those involved in the IAS and the ARI. The composition of the recipients changed somewhat in the 1960s. The cause of this shift remains a subject for future research.

heon haeje (Annotated Bibliography of Korean Studies) in 1957, at the time of its creation (ARI 1977). The ARI's relationship with Yenching became much closer in the 1960s. In 1960, John K. Fairbank, Director of the Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University, and Edwin Reischauer, Director of Yenching, visited the ARI and gave lectures. It received additional assistance from SRCEAS for publishing the English version of the bibliography of Korean studies between 1961 and 1962. In 1967, the ARI launched a project to compile materials for the history of Korean thought with a US\$3,500 grant from Yenching. This project continued until 1969 with an injection of over US\$10,000 in total.²¹

As already implied, the creation of university research institutes under the names of "Far Eastern/Asiatic/East Asian/Eastern" between the second half of the 1950s and the early 1960s was greatly influenced by the East Asian regional studies of the United States. When it began to support academic research in Korea after the Korean War, Yenching placed Korean studies within the broader context of regional studies of East Asia. Humanities scholars at Yonsei University quickly adapted to this move by opting to use the term "Far Eastern studies" in the title of their research organization. Other research institutes followed suit, accepting the research framework of Eastern culture or East Asian culture. Korean humanities scholars were induced to place and explain their research within the context of U.S.-centered regional studies.

Separation of Korean Studies from Far Eastern/East Asian Studies

The FERC did not participate in the SRCEAS or receive financial assistance for research at the organizational level. The KCTC, the pre-

^{21.} See ARI (1977). Yenching's support for the ARI continued in the 1970s to enable research on Korean thought and Korea's response to the Western forces, Silhak thought, Great Han Empire, and Southeast Asia.

decessor of the RIKS, received support from the SRCEAS from 1961 to 1963, but no records of continued support are found after its conversion to the RIKS. Similarly, there exists no mention of the IFES receiving Yenching funds after 1961. According to the report in the sixth volume of Dongbang hakji (June 1963), the IFES was restructured in the fall of 1962 in accordance with the rapid progress of the academic community as well as the university's plans for structural reorganization. Under the plans, the university president came to serve as IFES Director and the five-member Operating Committee and two secretaries were appointed. Hong I-seop (Department of History, Korean history) became the first chair of the Operating Committee. In 1963, the Operating Committee decided to cut reliance on external research funds and cover the operating costs with university subsidy and donations.²² Here, "external research funds" seem to refer to aid from Yenching. This relative distancing between the research institutes and Yenching can be attributed to various factors, both tangible and intangible. In the case of the IFES, word spread that Baek Nakjun had lost his qualification for the committee membership with his entrance into politics, while other reputed professors (as in the case of Yang Ju-dong, for example) could not receive assistance due to a weakened status in the SRCEAS because of transferring to other universities (IKS 2006, 72-73). In addition to personal fame and influence (and possible loss of such status), other factors might have been involved.

The Yenching funds were used exclusively for the research and publication of the first (March 1954) through fifth volume (June 1961) of *Dongbang hakji*. In spite of the short duration of the support and limited availability of information on the organization of the IFES and the publication of *Dongbang hakji*, it is interesting to note the significant differences that existed between the first to third volumes (March 1954–December 1957) and the fourth to fifth (June 1959–June 1961) in terms of authors and research subjects. Moreover, the

^{22.} See "Hwibo" (Proceedings), *Dongbang hakji* 6 (June 1963): pp. 292-293; and IKS (2006, 75).

works reveal a sense of tension and competition between schools, between academic traditions, and between generations of scholars.

The first three issues were edited and printed while the IFES was in charge of distributing the Yenching funds. A total of 16 papers were contributed by the following authors: Bang Jong-hyeon, Kim Sang-gi, Yi Hong-jik, Yi Hye-gu, and Yi Sung-nyeong each had two papers published, while Yi Sang-baek, Yi Byeong-do, Ko Yu-seop, Heo Ung, Yi Byeong-gi, and Yang Yeon-seung each wrote one. Most of these scholars studied at Keijo Imperial University or in Japan during the colonial period and secured academic positions at Seoul National University after the liberation.²³ In particular, the first volume contained works mostly written by Seoul National University professors. The publication even implied their importance and touted the contributors as the "leading scholars of the academic circle."²⁴

Volumes 4 and 5 were printed with some Yenching funds after the establishment of the SRCEAS as the distributor of the funds. All papers in volume 4 were written by Yonsei University professors.

