

The History, Culture and Language of *Koryŏ Saram*

*German Kim**

The population of the Korean peninsula consists of 45 million in South Korea, 20 million in North Korea, and 5 million abroad. The biggest Korean diaspora is in China (2 mln); the USA (over 1 mln.), Japan (670 th.) and the former USSR (nearly 450 th) also have large Korean populations.

In total, the number of Koreans living in the USSR, according to the 1989 Census, was 439 thousand, the great bulk of whom live in Uzbekistan, Russia and Kazakhstan. The modern demography of the Korea population is characterized by dispersion; this demography is a legacy of the policy of forced migration during the Stalin era, and also by the processes of migration and infiltration among the Korean population.

In scientific, public and political literature, the term “Soviet Koreans” became the most common form of self-appellation, and was adopted in other countries too as the most frequently used nomenclature.

On account of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the former Soviet republics became sovereign and the need arose for a new name for the Korean populations in the republics. In my opinion, an appropriate term already exists—“*Koryŏ saram*”. Up to this day, the older generations of Koreans born in the Far East have preserved a form of self-appellation that is an ancient ethnonym—the “*Koryŏ saram*” and “*Chosŏn saram*” (i.e. the people of Koryŏ and people of Chosŏn). Nowadays you can often hear the following: “We are neither *Han’guk saram* nor *Chosŏn saram*—we are *Koryŏ saram*”. It is not by accident that the newspaper of Soviet

*Senior Researcher at the Centre for Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences Republic of Kazakhstan
Seoul Journal of Korean Studies, Vol 6, pp 125-151, 1993

Koreans—the “*Lenin kichi*—was renamed” *Koryŏ ilbo*. Since any historical reconstruction and retrospection assumes an application to the terms of the investigated period, the inevitability of the parallel usage of the terms “Soviet Koreans” and “*Koryŏ saram*” does not require any special explanation.

The history, culture and language of *Koryŏ saram* constitute three inexhaustible foci for research work. We have a voluminous literature, the quality of which has been determined by factors such as the methods used and the objects studied. The interpretations within the historical material also vary widely according to the levels and methods of analysis. In light of these variations in the literature, the historiographical research of the whole complex of problems concerning the historical, social and cultural development of the *Koryŏ saram* has become imperative. This is because an historiographical approach has self-conscious interpretative power which allows it to trace the path of scientific historical thought toward some more objective understanding of historical reality.

On no account does this paper pretend to a completeness of presentation. However, it is suggested that this paper represent one of the first attempts to address in a serious way the need for complex historiographical analysis

1. Pre-Revolutionary Russian Literature

A number of works by Russian authors appeared at the time of the first migration of Koreans to the Russian Far East. In some of these works, the authors paid attention to factors underlying the mass immigration, and also the social, economic and legal conditions of the new arrivals to the Maritime region. Since interest in the Korean influx was dictated primarily by pragmatic rather than purely academic considerations, it is not surprising that counted among the ranks of the first authors are statesmen from the Tsar’s administration in the Far East, as well as officials, military men, writers and publicists.

The traditional classificatory scheme for Russian literature—disjunction between works of fiction, and public and political writings, and that between monarchist, bourgeois and democratic literature—is appropriate, in my opinion, in the case of the works under consideration here. Another classification for these authors is also possible, however: those who opposed the “yellow colonization” of the Maritime region and campaigned for limitation or outright banning of Korean immigration, and those who, on the contrary, sympathized with the immigrants and championed their rights

Among the most colorful representatives of the former group of authors must

rank first and foremost P. Unterberger. Unterberger held the post of Maritime region governor, and from 1905-10 was the region's governor-general. The content of his first book reflects, on the whole, the kind of discretion and tact befitting a governor, of the Maritime region Korean population.¹ His second book, on the other hand, was rendered at the time of Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese war, the annexation of Korea by Japan with an appetite for hegemony in the Far East, and the second wave of Korean immigration to the region. In it he opposes the idea of Korean migration,² and proposes the introduction of a number of restrictive and prohibitive measures designed to limit greatly the flow of Korean immigrants and their access to employment in the mining and building industries and other jobs.

The value of Unterberger's works is to be found first of all in their high degree of factual completeness. But as far as the merit of their reasonings and conclusions is concerned, in many respects they require for their proper understanding a critical posture from the modern historian.

Among the other authors of the opposition camp deserving mention is I. Nadarov, whose articles include extensive statistical information concerning the Maritime region population.³

A. Ragoza and F. Vebel, through their official posts, had the benefit of direct experience with the Korean migrants upon which to base the personal observations which complement the official materials in their works.⁴ The same may be said of an official on assignment from the Immigration Department of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs—A. Rittikh—who made a trip to the Maritime region, where he became acquainted with the social, economic and legal conditions of the Korean immigrants, and subsequently incorporated their description into his work.⁵

One of the great researchers into the Far Eastern Korean is N. Nasekin, who in the 1890's held the post of chief official on special assignment attached to the

1 Unterberger P. Primorskaia oblast '1856-1898gg. St. Peterburg, 1890

2 Unterberger P. Primorskaia krai 1906-1910. St. Peterburg 1912

3 Nadarov I. Materials for the study of the Ussuri Krai. In *Sbornik geographicheskikh, topographicheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*. Vyp 26, St. Peterburg 1887, pp 91-150; Nadarov I. The South-Ussuri Krai in its Present day Situation. In *Izvestia I.R.G.O.*, 1889, T XXV

4 Ragoza A. The short historical survey of the resettlement of the Koreans in our border area. In *Voennyi sbornik*. St. Peterburg, 1906, No 6, pp.206-222; Ragoza A. The Posiet district. In *Sbornik geographicheskikh, topographicheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*. Vyp.45, St. Peterburg, 1891, pp 47-232; Vebel F. A note about the Primur Krai. In *Voennyi sbornik*. St. Peterburg, 1894, No 3, pp 159-184; Vebel F. the Journey to Korea of General Staff Lieutenant-Co-lonel Vebel's in the Summer of 1889. In *S.G.M.A.*, 1890, 41, pp 143-232; Vebel F. A Trip to Korea. In *Russkii vestnik*, 1894, 10, pp 115-153

5 Rittikh A. Resettlement and Peasantry in the South Ussuri Krai. St. Peterburg, 1899

Maritime region Governor-general, although he never visited the Korean settlements. Included in a long, general article is a short historical essay concerning Korean migration, the administrative divisions of Korean settlements, a geographical and economic survey of the settlements, and information about schools, churches and missions. The article contains a highly-qualified ethnographic description of the dwellings, home utensils, food, clothes, religion, and wedding and funeral ceremonies of the immigrants, as well as a description of the Korean national character. In his conclusion, Nasekin purviews certain other authors' observations of the immigrant Koreans' local circumstances. He goes on to draw his own conclusion, which is worth reciting in full: "So it is necessary to admit that a mission, placed in a proper manner, a Russian school, as an establishment bringing the Russian spirit into the Korean midst and eliminating differences between the Koreans and the aboriginal Russian population, which will lead its pupils starting from a very early age in the true Russian direction, and, lastly, military service, will have the effect of implanting in young Koreans the embryo of patriotism and imbue them with a sense of faithful devotion to His Majesty These are the three elements which will make from the Koreans as loyal men for the Tsar as dozens of other nationalities, scattered all over the outlying districts of our vast fatherland."⁶

Nasekin also made a map of the Korean settlements in the Yuzhno-Ussurisk region.⁷ At least two more articles, published bearing the signatures N. and N.N. may be attributed to him on justifiable grounds.⁸

The so-called "Korean problem" was one of the objects of research for the Amur expedition, dispatched in 1911 by Highest order. V. Pesotsky's work came out of the expedition. In a chapter entitled "The Role of the Koreans in the Region", Pesotsky recorded both favorable and unfavorable opinions regarding the Korean population. In his view, among the negative aspects of the Korean population's presence in the Maritime region may be counted the following: deprivation of the treasury due to the great part of the population's lack of official status, the financial burden of the periodic deportations of Koreans, the retardation of the development of Russian agriculture, a fall in crop yields due to degradation of the soil, the danger of corruption and threats to the civility and morality of the lowest administrative ranks

6 Nasekin N. The Koreans of the priamur Krai. In *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia. Sed' moie desetaletnie Chast' CCCLII*, St. Peterburg, 1904, pp.1-61

7 Nasekin N. Map of the Korean Population of the South-Ussuri Krai. In: *Priamurskie vedomosti* 1895, No 100, Supplement

8 N. Some statistical data on the Koreans of the Posiet district of the South-Ussuri Krai. *Vladivostok*, 1887, N.N. the Korean Question in the Priamur. In: *Russkii vestnik*, 1900, Vyp. 269, pp 296-303

posed by the alien elements, and the possibility of political infraction or subversion. On the other hand, Pesotsky listed the benefits of Korean settlement of the Maritime region: a boost to the treasury arising from issuance of Russian papers and passports, growth of agriculture in the region, the placing of cheap Korean labor at the disposal of Russian employers, and the steadying effect of the presence of industrious, unpretentious and law-abiding citizens in the region.⁹ Although Pesotsky did not definitively pass judgement on “the Korean problem”, there is evidence that the pros and cons of Korean settlement seem in his mind to balance each other out. In so far as the other expeditioners are concerned, however, opinion seems to favor Korean settlement in the Far East, and maybe even the formation of a “country”, with the citizens working for a living, obedient to Russian laws, and furthering the interestings of the Russian state¹⁰

The authors of the monarchical school are united by a particularly utilitarian approach to the problem of Korean immigration and settlement in Russia. In the first instance, Russian colonization from the western and central parts of the Empire, in addition, the need to hasten economic and military development of the region eventually forced the choice of the perceived lesser of the two evils of “yellow colonization”: Chinese or Korean.

