

6. KOREAN LITERATURE

In Central Asia, mainly in Alma-Ata, Korean writers and poets are carrying on literary activities in Korean, even if their number is relatively limited compared with those of other nationalities of similar size in the Soviet Union. Korean literature in Central Asia differs from that of the Korean peninsula, China, Japan, USA and other countries in the respect that it has developed as a branch of Soviet literature, without having had any contacts with Korea for more than half a century. This gives us good reason to call it *Soviet Korean Literature*.

6.1. Korean literature in the Soviet Union before 1937

Before the October Revolution, Koreans had published various kinds of magazines and newspapers in the Far East, but these were mainly connected with the activities of their fight against Japan for the independence of Korea. This does not mean that at the beginning of this century there were no Korean writers or poets in the Far East, but purely literary works in Korean from those days are not easily found. As we have seen in previous chapters, after the October Revolution, illiteracy decreased considerably, thanks to the broad campaign against it. However, Koreans, who encountered a new life after the October Revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, did not have their own writers, poets nor theatre. At the same time, their interest in their own language and literature, which would tell them about their history and former way of life, increased. In these circumstances, *Sinhanchon*, the new Korean quarter in Vladivostok, became the centre for the birth of Korean literature. The *Stalin Club*, which was an organization where all kinds of cultural activities, commemorative meetings and theatrical performances took place, functioned there.⁴³¹

A group of dramatists, Yŏn Sŏng-yong, Chai Yŏng and Thai Cang-chun, etc. as well as writers like Co Myŏng-hŭi, Co Ki-chŏn, Han Anatoliy and Kim Ki-chŏl, etc. belong to those who could be considered founders of Korean literature in the Soviet Far East.⁴³² Characteristic of these writers is that they were born in Korea and then moved to the Soviet Far East in search for a new life, due to political reasons or poverty. Among these, the contribution of Co Myŏng-hŭi to the development of Korean literature in the 1920s and 1930s is especially noticeable.

Co Myŏng-hŭi (cf. ill. 48) was born on August 10, 1894, in Northern Chungchŏng Province in what is now South Korea. His activities are usually divided into the following three periods; 1) the Tokyo period (1919-23), 2) the period of the *KAPF* (1925-28)⁴³³ and 3) the period of the Soviet Far East (1929-37).⁴³⁴ While studying in Tokyo in the 1920s, he had already begun to write essays. At first he also used to write

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romantic poems but together with the rise of proletarian literature he became a member of the KAPF. In 1927, he became one of the executives appointed to manage the affairs of the organization in each province. The formation of the KAPF was a result of the confrontation between nationalists and socialists in Korean society after the failure of the independence movement in 1919. Both sides had their own literary circles, the KAPF being that of socialists. The period of activity of the KAPF began in 1925 and lasted until 1935. But, in reality, its activities became very weak after the 1931 Incident, when the Japanese police suppressed the KAPF in a series of arrests in February, 1931, and in February, 1934.⁴³⁵

His works before 1928 can be divided into three groups: 1) works of the first period, 2) works of the New Trend Group, 3) works of socialist realism. During the first period he tried to express his anger, pain, sorrow and disappointment. However, it is understood that he did not manage to completely evade a traditional and religious way of thinking. The subject of the poems written after his return from Tokyo is the tragic fate of his fatherland and the wretched life of the working class in Korea under Japanese domination.⁴³⁶ From the beginning of the 1920s, a new stage of proletarian literature budded in Korea, i.e. the New Trend Group. In the works of this period, Co came close to socialist realism by confirming his abhorrence of poverty. Poverty was one of the main subjects written about during the time of Japanese colonialization because other subjects such as a detestation of private ownership and exploitation derived from it.⁴³⁷ Works of this period are mostly short stories. His view of the world is said to have fully matured in the works of his third period. In these works, the subject was a description of humanitarian rage and the fighters who endeavour to change contradictions in society in a revolutionary way.⁴³⁸ Of his short stories, the most outstanding is *Naktonggang* 'The Naktong River' which, through the hero Pak Sŏng-un, describes the national tragedy of Koreans, whose poor but peaceful life had been destroyed by aggressive Japanese capitalism.

Co Myŏng-hŭi, whose pen-name was *Phosŏk*, escaped from Korea to the Soviet Union in July, 1928, in order to avoid arrest and settled down at first in *Sinhanchon* in Vladivostok, as many other Koreans did at that time, where he worked as a teacher at a Korean school. Later he taught Korean language and literature at various schools in Suyfun, Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy, Voroshilov and Pucilovka. His activities during the period between 1928 and 1932 are remembered by his pupils who are still alive.⁴³⁹ In the Soviet Union he began to write short stories like *Pulgŭn Kispal Arai'esŏ* 'Under the Red Flag' (September, 1928) and *Cispalphin Koryŏ* 'Downtrodden Korea' (October, 1928), but unfortunately the former was not published although the reason for this is not known,⁴⁴⁰ while the latter became one of the most popular "prose-style" poems recited by *Koryŏ Saram*. This gives us reason to assume that Co's creative life did not at first

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go smoothly in the Soviet Union. Later on he also worked for *Sōnbong*, a Korean newspaper in Khabarovsk, where he published around 10 works. His influence on Koreans was disseminated through various meetings, lectures, circulating theatre performances and the radio.

As a member of the Soviet Writers' Union from its inception, i.e. 1934, he played a decisive role in the birth and development of Korean socialist literature in the Soviet Union. His name was mentioned with honour at the representatives' meeting of the Soviet Far Eastern writers held in Vladivostok in 1936. From the same year, he worked on the directive board of the Far Eastern Branch of the Soviet Writers' Union. In spring, 1937, he tried to devote himself to writing a novel *Manju Ppalccisan* 'Manchurian Partisans' describing Koreans fighting against the Japanese in the north-eastern area of China in the 1930s. By August of the same year, he had almost completed his work until "a sudden and unexpected situation" forced him to stop in September, 1937.⁴⁴¹ This must surely mean the transfer of Koreans to Central Asia.

Little is known about the last five years of his life, but it would not be wrong to think that he was not an exception to the 1937 transfer. In September, 1937, he was defamed and subjected to suppression, the reason for which is still not known.⁴⁴² His works in the Soviet Union are few in number.⁴⁴³ He tried to publish his works for the first time there in 1937 under the name of *Tu Ōlgurūi Ccogak Kūrim* 'The Torn Painting of Two Faces', the manuscript of which was sent to the National Far Eastern Publishing House. However, this was not published due to the 'situation at that time'.⁴⁴⁴ There has been a committee for the literary works of Co within the Soviet Writers' Union since the 1950s. It is known that this Committee intended to establish the first Korean Museum of Literature at the cultural house of the Kolkhoz named after *Pravda* in Tashkent Oblast, Uzbekistan. The committee was led by Hwang Tong-min (1912-1985).

Co Myōng-hūi also wrote children's songs and a drama *Pomnara* 'The Country of Spring' for children.⁴⁴⁵ Some of his works were translated into Russian by his pupil, *Choi Yekaterina* and published with the title of *Naktonggang* 'The Naktong River'.⁴⁴⁶ A collection of his works in Korean was published in Moscow, as well.⁴⁴⁷ The creative period of Co lasted for around 10 years. The first part of his works was closely connected with the proletarian literature movement in Korea, while the second part with Soviet literature. Among those Soviet Korean writers and poets who were influenced by Co directly or indirectly are Kang Thai-su and Han Anatoliy, etc.

The poet **Co Ki-chōn** (cf. ill. 49) was born on November 16, 1913, in Hoiryōng in Northern Hamgyōng Province in a poor farmer's family. Having moved to the Soviet Far East with his family, he spent his youth in Oil village in the Kalinin District. After having attended the farmers' youth school, he graduated from the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School in 1932. Later he studied literature at Omsk University, especially the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov and Mayakovskiy. From the end

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of 1937, he taught general and Russian literature at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute and worked for a short time at *Lenin Kichi*.⁴⁴⁸ He joined the Red Army and went to Korea as a member of the 7th Department of the 25th Army of the Soviet Occupation Force. In Phyŏng'yang he actively took part in the cultural life of Korea and also introduced Soviet literature to Koreans through lectures and by translating the poems of Mayakovskiy and Isakovskiy, etc. He worked for a short period as the vice-editor-in-chief of *Cosŏn Sinbo* (later *Ssobethŭ Sinbo* 'Soviet News') established by the Red Army. He died in July, 1951, during the Korean War in Phyŏng'yang, while working as the vice-chairman of the General Federation of Literature and Arts of Korea.

His first work was published in *Sŏnbong* in 1931, but his principal production was written in Korea and was connected with Korean nature and problems, e.g. *Tuman'gang* 'The Tumen River' (1946), *Paiktusan* 'Mount Paiktu' (1947), *Cosŏnŭi Őmŏni* 'The Korean Mother' (1950) and *Pultahnŭn Kŏriesŏ* 'In Burning Streets' (1950). The latter two describe the Korean War. Co Ki-chŏn has contributed more to the propagation of Soviet literature in Korea after 1945 than to the development of Soviet Korean literature. But he is considered one of the most talented Soviet Korean poets because he grew up and was educated in the Soviet Union.

Han Anatoliy (cf. ill. 50) was born in September, 1911, in Kilju in Northern Hamgyŏng Province.⁴⁴⁹ After moving to Russia in 1916 with his mother, he lived at first in the Chernigovka District in the Far East. He studied at the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School but left it without graduating. After 1937, he studied at the department of literature (by correspondence course) of the Leninabad Pedagogical Institute in Karakalpakia. He died in 1940.

During his relatively short life, he wrote several poems, among others *Kongchŏng Maingwŏnjŭng* 'Certificate of a Member of the Communist Youth Trade Union' (1933, published in *Sŏnbong*), *Tu Sowŏn* 'Two Hopes', *Sarangsŭrŏun Sarang* 'Lovely Love' (1933, published in *Loryŏkcaŭi Kohyang* 'Worker's Hometown') and *Ttŭraktorissŭthŭŭi Norai* 'Song of a Tractor Driver', etc. Besides these he has translated works by Pushkin and Lermontov, etc. Co Myŏng-hŭi said that during the first period of Soviet Korean literature, which came into existence after the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East, literary works were written in the style of political slogans.⁴⁵⁰ In these conditions, Han expressed his feelings in poetry. For example, according to Co Myŏng-hŭi, Han described the view of proletarian love in the poem *Sarangsŭrŏun Sarang*, where the hero breaks an appointment with his beloved because he has to go and guard a stack of grain stalks which are public property.⁴⁵¹

Besides the writers mentioned above, **Chai Kye-do** has to be included in the group having played a significant role in the development of Korean literature in the 1930s in the Far East. It is not known for certain how many literary works were published in

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Korean there, but it seems that besides those mentioned only a few can be added, mostly poems. They were published mainly in *Sŏnbong* with themes like the victory of collectivization, socialist labour, the Soviet constitution and the construction of communism, etc. In other words, they are almost identical in content with those of other nationalities in the Soviet Union, possessing no characteristically Korean feature.

6.2. Korean literature in Central Asia between 1938 and 1979

Literary traditions were continued by the Far Eastern generation during this period. Most poets and writers experienced the 1937 deportation since they were born in the Far East. The limiting of this period to 1979 is rather arbitrary but was made under the supposition that the creative activities of poets and writers were finished by about that time. We can consider them representatives of the second generation of Soviet Korean writers.

6.2.1. Poets and writers

Cha Wŏn-chŏl (cf. ill. 51) was born in the Suyfun Area in 1910. After graduating at the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School, he worked as a teacher for several years.⁴⁵² In Central Asia he also graduated at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute in 1939. Having taught at school, he worked for *Lenin Kichi* from 1952. He has written tens of poems.