^{23.} For the eleven authors who contributed to volumes 1 to 3, their alma mater and affiliation for professorship are listed: Kim Sang-gi (Waseda University, Seoul National University), Yi Byeong-do (Waseda University, Seoul National University), Yi Hong-jik (Tokyo Imperial University, Yonsei University), Bang Jong-hyeon (Keijo Imperial University, Seoul National University), Yi Sang-baek (Waseda University, Seoul National University), Yi Sung-nyeong (Keijo Imperial University, Seoul National University), Ko Yu-seop (Keijo Imperial University, died in 1944), Yi Hyegu (Keijo Imperial University, Seoul National University/Yonsei University), Heo Ung (resigned from Yeonhui College, Yonsei University), and Yi Byeong-gi (Hanseong Teachers' College, Seoul National University). Until the early 1960s, it was quite normal that professors lectured at several universities and moved around between universities. For the three Yonsei University professors, the periods of their service at the university to which they moved are listed: Heo Ung (1954-1956, Seoul National University), Yi Hye-gu (1947-1958, Seoul National University), and Yi Hong-jik (1952-1957, Korea University). Yang Liansheng 楊聯陞 was a Chinese scholar who worked with John Fairbank at the Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University. He made an important contribution to the development of Chinese studies in the United States, introducing original books on Chinese history and teaching Chinese institutional history. See Dong-A Ilbo, September 3, 1981.

^{24.} Volume 1 had six papers authored by Ki Sang-gi, Bang Jong-hyeon, Yi Byeong-do, Yi Sang-baek, Yi Sung-nyeong, and Yi Hong-jik.

Authors of volume 5 included some eminent professors of other universities, and only two (Yi Hye-gu and Yi Byeong-gi) of the eleven contributors to volumes 1 to 3 appeared again. Among the fourteen authors of volumes 4 and 5, eight were professors or full-time lecturers at Yonsei University: Choe Hyeon-bae, Yu Chang-don, Jang Deoksun, Yi Ga-won, Kim Yun-gyeong, Kwon O-don of the Department of Korean Language and Literature; Yi Gwang-rin, Department of History; and Han Tae-dong, Department of Theology.²⁵ A notable feature of the authorship of volumes 4 and 5 was the entry of senior scholars of Korean language who represented the colonial tradition of Joseon Studies at Yeonhui College, such as Choe Hyeon-bae and Kim Yungyeong.

With the entry of Yonsei University professors from volume 4 onward, the research focus was given to Korea. While six of the sixteen papers appearing in the first three volumes dealt with Korea-China or Korea-Japan relations,²⁶ only one of the fifteen papers in volumes 4 and 5 was concerned with the Asian region external to Korea. The goal of Far Eastern cultural studies was met to some

^{25.} For the eight Yonsei University professors, their alma mater and the duration of their service at the university are listed: Han Tae-dong (Yale University, USA, 1957-1988), Choe Hyeon-bae (philosophy, Kyoto University, Japan, 1954-1960), Yi Gwang-rin (history, Yeonhui College, 1954-1963), Yu Chang-don (law, Chuo University, Japan, 1954-1966), Yi Ga-won (Sungkyunkwan University, 1959-1982), Kim Yun-gyeong (liberal arts, Yeonhui College, and history, Rikkyo University, Japan, 1945-1961), Jang Deok-sun (liberal arts, Yeonhui College, and Korean literature, Seoul National University, 1954-1960), and Kwon O-don (involved in the independence movement while in China and later became an expert in Chinese studies, 1956-1960).

^{26.} Yang Liansheng's paper analyzed *Laoqida* 老乞大 and *Piaotongshi* 朴通事, textbooks of learning Chinese language in the mid-Joseon era, and Yi Hong-jik's article was on the accounts on the ancient Goguryeo Kingdom of the eighth century, shown in *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan). Kim Sang-gi reviewed the history of peoples neighboring the ancient Korean peninsula with focus on exchange and negotiation between them. He examined Korean history through a comparative approach by juxtaposing it with Chinese history in *Dongbangsa nonchong* (Collected Works on the History of the Far East), which published by Seoul National University Press in 1974.

extent in the first three volumes, but it became blurred in the next two. Although the objective of the IFES stipulated in Article 2 of the Rules and Regulations (written in 1958) was the "research and diffusion of Far Eastern culture."²⁷ In actuality, its interest in and will for study of Asia outside Korea was not actually very strong.