Among others, A.Panov¹¹, P. Grave¹², N Slyunin¹³, N.Kolin¹⁴ are authors belonging to the bourgeois school of pre-revolutionary *Koryŏ saram* historiography. In their works they considered the conditions of agricultural and industrial development in the Far East and, in this connection, casually and fragmentarily mentioned the Korean problem as a compound part of the dilemma of “yellow colonization”

S. Nedakhin’s article furnishes more detailed information and discourse concerning the Korean immigrants worthy of our attention. Nedakhin contends from the point of view of Russian imperialist ambition. “History hardly ever gave any

9 Pesotsky V. The Korean Question in Priamur In Trudy komandirovannogo Vysochaishemu povelennu Amurskoi ekspeditsii. T XI, St. Peterburg, 1913.

10 The Report of the Chief for the agricultural Kolonization In: Trydy Amurskoi ekspeditsii T 5

11. Panov A. The yellow Question in Priamur Historical and statistical survey St. Peterburg, 1910, The same. In: Voprosy kolonizatsii 1910, No 7, pp 53-116, Panov A. The Yellow Question and the Means of Struggle with the “Yellow Domination in the Priamur In Voprosy kolonizatsii, 1912, No.11, pp 171-184, Panov A. Struggle for the Labor Market in the Priamur In Voprosy kolonizatsii, 1912, No 11, pp 241-282

12 Crave G. Chinese, Koreans and Japanese in Priamur In Trudy Amurskoi ekspeditsii T XI, St. Peterburg, 1913

13 Slyunin N. The contemporary Situation in our Far East. St. Peterburg, 1908.

14 Kolin N. The yellow Question in the Russian Far East In Russkii vestnik, 1898, No 1, pp 310-320

better material (than the Koreans—cursive and note mine—G.K.) to finish its forthcoming mission—to become firmly established in the Far East.”¹⁵ Nedakhin recommended that the following concrete steps should be taken to mitigate the Korean problem: taiga land should be allocated for Korean settlement as far away from the border with Korea as possible; Koreans should not be allowed to establish new settlements near the Amur railway or the Posiet lot; private property rights to breech (public) lands should be allotted to Koreans on the same basis as other property-owners; 5 dessinatinas of land should be turned over to a male and not more than 30 to a family; and Korean labor should be used in industry, transport, building etc. more extensively. In general, Nedakhin holds the view that: “in order to make Korean colonization go the right way and give the expected results, it is necessary to create for the Koreans the conditions which will stimulate them to become attached to the new motherland.”¹⁶

Nedakhin is also known for his works on the history of the orthodox missions in Korea and the conversion of the Maritime Koreans to Christianity.¹⁷ In common with many other authors, he considers the Koreans a God-fearing people amenable to Christian teachings, and sees the potential for the orthodox church to attract into its fold new believers.¹⁸

The existence of rich archival sources concerning the above issues, advances in Russian historiography, deficiencies in Soviet ethnography, the exception activity of foreign (South Korean) Christian missionaries in the relatively more densely-populated areas of *Koryŏ saram*, a religious renaissance in the ex-USSR and the

15 Nedakhin S *The Korean Colonists The Question of the Rapprochement of Koreans to Russia* In *Vostochnyi sbornik*, 1913, No 1, p 198.

16 *ibid* p.199.

17. Nedakhin S *The Orthodox Church in Korea, approaching the 10th Year of its Existense* , Historical Sketch. In *Missionerskoe obozrenie* 1911, T.16, No 9, pp 27-43, No.10, pp 258-272, No 11, pp 474-492, No.12, pp 699-707, Nedakhin S *On Admission of Koreans to Christianity* St Peterburg, 1913.

18 Ivanovsky P. *Present-day Situation of the Christian Missions in Korea* Special Issue St Peterburg, 1904, Ivanovsky P *Korean Christians* Moscow, 1905, Ivanovsky P *The Annexation of Korea and its Relation to Christianity in this Country*. In: *Vestnik Azii*, 1911, No 7, pp 13-19 *The activities of the Missioneries among the Koreans, resettled at the Amur* In *Missioner*, 1874, No 26, pp 239-242; *The activities of the Missioneries among the Koreans of the Kamchatka Eparchy* In *Missioner*, 1874, No 6, pp.63-67, *The Missioneries activity in the Ussuri Krai*, A personal Letter from Seoul In: *Tserkovnyie vedomosti* St Peterburg, 1912, No 6, pp 203-206, *Bichurin N Selected works on the People of Central Asia* Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, Beliaev I *The Russian Missions on the borders A Historical-ethnographical sketch*. St. Peterburg, 1900, Perevalov F *The Russian Church Mission in Korea in the 25 years of its Existenz (1900-1925) A short historical sketch with the statistical data on the Religions of Koreans* Kharbin, 1926 etc

ethnically consolidating role of the Christian churches in Korean communities abroad—all these factors give an idea of the need for concerted research into the history and role of religion in the *Koryŏ sarams'* life.

Among representatives of the democratic school numbered high-ranking officials. An immigration director in the Yuzhno-Ussurisk region between 1882 and 1892—F. Busse—was one of them.¹⁹ Another, and official on special assignment attached to the Amur oblast governor, M. Putsillo, left not only his works, but also fond memories in the hearts of *Koryŏ saram*. In the spring of 1870, he was sent to establish Korean settlements near the Suifun River and lived there for a year and a half, during which time he worked hard. The Koreans were so grateful to him that in his recognition they erected two monuments bearing the words: “Captain Mikhailo Ivanych Putsillo. For showing love and justice to the Korean people.” Later, one of the villages on the Suifun was given the name “Putsillovka in his honor.” Putsillo is known not to have enjoyed the favor of the authorities. essential finances were denied, not only depriving schemes undertaken to benefit Koreans, but also his own salary. Still, the resilient Putsillo was not prevented from making his own unique contribution—the first Russian-Korean dictionary, which foreshadowed the appearance of other double dictionaries of Korean with English, German, French and so on. Moreover, this dictionary is a valuable tool for the study of *Koryŏ mar*—the language of the Koreans of the Maritime region and their descendents.²⁰

A famous Russian traveller, N. Przhevalsky, was sent in 1868 by the Governor-general of Eastern Siberia on the instructions of the Siberian Department of Natural and Historical Research to the Ussuriysk region, where he showed himself to be not only a brilliant zoologist, but also a master ethnographic observer.²¹ The following words of Przhevalsky describing his impressions of the first stage of Korean migration to the Far East are frequently cited in favor of a positive view of Korean colonization there: “The Korean immigration to Russia and settlement there in new dwellings should be regarded as a remarkable phenomenon of late.”²²

The Siberian historian and publicist V. Vagin was also in the vanguard of open criticism of the misguided Tsarist policies toward the Korean problem and at the forefront of efforts to protect the Koreans from the scourges of official tyranny,

19. Busse F. *The Resettlement of Peasants by Sea to the South-Ussuri Krai in 1883-1893*. St. Peterburg, 1896.

20. Putsillo M. *Attempt at a Russian-Korean Dictionary*. St. Peterburg, 1874.

21. Przhevalskii N. *The non-Russian Population of the Southern part of the Primor' oblast*. 2. *The Korean Population*. In *Zapiski I R C.O.* 1869, No.5, pp 185-201.

22. *ibid*, p 195.

deviation of state resources designated for use to the benefit of Koreans by embezzlement, and from their forced Russification and Christianization.²³

The works of these authors of the democratic school have in common their sense of sympathy toward the Korean population in the Russian land. Admittedly, they are not devoid of weaknesses, inaccuracies or even outright mistakes. Furthermore, the authors themselves are on account of their belonging to different social classes, and official and professional backgrounds, sometimes inconsistent in terms of their opinions concerning the same question.

Interesting ethnographic materials may be found in articles and reports about the Korean village Blagoslovennoye and its inhabitants; in particular the break of fifteen years between studies allows a comparison of the ethnographical features to be made.²⁴ Pre-revolutionary Russian sources also contain extensive reference to the phonological, morphological and syntactic systems in the Korean language, its lexics and its dialectology. The works of such orientalist linguists as G. Podstavin and N. Kyuner have not lost any of their urgency and they are widely used by modern linguists.