Cŏn Tong-hyŏk (cf. ill. 52), a poet, born on November 23, 1910, in the Shkotovo District in the Far East, graduated from the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School and the language department of the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute.⁴⁵³ As early as 1928 he published his first poem *Pom* 'Spring' in *Sŏnbong* and later *Pochobyŏng* 'Sentry' (1934) and *Pyŏbenŭn Chŏnyŏ* 'The Girl who Reaps Rice' (1938). His translation of Russian poems, *Ssoryŏn Si'injip* 'Anthology of Russian Poems', was published in 1947, and he has also translated several Russian dramas into Korean. In the late 1940s, he worked in North Korea at the Soviet Army Press Company. He has been a member of the Soviet Writers' Union and worked at *Lenin Kichi*. In his short story *Ppyŏjaru Khal* 'The Knife with a Bone Haft' (1965) he describes his relationship with Kim U-chŏl, a Far East partisan. Cŏn died on September 30, 1985, in Moscow.⁴⁵⁴

Cŏng Sang-jin (cf. ill. 53), born on May 5, 1918 in Vladivostok, graduated from the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute in 1940 and the Higher Party School of Tashkent in 1961.⁴⁵⁵ After the first publication of a poem in 1941 in *Lenin Kichi*, he has written literary critiques. He worked at *Lenin Kichi* and participated as an officer in the Soviet Navy in the liberation battle of Unggi Bay on the northern coast of Korea, in August,

1945.⁴⁵⁶

Cu Song-wŏn (Cu Aleksey, cf. ill. 54 and 55), born on December 26, 1909, in Yŏnghŭng County in Southern Hamgyŏng Province, Korea, later moved to the Russian Far East. He graduated from the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School and the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute.⁴⁵⁷ He has published his works, poems and short novels, in *Lenin Kichi* and two collections of poems, *Naïi Kŭmsŏn* 'My Kŭmsŏn' and *Cosŏn Saramŭi Moksori* 'Voice of Koreans' (in Russian 1952, in Korean 1957). He was a member of the Soviet Writers' Union and worked at the *Progress* Publishing House in Moscow.

Han Apollon (cf. ill. 56), born on September 19, 1932, in Bianco Village in the Chernigovka District in Ussuri Oblast, graduated from the English department of the First Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in Leningrad.⁴⁵⁸ He works as a teacher in Uzbekistan. His first poems were published in 1959 in *Lenin Kichi*. Since then, he has regularly published his works, including *Nanŭn Ŏnjedŭnji Sara Issŭri* 'I will Remain Alive Eternally' (1965) and *Kaül* 'Autumn' (1965), etc.

Han Sang-uk (cf. ill. 57) was born on September 22, 1919, in Magachon in Nikolayevsk in the Far East. He studied mechanics at the College of Agriculture but did not finish his studies.⁴⁵⁹ His first short novel, *Chulsaing* 'Birth', was published in *Lenin Kichi* in 1958. He has written several short novels such as *Hyangchonŭi Pulbich* 'The Light of the Home Town', *Oksana*, *Pothong Saramdŭl* 'Ordinary People', etc. He too has worked at *Lenin Kichi*.

Kang Thai-su (cf. ill. 58), who was born on October 5, 1908, in Iwon in Southern Hamgyong Province in Korea, moved to the Soviet Union in 1927.⁴⁶⁰ In Vladivostok he studied at the Vladivostok Pedagogical Institute but did not complete his studies. His first work, the poem *Naïi Karŭno*, was published in 1933 in *Sŏnbong*. He has written several poems and short novels. He worked at a power distribution station in Kzyl-Orda. A collection of his works was published in Russian in 1982 in Alma-Ata.

Kim Chang-uk (cf. ill. 59), born in 1900, in Sŏngjin in Northern Hamgyŏng Province in Korea, studied by himself in his hometown and moved to the Soviet Union in 1926, where he continued his teaching work at school.⁴⁶¹ He published tens of poems in *Lenin Kichi*. He was engaged in agriculture in Kirgizia.

Kim Cong-se (cf. ill. 60), born on January 22, 1918, in the village of Pavlovka in the Shkotovo District in the Far East, studied at a institute without completing his studies.⁴⁶² After the 1937 transfer, he taught at the No. 85 school of the *Dimitrov* Kolkhoz in the Akkurgan Rayon, Tashkent Oblast. His first poem was published in 1947. Two collections of his poems, *The Pleasant Letter* (1961) and *The Mysterious Ship* (1965), were published in Russian.

Kim Cun (cf. ill. 61) was born on October 4, 1900, in Iman. After graduating from the department of philosophy at the National Far Eastern University in Vladivostok,

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he continued his studies at Moscow University but did not complete them.⁴⁶³ His first work *Hankkaï Maül* 'The Village by Lake Khanka' was published in 1928 in *Sönbong*. In Central Asia he resumed his literary activities in the middle of the 1950s by publishing short stories like *Ci Hong-lyön* and a long poem *Mahünyödölp Saram* 'Forty Eight Persons'.⁴⁶⁴ The latter describes 48 Korean partisans who fought for the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East in the 1920s. His novel *Sibomanwön Sagön* 'The Event of 150,000 wön', published in 1964, is considered one of his most notable works. He died in 1979. He was a member of the Soviet Writers' Union.

Kim Cun has also published a collection of traditional Korean poems in Russian. The Russian translation of his works was published with the name of 'Evening Reedpipe' (*Вечерняя свирель*), posthumously in 1981. This included 187 short and 2 long poems, i.e. *Aliya* and *The Smell of Earth*. The former was dedicated to the friendship between Kazakhs and Koreans in Kazakhstan, and the latter recalled the first Korean Bolshevik woman, Kim Aleksandra Petrovna. In his works he tried to adapt the genre of the traditional Korean poem, *sijo*.⁴⁶⁵ An anthology of his works, entitled *Sum* 'Breath', was published in 1985 in Alma-Ata. Pak Il, Professor at the Kazakh University, remembers that Kim Cun was an indefatigable Soviet Korean poet whose period of creativity lasted half a century.

Kim Cüng-song (cf. ill. 62), a poet, was born on September 11, 1911, in Vladivostok and studied at the department of literature of the National Far Eastern University without graduating.⁴⁶⁶ His first poem was published in 1938 in *Lenin Kichi*. Two collections of his works, *Poems of Peace* (1950) and *When the Acacia Blossoms* (1956), were published in Russian. Being a member of the Soviet Writers' Union, he worked for *Along the Path of Lenin*, a Korean newspaper in Sakhalin. He was influenced by Co Myöng-hüi.

Kim Ki-chöl (cf. ill. 63), born on August 8, 1907, in Tanchön in Southern Hamgyöng Province, moved to Vladivostok at the age of four with his parents.⁴⁶⁷ Having finished seven years of school in Borodino Village in the Pos'yet Area in 1922, he went to Lyongjöng, a Korean city in Manchuria, to continue studying at high school because there was no Korean school at that time in the Far East. After returning to Vladivostok, he carried out educational propagation work for collectivization for a short time. Soon he had to go back to Manchuria, this time as a member of the Eastern Section of Comintern, to do underground work with patriots for the liberation of Korea, but returned to Vladivostok due to poor health. There he worked for *Sönbong* as a reporter and devoted himself to literary work. His first drama, *Tongbyön Pparüccisan* 'Partisans on the Eastern Frontier' (1934), describes the activities of Korean partisans in Manchuria for the liberation of Korea from Japanese occupation.⁴⁶⁸

In 1936, he worked for a short period at the publishing house *Dalgiz* in

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Khabarovsk, on the recommendation of the Party Committee of Primor'ye Oblast. Later in the 1930s, he dramatized an old Korean novel, *Honggildongjŏn*.⁴⁶⁹ In several plays in the 1940s, he dealt with questions of morality and conscience. In his novel, *Pulgŭn Pyŏldŭri Po'idŏn Ttai* 'When a Red Star was Seen' (1962), he describes a mother who searches for her lost son during the Second World War. He has also written several novellas such as *Khal Cauk* 'The Knife Scar', *Sihŏm* 'The Examination', etc. Among his latest works, a novel, *Kŭmgagman* 'Golden Horn Bay' is found, which is about Koreans at the beginning of the 1920s in the Far East.⁴⁷⁰ The themes he has dealt with are beauty, the balance of communist society and the boundlessness of human possibilities, obligations and responsibility, etc.⁴⁷¹

Kim Kwang-hyŏn (cf. ill. 64) was born on December 27, 1919, in the Suyfun Area.⁴⁷² He studied at the Turkmen Pedagogical Institute in Tashkent without finishing his studies, but later graduated at the Higher Party School under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan as a correspondence course student. His first work, *Cungguk Hyŏngjedŭrege* 'To Our Chinese Brothers', was published in *Lenin Kichi* in 1939. He has written many short poems, several long poems and some novellas. He was a member of the Soviet Writers' Union and worked at *Lenin Kichi*. His collected works, entitled *Ssak* 'The Sprout', were published in 1986. His pen name is *Musan*.

Kim Nam-sŏk (cf. ill. 65), born on March 2, 1899, in Pukchŏng County in the Southern Hamgyŏng Province in Korea, graduated from the Vladivostok Pedagogical Institute for Koreans.⁴⁷³ He has published poems, e.g. *Phyŏnghwarŭl Wihayŏ* 'For Peace' (1958), *Sŭngri'ui Sai Pom* 'Victorious New Spring' and novellas in *Lenin Kichi*. He is known to have taught Korean at school in Uzbekistan. He has also published a Korean textbook for children together with M. Khegay.

Kim Se-il (Sergey Fyodorovich, cf. ill. 66), born on March 14, 1912, in Paksŏkkol in the Pos'yet Area, graduated from the Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School and the Higher Party School under the Central Committee of the Communist Party, at the latter establishment he was a correspondence course student.⁴⁷⁴ He also studied mathematics at the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute as an extramural student. However, he did not finish the course. He has written several poems and a full-length novel *Hong Pŏm-do*. He has worked at *Lenin Kichi*.

Kim Tu-chil (cf. ill. 67), born on April 27, 1914, in Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy, graduated from the Printing Special School in Moscow in 1936 and Tashkent Law College in 1942.⁴⁷⁵ He began his literary activities as a translator of literature. Besides several dramas, he has published both short novels and poems in *Lenin Kichi*, where he worked. He died on May 16, 1983, after a long sickness.⁴⁷⁶

Li Cŏng-hŭi (cf. ill. 68), born on September 5, 1946, in Ulegorsk in Sakhalin, represents, in a unique way, the postwar generation.⁴⁷⁷ She has studied at a pedagogical

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institute as a correspondence course student. Her first short novel, *Arŭmdaun Simjŏng* 'Beautiful Mind' was published in *Lenin Kichi* in 1966, as were *Chaganeso* 'In a Wagon' and *Sangbonggwa Libyŏl* 'Encounter and Separation'. She works at *Lenin Kichi*. Actually she is not a *Koryŏ Saram*, but is a late-comer from Sakhalin who arrived after the War.

Li Ŭn-yŏng (cf. ill. 69), born on April 10, 1915, in Sariwŏn City, Korea, came to the Soviet Far East in 1920.⁴⁷⁸ He graduated from a pedagogical institute. His first work, the poem *Ŭmŏni* 'Mother', was published in 1939 in *Lenin Kichi*, where he worked.

Li Vasilii (cf. ill. 70), born on March 23, 1914, in Lyongphodong in the Suyfun Area in the Far East, graduated from a pedagogical special school, the Soviet Party School and an agricultural special school.⁴⁷⁹ In 1964, his first short novella, *Ttŭrakttorŭ Unjŏnsu* 'The Tractor Driver', was published in *Lenin Kichi* and later on other short novels such as *Chŏs Kŏrŭm* 'The First Step' (1965) and *Mul Ssaum* 'Water Fight'. He worked on the Sovkhoz named after *Pravda* in the Karatal Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast.

Lim Ha (cf. ill. 71), born on April 8, 1911, in Zeya, graduated from Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School for Koreans in 1933. He attended school in Vladivostok.⁴⁸⁰ After the transfer to Central Asia, he stopped his studies in the 4th year at the department of language and literature (external student) of the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute. He has written a play *Hangjaing'ŭi Norai* 'The Song of Resistance', short novels such as *Pulthanŭn Khissŭ* 'The Burning Kiss' and *Kkoikkori Norai* 'Song of a Nightingale' and several poems. In the late 1940s he worked for some time, in Phyŏng'yang, North Korea as a civilian literary member of the Soviet Occupation Force. Later on he worked at *Lenin Kichi*. He has also translated several plays into Korean.

U Ce-guk (or **Ugay Deguk**, cf. ill. 72 and 73), was born in 1920 in Ol'ga Oblast of the Far East. He left university without graduating and worked at the Department of Central Statistics of Uzbekistan.⁴⁸¹ His first poem was published in *Zvezda Vostoka* and later other works were published in various newspapers and magazines. A collection of his poems, *Morning Sun*, was published in 1965 and another one, *Winged Happiness*, in 1983, both in Russian.