A close look at the publications of *Dongbang hakji* from 1954 to 1961 reveals the presence of complex competitive relations between generations, universities, and academic ideologies and objectives. Tension and competition over the transmission and succession of academic traditions and heritage were being built up between the generation of scholars who attended college during the colonial period and the generation that attended after the liberation, between scholars who were educated in Keijo Imperial University and Japanese universities under the colonial rule and those who were not, such as those from Seoul National University and other universities. Particularly intense tension existed between those who studied Korea within the context of East Asian or Far Eastern studies and those who did within the context of Korean studies. In the late 1950s, humanities scholars at Yonsei made a concerted effort to have Korean studies gain authority in its own right, instead of being folded into or riding on Far Eastern studies. These scholars regarded it as an important task to compile knowledge on their national culture, in which language and literature were key elements, and the IFES supported this aim by ushering in senior scholars of Korean language. Thus, by bringing to the fore Korean linguists who had inherited the nationalist and culturalist tradition of Joseon studies of the colonial era, IFES and its scholars made a symbolic statement for the future direction of Joseon studies. 28

^{27.} See "Rules and Regulations" (1958), quoted from IKS (2006).

^{28.} The analysis of the editorial characteristics of *Dongbang hakji*'s first five volumes relies on H. Kim (2007, 61-67).

Korean Studies as a Counter-Paradigm to the West-Centered Regional Studies

At this historical juncture, another group was in formation in the humanities circle of Korea that also held a critical view of the position and character of Korean studies attached to U.S.-centered regional studies. They were Korean history scholars. At Yonsei University, history professors were quite actively involved in academic endeavors outside the IFES. Min Yeong-gyu joined the History Department in 1945, followed by Hong I-seop and Yi Hong-jik (1953), Yi Gwangrin (1954), Kim Cheol-jun (1959), Hwang Won-gu (1960), and Yi Jong-yeong (1961). Except for Yi Hong-jik and Yi Gwang-rin, none of them contributed to *Dongbang hakji* in the early period, even though they joined the IFES in 1962 and served in various capacities on the Operating Committee.

While IFES was under support from Yenching, the involvement of history professors remained low. Between the second half of the 1950s and the early 1960s, history professors published their works in another journal at Yonsei University, *Inmun gwahak* (Journal of Humanities). *Inmun gwahak* was first published in December 1957 by the professors at College of Liberal Arts, Yonsei University. Hong I-seop wrote papers on Silhak (Practical Learning) in volumes 1 (December 1957) and 6 (July 1961) and book reviews in volumes 1 to 3. Of special note was volume 7 (June 1962) which included papers contributed by Kim Cheol-jun, Yi Jong-yeong, Hwang Wongu, and Min Yeong-gyu (editor-in-chief). Hong I-seop became the editor-in-chief from volume 8 (December 1962) and also served as Director of the Institute of Humanities (IH) from its establishment in April 1964 up until the time of his moving to the IFES to assume directorship.²⁹ This clearly indicates that, from the second half of the

^{29.} *Inmun gwahak* (Journal of Humanities) was initially published by the College of Liberal Arts and then, became the flagship journal of the Institute of Humanities upon its establishment in 1964. It was published twice yearly, in June and December, and the authors were mostly liberal arts professors. See Yi Sang-seop (1987).

1950s, history professors, including Hong, were actively engaged in the domain of discourse outside the IFES.³⁰

In 1962, Hong I-seop and his fellow history professors who had been involved in the IH joined the IFES, taking on such roles as the chair, members, and secretary of the Operating Committee, and in 1965 Hong became the director of the IFES. As Hong and younger professors (hired between 1958 and 1964) joined the organization, the IFES stabilized in operation and execution of research projects. From 1967 to 1976 (before the IFES merged with the IKS), *Dongbang hakji* was published regularly once a year, and Open Lectures on Silhak were given on an annual basis. Through the mid-1960s, a group of professors sharing common research goals and academic views were identified. Mostly historians, they would play a major role in the IFES's organizational composition and direction of research in the coming years.