It seems obvious that materials from the Far Eastern and Siberian press offer a very rich opportunity for future historiographical investigation. Fragmentary information on the Koreans can be found in the works of general character rendered by travellers, publicists and writers: D. Schreider, G. Grum-Grzhimailo, A. Maximov, P. Garin-Mikhailovsky and many others.²⁵

In conclusion, it should be recognised that the pre-revolutionary Russian literature in terms of quantity is characterized by the presence of a great number of both general and specialized works about the Koreans in the Far East, and in qualitative respects—the depth and breadth of questions considered and the heterogeneity of views on important aspects of the activities of the *Koryō saram*—

23. Vagin V Koreans on the Amur In *Sbornik istoricheskikh i statisticheskikh svedeni o Sibiri i sopredel'nykh stranakh* St. Peterburg, 1895, No 1, pp.1-29.

24. Kirillov A Koreans of the Blagoslovennoye Village. The historical-ethnographical sketch In *Primurskie vedomosti*, 1895, NN 58,59, Supplements, The Agriculture of the Korean Village Blagoslovennoye In *Materialy statistiko-ekonomicheskogo obsledovaniia kazachego i krestianskogo khosiasstva Amurskoi oblasti* St. Peterburg, 1912, T II, Part I, pp 189-194, The Population and Agriculture of the Korean Village Blagoslovennoye *ibid*, pp 161-162, 543-547.

25. Schreider D Our Far East (Three Years in the Ussuri kraj) St. Peterburg, 1897, Grum-Gruzhmailo G The Description of the Amur oblast (with a map). St. Peterburg, 1894, Maximov A Our Tases on the Pacific Ocean Political Studies, St. Peterburg, 1894, Maximov A The Non-Russians in the Ussuri Krai In *St. Peterburgskie vedomosti*, NN 176,177,178,180,185,186,191,208, Maximov A On the Far East The Stories and Sketches St. Peterburg, 1887, Garin-Mikhailovski N In Korea, Manchuria and the Ladung Peninsula St. Peterburg, 1904, etc

provides a solid foundation from which to embark upon the essential task of undertaking specialized historiographical research work.

2. Soviet Literature

Even during the first years of Soviet power, there appeared some works concerning the history of migration, demographics and geography of settlements of Korean populations in the Far East.²⁶ Special attention was paid to economic activities, particularly the Korean methods of agriculture and the development of rice growing in the area.²⁷

The first works about vigorous revolutionary activity in the Far East and Soviet Korean participation in the revolution appeared at the end of the 1920's. At that time, the tracks left by recent events were still fresh: the direct participants and eyewitnesses were still alive, peoples' memories had not yet dulled, relevant documentary material had not yet been relegated to obscure archives, and wanton accusations of nationalism, Trotskyism or any other damaging political sympathies could not yet be made to stick upon the elite among the *Koryŏ saram*.

The work entitled "Ten Years of the October Revolution and the Soviet Koreans" may be considered a seminal work. It was published in 1927 in Vladivostok. It remains the sole historical text written in Korean and published in the ex-USSR.²⁸ Its author retains his anonymity, despite my best efforts to ascertain his identity. This work, a little over one hundred pages in length, is a historiographical rarity residing in the libraries of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Some information, albeit unsystemized, is to be found in the works of N.

26 Korovin A The Kolonization of Maritime Region In: *Primor' ie, ego priroda i khosiaistvo Vladivostok*, 1923, pp 160-164; Patkanov S The List of the peoples in Siberia In: *Trudy kommissii po izucheniiu plemennogo sostava naselennia Rossii* Petrograd, 1927, No 7; Kremiansky S The Nationalities of rural Population in the Primor Gubernia 2 Population In *Ekonomicheskaiia zhizn' Primoria* Vladivostok, 1924, No.6-7, pp 43-64; Kobozev A The Kolonization of the Far East In *Trudy gosudarstvennogo kolonizatsionnogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo Instituta* Moscow, 1924, T 1, pp 213-269; Archipov A. The Rayons in the USSR Far East oblast Chapter II, Population, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926, pp 22-44, etc.

27 Voenkov aaA The success of the rice agriculture in the Primor oblast. Vladivostok, 1921; Panchenko M Rice (The success in its Cultivation in the Krai) *Izdanie gubernskogo zemelnogo otdela*. Khabarovsk, 1923; Krylov L The ways of the Rationalization of the agriculture in the Far East Oblast In *Ekonomichskaia zhizn' Primoria*. Khabarovsk, 1925, No 6, pp.70-90; Podoinitsyn G The agrotechnics of the Rice in the Far East Krai. Khabarovsk, 1929; Volodin I The Profitability of the Rice-growing Agriculture of the Koreans. In: *Trudy opytnych uchrezhdenii Dalnego Vostoka* Vladivostok, 1931, Vyp. 2, pp 89-130; etc

28 Ten Years of the October Revolution and the Soviet Koreans, Vladivostok, 1927.

Ilučov, M. Gubelman and S. Anosov²⁹

In the 1920's there were published some articles concerning the participation of Korean emigrants in the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East and organization of the national liberation movement in Korea.³⁰

Special works and articles about the Soviet Koreans appeared in the publishing houses of Moscow and the Far East region in the 1920-1930's.³¹ In all these publications, devoted as they were to socialist construction in agriculture and proletarian culture, it is recorded that "the October revolution liberated the Korean workers from national and social oppression."

After the total, forced repatriation of the Koreans in 1937, which entailed abrogation of the political and civil rights of the nation considered suspect by Stalin right up to his death, virtually no writing was done concerning the revolutionary activities of the Korean working people or about the partisan's struggle against the Japanese interventionists, collaboration with whom the Koreans were groundlessly accused shortly before their deportation.³²

A new qualitative strand in the historiographical experience of national aspects of revolution and civil war comes after the death of the "father of the nation", at the time of the Khrushchev thaw. In the second part of the 1950's, and the first half of the 1960's, as with professional historians, so did the direct participants, organizers and leading advocates of the Soviet regime become appreciably more active.

For many years, B. Babichev, M. Kim, S. Chan, V. Kim and S. Chaskina and others³³ devoted themselves to their research work. In their works, they dealt with the activities of the Korean partisans, described military operations against the

29 Il' učov N., Titov M. *The Partizan Movement in Primor' ie* Leningrad, 1928, Gubelman N. *The Struggle for the Soviet Far East*. Moscow 1958, Anosov S. *Koreans in the Ussuri Krai* Khabarovsk-Bladivostok, 1928; etc

30 Pak Dinshun' *The Socialist Movement in Korea* In *Kommunisticheskii Internatsional* Moscow-Petrograd, 1919, No 7-8, pp 1171-1176; Pak Dinshun *To the 7th Anniversary of the Revolution (1919)* In *Krestianskii Internatsional* Moscow, 1926, No 3-5, pp 78-86, Pak Shun Din *The Korean Refugees in Russia* In *Zhizn' Natsional' nostei*. Moscow, 1920, No.5, Gozhenskii I. *The Participation of Korean Refugees in the revolutionary Movement in the Far East* In *Revolution in the Far East* Moscow, 1923, Vyp 1, pp 357-374, etc

31. Petrov A. *Koreans and their Significance in the Economy of the Far East* In *Severnaia Azia*, 1929, No 1(25), pp 41-490, Vypasov A. *Koreans in the Agriculture of Khabarovsk Krai* In *Statobozrenie "Dalnii Vosto"*, Khabarovsk, 1929, No.2, pp 37-41, Ten Ia. *Koreans of the Soviet Union* In *Revoliutsia i Natsional' nosti* 1935, No 7, pp 44-48, Skolov B. *The Friendship of the People in the Soviet Far East* In: *Tichii okean*, 1937, No.1, pp 51-58, Izgouev N. *On the Khanka Lake* In *Nowyi mir* 1931, No 6, pp 112-120

32 *The undermining activities of the Japanese Intelligence* In *Pravda*, 1937, 9 July

Japanese occupation troops, characterized their interactions with the regular Red Army, criticized inept leadership and reported support provided by the local Korean population in terms of provisioning of the partisan effort. A detailed historiographical study has been rendered by the author of this paper at the behest of the authors of the “Lenin kichi”, and published therein.³⁴

The theme “October and the Soviet Koreans” was also investigated by the Korean creative intelligentsia. On the Korean theatre stage they performed Chai Djan Chun’s “Hon Bom Do” (1942), “The Partisans” (1957), and Chai Yen’s “The Road to the North” (1966), among others. The exploits of the Korean fighters near Imam station inspired poet Kim Dyun to write “*Mahn'yodolp saram*” (“48 men”) and the battle near the town of Olga found artistic expression in the poem of Kim Nam Sok called “*Olliga konthyryl hoyanhamenso*” (“Remembering the Battle near Olga”). To Kim Dyun’s pen can also be attributed the historical novel “*Sibomanwon sakkon*” (A 150 thousand-won affair), in which the author narrates the Korean participation in the events of 1918-1922 in the Maritime region. D. Lee’s novel “The Cranes Leave Their Nests” (Moscow, 1987) is devoted to the “Korean internationalists, who fell in their struggle to help establish the Soviet regime in the Far East.”