Yŏn Sŏng-yong (born 1909, cf. ill. 74) has also written several tens of poems, as well as plays.⁴⁸² He is a member of the Soviet Writers' Union. A collection of his works, *Haingbogŭi Norai* 'The Song of Happiness', was published in 1983 in Alma-Ata. Still active, he has contributed significantly to the development of Soviet Korean literature. Songs written and composed by him, i.e. *Ssirŭl Hwalhwal Ppuryŏra!* 'Sow Seeds Actively!' (1933), *Nai Sarang'a!* 'Oh, My Love!' and *Cŏng'nyŏngkho Cokhuna!* 'It is Really Good!', have been popular for more than 40 years among Soviet Korean workers. He has written poems depicting the life of Koreans both in the Far East and Central Asia. Cŏng Sang-jin describes Yŏn's temporal background as follows:⁴⁸³

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"The First World War, the Great October Revolution, Civil War, the Birth of the Socialist Society, the Collectivization of the Rural Area, Large-scale Industrialization, the Cultural Revolution, the Great Patriotic War, Reconstruction after the War and the Beginning of the Conquering of Space — these grand events form the temporal background for the artist Yŏn Sŏng-yong."

The following common features can be found in their biographies:

- except for a few cases, the majority of the writers were born in around 1910, which means that they have experienced the October Revolution and the concomitant social changes during their childhood,
- many of them have graduated at pedagogical institutes,
- all, except one (Li Cŏng-hŭi), are men.

In other words, this tells us that after 1937, only extremely rarely has a Korean writer or poet been born in Central Asia who writes in Korean. The reason for this is doubtlessly due to the non-existence of education in the Korean language and literature among the *Koryŏ Saram*.

It is known that of the writers and poets mentioned above, the following are still alive at the present time: Kang Thai-su, Kim Cong-se, Kim Ki-chŏl, Kim Kwang-hyŏn, Kim Se-il, Li Ũn-yŏng, U Ce-guk and Yŏn Sŏng-yong.

6.2.2. Works

It seems almost impossible to collect all the literary works published and unpublished by Korean writers and poets during the period between 1938 and 1979 in Central Asia. It is not known with certainty whether there were any other publications for literature in Korean in Central Asia in the 1940s and 1950s besides *Lenin Kichi*. Taking these things into consideration, it does not seem too misleading to analyze Korean literary works using *Siwŏrŭi Haibich* 'The Sunlight of October' (1971, cf. ill. 75), an anthology of Korean literary works. This volume includes nearly all Korean writers and poets of the period in question and their selected works. The works of this period are mainly divided into two categories, i.e. poems and novellas, anyway poems are numerically overwhelming. The themes of this period represent six different subjects:⁴⁸⁴

1) Korean themes:

Cu Song-wŏn: *Chinsŏnŭi Norai* 'Song of Friendship' (1952, poem), *Tan-phung'iph Phyŏnji* 'The Maple-Leaf Letter' (1955, poem),

U Ce-guk: *Cebi* 'The Swallow', *Mijega Tobalhan Cosŏn Cŏnjaing'ŭl Hoisang-hamyŏnsŏ* 'Recalling the Korean War Provoked by American Imperialism' (1957, poem).

2) Leninism, the Soviet Union as a fatherland and the Second World War:

Cha Wŏn-chŏl: *Siwŏrŭi Pulgil* 'The Flame of October' (1955, poem), *Sŭngri Kongwŏn* 'Victorious Park' (1957, poem), *Lyŏlsabi* 'The Tombstone of a Patriot' (1964, poem), *Sŭngrijŏl* 'Day of Victory' (1966, poem), *Ttŏttŏsi Majihaja!* 'Let Us Receive Proudly' (poem),

Cŏn Tong-hyŏk: *Leninŭn Sarassta* 'Lenin is Alive' (poem), *Pulgŭn Kunin* 'The Red Army' (1934, poem), *Pochobyŏng* 'A Sentry' (1934, poem),

Cu Song-wŏn: *Sin'gihan Pyŏl* 'Mysterious Star' (1962, poem), *Nai Coguk* 'My Fatherland' (1965, poem),

Han Apollon: *Nanŭn Ŏnjedŭnji Sara Issŭri* 'I will Remain Alive Eternally' (1965, poem), *Onŭrŭi I Pom* 'The Spring of Today' (1967, poem), *Onŭrŭn Camjakho Issta* 'Today It is Calm' (1967, poem),

Kang Thai-su: *Nai Simjang'e Saigyŏjin Lenin* 'Lenin Engraved on My Heart' (1965, poem), *Nai Kŏmungoya, Ullyora!* 'Oh, My Kŏmungo, Sing!' (1967, poem),

Kim Chang-uk: *Siwŏrŭi Pulbich* 'The Light of October' (poem), *Wŏlga-Don Unha* 'The Volga-Don Canal', *Lenin Thansaing 92 Cunyŏnŭl Majihayŏ* 'On the 92nd Anniversary of Lenin's Birth' (poem), *Siwŏrŭn Yŏng'wŏnhan Chŏngchun* 'October is Eternal Youth', *Lenin Thansaing 95 Cunyŏnŭl Majihayŏ* 'On the 95th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth' (poem), *Nai Phurŭrŭn Cŏ Hanŭrŭl Saranghao* 'I Love the Blue Sky' (poem), *Kalmaigi (Uju Nyŏbahaingsa Cceressŭkkowa'ege Tŭrinora)* 'The Seagull (Dedicated to the Female Cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova)' (poem),

Kim Cong-se: *Homulchi Masira* 'Don't Accuse Me!' (poem), *Nyŏ'inŭi Simjŏng* 'Women's Minds' (poem),

Kim Cun: *Thaiphyŏng'yang'ŭi Sai Norai* 'New Song of the Pacific Ocean' (1960, poem), *Leninŭi Sum* 'The Breath of Lenin' (1979, poem),

Kim Cŭng-song: *Charŭdasŭ* 'Csardas' (poem),

Kim Ki-chŏl: *Pulgŭn Pyŏldŭri Po'idŏn Ttai* 'When a Red Star was Seen' (1962/1963, novel),

Kim Kwang-hyŏn: *Siworŭi Thaiyang* 'The Sun of October' (1963, poem), *Ŏmŏni Naraŭi Pyŏldŭl* 'Stars of the Motherland' (1962, poem),

Kim Nam-sŏk: *Leninŭi Kinyŏmbi Aphesŏ* 'In front of Lenin's Tombstone' (poem), *Ssobethŭ Hŏnbŏp* 'The Constitution of the Soviet Union' (poem), *Yŏng-gwang'ŭi Casŏjŏn* 'An Honourable Biography' (poem),

Kim Se-il: *Yŏngsaing'ŭi Illichu'ege Pulmyŏrŭi Yŏnggwang'ŭl* 'Immortal Honour to Eternal Illyich' (1961, poem), *Siwŏrŭi Hŭrŭm* 'The Stream of October' (1963, poem),

Kim Tu-chil: *Sŏnhŭi* 'Lady Sonhui' (1963, poem), *Songlimdong Saramdŭl* 'People from Songlimdong' (poem, cf. ill. 76 and 77),

Li Cŏng-hŭi: *Arŭmdaun Simjŏng* 'Beautiful Mind' (1966, novella),

Li Ŭn-yŏng: *Tangsinŭi Sarang'ŭn...* (*Lenin Thansaing'irŭl Majŭmyŏ*) 'As for Your Love... (On the Occasion of Lenin's Birthday)' (1965, poem), *Onŭldo Nanŭn Tŭtnora* 'Also Today I Hear' (1967, poem),

U Ce-guk: *Coguge Taihan Norai* 'Song of the Fatherland' (1960, poem), *Lenin Abŏji* 'Father Lenin' (1963 poem), *Cogukttang* 'The Fatherland' (1965, poem), *Hanphi Mulgo Nan Hyŏngje* 'Brothers who Shared the Same Blood' (1966, poem),

Yŏn Sŏng-yong: *Leniŭi Paljaguk* 'Lenin's Footprint' (1976, poem).

3) Experiences and events of Koreans in the Soviet Far East:

Cŏn Tong-hyŏk: *Ppyŏjaru Khal* 'The Knife with a Bone Haft' (1965, short story),

Kim Cun: *Nai Kohyang Ttang'esŏ* 'In My Hometown' (poem), *Nagŭne* 'A Stranger' (short story), *Ci Hong-lyŏn* (*the name of the heroine, short story), *Nam-jŏng* 'Husband' (poem),

Kim Cŭng-song: *Ssahallin* 'Sakhalin' (poem), *Kinyŏmbi Aphesŏ* 'In front of the Monument' (poem), *Toro Chajŭn Ttang'esŏ* 'In the Land We have Regained' (poem), *Amurŭ Pallada* 'Ballad of the Amur' (poem),

Kim Kwang-hyŏn: *Onŭrŭi Pichnanŭn Carang'iyŏ* 'Oh, Today's Pride!' (1957, poem),

Kim Nam-sŏk: *Chŏngchunŭl Pachŏ* 'Sacrificing their Youth', *Olliga Conthuriŭl Hoisanghamyŏnsŏ* 'Recalling the Battle of Ol'ga' (poem),

Kim Se-il: *Nai Kohyang Wŏndong'ŭl Caranghanora* 'I am Proud of My Home Region, the Far East' (1962, poem),

Lim Ha: *Pulthanŭn Khissŭ* 'The Burning Kiss' (novella),

Yŏn Sŏng-yong: *Sinhanchon* 'The New Korean Quarter (in Vladivostok)' (1967, poem).

4) Experiences of the new life in Central Asia:

Cŏn Tong-hyŏk: *Pyŏbenun Chŏnyŏ* 'The Girl who Reaps Rice' (1938, poem), *Mokhwa Titanŭn Chŏnyŏdŭrŭi Norai* 'Song of the Cotton Picking Girls' (1941, poem), *Nakksi Thŏ'esŏ* 'At the Fishing Place' (1961, short story),

Han Sang-uk: *Pom Norai* 'Spring Song' (1967, poem),

Kim Cong-se: *San'gok* 'The Valley' (poem), *Kaŭre Phinŭn Kkoch* 'The Flower which Blossoms in Autumn' (poem),

Kim Cun: *Ssiridariya Kangbyŏn Saramdŭl* 'People on the Banks of the River Syr Darya' (poem), *Khasahŭttang* 'The Land of Kazakhstan' (poem), *Medeo* 'Medeo' (1954, poem),

Kim Kwang-hyŏn: *Ssirŭdariya* 'Syr Darya' (1962, poem), *Saibyŏk* 'Dawn'

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(1967, novella),

Kim Se-il: *Chöngchun Taijiyö* 'O Great Young Land! (1962, poem), *Chön-yöji'üi Talbam* 'Moonlit Night in Virgin Land' (1962, poem), *Chirüchikhüyö* 'Oh, Chirchik' (1964, poem), *Ssirüdarüya'üi Siwöl* 'The October of Syr Darya' (1965, poem), *Khüsülkkumiyö*, *Nai Onül Nörül Noraihanora* 'O Kzyl-Kum, Today I Sing of You' (1965, poem),

Kim Tu-chil: *Pom* 'Spring' (1963, poem), *Samak* 'Desert' (1966, poem),

Li Vasilii: *Chös Körüm* 'First Step' (1965, novella),

Li Ün-yöng: *Pom Usüm* 'Spring Laugh' (1967, poem),

Yön Söng-yong: *Chilchik Kang'a Hüllöra* 'O River Chirchik, Flow!' (song), *Ssirüdariya* 'Syr Darya' (song), *Khasahüssüttana*, *Na'üi Cörül Padüra* 'O Kazakhstan, Receive My Salutation!' (1970, poem),

5) Lyrics etc.:

Cön Tong-hyök: *Pimil* 'The Secret' (1939, poem), *Kidarim* 'Waiting' (1939, poem),

Cu Song-wön: *Hüin Tochtanpai* 'The White Sailing Boat' (1946, poem),

Han Apollon: *Kaül* 'Autumn' (1965, poem), *Hwanghon* 'Twilight' (1966, poem),

Kim Cüng-song: *Kaül Pich Han Mukküm* 'A Bunch of Autumn Light' (poem),

Kim Nam-sök: *Kyowönnüi Han Phyöngsaing* 'The Life of a Teacher' (poem),

Kim Tu-chil: *Sarang'üi Norai* 'Song of Love' (1963, poem), *Cebi* 'The Swallow' (1966),

Li Ün-yöng: *Küdürüi Kippüm Soge...* 'In Their Happiness...' (1963, poem), *Saisori* 'The Sound of a Bird' (1964, poem), *Maümmanün Phurün Közman Kathö'ida* 'It Seems that the Mind is Always Young' (1964, poem),

Lim Ha: *Kkoikkori Norai* 'Song of a Nightingale' (novella).