Meanwhile, other humanities research institutes that had set up in the second half of the 1950s pressed on with research and discourse in pursuit of awakening to the subjective awareness of the nation and the advancement of national culture. Sungkyunkwan University's FERC released the first issue of *Daedong munhwa yeongu* (Journal of Far Eastern Studies) in August 1963, and Korea University's RIKS inaugurated *Minjok munhwa yeongu* (Studies of National Culture) in October 1964. In the "Remarks at the Launch of the First Issue," Jo Ji-hun (1964) criticized that "the academic trend of the Korean academic circles overemphasizing analysis and verification has largely overlooked how to systematize the national culture academically, adopt a macro-historical perspective, and employ in-depth

^{30.} It is rather surprising that, apart from Kim Cheol-jun, Hwang Won-gu, and Yi Jong-yeong, who came to Yonsei University after 1959, early comers like Hong I-seop and Min Yeong-gyu did not contribute papers to *Dongbang hakji*. Min Yeong-gyu was an editor of the first issue of *Dongbang hakji* and attended Yenching as a visiting scholar from October 1954 to September 1955.

^{31.} Hwang Won-gu (1960), Yi Jong-yeong (1961), and Son Bo-gi (1964) joined the faculty of the History Department, while Yi Ga-won (1958), Kim Seok-deuk (1962), and Ki Dong-uk (1963) were appointed to the Korean Literature Department.

research methodology." He also defined the publication of *Minjok munhwa yeongu* as an integral part of the "movement for modern exploration of national tradition and academic systematization of national culture" (Jo 1964). Around this time, humanities research institutes such as the IFES, the FERC, and the RIKS were, in effect, institutionalized as university-affiliated organizations and began to be operated systematically with full-time directors on board.

Since the second half of the 1960s, research institutes for Korean studies including the IFES have begun to reestablish themselves as independent organizations, becoming fully involved in academic activities and monopolizing the academic discourse on the nation. Such changes are in tune with the heightened nationalist current of the social milieu after the April 19 Democratization Movement of 1960. The creation of the social milieu underscoring national identity and characteristics (S. Hong 2004, 212) called for the production of knowledge on the nation, which helped develop the academism of Korean studies and crystallize its ideology and goals.³² Its foundation had already been laid in the second half of the 1950s. As mentioned above, Yonsei humanities scholars already held a critical view in 1ate 1950s on the status of Korean studies as defined by the U.S.-centered regional studies. Particularly, history professors responded proactively to the nationalist drive that was formed in the domain of social discussions after the April 19 Democratization Movement, thus deepening their ideology and consciousness of Korean studies.

In the late 1960s, Hong I-seop asserted that the "study of Korea ultimately aims to secure the survival of Koreans" and secondarily, to acquire "international generality." He believed that the presupposition of "international generality" as a prerequisite to the study of

^{32.} Around this period, researchers of Korean history and thought created independent academic organizations in the academic communities of history and philosophy. A group of scholars of Korean philosophy organized the Korean Society for Study of Korean Thought in 1964 (with Bak Jong-hong as President and Yi Sangeun as Vice President), while the Korean Society for Study of Korean History, which was Korea's first research association on Korean history, was established in 1967 (with Shin Seok-ho as President and Hong I-seop as Vice President).

Korea would inevitably cause the subjugation of self-consciousness and emphasized the importance of "individuality and creativity based on self-consciousness" (I. Hong 2003, 201). From this standpoint, he criticized that such terms as Korean studies and Koreanology were products of regional studies impregnated by Western imperialism, which were being circulated unwittingly as an extension of Afro-Asian studies formed in the context of the international politics and economy of the time (IKS 2006, 460). Hong I-seop developed Korean studies as a counter-paradigm against regional studies germinated in the West during the imperialist era, particularly, the study of newly independent countries executed in social sciences in the post-World War II period, and the particular brand of Korean studies which accepted this framework of study.