33 Babichev I The Brotherhood, strengthened with blood In Dal' nu Vostok, 1958, No 2, pp 167-170, Babichev I The Participation of the Chinese and Korean Workers in the Struggle against the Interventionists and White-Guardists in the Far East(1918-1922) In: Trudy khabarovskogo Medinstituta, 1958, Sbornik 16, pp 3-12, Babichev I The Participation of Chinese and Korean Workers in the Civil war in the Far East Tashkent, 1959, Babichev I The Communists-the Inspirator and Organizer of the Participation of the Korean and Chinese Workers in the Struggle against the Interventionists and White-guardists in the Soviet Far East (1918-1922)-The Thesis of the Ph. Diss , Moscow, 1961

Kim M The Korean Internationalists in the Struggle for the Soviet Regime in the Far East Moscow, 1979

Chan S The Participation of the Korean in the Civil War in the russian Far East (1919-1922) In Korea Istorii i ekonomika (1919-1922) Moscow, 1958, pp.109-114 , Chan S. The Korean Partizans in the Struggle for the Soviet Regime in the Far East. In. Voenno-Istoricheskii Zhurnal 1963, No.5, pp 109-114 Çhan S and Kim V The Korean Internationalists in the Struggle for the Soviet Regime in the Far East (1918-1922). In Uchenye zapiski Kemerovskogo pedinstituta, 1970, Vyp 25, pp 37-56

Razgon I , Flerov V and Khaskina S To the History of the War-alliance with the Korean Workers in the Struggle for the Soviet Regime in the Far East (1919-1922) In Trudy TSGA RSFSR DV, Tomsk, 1960, T 1, pp 310-319, Khaskina S Documents on the Participation of Korean Workers in the Struggle for the Soviet Regime in the Far East In Trudy TSGA , pp 65-72

Tsyapkina S The Participation of Korean Workers in the Struggle against the Interventionists in the Far East. In. Voprosy Istorii, 1957, No 11, pp 171-175, Boiko B The Korean Internationalists in the West Siberia Manuscript, 1989, pp 1-9

34 Kim G The Participation of the Korean Workers in the Struggle for the Establishment of the Soviet Regime in the Far East In Lenin Kichi, 1989, January 4, 5, Kim G. The Participation of the Korean Workers in the Struggle for the Establishment of Soviet Regime in the Far East (1918-1922)

In recent publications, much is made of the wonderful life enjoyed by Koreans in the Maritime region, to such an extent that a stereotype has developed. A similar stereotype holds that misfortune only befell the Koreans after the deportation, or shortly before it. However, we should not forget that the Koreans, as with other peoples in the Soviet state, endured the terrors of forced collectivization, aggravated by chauvinism and discrimination. Aly Sakir's article tells of the discrepancies between the rights enjoyed by peoples in two communes: the Russians in the "ODVK" commune, and the Koreans in the "Pacifian Revolutionary" commune.³⁵

For a refutation of the stereotypical view that the development of national culture and language of the Koreans of the Far East was problemless, one need look no further than the efforts to latinize the Korean national writing system, "*Han'gŭl*"—the pride of Korean people everywhere. Linguists such as B. Pashkov,³⁶ A. Cholodovich³⁷ and I. Bulatnikov,³⁸ an inspector with the People's Commissariat of Education (Ministry—G.K.), fought for "the general and urgent latinization of the peoples of the USSR who are ignorant of letters or have new written language", and held up as shameful the reactionary character of Chinese characters and *Han'gŭl* and called for a revolution in the written language of Soviet Koreans, which would act as an inspiration for Koreans in all countries to eliminate such tendencies.

Kim Syn Khva's monograph is the first study of the history of Soviet Koreans. This work is of epic proportions, spanning a period from the mid 5th century to the mid-1930's. i.e. until before the forced migration to Kazakhstan and Central Asia.³⁹ The author gives a general presentation of the demographic, social structure and business characteristics of the Korean population, formation of the Soviet system of public education, formal and methodological characteristics of cultural and educational enterprises, and the conception of the national theatre and literature. In his conclusion, Kim not only sums up his inferences and the state of his research in the traditional way, but also provides brief accounts of the farm work carried out by Korean kolkhoz labourers who had been deported to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the participation of Koreans in the war of 1941-45 and the work of the Korean

35. Aly Zakir. For a Leninist Nationalist Politics in the Kolkhoz Movement among the Koreans of the Far East. In: *Revolutsiia i Natsionalnost*, 1931, No2-3, pp 76-81

36. Pashkov B. The Urgency of the Latinizing Korean Writings. In: *Kultura i Pis' mennost' Vostoka*, 1931, No 9, pp 33-37.

37. Kholodovich A. On the Latinization of Korean Writing. In: *Sovetskoe lazykosnanie*, 1935, No 1, pp 147-161

38. Bulatnikov I. On the Latinization of Korean Writing. In: *Prosveshchenie Natsionalnostei*, 1935, No 6, pp.106-109

39. Kim Syn Khva. A Study of the History of the Soviet Koreans. Alma-Ata, 1965

theatre. On account of the well-known political restrictions on his work, neither Kim's book, nor later his doctorate thesis, in which the chronological bounds of his work is extended to the mid 1960's, contain any hint of the 1937 deportation. This omission is naturally not the author's fault, merely the tragic legacy of political repression.

In viewing problems concerning the spiritual development of Soviet Koreans synthesis of the main methodological and concrete questions of ethnic history and culture has a specific scientific tradition. Moreover, interest in this culture is shown not only by historians, but also by ethnographers, philosophers, art critics and philologists. This diverse interest may be explained precisely by the fact that in the sphere of culture, features of the dynamic quantitative state of any social organism, including an ethnic group, can be seen in clearest focus.

The ethnographical study of the material and spiritual culture of the Central Asia Koreans dates from the second half of the 1950's.

The most prominent researcher of ethnic and cultural aspects of the *Koryŏ sarams'* life has been R. Dzharylgasimova, and the author of numerous articles, the combined contents of which could form the basis of a monograph.⁴⁰ The common concern for ethnographers interested in ethnological aspects of the Soviet Korean's life is to come to terms with changes in their ethnic culture. The starting point for understanding these changes has been a recognition that notions of tradition and innovation, ethnic difference and interethnic cultural integration are complementary. In general, the structure of the works is monotypical and uniform: general information is presented on the settling of the Koreans in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, anthroponimical processes among the *Koryŏ saram*, their essential trades,

40 Dzharylgasimova R. Culture and Life of the Koreans on the Sovkhoz "Raushan" of the Kungradskii Region of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR. In *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta Etnografii*. 1960, XXXV, pp 54-63; Dzharylgasimova R. On the cultural Rapprochement of the Koreans in the Uzbek SSR with Neighboring Peoples (Tradition and Novelty in Economic Life and Material Culture) In: *Sovetskaiia Etnografiia*, 1966, No.5, pp.3-14 ; Dzharylgasimova R. Tradition and Novelty in the Family Rites of Koreans in Central Asia. In : *Istoriia Arkheologii i Etnografiia Srednei Azii*. Moscow, 1968, pp 343-349; Dzharylgasimova R. Second names as Historical Ethnographic Source. In *Onomastika Povolzh' ia Ul'ianovsk*, 1969, pp.22-27; Dzharylgasimova R. Anthroponimic Processes among the Koreans of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In *Lichnye imena v proshlom, nastoiashchem i, udushchem*. Moscow, 1970, pp 139-149; Dzharylgasimova R. Innovations in the Culture and Life of the Koreans of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (based on the rural Population). In *Sovetskaiia Etnografiia*, 1978, No.6, pp 59-70; Dzharylgasimova R. On the Characteristics of the Present-Day Anthroponimic Model of the Koreans Living in the Rural Regions of the Uzbek SSR. In *Onomastika Srednei Azii*. Moscow, 1978, pp.203-205; Dzharylgasimova R. Basic Tendencies of Etnicheskie protsessy u natsionalnykh grupp Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana. Moscow, 1980, pp 43-73

their hamlets and dwellings, clothes and food, and domestic life and rituals.⁴¹

Unfortunately, such ethnic and demographic phenomena as changes in conjugal arrangements, reproductive conduct and the ethnic self-identification of offspring from inter-racial marriages has not been of scientific interest of ethnographers and Korean scholars. Whilst schematic characterization of Korean field work studies is possible, included should be analyses of peoples' working traditions in terms of rice—and vegetable—growing techniques, of specific seasonal market-gardening patterns, and the pendulum migration associated with these activities. In general, that the contribution of ethnographers' detailed interpretations of changes in the spiritual and material culture of the *Koryŏ saram* is great and uncontested.