6) Children's Songs:

Kim Cüng-song: *Kijunggi* 'The Crane (machine)' (poem), *Nuni Nairinda* 'Snow is Falling' (poem).

As seen above, the second category takes the first place in number and then the life of Koreans in the Far East and Central Asia, both being about equal. These are the themes which Korean writers and poets can describe best since they have witnessed these historical changes and events themselves. Compared with the previous generation, their concept of the Soviet Union as their fatherland is stronger. It is worth mentioning that only very seldom can literary works on the Second World War be found, although this is a very popular theme in the Soviet Union. What is the reason for this? The answer is to

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be found in the fact that the Koreans who were transferred in 1937 are known not to have been enlisted in the Red Army during the Second World War because they were considered unreliable. In other words, the majority of Koreans in Central Asia did not experience the War.⁴⁸⁵ From the temporal point of view, the 1960s were the most active for the publishing of literary works.

Generally speaking, it cannot be said that Korean literature in Central Asia has had favourable possibilities for further development. The ageing of the older generation and the lack of a new one mean that the development of local Korean literature will become progressively weaker. These works represent the literary trend of socialist realism well, and this means that those readers who are not accustomed to it may find it different from more familiar literary styles. One can ponder the question how many of the *Koryŏ Saram*, young and old, read novellas in Korean which relate the events and experiences in the Far East in the 1920s. Judging from the fact that the Central Asian generation of *Koryŏ Saram* under forty are not educated well enough in Korean to read that language and from the fact that the circulation of *Lenin Kichi* is only 9,603, the number who are interested in Korean literature cannot exceed, at most, a few per cent. This means that the theme about the life of Koreans in the Soviet Far East will gradually disappear as the older generation dies out. The themes dealt with by Korean writers and poets will be less in future, the main ones being the Soviet Union as the fatherland and Central Asia as their home area.

6.3. Korean literature in Central Asia in the 1980s

The hub of Korean literature in Central Asia is Alma-Ata. It does not mean that all Korean writers and poets live in that city, but rather that they do not have any possibilities to publish their works in other places in Central Asia. Accordingly, *Lenin Kichi* has become a virtually unique forum in which Korean literature is published once a month. At the present time there are three strata of Korean writers and poets:

- the Far Eastern generation
- the new-comers from North Korea who, due to various reasons, did not return home in the 1960s but settled down in Central Asia
- the Central Asian generation.

6.3.1. Novellas

Of literary works, poems are much more numerous than novels. Novels are mostly short, longer ones are seldom found. In *Lenin Kichi* reviews of the previous year's literary works are also published. It is known that readers of *Lenin Kichi* eagerly await the

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publication of new novels because there is not much choice of reading material in Korean.

Cang Yun-gi's short novel, *Adŭlgwa'ŭi Sangbong* 'Reunion with the Son' (1981), is, according to Han Cin, lacking something, despite the clarity of the language.⁴⁸⁶ In the novel, a mother and her son have lived apart for 20 years due to the fault of the father (or husband). Finally they meet each other, although it is understood that the mother does not evince special affection towards her son. But in order to be a literary work, the novel should describe what the writer wants to say. Han Cin means that the writer has not explained the motive of the hero, and the novel lacks a psychological description of the hero's thought processes.

In *Purun* 'Misfortune' (1984), Cang relates the life of a woman called Cŏmsŏn, who cannot escape from her unhappy past even at the age of 60.⁴⁸⁷ She was driven away from home by her first husband for no special reason and has no other possibility than to follow Cinchŏl, who becomes her new husband. Despite all kind of hardships with him, she tries to live happily for the rest of her life. On the day of her 60th birthday, when she is together with her first husband and her son and daughter, Cinchŏl returns from prison where he has spent seven years. The writer does not provide any answer as to where the solution for Cŏmsŏn lies. In this case the social system and the law are powerless to help her because life itself is so complicated. To the question of whether this kind of misfortune is typical or not in Soviet society, Cŏng Sang-jin answers that similar cases can easily be found even if they are not typical.⁴⁸⁸

Choi Yekaterina, pupil of Co Myŏng-hŭi, is not a writer, but her article *Sonsaing'ŭl Hoisanghamyŏnsŏ* 'Remembering My Teacher' (1984) is known to have made a deep impression upon readers.⁴⁸⁹

Co Cŏng-bong is quite a well-known writer due to *Lenin Kichi*. His short novel, *Uyŏnŭi Kiriŏsstŏn'ga?* 'Was it by Accident?', describes the relationship between Aisŏn and her fiancé Yŏng'il, a surgeon.⁴⁹⁰ After the sudden disappearance of Aisŏn, Yŏng'il waits alone for 9 years. One day a stranger comes to Yŏng'il and requests him to come and see his wife, who is in a critical condition. When Yŏng'il goes to see the patient, she turns out to be Aisŏn. When Aisŏn's husband discovers the relationship between Yŏng'il and Aisŏn, he leaves in the night. Aisŏn also decides to go to Alma-Ata in order to start a new life and goes to the railway station. The story ends with Yŏng'il following Aisŏn and catching her train. In Cŏng Sang-jin's opinion, the novel gives the impression that the reader is hearing a good story from an unskilful narrator. A positive point is considered the detailed description of Aison.⁴⁹¹

Kang Thai-su writes novellas as well as poems. His short novel, *Kiŏgŭl Tŏdŭmŭmyŏnsŏ* 'Trying to Recall' (1984), describes the pure love between Chunil and Aisun (Assya).⁴⁹² In the story Aisun dies unexpectedly but Chunil cannot find any other

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girl like her. According to Cǒng Sang-jin, Kang has succeeded in depicting, in an artistic way, affectionate love, a rather commonplace theme but, nevertheless, eternal.⁴⁹³

Kim Boris's novella *Kallim Kiresǒ* 'At the Crossroad' (1983) is considered a fairly good novel from the traditional point of view.⁴⁹⁴ Han Cin says that its length is suitable with a well-organized plot and clearly described background. But the obscurity and inappropriateness of the dialogue may, according to Han Cin, cause readers some confusion.⁴⁹⁵

Kim Pavel deals with social and moral problems in his novellas, *Yet Chin'gu* 'Old Friend' (1984)⁴⁹⁶ and *Ppabǔllikhǔi Kkoi* 'Pavlik's Trick' (1986).⁴⁹⁷ In the opinion of Cǒng Sang-jin, the writer does not explain the inner mind of the latter novella's heroine, *Irina*, clearly, i.e. why does she introduce Anatoliy to her parents as her husband, even though she has left her hometown for the city after forsaking her beloved Sergey?⁴⁹⁸

Kim Yong-thaik's first novella, *Kǔrǔl Ŏdesǒ Chajnǔndam...* 'Where can I Find Him?' (1983), humorously depicts a very normal wedding.⁴⁹⁹ However, as Han Cin points out, the reader cannot easily discover what the writer wants to say and whether this is a novel or a reportage. Han Cin mentions further shortcomings, e.g. the appearance of a relatively large number of characters in such a short novel and the lack of an event which would bring a climax and conclusion.⁵⁰⁰

Lyang Wǒn-sik is known both as a journalist and as a writer. He is known to belong to the new-comers in Central Asia. In the novel *Nyǒn'gǔmsaing* 'The Pensioner' (1984) he instructively explains how a pensioner has to behave towards the younger generation.⁵⁰¹ According to Cǒng Sang-jin, Lyang describes the psychological world of pensioners through the hero, Ivan Nikolayevich, well.⁵⁰²

Myǒng Chǒl has published a few short novels. In *Maǔl Saramdǔl* 'Village People' (1981), Myǒng describes the life of Korean immigrants in Sidimi Village during the time of intervention after the October Revolution.⁵⁰³ In the novel the exploitation by the Polish landowner, Yuriy Yankovskiy, who cooperated with the White and Japanese soldiers, is described. The evening school teacher Myǒng'u plays the role of the leader who bring the news of the Revolution. The story ends with the scene of Kǔmdan, daughter of the poor Korean immigrant O Cai-gyǒng, and Chang-ik, son of Kim Sǒng-nam who first came to the area, getting married after the establishment of Soviet power. As for the content, it is not easy for the reader to understand who the hero and heroine in the novel are.

Nam Chǒl (cf. ill. 78), being a new writer among the *Koryǒ Saram*, began to write novellas rather late. His short novel, *Mindǔlle Kkoch Phil Muryǒp* 'When Dandelions are Blooming' (1983), describes the life and activities of Cong'un and his wife Haigum against the remnants of the White forces in the Far East after the expulsion of the Japanese soldiers.⁵⁰⁴ At the beginning of the novel, there is a mention of a "kolkhoz village", although the year of the event was said to be the fourth spring after the

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expulsion of the Japanese soldiers, i.e. 1926. Instead of "kolkhoz", the correct expression should be "commune", because collectivization in the Soviet Union was begun in 1927.⁵⁰⁵ The hero's name, Čöng'un, is the reversed form of Un-jöng in Hwang Un-jöng, a Korean internationalist. The heroine's name, Haigüm, is understood to be a real one. Nam Chöl has written another short novel, *Puktuchilsöng'ül Ttara* 'Following the Great Bear', which perhaps forms the first part of *Mindülle Kkoch Phil Muryöp*. In this unpublished novel the life of Koreans in Northern Manchuria and the Soviet Far East is said to be described through Haigüm, who crosses the border to her husband, who is on the Soviet side.

In *Mindülle Kkoch Phil Muryöp* the author pays much attention to the description of nature, which, in Han Cin's opinion, helps considerably in creating an atmosphere and he also presents the thoughts of the hero and heroine. But sporadically there appear non-functional passages. Han Cin points out that the action in the novel should be well clarified so as not to confuse readers.⁵⁰⁶ Nam Chöl has also written a short documentary, *Sarang'üi Him* 'The Effect of Love', about a jackal which is dependent on the person treating it.⁵⁰⁷ The writer wants to say that we are not only part of nature but that nature is part of us.⁵⁰⁸ Being a conscientious and diligent writer, he is expected to play a more active role in the further development of Central Asian Korean literature.

O Vladislav also belongs to those who published their novellas for the first time in 1983. His story, *Kwippyam* 'A Cuff on the Face', describes an episode during the Second World War.⁵⁰⁹ Han Cin wants some improvements made to it. Firstly, the plot should be more solid and secondly, the hero is not clearly defined, as the reader cannot form any idea of him from the present text. Thirdly, the events are too unusual to be credible. Finally, he is astonished at the fact that a Moscow champion boxes the ear of a Soviet soldier.⁵¹⁰

Pak Mikhail is originally a painter. His first work, *Yabame Pichül Ppumnün Paigyangnamu* 'The Birch which Throws Light at Night' (1986), was introduced in *Lenin Kichi* on the recommendation of the Korean Section of the Kazakhstan Writers' Union.⁵¹¹ Han Cin expresses his views about the short novel as follows:⁵¹²

"He sees the world through different eyes. In his work we can notice the sincerity of the writer in observing the uneasy feelings of people in this complicated world from his own peculiar point of view, and in examining the inner world of the hero's mind."

In *Sugmyöng* 'Fate' (1986), Pak describes the fate of a woman, Sunnyo, who meets the same man twice, but the second time she does not recognize him, since time has changed his appearance so much.⁵¹³

Pak Söng-hun, a member of the Journalists' Union of the Soviet Union, discloses in his short novel, *Sarin'gwiüi Mallo* 'The Final Fate of the Homicidal Maniacs' (1985), the outrageous deeds of the Japanese army in the 1940s against Koreans in Sakhalin through the narrative of *Čöng Sang-ho*.⁵¹⁴ Koreans were brought to the island as

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workers by the Japanese authorities, and they did not have any other possibility than to stay on the island, which became a part of the Soviet Union after the War. In the novel the massacre of 35 Koreans, which took place one day after the landing of the Soviet Army on the island, i.e. on August 19, 1945, in Mizuo Village near the present Kholm'sk City on the west coast, is described.