Meanwhile, at the FERC, its eighth director Yi U-seong (Korean Literature Department, March 1970-April 1975) proposed an agenda to carry on the inherent tradition of Korean studies. Noting that Korea's national identity had been undermined and disintegrated by cultural-imperialist regional studies led by foreign influence, he argued for the development of the tradition of Korean studies that encompassed struggles to establish modern self-consciousness (G. Im 2008). This direction was expressed by changing the English title of FERC's flagship journal from the "Journal of Far Eastern Studies" to the "Journal of Korean Studies," beginning with the combined edition of volumes 6 and 7 (1970). The establishment of Korean studies was not merely a matter of adjusting the subject or scope of research, but a shift in academic ideology and research methodology. Beginning in the 1970s, university humanities research institutes poured their efforts into putting in place the ideology and research methodology of Korean studies.33

^{33.} The research institutes varied as to when they made the shift to Korean studies and how long they sustained the focus on Korean studies. For instance, the English title of *Daedong munhwa yeongu* reverted its previous name, "Journal of Far Eastern Studies," from the tenth volume (December 1975), when Jo Jwa-ho (History Department, Eastern history) was appointed as the ninth director of the Far Eastern Research Center. See AEAS (2008, 475-479).

Though the subject would benefit from additional research, it can be noted that the establishment of Korean studies corresponded with the process of specialization and division within the humanities. Within the College of Liberal Arts at Yonsei University, the arena of humanities discourse was divided into Korean studies and foreign studies with the absorption of the IFES into the IKS in 1977. This was expected to occur, as many history professors moved from the IH to the IFES in 1965. Discussions in humanities fields studying Korea (Korean language and literature, Korean history, Korean philosophy, etc.) came to converge in Dongbang hakji, whereas those in other fields of humanities (Western language and literature, Western history, Western philosophy, etc.) settled with Inmun gwahak. Meanwhile, the IKS underwent phenomenal growth under the university's strategic support in the second half of the 1970s. Until 1976, the IH was more active, judging by the number of issues of flagship journals published by each organization up to that point: 36 volumes of Inmun gwahak and 17 volumes of Dongbang hakji. This trend was reversed with the establishment of the IKS in 1977. According to a report in the university newspaper Yonsei chunchu, the IKS obtained more financial support from the university than the IH. Dongbang hakji became a quarterly periodical in 1981 while Inmun gwahak continued to be published biennially. With the emergence of Korean studies, the humanities academia divided into two groupings, with a lesser number focusing on foreign studies.

Conclusion

University research institutes are at the apex of the production system of humanities knowledge that is involved in the creation of the historical and cultural identity of the modern nation-state. Compared to faculty departments and academic associations, the institutes have occupied a distinctive status and advantage in mobilizing human and physical resources, designing and conducting research, and above all, identifying and proposing research topics of significance in various

areas of Korean studies that cross disciplines and majors. In this paper, I have reviewed how humanities research institutes established from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s identified and affirmed the objective significance of their existence, interacting with agents/actors in a complex web of relationships inside and outside universities, competing not only for human and material resources but also for dominance in academic ideologies and paradigms.

My review presents the following conclusions. In the early period, the humanities research institutes worked within a knowledge system that equated or paralleled Korean studies with Far Eastern, Eastern, or East Asian studies. The terms "Far Eastern/Eastern/East Asian" related to several intersecting paradigms, i.e., the Japan-centered discourse on Eastern studies which had ruled the academic discourse from the colonial period, the U.S.-centered paradigm of regional studies, which wielded a dominant influence after World War II, and the China-centered culturalist paradigm reconstructed in reaction to the Japanese and American influences. Particularly strong influence emanated from private academic foundations in the United States, such as Yenching, which tried to position knowledge on Korea within the U.S.-centered system of regional studies. In the late 1950s, a movement arose to separate or liberate Korean studies from the three different but interrelated regional perspectives. At first, the full-scale launch of Korean studies was led by the study of Korean language based on the legacy of culturalist Joseon studies formulated in the colonial era. But it was historical studies that developed Korean studies as a counter-paradigm to the West-centered system of regional studies. The separation of Korean studies from Far Eastern/Eastern/ East Asian studies was accompanied by the decline and loss of a regional standpoint, the coming-to-the-fore and subsequent peripheralization of linguistics based on culturalist nationalism, mainstreaming of a self-conscious perspective under the lead of historical studies, and the separation of discourse between Korean studies and foreign studies. In significant ways, the establishment of Korean studies, pushed forward by university humanities research institutes, transformed the terrain and character of humanities discourse in Korea.

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List of Institutes

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