One of the most interesting and challenging aspects of the study of national cultural development is changes in language. Linguistic and socio-linguistic research into the modern language of soviet Koreans is undertaken in the scientific articles and theses of O. Kim, M. Khagai and I. Yugai.⁴² Although the subjects of these authors' research were ethnically specific—the rural and ethnically diverse urban Korean populations of Uzbekistan—their observations may be good for corresponding groups of soviet Koreans everywhere. Notable among Kazakh linguistic scholars is B. Khasanovs, who touches upon the functioning of the Korean language in the Republic, the mutual influence of the Korean and Kazakh languages (“Kazakhisms” in *Koryŏ mar*) and the spread of Kazakh-Korean bilingualism.⁴³ In recent times, N. Pak and K. Yugai have revived scientific interest

41 Ionova Iu Koreans. In: *Narody Srednei Azii Kazakhstana* Moscow, 1963. T.II, pp 564-580, Ionova Iu. With the Koreans of the Central Asia In: *Kratkie soobsheniia instituta Etnografii*, Moscow, 1963 XXXVII pp 23-24, Ionova Iu The Rites and its Social Functions in Korea Middle XIX-Begining XX centuries Moscow, 1987, Tsoi V The Study of Family Rites of the Koreans of Kazakhstan In: *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 1983, No 2, pp 96-102, Tsoi V The Present-day Material Culture and Life of Koreans in Kazakhstan (To the Question of Correlation of Traditions and Novelities) Thesis of the Ph.D Diss, Leningrad, 1985, Kim G The Athroponimic Processes among Koreans In: *Imena Narodov Kazakhstana* Alma-Ata, 1991, pp 70-82

42 Kim O On the Language of the Koreans of the USSR. In: *Uchenye zapiski Tashkentskogo Sredne-Aziatskogo Universiteta* 1962, Vyp 202 pp 87-93, Kim O Peculiarities of the Russian Speech of the Koreans in the USSR. A Phonetic-Morphological Study Thesis of the Ph.D Diss, Tashkent, 1964, Khagai M Lexical Loans from the Russian Language in Korean Translations Thesis of the Ph.D Diss, Moscow, 1953, Iugai I On the Influence of the Statistical Factors upon the Linguistic Processes among the Korean of the Uzbek SSR (On the Base of the 1970-Census) In: *Issledovaniia po literaturovedeniuiazykoznanaiu* Tashkent, 1977, pp.151-157 Iugai I Ethni-Sociological Study of the Linguistic Processes among the Koreans of the Uzbek SSR In: *Polevyie issledovaniia Instituta Etnografii* M., 1977, pp 168-174, Iugai I The Development of the Ethni-Linguistic Processes in the other People's Surroundings Thesis of the Ph.D Diss, Moscow, 1982

43 Khasanov B The Languages of the Peoples of Kazakhstan and its Interaction Alma-Ata, 1976,

both in the Korean language itself, and the dialect used by the majority of Kazakhstan Koreans, *Koryŏ mar*.

Korean folklore, as a component of the nation's spiritual culture, has been the object of research in the former USSR since the early 1960's. V. Pak collected in the Alma-Ata and Kzyl-Oda regions a body of over 100 fairy tales, a part of which has been published.⁴⁴ Paremiological research into Korean folklore has been a success. Over many years, Lim Su collected Korean paremies and then published a separate collection, which included over 3000 proverbial phrases, folk signs and pieces of medical counsel, riddles, everyday agricultural recommendations and observations.⁴⁵ A brochure by Lee Han Sen is devoted to the highly specialized area, namely the atheistic contents of Korean folklore.⁴⁶ Art critic Chon Chu researched the historical roots of traditional Korean folk song genres preserved by families of Kazakhstan Koreans. He brought to light the ethnological zones in Korea, ascertained the melodies of Korean songs, compared them with the melodies of other nations, and proposed a classification for the old folk genres and for the few Soviet Korean songs. In his work are also researched some specific questions concerning Korean music.⁴⁷

Features of the creative practices of Korean theatre are considered in the research of the playwright and producer I. Kim, in which theatre repertoire, the most important landmark performances and the activities of artistic groups are all analysed. Whilst Kim's work has the flavour of art criticism, it also contains a short essay chronicling the history of the formation and development of the theatre. Illustrations and an appendix are included in the work, completing an examination of the important information regarding all theatre plays between 1932 and 1981.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, Kim's purview did not bring in the rich material about Korean theatre to be found in file N.2046 of the Kazakhstan Central State Archives. In the

Khasanov B. *The National Languages, Bilingualism and Polylingualism: The Searches and Perspectives* Alma-Ata, 1989

44 *The Korean Fairy Tales* Moscow, 1966

45. *The Korean Folk Adages* In *Korean and Russian* Compiled and translated by Lim Su Moscow, 1982

46 Lee Khan Sen *The Using of the Folklore in the Atheistic Propaganda* Alma-Ata, 1970

46 Lee Khan Sen *The Using of the Folklore in the Atheistic Propaganda* Alma-Ata, 1970

47 Ten Chu *The Korean Historical Songs* In *Musykosnaniye* Alma-Ata, 1974, Vyp 6, pp 62-72; Ten Chu *The New Genres of Soviet Korean Songs*. In *Muzykozanniye*. Alma-Ata, 1975, Vyp 7, pp 39-48, Ten Chu. *The Songs Culture of the Soviet Koreans* In *Izvestia AN Kaz SSR Seriya filologicheskaya* 1976, No 2, pp 62-68 Ten Chu *The Song Culture of Soviet Koreans* Thesis of the Ph D Diss, Alma-Ata, 1978

48 Kim I *The Soviet Korean Theatre*. Alma-Ata, 1982.

1959-1969 decade, during which the Korean theatre was in Kzyl-Orda, E Han and V. Ugai devoted themselves to studying Soviet Korean stage art; their articles and essays were often published in the regional press. Further information regarding the Korean theatre may be found in a series of books of an investigative and encyclopaedic nature.⁴⁹

The first steps in the research of the history of school education of the Korean population of Kazakhstan were also undertaken. In his doctoral thesis,⁵⁰ B. Han looked into questions concerning the building of schools for Korean students and in a general way at the pedagogical experience of the teachers. His thesis' contents reflect a methodological approach to such issues of school education of Kazakh Koreans that is pedagogical, not historical. Some important aspects of the history and methods of teaching Korean as a native language were left under-researched. Also, there remained unanswered questions about the logistical supply of technical and material resources to the schools with Korean students, as well as how schools were to be provided with skilled and experienced teachers of the Korean language and concerning the teaching methodology itself.

Participation of the *Koryō saram* in the Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan agricultural sectors is elucidated in a special literature consisting of books, articles and booklets authored by Ministry of Agriculture officials and the leaders and chief specialists of prominent kolkhozes. They saw their main task as being to describe feats of labour and highlight the role of highly productive industries.⁵¹ Although requiring critical evaluation, such literature's importance cannot be denied, given the wealth of concrete material presented.

49 The Korean Music and Dramatic Theatre In Kanapin A, Varshavskii L. *Iskusstvo Kazakhstana* Alma-Ata, 1958, pp 154-158, The Republic Korean Musical Theatre of the Kaz SSR In *Musikalnaia zhizh'* of the USSR A Reference book Moscow, 1970, pp 237-238, The Korean Music and Dramatic Theatre of the Kaz SSR In, *Theatre. Encyclopedia* T 3, Moscow, 1964, pp 193-194 etc

50 Khan B. *The Pedagogical Problems of the Education of the Korean Population (on the Materials in Kaz SSR)* Thesis of the Ph D Diss. Alma-Ata, 1981

51 Brezinski V *The Kolkhoz in the Development (Iz opyta raboty kolkhoza "18 let Kazakhstana", gde predsedelem Kan De Khan)* Alma-Ata, 1969, Kan Tiu Khon *Our Experience in the Agriculture of Potatos and Vegetables.* Alma-Ata, 1954, Kirichenko K. *The Agrotechnics of the high Rice-Yields* Moscow 1953, Novik D. *The Progressive Rice-cultivating Kolkhos* Alma-Ata, 1957; Pak N *Kolkhos "Vanguard"* Moscow, 1950, Khvan S *How we grow the high Cotton-Yields (Kolkhos "Put' k Kommunizmu")* Alma-Ata, 1956; Kim Pen Khva *The Experience in the Growing of the High Rice-Yields (Kolkhos "Polnarnaia Zvesda Sredne-Chirchikskogo Raiona, Tashkentskoi Oblasti)* Moscow, 1952, Ten A *The Economic of the Progressive Kolkhos "Polnarnaia Zvesda"* Thesis of Ph D Diss Tashkent, 1950, Inoiatov Kh, Nurullin P *Ascent (A historical Sketch on the Kolkhos "Polnarnaia Zvesda"* Tashkent, 1970, Nurmatov N. *An Experience of the Organization and Economic of the Progressive Sverdlov-Kolkhos* Thesis of the Ph D Diss Tashkent, 1954

The growth of interest of the *Koryŏ saram* in their own turbulent history is encouraging, yet the future of our national culture is of concern, and we look forward to regenerating our lost language. Quite suddenly, journalists, poets and Korean cultural leaders have joined the professional historians already writing about the *Koryŏ saram*.⁵² However, this boom in our field of Korean studies is not devoid of traps. For one thing, degree-bearing human scientists who had devoted their academic lives to the analysis of class struggle or the international significance of the Soviet Communist Party have quite quickly reinvented themselves as scholars concerned with researching the history, culture and language of the *Koryŏ saram*. Their works are full of already well-known facts and abound in stereotypes, very often bearing traces of emotion and subjectivism, an indulgence detracting from the possibility of sensible analysis based on solid empirical foundations. In view of the fact that this article is of general review character rather than being more narrowly-focussed, however, a real polemic piece on such questions will be submitted at a later date.