Wŏn II is known to be a pen-name. His novella, *Lagyŏbi Cil Ttai* 'When Leaves Fall' (1986), deals with the ethical problems of old people and their families.⁵¹⁵ Valentin and his wife decide to leave his aged and lonely father alone because they have a greedy desire for a better life. The writer wants to protest against the attitude of Valentin and his wife through their son Kolya, who leaves home just after his grandfather's funeral, without saying a word to his parents. Cŏng Sang-jin wrote in his review: "In this short novel the view is expressed that as long as mentally sick people like Valentin and especially his wife exist, the morality and ethics of communism cannot be established."⁵¹⁶ Pak Sŏng-hun expresses his dislike of this novella stating that the story, being fabricated without a concrete basis, is not typical of Soviet society.⁵¹⁷

The survey of novellas above is not exhaustive. Among the literary works in Korean by *Koryŏ Saram*, it is almost impossible to find a full-length novel. Even medium-length novels are uncommon. However, four or five novellas are published annually and new writers appear, even if very few in number. The themes of these novellas deal mainly with social problems, love affairs and nature, etc. During this period also, the theme of the events in the Far East between 1918-1922 remained rather significant. This is probably due to the fact that, unlike during Tsarist Russian times, Koreans had participated in establishing Soviet power in the Far East, so that they have the right to recall their experiences. This may be a classical theme for the *Koryŏ Saram*, but it seems that they have not yet sufficiently reflected the activities of Koreans in the Far East. If material concerning this question is actively used, the life in the 1910s and 1920s will be understood better. This, in turn, enables the *Koryŏ Saram* to locate their present position within the framework of historical continuity.

In 1985, upon the 40th anniversary of the end of the War, the Soviet war experiences and war morale were also reflected in Soviet Korean literature, e.g. in *Sarin'gwiŭi Mallo* 'The Final Fate of the Homicidal Maniacs' (novella by Pak Sŏng-hun), *Cŏnsaŭi Phyŏnji* 'Letter of a Soldier' (essay by Myŏng Chŏl), *Meari* 'The Echo' (novella by Kim Vladimir) and *Kyŏulchŏl Sagwa* 'The Winter Apple' (documentary by Kim Viktor). Several stories for children were also published: *Cenorairŭl Chajŭn Saikkigom* 'The Baby Bear who Found Its Own Song' (1984, by Kang Genriyetta), *Yes Iyagi* 'Old Story' (1985, by the same), *Kobugirŭl Wihan Kkomppothŭ* 'Compote for the Turtle' (1985, by the same), *Sinbiroun Kkoch* 'The Mysterious Flower' (by Kim Pavel), *Wanya Ajŏssiŭi Yolokka* 'Uncle Vanya's Fir Tree' (by Kim Viktor), *Cimaŭi*

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Pimil 'Cima's Secret' (1985, by Nam Kyöng-ja).

6.3.2. Poems

The poems of this period can be divided into the following groups thematically:

1) The Far East:

Choi Maksim: *Ssihotteallin* 'Sikhote-Alin' (1983),

Cu Yöng-yun: *Salmüi Panhyang* 'Reflection of Life' (1983), *Habaropssükhüüi Pam* 'The Khabarovsk Night' (1983).

2) The Soviet Union and the Second World War:

Cu Yöng-yun: *Pulgün Kwangjang'esö* 'In Red Square' (1984), *Saihainün Puründa* 'New Year Calls' (1986),

Kim Kwang-hyön: *Nyewa Kang* 'The River Neva' (1983), *Pukküksöng* 'The Pole Star' (1985),⁵¹⁸

Li Cin: *Sagürajin Thanphi* 'The Disintegrated Bullet Casing' (1984), *Maürüi Lobyöngdül* 'Village Veterans' (1985),

Li Sang-hüi: *Hong Pömdo Canggün Tongsang Aphesö* 'In front of Hong Pömdo's Statue' (1985),

Li Tong-ön: *Nado Suryöng'ül Norai Haryönda* 'I will also Sing of the Leader' (1984), *Tangdaihoirül Majümyö* 'Receiving the Party Congress' (1986),

Lyang Wön-sik: *Tu Phyönji* 'Two Letters' (1984), *Hwaibul* 'The Torch' (1985),⁵¹⁹

Nam Chöl: *Hün Nuni Nairinda, Kyökcön Thöesö* 'White Snow Falls on the Battle Grounds' (1985),

Pak Petr: *Yöng'yeroun Künmu* 'Honourable Duty' (1984),

Yön Söng-yong: *Yöng'ung Tosi* 'Hero City' (1985),

Yu Söng-chöl: *Kukkyöng Subi Taiwön* 'Frontier Guard' (1983), *Lobyönggwa Sonja* 'The Veteran and his Grandson' (1985).

3) Nature and life in Central Asia:

Co Hai-ryong: *Kkochphinün Almaatta* 'Blossoming Alma-Ata' (1983),

Hö Söng-lok: *Mokhwa Sunchigi* 'Pruning the Cotton Sprouts' (1983), *Mokhwa Sunntagi* 'Picking Cotton Sprouts' (1985),

Kim Süng-ik: *Pyö Cakhwang* 'Rice Cultivation' (1983), *Kapchagay* 'The Kapchagay Reservoir' (1985),

Li Cin: *Cunggarüsan Sicho* (Poetry about the Dzungarian Mountains, 1983) including *Hömhan Kil* 'The Rocky Road', *Akssakkal* 'The Village Elder', *Ssakssaul*

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'The Saksaul Tree', *Chabanüi Norai* 'Song of a Herdsman', *Ambyðkhwa* 'Rock Paintings', *Ca'illyauüi Saibyök* 'Dawn at Zhaylyau', *Cal Isskõra*, *Cungarüsana* 'Goodbye, Oh Dzungarian Mountains!'

Li Tong-õn: *Mokhwa Tianün Chõnyõ* 'The Cotton-Picking Girl' (1985),

Lyu Pyõng-chõn: *Talbam* 'Moonlight' (1984),

Mu San: *Phikkussü* 'Ficus' (1983),

Nam Chõl: *Naüi Tosi* 'My City' (1983),

U Ce-guk: *Mokhwa* 'Cotton' (1983),

Yõn Sõng-yong: *Khasahüssüttaniyõ!* 'Oh, Kazakhstan!' (1982), *Usübekki-süttaniüi Pom* 'Uzbekistan Spring' (1986)

4) Daily life, social and moral questions, lyrics etc.:

Cu Yõng-yun: *Mujigai* 'The Rainbow' (1984), *Usmuri Malgaya...* 'When the Upper Stream is Clean...' (1984), *Sarang'üi Kyejõl* 'Season of Love' (1985), *Noraiwa Hamkke* 'With Song' (1987),

Kang Thai-su: *Camoji Anhnün Pame* 'During the Sleepless Night' (1983), *Hosugaesõ* 'By the Lake Side' (1983), *Pomnarüi Haru Cõnyõk* 'A Spring Night' (1983), *Olhaido Mollassta* 'This Year I did not Know either' (1983), *Yes Marin'ga?* 'Is It an Old Story?' (1984), *Halmõniwa Sonja* 'Grandmother and Grandson' (1986), *Comyõnghüi Sõnsaingkke Samga Türim* 'Dedicated to Our Teacher Co Myõng-hüi' (1986),

Kim Anna: *Panjusul* 'Wine Taken at Meal Time' (1985),

Kim Chun-thaik: *Kyõul Pam* 'A Winter Night' (1983), *Paidal* 'Deliverance' (1984),

Kim Süng-ik: *Kohyang* 'Hometown' (1983),

Li Cin: *Nülgün Sasüm* 'Old Deer' (1984), *Kanggaüi Pothong Cõnyõknyõkh* 'An Ordinary Evening by the Riverside' (1985), *Nyõja* 'Woman' (1986),

Li Se-ho: *Nai Ijülsu Öpsõra* 'I Cannot Forget' (1985), *Caranghago Siphõra* 'I Want to Boast' (1985),

Li Tong-õn: *Salme Taihan Sarang* 'Love for Life' (1983), *Paigyang Namu* 'The Birch Tree' (1984), *Nõnün Cinjõng Naüi Maüm* 'You are Really My Heart' (1985),

Lyang Wõn-sik: *Irõkhe Önü Haru...* 'A Day like This' (1984), *Irüi Mamuri* 'Finishing Work' (1984), *Padaga'esõ* 'At the Seaside' (1984), *Kü dai Maüm Chajnün Kil* 'The Way to Find Your Beloved Mind' (1985), *Hüin Kurümjang* 'Piece of White Cloud' (1985),

Myõng Chõl: *Naüi Chõs Kürim* 'My First Painting' (1983), *Lossiya Põsnamu* 'Russian Cherry Tree' (1986), *Chungsõng'üi Chamttüs* 'The Real Meaning of Fidelity' (1986),

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Mu San: *Sidairül Ttarünün* 'Following the Time' (1983), *Cohün Sidaiüi Cohün Iyagirül* 'Good Stories of a Good Time' (1983), *Pichpalgwa Öullyö* 'Together with a Sunbeam' (1984), *Körümmada* 'At Each Step' (1984), *Tanphung* 'The Maple' (1985),

Nam Chöl: *Mindülle Phinün Pomnal* 'Spring Day When Dandelions Bloom' (1983), *Nai Kojang* 'My Hometown' (1983), *Irün Pomsosik* 'Early Spring News' (1983), *Owöl* 'May' (1983), *Sarang'üi Mulsori* 'The Flowing Sound of Love' (1984), *Pös Namu* 'The Cherry Tree' (1984), *Paranün Maüm, Cülginün Kippüm* 'The Expectant Mind, Joyful Pleasure' (1985), *Salmüi Nwiuchim* 'Repenting Life' (1985), *Tal* 'The Moon' (1987),

Nam Hai-yön: *Kkoch Nongjang'üi Chönyöya* 'O Girl from the Flower Farm' (1984), *Insaing'üi Cönyögül Tugo* 'In the Evening of Life' (1986), *Köriüi Miso* 'Smile of the Street' (1986),

Pak Yong-jun: *Sewöri Kado* 'Even If Time is Going Past' (1987), *Chönyö* 'The Maiden' (1987),

U Ce-guk: *Kalgamagwi* 'The Jackdaw' (1985), *Kojipcaing'i Tangnagwi* 'An Obstinate Donkey' (1985),

Wön II: *Owörüi Cönyök Hanül* 'Night Sky in May' (1983), *Sömgwang* 'Flash' (1983), *Kömijul* 'The Cobweb' (1986), *Küdaidülgwa Na* 'They and I' (1987),

Yön Söng-yong: *Kaülbi* 'Autumn Rain' (1982), *Ünmilhi Onün Pom* 'Spring which Arrives Secretly' (1982), *Ömöni* 'Mother' (1984), *Sarang'üi Kkoch* 'Flower Love' (1984), *Cönsörüi Yongsadüra* 'O You Legendary Heroes' (1985), *Kwahi Masiji Marara* 'Don't Drink Too Much!' (1986), *Ömöniüi Haingbok* 'Mother's Joy' (1987),

Yu Söng-chöl: *Saingga* 'Birthplace' (1984), *Cangmikkoch Phiyossne* 'A Rose Bloomed' (1984), *Ömöniüi Sülphüm* 'Mother's Sorrow' (1984).

5. Songs and poems for children:

Cu Yöng-yun: *Isa Kanün Nal* 'Day of Movement' (1984), *Urinün Ppionyerü* 'We Are Pioneers' (1985), *Pyöl* 'The Star' (1985),

Kim Chun-thaik: *Uri Aigi* 'Our Baby' (1983),

Li Tong-ön: *Tüngaiga Toiryöpnida* 'I Want to Become a Lighthouse' (1983), *Haibaragi* 'Sun Flower' (1985),

Nam Chöl: *Chös Nun* 'First Snow' (1985), *Achim Kil* 'Morning Road' (1985),

Wön II: *Samlimüi Achim* 'Forest Morning' (1985).