Even without use of scientific methods of content-analysis, we may define a priori the most vital historical problem which attracts the attention of authors and reading audiences alike. There is no doubt that cardinal changes in the life of Soviet Koreans are connected with the deportation. As a result, every question arising from the study of the history of the *Koryŏ saram* is considered in connection with the forced relocation and its consequences. Eminence here belongs to Pavel Kim, the author of a Ph.D dissertation “The Uzbekistan Communist Party’s Activities in Organizing Economic Reinforcement of Korean Kolkhozes (1937-1941).”⁵³

As an example of the kind of misinformation surrounding the history of the *Koryŏ saram*, we have one Stephan Kim, who put into the mouth of a phantom scholar “Vasily Kim” the claim that “revelation concerning the first two years of Korean settlement in Centural Asia are so distasteful that I will confine myself to the favorable post-1939 period.” So neither the name of the scholar to whom such words were attributed, nor the title of the dissertation in which they were supposedly to be found, nor the chronological time frame in which they rested were anything more than fabrications as they appeared in Stephan Kim’s “Confession of *Soryŏn Saram*—the Soviet Man”. In this work Stephan Kim attributes to “Vasily

52. Yugar G Soviet Koreans A Social-Psychological Face of my Generation Tashkent, 1990, Kim P Koreans of Uzbekistana Tashkent, 1990, Pak B A Posterty of the Land of the White Storks Tashkent, 1990, The Soviet Koreans of Kazakhstan (A Reference book) Alma-Ata, 1992

53. Kim P The Activity of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan for the Organization of Koreans Kolkhozes (1937-1941) Thesis of Ph D Diss , Tashkent, 1970

Kim” the stereotypical view that between 1937-38 there were no high points to brighten the generally gloomy picture of confusion, starvation, disease and death.⁵⁴

Known materials in the Central State Archives of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and other regional archives contain “letters, complaints, requests and entreaties to save the dying people”; the bulk of the documents contained therein, however, are of a different character, testifying to a whole complex of measures relating to the economic arrangements affecting the deportees. Included among these documents are estimates and reports concerning building works in the Korean kolkhozes, the regional executive committee’s resolutions on extending food and seed loans, the resolutions of Party and Soviet authorities on allocating financial resources, and so on. A number of academic articles about the deportation and the first years of the deportees in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have been or are being prepared for publication⁵⁵

Among the authors of newspaper and magazine articles,⁵⁶ Brutt Kim is particularly noteworthy for his deep and long interest in the past and present circumstances of Soviet Koreans and the vividness of his interpretation and analytical comprehension of expounded themes. Not surprisingly, he has released two books which incorporate among other things his previously successfully published newspaper articles about the *Koryŏ saram*.⁵⁷

Nowadays, the problems of Korean ethnic national autonomy are more of a political or state-legal nature, rather than being more narrowly of academic interest. In a pamphlet published under her own auspices, S. Nam writes that “on the basis of contemporary records, unearthed and scientifically analysed from a legal viewpoint, the truth of the creation and existence of the Korean national area in the south of the Maritime region during the period 1928-1937 can be ascertained.⁵⁸ Whilst no one will deny that the Posiet area was de facto the Korean area according to its national complement of Koreans, the existence of national autonomy de jure requires far greater support by appropriate documentation. On the basis of personal experience

54. Kim S. A Confession of Soryon Saram—Soviet Man. In. *Druzhba narodov* 1989, No 4, pp 188-195

55 Kim G Soviet Koreans 30-40th years In *Belye priatna v istorii Kazakhstana* Alma-Ata, 1991; Kim P How it was Manuscript. 1991, pp.1-13, Ten V Koreans in the North Kazakhstan. The Deportation and the Problems of the Adaptation (On the Materials of the Kustanai Oblast) Manuscript, 1992, pp 1-7.

56 Kim V Koreans In *Literaturnyi Kirgistan* 1988, No 2, PP102-109, Kan B Tell, Who was the first? In *Sovetskara Molodiozh*, 1990, September 11 etc.

57 Kim B. The Winds of our Fates. In. *Zvezda Vostoka* 1990, No 2, pp.109-119; Kim Brutt Who are we? 서울, 1989

58. Nam S. The Korean National Raion. The Ways of the Investigations of the Scholar Moscow, 1991

gleaned while working with materials from the Far Eastern Central Archive, I would argue that there are grounds enough for scepticism about the argument that national autonomy existed in any objective sense. Indeed, it seems that the discussions about such national autonomy yielded little more than dry ink on paper.

Furthermore, the current explosive atmosphere of interethnic conflict requires from researchers and advocates of the historical and present statuses of national autonomies in the ex-USSR not only the courage of sappers, but the highest degrees of professionalism and a heightened sense of collective responsibility, especially in terms of adopting a cautious approach in discussing questions of national autonomy.

It is well known that about 60 thousand Koreans were moved out of the southern part of Korea by force and deception to forced labor camps on Sakhalin Island. After the end of World War II, more than 47 thousand Koreans were left. Nowadays the Korean population is about 35 thousand. Up to the present time, access to Sakhalin Koreans has been prohibited for historians and ethnographers alike. The history of Sakhalin Koreans, as well as the problems for those now in Japan and Korea and the prospects for those in the ex-USSR are discussed in the works of Bok Zı Kou.⁵⁹

In conclusion, the historiography of the history, culture and language of *Koryŏ saram* has established traditions. The main stages in the historical development of Soviet Koreans, ethnic processes and areas of material and spiritual culture, their professional performing arts, language and speech behaviour, folklore and school education have received sufficient attention. However, there remain considerable areas of insufficiently explored or even virgin territory ripe for future examination.

3. FOREIGN LITERATURE

Western interest in Korea and Koreans only manifested itself in the second half of the last century, when the Land of the Morning Calm was forced to relinquish its policy of isolationism under pressure from the super powers. Pre-revolutionary foreign literature about the Korean settlers in the Far East is less well investigated in terms of historiographical analysis than the Russian literature. Whilst not fully acquainted with the material, certainly the most well-known works have come to my attention, among which are the diary notes of the English traveller Isabel

⁵⁹ Bok M. To the Question "The Problems of the Sakhalin Koreans" In: Nam zhızn' dana Iuzno-Sakhalınsk, 1989, pp 3-13, Bok M. (Bok Zı Kou) The Sakhalin Koreans Problem and Perspectives. Iuzhno-Sakhalınsk, 1989

Bishop, who had been an observer of the Korean settlers living modes and conditions from Vladivostok to Posiet.⁶⁰ In her ninth chapter, she describes the self-government of Korean villages, the taxation of Korean farms, rural life, dwellings and labour activity. In general, the reader gets the feeling that Koreans in foreign parts had bettered their lot in comparison with the lot of those in their own motherland, by dint of their diligence. Less important information about Far Eastern Koreans is recorded in the work of German Major-General Z. von Zeppeline, whose attention focussed on demographic characteristics, settlement of the territory and employment of Korean workers in the gold and timber industries.⁶¹

In the West, mention of and information concerning the *Koryŏ saram* first appeared in the mid 1950's. For example, the book written by V. Kolarz, a West German politologist (or "bourgeois sovietologist", as derided in the past by some domestic scholars) contains trustworthy information about Korean immigration to the Far East, the immigrants' cultural and economic adaptation, their production activities, the development of the national school system and the press, and also certain disputable facts which must be the subject of verification and, if necessary, correction in the future; for example, the assertion that the population of Soviet Koreans in the 1920's was 300,000 people.⁶² Kolarz was one of the first to adopt an objective approach to the question of judging the foreign and domestic political situation developing in the Far East on the eve of the deportation.

In the 1970's, some foreign scholars released a series of special books and articles devoted to the study of the past and present of the *Koryŏ saram*. The author of one of these articles is J. Stephan, Professor of History at the Hawaiian University, and Director at the Center for Soviet Studies, Central Asia and Far East. The avowed purpose of J. Stephan's article was to generalize about the information available on Soviet Koreans and to posit problems and questions which are to be considered and to which the extensive attention of Western scholars is to be drawn. The work is chronological: the Koreans in Russia before 1917; the Sovietization of the Koreans during the period 1917-1937; the soviet Koreans in the war, in North Korea and on Sakhalin Island (1941-1957), and the Soviet Koreans nowadays. J. Stephan drew widely on Kim Syn Khva's monograph, the article of other authors,

60 Bishop I Korea and her Neighbours A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country. New York, 1897, Bishop I Koreans in Russian Manchuria In The Korean Repository 1897, Vol IV No 2, pp 41-44

61 Zepelin C. Der Ferne Osten Seine Geschichte, seine Entwicklung in der neuesten Zeit und seine Lage nach dem russisch—japanischen Kriege. Berlin, 1909.

62 Kolarz W. The People of the Soviet Far East London, 1959.

and Soviet periodicals as well. The most interesting part of the article draws attention to characteristics of the population, the political status of Koreans on Sakhalin and the role of Soviet Koreans in the post-war political, economic and cultural set up of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.⁶³

G. Ginsburgs, Professor of the School of Law at Rutgers University, is well-known for his studies of the political systems of a number of countries. The monographs "The Soviet Civil Laws" and "Soviet Literature about Korea (1945-1970)" belong to him. From the mid-1970's until now he has published several articles about the legal status of Koreans in Russia and the USSR. His article "The Civil Status of the Koreans in Pre-Revolutionary Russia and the early years of the Soviet Regime" I would characterize as being reminiscent of Kim Syn Khva's "Essays on the Soviet Korean's History".⁶⁴ In co-authorship with H. Ginsburgs he has published an article which has been published in full form in the open press in which he discusses statistical data about the Soviet Koreans, drawing on materials from the 1970 census. The statistical material was systematically compiled across the whole USSR, with attention focussing on attitudes to the Korean and Russian languages, gender and place of residence (urban or rural). This structure remains in the exposition of statistical data concerning the Koreans in Russia as a whole, and then in the Far East: the Maritime and Khabarovsk regions, the Kamchatsk area, the Koryak national district and the Sakhalin oblast. Information about the Korean commune in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, however, is not adduced.⁶⁵

One of the last Ginsburg articles is devoted to the theme of the foreign workers in the ex-USSR, using as an example the Northern Koreans—Gastarbeiter, a blank page for a long time in the domestic socio-political and public literature.⁶⁶

In the 1980's the greatest activity in the study of the past and present of the *Koryŏ saram* was to be found amongst Western and American-Korean scholars. Kim Yŏn-su, a professor at Kiel University (Germany) and the University of Taegu

63 Stephan J The Korean Minority in the Soviet Union. In MIZAN (Central Asian Review), 1970 Vol 13, No 3, pp 138-147

64 Ginsburgs G. The Citizenship Status of Koreans in Pre-Revolutionary Russia and the Early Years of the Soviet Regime In Korean Affairs, 1975, Vol V, No 2, pp 1-20, Ginsburgs G The Citizenship Status of Koreans in the USSR Post-World War II Developments In Korean Affairs, 1976, Vol IV, No 1, pp 1-17

65 Ginsburgs G., Ginsburgs H. A Statistical Profile of the Korean community in the Soviet Union In : Asian Survey, 1977, Vol XVII, No 10, pp 952-967

66 Ginsburgs G. Labor Policy and Foreign workers the case of North Korean Gastarbeiter in the Soviet Union In Soviet Administrative Law Theory and Policy, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989, pp.399-424.

(Korea), has published a book compiling his impressions, notes from his travels in the Soviet Union, a historiographical review of Korean ethnology in the former USSR and essays on the history and the culture of the Soviet Koreans. His only book about Soviet Koreans⁶⁷ can only be tentatively included among the annals of scientific research, so it has languished out of the view of domestic and foreign Korean studies. Yet merit for publishing the three anthologies of lyric poetry and short novels must undoubtedly go to Kim Yǒng-su.⁶⁸

Shin: Youn-cha, the author of a number of newspaper and magazine articles about *Koryǒ saram*, produced a work similar to Kim Yǒng-su's book, in the sense that a harmonious scientific approach was lacking. The description of the Soviet Korean's life is based on personal contacts with individual representatives of the Korean diaspora in the ex-USSR and fragmentary historical facts. The hallmark of this book is the presence of a supplement in the form of a collection of the novels and poems of Soviet Korean authors of belles-lettres.⁶⁹ It is gratifying that Shin's earlier erroneous claim that the 1979 census data concerning the *Koryǒ saram* population (389 thousand) did not correspond to the actual numbers has been dropped. Shin had believed that the Korean diaspora in the USSR comprises around 750,000 people.⁷⁰

Unfortunately, much of the incomplete information in Shin's book and articles arose from the incompetence and low level of informedness of her peers within the *Koryǒ saram* community itself. I must give credit to Shin, however, for her inextinguishable interest in the problems besetting Korean studies in the ex-USSR, to which her latest series of articles amply attests.⁷¹

From the whole corpus of foreign historiography I must pay special attention to the monograph of Kho Song-moo, a professor of Helsinki University, which brings to light a rather wide range of problems: the history of Korean appearance in Russia and the forced migration to Kazakhstan and Central Asia; the contemporary ethno-cultural life of the *Koryǒ saram*; rice-growing in Korean kolkhozes and sovkhoses; the language and speech; and Korean theatre and literature.⁷² The appendix in this

67 김연수, *소련과 한국문제* 서울, 1986.

68 소련식으로 우는 한국아이 서울, 1986. 치르치크의 아리랑 서울, 1989

69 Youn-Cha Shin *Chey Soviet Koreans and their Culture in the USSR* In *Koreans in the Soviet Union* Papers of the Center for Koreans Studies, N.12, Honolulu, 1987, pp.60-85

70 신윤자 *소련의 고려사람들* 서울, 1988

71 Youn-Cha Shin *Chey Korean Studies in the Soviet Union A Historical Perspective* In *Korean Journal*, 1989, Vol 29, No 2, pp.4-15, Youn-Cha Shin *Chey. The Soviet Koreans The Politics of Ethnic Education A Paper at the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies*, Harrogate, England, 21-26 July, 1990, pp 1-24

work is particularly valuable, bringing together geographical maps of the USSR, photographs, a list of geographical names and a detailed nominal list. Besides the bibliography of soviet and foreign literature, each of the six parts has further bibliographical material some of which is no less important than the information presented in the main text. Kho Song-moo's work has received favorable evaluation from scholarly critics.⁷³

The ethnolinguistic processes among Soviet Koreans has become the subject of a special body of studies. H. Haarman, a well-known socio-linguist and the author of more than a dozen books on bilingual problems in polyethnic countries, subjected data from the 1970 census to computer analysis and observes some aspects of Korean-Russian bilingualness.⁷⁴ Haarman's book comprises three chapters, which address in turn the general conditions for polyglottedness among the Koreans in the Soviet Union, the bilingual and polyglot communicative structures of the Koreans, and the main typical features of the language behaviour of the Korean settlers. Unfortunately, Haarman did not use census data from 1959 or 1979, which denied him the opportunity to observe bilingual processes and dynamics for that 20 year period.

For a number of years young linguist R. King researched Korean dialects, especially those of the Northern Provinces from which most of the ancestors of Soviet Koreans had come. In King's opinion, the archaic and dialectal elements of phono-morphology and lexics of the Korean language are most clearly observed and widely preserved in the speech of *Koryŏ saram*. This has been a legacy of the long isolation of the inhabitants the Northern Korean provinces and the subsequent isolation of the Korean settlers in Russia from the influences of the developed standard literary Korean language.⁷⁵

King's research is based on a wealth of oral material collected in the course of several periods of field work among *Koryŏ saram* and a magnificent knowledge of

72 Kho Songmoo, *Koreans in the Soviet Central Asia* Helsinki, *Studia Orientalia*, 1987, Vol 61 고송무, *소련중앙아시아의 한인들* 서울, 1984, 고송무, *소련한인들. 고려사람* 서울, 1990. 고송무, *Koreans in the Soviet Union* In *Korea and World Affairs* 1990, Vol 14, No 1, pp 137-175

73 Kim G. A Review of the Kho Song-moo's Book In: *Sovetskaia Etnografia*, 1990, No 1, pp.168-169; Mazur Ju., Pak M. A Review of the Kho Song-moo's Book In *한글*, 1988, pp.168-169, Puchek V. A Review of the Kho Song-moo's book In *Asian and African Studies* Bratislava-London, 1989, Vol XXIV, pp.263-265, Kim Hyung-chan Review Article Toward a General Theory of the Korean Diaspora In *Korea and World Affairs* 1989, Vol XIII, No 3, pp 543-551

74 Haarman H. *Aspekte der Koreanisch-russischen Zweisprachigkeit*. Hamburg, 1981.

75 King R. An Introduction to the Soviet Korean In *Language Research*, 1987, Vol 23, No 2, pp 233-274, King R. The Korean Dialect Materials in *Matveevs Reference Book to the City Vladivostok* In

Russian pre-revolutionary sources on the Korean language. At present King is engaged in the preparation of a five-volume monograph dealing with *Koryŏ mar*.