In *Lenin Kichi* around 40-50 poems by Korean poets are published annually.⁵²⁰ In the 1980s, *Koryö Saram* poets have mostly paid attention to questions of daily life and social and moral problems. This means that the reconstruction campaign which was recently launched in both economic and social fields is dealt with in the poems. Saying

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that at this historical moment everybody in the Soviet Union has to show his responsibility and creativity, Kim Kwang-hyŏn stresses that Korean poets themselves have not only to assume a wholesome attitude towards creative work and social problems in order to fully reflect the beautiful inner world and the nature of the Soviet people but also to continuously improve their own skills by raising their attentiveness.⁵²¹

There are some poets who also write novellas, but the number of fairly active poets, in all about 30, seems to be more than the amount of novella writers. With a few exceptions, e.g. Cu Yŏng-yun from Khabarovsk, poets write their works in Kazakhstan. The fact that *Koryŏ Saram* poets are rarely found in Uzbekistan reveals that literary creativity is not unrelated to other cultural activities like newspaper publishing and theatre, etc. It is difficult to conjecture the average age of the poets, but it would not be very misleading if we consider it over 50, on the ground that only people who are at least of that age or are new-comers have a sufficient command of Korean to write poems. People under 50 years are not thought to be able to write Korean well.

We can also discover a tendency that each year some new individuals try to write poems, e.g. in 1984 Li Cu-hak, Lyu Pyŏng-chŏl, Kim Chun-thaik. As for the contents, Li Sang-hŭi reminds us that some of them cannot be considered poems in a real sense.⁵²² A poem does not mean a report, nor can it be just a composition of broken sentences. Li Sang-hŭi further says that a poet should write what he feels really profoundly. In this sense poems like *Yangdon'gong Chŏnyŏ* 'Girl Raising Pigs' (1985 by Han Ki-hŭp), *Chŏnyŏ Sijŏl* 'Maiden Days' (1985 by Lyu Pyŏng-chŏn), *Sarang'ui Kyejŏl* 'Season of Love' and *Mokhwa Sunntagi* 'Picking Cotton Sprouts' do not awaken any emotions in the readers.

6.4. Present situation and perspectives

It is proper to look at the outline of the literature of Kazakhstan as a whole, because Korean literature in Central Asia is concentrated in Alma-Ata. The line of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan is clearly formulated in an article about the 9th Conference of Kazakhstan Writers:⁵²³

"The Kazakhstan Writers' Conference, which ended on April 11, was in harmony with the accomplishment of communist construction in modern times. It has been constant in its efforts to create works with profound contents and a high degree of artistry which breed fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism and socialistic internationalism. Discussing the results of the past five years activities and future tasks set by the 27th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 16th Party Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, the participants at the conference emphasized the importance of increasing the role of the Writers' Union of the Republic in carrying out these tasks."

The literature of Kazakhstan is at the present time published in Kazakh, Russian, Uighur,

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German and Korean. The number of writers and poets in Kazakhstan reaches 500 and during the last five years around 200 literary works were published in the five languages. Rural themes make up about half of them, but, on the other hand, literary works treating reclaimed regions are still missing and they are not even in the future programme, even if readers are said to have awaited such works for 30 years. Similarly, large social and moral questions are rarely dealt with. Instead the majority of recent works are said to cling to rather minute themes. It was pointed out at the conference that among other unsatisfactory matters, unsold books are piled both in storage and on the shelves of bookshops, because the people responsible for publication pay more attention to quantity than to quality. In Kazakhstan where more than 100 different nationalities live, one of the writers' duties is considered to be a detailed description of the unity, friendship and cooperation of these nationalities from the Party's and people's point of view. It was also mentioned that a new generation of poets writing in Russian has been born.

Korean writers and poets belong to the Korean Section of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan. Other Kazakhstan minorities, such as Uighurs and Germans, have their own sections.⁵²⁴ The section holds an annual meeting at the beginning of the year, at which the activities of the previous year are reviewed. The report for the year 1985, given by Han Cin, says the following about the present situation of Korean literature:⁵²⁵

"... In this union the 1985 review meeting is taking place in five languages simultaneously, i.e. in Kazakh, Russian, Uighur, German and Korean. Soviet Korean literature published in Korean is an equal member of the multinational Soviet literature which is published in 78 languages. Just a year ago, Olzas Omarovich Suleimenov (born May 18, 1936—*the writer), the First Secretary of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan,⁵²⁶ pointed out that the problem of getting works by Korean writers published regularly should be solved. Today I can, with great pleasure, say, that the problem of regular publishing has been solved. This means that the Section Committee carries responsibility for all matters concerning publishing, that is, ideological questions and the artistic level of the contents and so on. The reason why I begin my report with the question of publishing lies in the fact that the positive solution of this matter presents many possibilities not only to professional but also to amateur writers and invigorates them."

In brief, Korean literature in Central Asia cannot generally be separated from Kazakhstan literature, which, in turn, is a part of Soviet literature. This definition both delimits and gives scope to the literature of the *Koryŏ Saram*. The solution of the publishing problem can be considered a positive step for the future of Korean literature in Central Asia. In the 1980s virtually every year, a collection of works by Korean writers and poets has been published in Korean by the *Zhazushy* publishing house (Director-General M. Magauyn) in Alma-Ata: *Haibaragi* 'The Sunflower' (1982, anthology), *Haingbogŭi Norai* 'The Song of Happiness' (1983 by Yŏn Sŏng-yong), *Sum* 'The Breath' (1985 by Kim Cun), *Ssak* 'The Sprout' (1986 by Kim Kwang-hyŏn) and a collection of novels by Kim Ki-chŏl (in print).⁵²⁷ To publish one work annually seems, of course, not to suffice, especially when one takes into consideration the fact that Korean writers and

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poets have to wait their turn to get their works published. Yŏn Sŏng-yong's work was published when he was 74 years old, Kim Cun's six years after his death and Kim Kwang-hyŏn's at the age of 67. Kim Ki-chŏl will see a collection of his works printed at the age of 80.

This is the actual situation of leading writers and poets. So normally it takes at least 10 years for a Korean writer in his mid-fifties to have a chance to publish his own collection. According to present regulations, it is known that a writer or poet has to have two collections of his works published in order to become a member of the Writers' Union. It is understood that there is hope that two collections will be published annually instead of one, because the Kazakhstan authorities are well aware of this problem. As long as this hope is not realized, it cannot be said that the publishing problem of Korean literature has been solved. At the meeting it was also pointed out that some writers have caused difficulties to the union by requesting that their works which are not profound in content nor high in artistry be published. On the second day of the meeting, led by Pak Il, in which around 10 participants took part, the organization of various occasions where writers and poets could exchange their experiences and give advice to each other was proposed.⁵²⁸

The development of literature cannot be considered without taking the educational situation of the language into account. It has already been discussed in Chapter 4 that the Korean language is hardly taught in Central Asia. How, then, do Korean writers and poets develop their literature and how do they define the present situation? The answers to these questions can be found in the round table discussion about the problem of development and the mutual influence of multinational literature in Kazakhstan which was held at the end of 1986 arranged by *Prostor* 'Space', a monthly journal about literature, art and social politics of the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan:⁵²⁹

"... **Han Cin:** Aleksandr Lazarevich has dwelt at length on Korean literature. I would like to mention only some common situations.⁵³⁰ The October Revolution is also history. Koreans encountered it in the Far East. Among them were active revolutionaries, many of whom fought in the ranks of the partisans and the Red Army during the Civil War. Many of them died as heroes for the establishment of Soviet power. That is the reason why the theme of the October Revolution in the works of Korean writers is connected with the Far East. For example, *Immortality* by Yon Song-yong which is a song about Aleksandra Petrovna Kim, the first Korean woman bolshevik, people's commissary of foreign affairs of the Far Eastern Republic, or *Golden Horn Bay*, a novel by Kim Ki-chŏl.

Koreans have been living in Kazakhstan for 50 years. This is also history. Korean Soviet literature has become a part of common Kazakhstan literature since 1937. A young man said to me that he was very interested in how Koreans came to the Far East and from there to Kazakhstan. They say that there are witnesses to that time. It would be nice to publish even a collection of essays and the stories of those witnesses, not only of Koreans, but also of Kazakhs, Russians,... otherwise our children will not know how they came to Kazakhstan nor how they became inhabitants of Kazakhstan.

It would be pleasant to believe that in due course this theme will be mastered by our writers. If this discussion is concerned with some kind of unity and the regional characteristics of the literature of

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Kazakhstan, I would like to compare it to a large family where many brothers live together. If we pay a little more attention to each other and are more often interested in each other, our unity will be stronger.

The national literatures of the Kazakhs, Russians, Uighurs and Germans living in Kazakhstan have equal rights, in spite of the leading role of the Kazakhs themselves and their national literature. This is clear and explicable, and this is objectively justifiable. But it is very problematic to speak of a situation of equal rights (not of a situation of equal value) of the Korean "branch" in common Kazakhstan literature, because it is deprived of, besides all other fundamentals, a basis for the language and general education. The Korean language is taught neither to youngsters nor to adults. Neither are there educational specialists on Korean culture at schools nor at universities. At the moment the multinational Soviet literature is created in 78 languages, but there exists a real danger that, in near future, it will be published in only 77 languages.

M. Auezov: The mutual relationship of national literatures is a very responsible and complicated theme. In discussing this, we have to feel that everyone of us, the participants of today's discussion, has behind him not only his books, his personal work, but also all literature and the literature of a certain nation. A moment ago Han Cin spoke, representing his culture and his tradition, and we feel the pain of his people and its writers: in the history of Korean Soviet literature a dramatic moment is dawning. This raises the question whether we today can speak of something we have in common, a thing which unites us and a thing which separates us? And what kind of moral motives can contribute to the further growth and development of our literature, to the strengthening of our unity? Korean literature is one of the structural units of our common literature in Kazakhstan, being a part of living organism, if we lose it, we lose something of ourselves. The pain of Han Cin, it is...

Momysh-Uly: ...our common pain.

...

Han Cin: In the life of Kazakhstan Koreans, international contacts have become more intensive on the level of family and daily life. Marriages between Koreans, Kazakhs, Russians... have become more widespread. The generation of intermarriages reach even to the second and third generations. This is a real socio-ethnic process. But our literature, for some reason, keeps silent about this phenomenon. This is, anyway, wrong because a social process runs objectively, regularly, whether the subject, i.e. writer or sociologist, likes it or not. National differences become international, and international become national. Surely, an incomprehension of or unwillingness for this dialectic give rise to the passing over in silence of national differences, or rather differences in national feelings. This means that we do not write the whole truth.

But when we speak about friendship among nations in the social scheme, we have sufficient of this kind of output. As an example, the poem *Aliya* of Kim Cun can be mentioned.

Still one thing more: for example, even if there are two people, one of whom in real life is Korean and the other Kazakh, in literature they can, however, both be Koreans. If they are both positive heroes, they are sometimes portrayed as representing both nationalities.

Our ancestors loved mountains and rivers. And in the Far East there are plenty of them, being very reminiscent of Korean ones. That is probably the reason why our poems pay much attention to them. Through our poems, Alatau, Medeo, Syr Darya, Karatal... were praised. But if one speaks about the steppe and summer pastures, there are few who have sung about them. Could the reason possibly be that few Koreans have been there?

One's homeland is, above all, the place where one was born, got acquainted with one's first friends, experienced first love and where the remains of one's ancestors lie... The Kazakhstan Koreans can be divided into two large groups: for one the homeland is the Far East, and for the other Kazakhstan. But in both cases Kazakhstan is not a temporary dwelling place..."

The second problem, probably the most serious one for the future of Korean literature in

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Central Asia is the lack of education in the Korean language and culture. How can the literature of a nation survive without proper education about the language in question? Naturally it cannot. The future of Korean literature in Central Asia must be considered endangered unless suitable arrangements are urgently made. If the situation continues unchanged, it can be expected that in about ten years Korean literature will begin to fade away. The third thing which impedes its development in Central Asia seems to be the taboo about dealing with the 1937 transfer. As Han Cin pointed out, there are two groups of Koreans, one being the Far Eastern generation and the other the Central Asian. This means that writers have to reflect their experiences only in either the Far East or Central Asia. The treatment of the process which connects these two areas has been forbidden. But however painful the memory may be, the historical fact which brought Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia cannot be erased.

Open-mindedness towards the past will enable the *Koryŏ Saram* to define their present position. Half a century having passed since their arrival in Central Asia, it is perhaps proper to say that they are now in the process of becoming Central Asians. When they are able to write about how they have become Central Asians, their literature will have the characteristics of that of Central Asia. Otherwise the desire of the Central Asian generation of Koreans to know their past will not be fulfilled. There are poems which extol the nature of the area, but very few literary works are found describing the present way of life in multinational Kazakhstan. This may be due to the fact that the majority of writers belongs to the Far Eastern generation which cannot easily adapt itself to the rather different lifestyle of Central Asia. As long as the younger generation of Koreans, born and raised in Central Asia, does not receive any education in their mother tongue and has no chance to know how they became Central Asians, it cannot be expected that the future of Korean literature there will be guaranteed.

It may still be asked whether there are Korean writers born in Central Asia or not. And if there are, in which language do they write? As a Central Asian Korean writer we can mention **Anatoliy Kim**, born in 1940 in Tyul'kubas, Chimkent Oblast in Kazakhstan, where he grew up, too.⁵³¹ At first he studied at the Professional School of Fine Arts in Moscow, but left it in his fourth year. Eventually he graduated from the Literary Institute named after *Gorkiy* in Moscow in 1971. He first attempted to write poems when he went to Sakhalin after military service. Two of his early poems were published in 1964 in *Leninŭi Killo* in Sakhalin. After that he has mainly written short stories and novels. His first two novels, *Myoko's Sweet-Brier* and *Water-Colour*, were published in the journal *Avrora* in 1973.

Kim writes his works in Russian, his mother tongue, possibly because he did not receive enough education in Korean, even if he speaks it. In his novels he reflects the life of Koreans in the Far East, especially those who immigrated to the Russian Far East after

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1910, e.g. in the novel *The Taste of Blackthorn at Dawn* (*Вкус Тёрна на Рассвете*).⁵³² The first collection of his works, *The Blue Island*, was published in 1976 in Moscow and the latest one, *The Squirrel*, in 1984.⁵³³ According to U Vladimir, *The Squirrel* can be considered the continuation of *The Lotus Flower* in the sense of ideas and thought.⁵³⁴ The style of Kim's work is antirealistic, even though the novel represents realism. The peculiarity lies also in the fact that some of the characters are described in the form of animals. The writer tries to reveal and criticize the character of the petit bourgeois, their pettiness and flatteries, etc. using satirical means of expression. Sharp criticism is directed towards all kinds of conservatism, greediness and other negative phenomena which are regarded as bestial. According to the writer, human beings cannot live a human and benevolent life without giving up this bestiality.

In *The Squirrel*, by transforming human beings into animals, Kim wants to show the characteristic brutality of human beings. This means that a human being becomes like an animal if he loses his humanity. Conversely an animal can be transformed into a human being.⁵³⁵ All in all, the writer does not regard the world pessimistically. He defends the humanity and honour of human beings in this novel. In the opinion of U Vladimir, the formal deficiency of this novel lies in the fact that animals are too frequently changed into human beings and vice versa.⁵³⁶ In deliberating the creativity of Anatoliy Kim, the critic K. Klutkin says that he basically follows the tradition of Russian literature, paying keen attention to the fundamental questions of human existence and to normal daily life and eternity, even if he shows some similarities to Eastern literature in contents. In this respect Klutkin wants to place Anatoliy Kim on the same level as writers like V. Astaf'yev, Ch. Aytmatov, O. Chiladze, B. Okudzhava, O. Suleimenov, A. Bitov and G. Panziridze, who represent the multinational Soviet literature.⁵³⁷ The newest collection of Kim's works entitled *Bride of the Sea* (*Невеста Моря*) was published in 1987.⁵³⁸

Another Korean writer from Central Asia is **Pu Vladimir Nikolayevich**, who was born in 1947, the youngest son of six children, in Terenozek in Kzyl-Orda Oblast in Kazakhstan. He studied in Alma-Ata but is now working in Turkmenia as the second secretary of the Writers' Union of Turkmenia. He has written, possibly in Russian, several novellas, essays and other stories for children and also about nature conservancy. The local population considers him a Turkmenian writer or journalist because he often treats Turkmenians in his works. After visiting Afghanistan, he also wrote about the situation there and the children of that country. His works are said to be socialist in content, nationalistic by genre and full of internationalism and brotherly friendship.⁵³⁹

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6.5. Translation of Korean literature in Central Asia

In a multinational country like the Soviet Union, the translation of literary works from one language into another occupies an important place, being almost half of all publications in general. In the Soviet Union Korean literature of three kinds has been translated into national languages, the majority of which are published in Russian. The first represents classics, the second modern literature (mainly before 1945), and the third group Korean literature of Central Asia. Korean literary works of the second and third categories were translated by Koreanists both in Moscow and Leningrad, e.g. by M. I. Nikitina (Leningrad), A. F. Troceвич (Leningrad) and L. E. Yeremenko (Moscow), etc.

Work in translating Korean literature, both classical and Central Asian, has also been carried out in Central Asia by A. L. Zhovtis for more than thirty years. Having graduated from the department of journalism at the Kazakhstan National University in Alma-Ata, he became interested in poetry when studying the theory of literature. With a knowledge of several languages, e.g. Russian, English, German, Ukrainian, Polish, Kazakh, he at first translated Ukrainian and Kazakh poems into Russian. He began to be interested in Korean classical poetry due to Pak Il. Zhovtis remembers the feeling of his first encounter with Korean classical poetry as follows:⁵⁴⁰

"The poetry which Pak Il read to me really surprised me. It did not in the least resemble that of any other country. At first glance it seemed to describe things that we see everyday, but after pondering the life hidden in it more profoundly, it awakens many philosophical thoughts in the reader's mind. I was much impressed."

It is known that his translation work is dependent upon the aid of Pak Il and other scholars of Korean studies because, unfortunately, Zhovtis does not know Korean. This disadvantage is compensated for by his broad knowledge of different subjects and his talent in the art of verse-making. His first translation of Korean poetry, the poems of Pak In-no (1561-1642) and Cǒng Chǒl (1536-1593), was published in 1954 in Khabarovsk. Since then he has actively continued to publish translations in collaboration with Pak Il. One difficulty which Zhovtis points out is the difference in the structure of Korean and Russian. For example, at least 16-20 lines or even a whole page of Russian is needed to translate a *sijo*, a Korean poem composed of three lines of six poetical units. In translating Korean poems of the Cosǒn Dynasty, scholars of Korean studies such as L. R. Koncevich, M. I. Nikitina and L. E. Yeremenko are known to have first translated them into Russian, from which Zhovtis then remodelled them into a poetic form.⁵⁴¹

Among recent works of Zhovtis, *Бамбук в снегу* (1978, 'Bamboo in the Snow'. Korean Lyrics of the VIII-XIX Centuries.) and *Отражения* (1987, 'Reflection') can be mentioned. The latter includes not only Korean but also Kazakh and Ghanaian poems.⁵⁴² In *Reflection* poems of Soviet Korean poets like Maing Tong-uk,

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Kang Thai-su, Li Tong-ne, Li Un-yong, Yang Man-chun and Kim Kwang-hyŏn are found, as well as classical poems. Zhovtis has also published Korean classical poems in Ukrainian.⁵⁴³ Poems by Central Asian Korean poets have been translated and published by others, also.⁵⁴⁴

NOTES

431. Yŏn Sŏng-yong, pp. 5-7.

432. Dramatists are treated in Chapter 5.

433. KAPF, organized in 1925, is the abbreviation of the Esperanto name meaning 'Proletarian Federation of Korean Artists', *Korea Artista Proletaria Federatio* which includes writers, musicians and different art groups. Li Vilori in LK 1986 Dec. 20, p. 4.

434. LK 1986 Dec. 20, p. 4.

435. Kim Yoon-shik, "*Phases of Development of Proletarian Literature in Korea*". *Korea Journal* Vol. 27(1987), No.1, pp. 31-33.

436. The main work of this period is *Pom Candipath Ue* 'On the Spring Grassland' (Seoul 1924). This collection of 43 poems was published after severe censorship by the Japanese police. It means that the author was not able to publish the whole of his poetic output as he wanted to do. At this time he used *Cŏgno* 'Reed Flute' as a pen-name.

437. Works of this period are: *Tiang Sogŭro* 'Going Underground' (1925, February), *Nongchon Saramdŭl* 'Countryside People' (1926, May), *Maŭmŭl Karamŏgnŭn Saramdŭl* 'Decisive People' (1926, September), *Cŏgiap* 'Low Pressure' (1926 October), *Sai Kŏji* 'A New Beggar' (1926, December), *Han Yorŭmbam* 'A Summer Night' (1927, April).

438. *Phosŏk Co Myŏng-hŭi Sŏnjip*. Moscow 1959, p. 530. Works of this period are: *R gunege* 'To Mr. R' (1926, February), *Tongji* 'Comrade' (1927, March), *Naktonggang* 'Naktong River' (1927, May), *Yŏrŭmpam Tiŭnsainggak* 'Empty Thoughts One Summer Night' (1927, August), *Ippŭniwa Lyong'i* 'Ippuni and Lyong'i' (1928, February), *Chunsŏni* 'Mr. Chunson' (1928, December), *Adŭrŭi Maŭm* 'The Son's Mind' (1928, September), *Pakkunŭi Lomansŭ* 'The Romance of Mr. Pak'.

439. The pupils of Co Myŏng-hŭi who wrote about his activities are: **Cang In-dŏk**, *Co Myŏng-hŭi Sŏnsaing'ŭi Sirŭl Ilgŭltai* 'When I Read the Poems of My Teacher' (LK 1986 Dec. 20, p. 4), **Choi Yekaterina**, *Sŏnsaing'ŭl Hoisanghamyŏnsŏ* 'Remembering My Teacher' (LK 1984 Aug. 10 and 14), and **Pak Yong-gŏl**, *Sŏnsaing'ŭl Chuŏkhamyŏnsŏ* 'Recollecting My Teacher' (LK 1986 Dec. 20, p. 4).

440. Hwang Tong-min explains the reason why this novel was not published as follows: "But the extremely regrettable thing is that this novel (**Pulgŭn Kispal Arai'esŏ* 'Under the Red Flag') disappeared without being published. At that time a group of sectarians, amounting to less than a handful, kept this novel in the dust of their table drawer without reading the manuscript for almost ten years. That is why Co Myŏng-hŭi could not publish it and had to teach at schools." (*Phosŏk Co Myŏng-Hŭi Sŏnjip*, pp. 11-12).

441. *Phosŏk Co Myŏng-Hŭi Sŏnjip*, p. 13.

442. Тё Мён Хи, *Naktongan*, p. 109. It is not known where he died either, but one can conjecture that he was probably against the transfer to Central Asia. The descendents of Co Myŏng-hŭi live there at present (cf. note 151).

443. Besides *Cispalphin Koryŏ*, they are as follows: *Polswebikhŭi Pom* 'Bolshevik Spring' (1931, March), *Nyŏja Tolgyŏktai* 'Female Shock-Troops' (1931, March), *Siwŏllŭi Norai* 'Song of October' (1931, September), *Maingsehago Nasŏja* 'Let's Take the Oath and Go' (1934, April), *Owŏl Iril Siwi Undongjang'esŏ* 'In the Playground at the May Day Demonstration' (1934, June), *Au Chai'ogege* 'To Younger Brother Chai'ok' (1935, March) and *Kkadŭrŭyŏ Nŏŭi Cimi Khŭda* 'O Cadres, Your Responsibility is Great' (1935, June).

444. *Phosŏk Co Myŏng-Hŭi Sŏnjip*, p. 14.