The functioning of minority languages and the problems of their linguistic assimilation, including the case of Soviet Koreans, is of great interest to South Korean slavist Hur Seung Chol.⁷⁶

In 1987, the University of Hawaii Centre for Korean studies published the 12th volume of its "The Koreans in the USSR" series of papers.⁷⁷ Here we review some of the articles therein. Hara Teuiki, a professor of Aichi Prefecture University and the author of a book about the Koreans in the revolutionary movement in Siberia, has written an article entitled "The Korean Movement in the Russian Maritime Region in 1905-1922." To Wada Haruki, Professor of History at Tokyo University, belongs the article "The Koreans in the Soviet Far East, 1917-1937." Shin Youn Cha and Kimura Hidesuki, a professor of Yokohama University, have collaborated on similar articles on the Koreans in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. The article of editor Suh Dae Suk, Director of the Centre for Korean Studies and a professor at the University of Hawaii—"The Soviet Koreans and Northern Korea"—touches on the problems of the blank page in Soviet domestic literature and attracts special attention. According to Suh's information, 427 Soviet Koreans were in North Korea in the period from August 1945 until January 1949. The author describes the activities of Soviet Koreans in the North Korean Communist Party and state, in academic and educational areas, in literary and media circles and in the armed forces. More information is furnished by way of lists detailing the specific posts of Soviet Koreans who were members of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea, delegates to the Supreme People Assembly, members of government and diplomats. The single most important feature of the Soviet Koreans' activities in North Korea is from my point of view their attitudes toward the foreign and domestic policies of Kim Il-Sŏng. For the sake of fairness, it should be pointed out that the work of this respected professor was preceded by an article by Lee Chong Sik and Oh Ki Wan—"The Russian Faction in North Korea"—and bears

Language Research, 1989, Vol 24, No.2, pp 281-329, King R. Archaisms and Innovations in the Soviet Korean Dialects Paper delivered at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, Illinois, April 5-8, 1990, King R. Russian Sources on Korean Dialects Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991, pp 1-497

76 Hur Seung-chul Language Shift and Bilingualism among Soviet Nationality Groups Ph.D. Dissertation, 1988, Brown University, Hur Seung-chul Aspects of the Linguistic Assimilation of Soviet Koreans In, *The Journal of Slavic Studies* 1988, Vol 3, pp 123-139

77 Koreans in the Soviet Union Edit. Suh dae-sook Paper of the Center for Korean Studies No 12, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1987

similarities to it in terms of its contents.⁷⁸ Owing to the exceptional importance and seriousness of the problems considered therein, however, it seems logical to acknowledge that the fullest possible research of available archives and other sources, including foreign ones, and the collection and processing of the recollections of members of the groups of Soviet Koreans in North Korea with the purpose of scientific analysis and subsequent publishing is both necessary and desirable.

Historical problems and the present state of the culture and language of the *Koryŏ saram* have been the subjects of papers and discussions at international seminars, symposia and conferences. One of the first international seminars was held in March 1983 in Tokyo under the aegis of the Center of Korean Studies, University of Hawaii. In November 1984 the Seoul International Cultural Society of Korea organized a symposium about “Koreans Abroad. Their Society and Culture”; materials from it we published in a collection of the same name.⁷⁹ *Suh dae suk*, *Lee mun-un* and *Kho song-moo* delivered reports on the soviet Koreans. Since that time, at practically every international conference on Korean studies, different aspects of social and economic, national and cultural activities of the *Koryŏ saram* have been discussed. In 1991, dozens of reports were prepared and read at the AKSE (Association for Korean Studies in Europe) Conference in Dourdane (France), at the Moscow International Seminar on questions of Korean linguistics and language education in the USSR and the first World Conference of Korean scholars which was organized as a part of the second Sport-Ethnic Festival in Seoul. The characteristic features of the Soviet scholars include not only their ignorance and poor knowledge of Korea and other foreign languages, but also their constant and limited staff. I had occasion to observe that among participants in the AKSE Conference numbered students and post-graduates—future specialists in the history, economics, culture, literature and so on of Korea. From my point of view, the time for the support and encourage of the new generation of young scholars has come. Included in this is their participation in interantional symposia, semis and conferences. ❀

Nowadays, not only are the treatises of venerable foreign academics, but also Masters theses, devoted to the research of the history and contemporary political status of the *Koryŏ saram* and the preservation and revival of their original ethnic

78 Lee Chong-sik and Oh ki-wan The Russian Faction in North Korea In *Asian Survies*, 1968, No 8, pp 270-288

79 Koreans abroad. Their Society and Culture Seoul, 1984

culture and language. Nazuko Oka—a student of Tokyo University with excellent Russian—has written a skillful work considering complicated problems to do with the history and present status of the national autonomy of the soviet Koreans.⁸⁰

The legal status of the *Koryŏ saram* in the ex-USSR and changes occasioned by the collapse of Soviet Union and the formation of the independent republics, as well as recent foreign policy initiatives and the expansion of ties with the Republic of Korea have attracted the particular attention international law specialists. The Ph D. Thesis of *Loh Yeong-don* is devoted to problems associated the legal protection of the Korean minority in the former USSR.⁸¹ Doctor Loh maintains that under South Korean civil law, *Koryŏ saram* may be under the legal protection of Seoul and maybe able to rely on the possibility of repatriation.⁸²

With pride I commend a book “Perestroika and Soviet Koreans” published in 1991 in Tokyo. It is a collection of translations of articles and other materials published in the *Lenin kichi* newspaper from May 1989 until June 1990. An enormous amount of work was done by the students of the secondary course “Gendai gogaku dyuku” (The Contemporary Language School) under the leadership of Tosio Takayanagi in selecting, translating and publishing the book. Besides the authors of the book—Dokuya Yonedzu, Naohimo Sinoda, Mitiko Umedzu, Tosio Takayanagi and Masayosi Miyanti—in releasing the book, specialists in Russian philology also took part, including a post-graduate student Toru Inoe and Nazuko Oka, a student. The introduction was written by Professor Wada Haruki⁸³ Kodzi Ueda helped by putting at their disposal his bibliography of the “*Lenin kichi*” (1988-1990).

Also notable are the bibliographical lists of books and articles on Korean studies compiled several years by N. Adami.⁸⁴

One of his bibliographies, “The History of Korean Studies in Tsarist Russia”, furnishes rather interesting information about the Koreans in the Far East, and includes⁸⁵

80 Oka Natsuko To the Question of the National Autonomy of the Soviet Koreans, History and Present-day Manuscript, (In Russian) 1991, pp 1-60

81 Loh Yeong Don. The Legal Protection of Korean Minority in the Soviet Union Ph Dissertation. Sung Kyun Kwan University, 1991

82. Choung Il Chee Repatriation of Stateless Koreans from Sakhalin Island Legal Aspects In Korea and World Affairs, 1987, Vol XI, No 4, pp 708-744; Mayer V Koreans in the Context of Peoples-Friendship (In Russia) In Das Land und die Welt. Muenchen 1989, No IX-X, pp.85-89

83 Perestroika and Soviet Koreans Tokyo, 1991 (In Japanese)

84. Adami N Die russische Koreaforschung Bibliographie 1682-1976 Wiesba-den, 1978

85. Adami N Die Geschichte der Koreaforschung im zaristischen Russland In Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung, Bochum, 1980, pp 3-97

As has been seen, the foreign historiography boasts definite achievements in terms of the research into the social and economical, national and cultural life of Koreans in Russia and the former USSR. Almost all the authors drew on historical, ethnographical and linguistic works of Soviet scholars. Some of these foreign studies, however have inaccuracies and mistakes of an empirical character, suffer from narrowness of source bases are less theoretically than they should be, and different authors frequently have tautology of particular concreteness.

It is also impossible to deny the existence of the fundamental divergence between certain of the views, appraisals and conclusions of foreign colleagues, and in this connection the double task of the historiographical researcher should be recalled—that of critical analysis and increase of the stock of the new positive knowledge.

In conclusion, the history, culture and language of *Koryŏ saram* is an identitive intellectual tradition in Russian, Soviet and foreign literature. It is thus vital that the fruits of the historiographical analysis⁸⁶ be further ripened by a parsimonious, systematic approach from the points of view of divers scientific disciplines: demography, ethnography, culturology, linguistics and history itself.

86 Lee V Prospects and Source Materials for Studies of Korean Ethnic Minority in the Soviet Union. In. Korea Journal, 1990, Vol 30, No. 11, pp 44-49, Kim G To the Historiography of the Spiritual Culture of the Koreans in Kazakhstan In Voprosy istorii i istoriografii kultury Kazakhstana. (Sbornik nauchnykh statei) Alma-Ata, 1988, pp 47-54, Kim G Socio-Cultural Development of the Koreans of Kazakhstan Alma-Ata, 1989, Kim G The Koreans of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in the Foreign Researches Referativnyi Sbornik, Vyp. 32, Alma-Ata, 1990; Kim G. Socio-Cultural Development of the Koreans of Kazakhstan (1946-1966) Thesis of the Ph D Diss, Alma-Ata, 1990.