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445. LK 1987 Jan. 8, p. 4.
446. Тë Мён Хи, *Naktongan*. Moscow 1966. 110 p.
447. *Phosŏk Co Myŏng-hŭi Sŏnjip*. Compilation, Foreword and Commentaries by Hwang Tong-min. Moscow 1959. 570 p. In this volume memoirs by Li Ki-yŏng (1898-1982) and Han Sŏl-ya, former active writers in North Korea, as well as Kang Thai-su, a Soviet Korean writer, are included. There are also studies on Co Myŏng-hŭi, e.g. Ŏm Ho-sŏk's *Co Myŏng-hŭi Yŏn'gu. Kŭi In'gangwa Yesul* 'Study of Co Myŏng-hŭi. His Life and Art'. Phyŏng'yang 1956. 212 p. — The writer sincerely thanks Professor Mazur from Moscow for his valuable information and material about Co Myŏng-hŭi, Co Ki-chŏn, Cŏn Tong-hyŏk and U Ce-guk.
448. LK 1983 Nov. 16, p. 4.
449. *Siworŭi Haibich*, p. 8.
450. *Phosŏk Co Myŏng-hŭi Sŏnjip*, p. 498.
451. *Ibid.* pp. 499-500.
452. *Siworŭi Haibich*, p. 236.
453. *Ibid.* p. 65.
454. LK 1985 Oct. 3, p. 4.
455. *Siworŭi Haibich*, p. 347.
456. Lim Ūn, pp. 141-142; LK 1985 Aug. 15, p. 4 and Yŏn Sŏng-yong, pp. 9-10.
457. *Siworŭi Haibich*, p. 102.
458. *Ibid.* p. 324.
459. *Ibid.* p. 205.
460. *Ibid.* p. 155.
461. *Ibid.* p. 295.
462. *Ibid.* p. 277.
463. *Ibid.* p. 39.
464. In December, 1921, three Korean companies fought against the Whites in Iman City. Two days after the move from Khanchorok Village to Iman, the second company, led by Han Un-yong, had to fight in Morobong and, having defeated the Whites, returned to Iman. But the railway station became quarters of the Whites with thousands of soldiers. In any case, Han Un-yong's company almost succeeded in vanquishing the Whites when the Whites got reinforcements. Han Un-yong's company could not resist due to their numerical inferiority and shortage of ammunition. In this battle Han Un-yong's company, consisting of 48 Korean volunteers, was annihilated after having killed 600 White soldiers (*Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, pp. 74-75). The poem *Mahŭnyŏddŏlp Saram* 'Forty Eight Persons' is about Han Un-yong's company. The forty eight persons are (cf. ill. 79): Han Un-yong, Han Cin-chŏn, Kang Wi, Kang Fyodor (cf. ill. 80), Kim Chun-ho, Yun Tong-sŏn, Cu Pyŏng-lok, Kim Hak-sŏp, Kim Hyŏng-gwŏn, Pak Hŭng (cf. ill. 80), Ha Ik-hyŏn, Kim Tŏk-ŭn, Cu Pong-ju, Pak Pai-gŭn, Sin Thai-hyŏng, Kim Yun-wŏn, Kim Cu-mun, Ŏm Cu-sun, Ŏm Kwan-hyŏn, Kim Sŏng-do, Kim Kwan-dŏk, Kim Yŏng-sun, Sŏ Chang-lak, Yang Man-sŏp, Kim Cŏng-ok, Li Se-hyŏn, Yun Sang-wŏn, Kim Lak-kyu, Lyŏm Kil-ju, Li Pong-chun, Choi Hŭng-lyong, Co Pong-ok, Kim Lyong-sun, Choi Cin-phal, Choi Hyŏng-min, Li Pong-jo, Kim Pong-sun, Kim U-sŏk, Choi U-jin, Li Cong-dŭk, Kim Su-am, Kim Chang-su, Li Tong-gŭn, An Thai-sŭng, Pak Tong-hun, Kim Ki-min, Ho Tong-sŏn and Li Tong-min (Kim Cun, *Sum*, p. 16). Some names differ from those mentioned in *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, e.g. Cu Pong-ju and Ŏm Kwan-hyŏn instead of Choi Pong-ju and Ŏm Kwan-ho in *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, where pictures of the corpses of these Koreans are also found (pp. 70-73). This poem is mentioned in various sources in Soviet literature, e.g. Военный энциклопедический словарь. М. 1983, с. 796, Гражданская война и военная интервенция в СССР. Энциклопедия. М. 1983, сс. 257, 287, 330, 647.
465. *Sijo*, a sonnet-like poem for singing and recitation, developed at the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392). After the creation of *Han'gŭl* (1443) in the Cosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910), it became popular. The typical *sijo* consists of sections totalling about 45 syllables.
466. *Siworŭi Haibich*, p. 88.

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467. Ibid. p. 166. In *Lenin Kichi* the year of his birth was given as 1906 (LK 1982 Oct. 22, p. 3).
468. LK 1982 Oct. 22, p. 3. This drama was performed under the direction of Yŏn Sŏng-yong.
469. *Honggildongjŏn* 'Story of Hong Kil-dong', a classical novel written by Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618). Through the hero the author implied the overthrow of the class system and the reconstruction of the new society. This play, adapted by Kim Ki-chŏl, was performed by the Tashkent Korean Theatre, Sakhalin Korean Theatre and Korean Theatre of Kazakhstan in the 1940s.
470. *Kŭmgagman* was published in *Lenin Kichi* between October 22 and November 14, 1982, and between May 26 and June 3, 1983 (cf. note 54).
471. There is an article by Li Cŏng-hŭi about Kim Ki-chŏl entitled *Hŏmjunhan Kildo Taidamhi Kŏrŭmyŏn...* 'If one walks bravely even on rugged roads...' (LK 1982 Oct. 22, p. 3).
472. *Siwŏrŭi Haibich*, p. 118.
473. Ibid. p. 303.
474. Ibid. p. 186.
475. Ibid. p. 319.
476. LK 1983 May 18, p. 4.
477. *Siwŏrŭi Haibich*, p. 311.
478. Ibid. p. 261.
479. Ibid. p. 281.
480. Ibid. p. 245.
481. Ibid. p. 268.
482. Cf. p. 153. The edition of *Haingbogŭi Norai* is 500 copies.
483. Yŏn Sŏng-yong, p. 12.
484. Besides *Siwŏrŭi Haibich*, some other literary works published in the 1980s have been used.
485. There were Koreans who fought in the Red Army on the European front (cf. note 108). They are known to have settled down in the European part of the Soviet Union before 1937. Instead of being recruited into the army, relatively many Koreans were moved from e.g. Uzbekistan to the Komi ASSR for forestry work. Some of them died there, the rest returned later to Central Asia.
486. LK 1981 Aug. 18, p. 4.
487. LK 1984 May 31, June 2, p. 4.
488. LK 1985 Feb. 21, p. 4.
489. LK 1984 Aug. 10, 14, p. 4.
490. LK 1984 July 6, 7, p. 4.
491. LK 1985 Feb. 21, p. 4.
492. LK 1984 Nov. 1, 2, 3, p. 4.
493. LK 1985 Feb. 21, p. 4.
494. LK 1983 July 27, p. 4.
495. LK 1984 Feb. 16, p. 4.
496. LK 1984 Aug. 31, p. 4.
497. LK 1986 Jan. 31, Feb. 4, 5, 6, p. 4.
498. LK 1987 Feb. 12, p. 4.
499. LK 1983 March 31, Apr. 1, 2, p. 4.
500. LK 1984 Feb. 16, p. 4.
501. LK 1984 Sept. 28, 29, Oct. 3, p. 4.
502. LK 1985 Feb. 21, p. 4.
503. LK 1981 Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 2, 3, p. 4.
504. LK 1983 Aug. 31, Sept. 1, 2, 3, p. 4.
505. Article entitled *Tŏ Kiphi Yŏn'guhago Changjohaja* 'Let Us Study Hard and Creatively' (by Ma Kyŏng-thai and Yu Sŏng-chŏl) LK 1983 Dec. 24, p. 4.
506. LK 1984 Feb. 16, p. 4.
507. LK 1986 Feb. 15, 16, p. 4.
508. LK 1987 Feb. 12, p. 4.

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509. LK 1983 June 29, July 2, p. 4.
510. LK 1984 Feb. 16, p. 4.
511. LK 1986 Aug. 13, p. 4.
512. LK 1987 Feb. 12, p. 4.
513. LK 1986 Dec. 27, 30, p. 4.
514. LK 1985 July 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, p. 4.
515. LK 1986 Oct. 30, 31, p. 4.
516. LK 1987 Feb. 12, p. 4.
517. LK 1987 Jan. 24, p. 4.
518. This poem is about Ya.T. Novichenko, a former second lieutenant in the Soviet Army, who rescued the ceremonial meeting of the March First Uprising (1919) on that date in 1946 at the plaza of Phyong'yang Station when a handgrenade was thrown onto the platform by a member of a rightist organization. He took it and threw himself flat on the ground outside the platform, losing his right hand in the explosion. He now lives in Novosibirsk and is considered "a Soviet internationalist fighter".
519. This poem is about Aleksandr Pavlovich Min, one of the few Korean heroes of the Soviet Union, who died during the Second World War.
520. In an article entitled *Han Kōrūm Tō Aphūro* 'A Step Forward' by Li Cōng-hūi (LK 1986 Jan. 23, p. 4).
521. LK 1987 Feb. 25, p. 4.
522. LK 1986 Jan. 23, p. 4.
523. LK 1986 Apr. 15, p. 3.
524. The number of members of the Soviet Writers Union is said to be about 9200, including some Koreans: Cōn Tong-hyōk (died 1985), Han Cin, Kang Maria Iosipovna, Kim Anatoliy, Kim Kwang-hyōn, Maing Tong-uk, Pak Boris, U Ce-guk and Yōn Sōng-yong, etc. (LK 1984 Aug. 15, p. 4).
525. In the article entitled *Sidai'ūi Kōrūme Machuō* 'Keeping Pace with the Time' by Wōn Il (LK 1986 Feb. 22, p. 4).
526. LK 1986 June 3, p. 4.
527. *Haibaragi* 'The Sunflower' (anthology). Alma-Ata 1982. 207 pp. (edition 1700 copies); Yōn Sōng-yong, *Haingbogūi Norai* 'The Song of Happiness'. Alma-Ata 1983. 391 pp. (500 copies); Kim Cun, *Sum* 'Breath'. Alma-Ata 1985. 191 pp. (1000 copies); Kim Kwang-hyōn, *Ssak* 'The Sprout'. Alma-Ata 1986. 272 pp. (500 copies). Li Sang-hūi wrote articles on the occasion of the publishing of the literary works of Yōn Sōng-yong and Kim Kwang-hyōn in *Lenin Kichi* (LK 1984 Feb. 24, p. 4 and 1986 June 7, p. 4, respectively). Li says that it is a pleasant thing to publish annually the works of Korean writers in Alma-Ata and expresses his gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Writers' Union of Kazakhstan for making it possible (LK 1986 June 7, p. 4).
528. LK 1986 Feb. 22, p. 4.
529. *Простор* 1987 January, pp. 168-170.
530. Aleksandr Lazarevich is A. L. Zhovtis, introduced *infra*.
531. There is a long interview with Anatoliy Kim in *Lenin Kichi* (LK 1982 March 25, p. 3). In some publications, e.g. *Soviet Literature* 1981 No. 10 (403) p. 44, the year of his birth is mentioned as 1939. Anyway it is evident that he can describe the years directly after the transfer well since he was born and grew up in Kazakhstan. Anatoliy Kim introduces himself as follows: "My ancestors are Koreans, but already three generations of my family have been living in Russia, where we migrated more than a hundred years ago, in the late 19th century. I write in Russian, my mother tongue and the sole language I use. That is how things have turned out." (Ibid. p. 48).
532. An extract of *The Taste of Blackthorn at Dawn* was introduced in Korean under the title of *Naiū Abōji Iyagi* 'Story of My Father' in *Lenin Kichi* (LK 1986 Feb. 25, 28, p. 4).
533. An extract of *The Blue Island* was also introduced, with translation into Korean by Li Cōng-hūi in *Lenin Kichi* (LK 1982 Apr. 14, pp. 3-4).
534. LK 1985 Apr. 19, p. 4.
535. The novel *The Squirrel* was also published in Finnish in 1987 (*Orava*, publishing house *Tammi*).

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536. LK 1985 Apr. 19, p. 4.

537. LK 1983 Apr. 21, p. 4.

538. Библиотека «Дружбы Народов», Анатолий Ким, *Невеста Моря*. Рассказы. Роман. Москва «Известия» 1987. 540 с.

539. LK 1983 Jan. 28, p. 4.

540. LK 1983 Apr. 6, p. 4.

541. An article by U Vladimir (LK 1984 July 25, p. 4).

542. In *Reflection* poems which have already been published in *Bamboo in the Snow* are found.

543. *Ранковий Спокий* (Morning Calm). Київ 1986. 246 с. Р. Kapchik wrote an introductory article in *Lenin Kichi* on the publication of this book (LK 1986 Nov. 13, p. 4). Earlier a collection of Korean proverbs and sayings by Ivanova had been published in Ukrainian: *Мудрість Народна, Корейські прислів'я та приказки*. Київ 1978. 166 с.

544. Ким Дюн, *Вечерняя Свирель* (*Evening Reedpipe*). Moscow 1981. 111 p. (translated by Svetlana Kuznecova).