1. HISTORY OF MOVEMENT

Contacts between Koreans and Russians may even have occurred during the Koryŏ dynasty, although no clear evidence of this has yet been discovered.[10] Since then, contacts between Korea and Russia were established during the expeditions of Pyŏn Kŭp and Sin Lyu to Amur (Heilongjiang) in 1654 and 1658 respectively.[11] Details of the first armed encounter between Korea and Russia in the Sungari-Amur region were vividly described in *Pukcŏng Ilgi*.[12] It is also known that in Peking there were some contacts between Korean and Russian delegates in the 1800s.[13] This, however, did not provide any direct motivation for Koreans to immigrate to the Maritime Region of the Russian Far East.

1.1. Immigration to the Russian Far East

Due to the Treaty of Peking of 1860, Russia became a neighbour of Korea. There is a school of thought that Korean immigration to the Russian Far East started in 1863 or 1864, but some Russian sources mention that Koreans had already settled down in the Maritime Region in 1862.[14] The data available about the immigration of Koreans to the Russian Far East show wide differences. The main reason for this is believed to have arisen from the irregular and illegal border crossings by Koreans before the signing of the official treaty between Korea and Russia. It was reported that in 1863 along the riverside of Tizinhe on the southern reaches of the River Ussuri, 13 Korean families were making a living by cultivating land. The number of settlers gradually increased, so that in 1865 there were 60 families and by 1866 as many as 100.[15]

The Korean settlements in the Pos'yet area in 1864 were in Tizinhe, Yanchihe, Sidimi, Adimi, Chipagou, Krabbe and Fudubay. The Russian explorer, N. M. Przheval'skiy, who visited the Ussuri region during 1867-1869, wrote that there were about 1,800 Koreans living in the villages of Tizinhe, Yanchihe and Sidimi.[16] In 1869 due to the bad harvest in Korea, the number of immigrants to the Maritime Region of the Russian Far East had increased, so that by 1870 the number of Koreans in this area reached 8,400 people (cf. ill. 1) and along the Suyfun River there arose Korean settlements like Konstantinovskiy, Pucilovka, Kazakevichevka and Korsakovka, etc.[17] At first Koreans moved across the River Tumen, however, later on as their number increased, they started to use the Russian-Manchurian border, even during the night. In 1872 alongside the River Samarki, the first Korean village, Blagoslovennoe, which was later assimilated by Russian immigrants, had been established.[18]

Control over Korean immigration to the Russian Far East was first imposed by the two countries shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Seoul in 1884 and the Regulations

for Frontier Trade on the River Tumen in 1888. In Paragraph 4 of Article II of the Regulations (1888), it is stipulated that: "Should a Corean subject attempt to cross the frontier without a passport, the Russian Authorities, after due investigation of the circumstances, will not permit him to proceed farther, but will arrest him and send him back beyond the frontier. In like manner the Corean Authorities will deal with Russian subjects who attempt to cross the frontier without passports."[19]

When the immigrants to Russia were not stopped in spite of the above-mentioned regulation, the Russian authorities classified and dealt with Korean immigrants in the following three categories: the first category included those Koreans who entered Russia before June 25, 1884 and they were qualified to obtain Russian citizenship. The second category included those Koreans who entered Russia after the above-mentioned date: they had to put their affairs in order and then return to Korea within two years. To the third category belonged those Koreans who entered Russia temporarily for the purpose of work. They had to pay taxes in the same way as Russians, but had no special rights.[20]

However, only 20-30% out of the total number of Korean immigrants were able to obtain Russian citizenship. The following table shows the number of Korean immigrants who had acquired Russian citizenship in the early 1900s:[21]

	Number of Russian citizenship holders	Non-holders	Total
1906	16,965	17,434	34,399
1909	14,799	36,755	51,554
1910	17,080	36,996	54,076
1911	17,476	39,813	57,289
1912	16,263	43,452	59,715
1913	19,277	38,163	57,440
1914	20,109	44,200	64,309

By 1923 the number of Korean immigrants in the Russian Far East exceeded 100,000 - in fact 130,000 - and in 1927 their number had increased to 170,000. Especially during the period 1923-1926 the Korean population increased by 17% every year, which meant that about 30,000 Koreans, i.e. 5-6,000 families, entered the USSR annually. It was also recorded that the number of Koreans captured on the Korean-Soviet border reached a total of 300 persons each week. Petrov predicted that the number of Koreans in the Soviet Far East would thus reach 190,000 by 1932 and 205,000 by 1936, including natural increase.[22] Petrov also wrote in his book that during the years 1927-1928 there were at least 250,000 Koreans living illegally in the Maritime Region. He estimated that 10% of them were living in cities and 90% in the countryside. Taking into consideration the current number of Koreans living in the Soviet Union, the estimate of approximately

250,000 Koreans in the late 1920s is believed to be roughly accurate.

1.1.1. Motivation and attitude of the Russian authorities

The motivation for Korean immigration to Russia at that time was closely related to the circumstances in Korea. The motives differed very clearly in the period before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 from the period which followed it. Immigration during the late 1800s was mainly caused by hunger and the unstable national situation. At that time arbitrary and oppressive rules made by the royal authorities were prevalent and, consequently, there was a tax for the cultivation of land, military draft and the forced collection of grain. These three burdens led to a series of agrarian revolts including the uprising of Hong Kyŏng-lai (1780-1812) in 1812. The rigorous persecution of Catholics through the Three Great Imprisonments further worsened social conditions.[23]

In this situation, the Maritime Region attracted people because, firstly, it was situated near to Korea, which enabled Koreans to immigrate easily and, secondly, the vast tracts of land there were almost uninhabited. At the same time continuous poor harvests drove many people to search for new lands in their neighbouring country. One of the reasons for immigration during the years 1900-1910 lies in the fact that the Russian Far East was found to be an attractive sanctuary for those who fought against Japanese colonialism in Korea and had to avoid the pursuit of the Japanese authorities. Historically, Koreans had certain antagonistic feelings toward the Chinese and Manchus, whereas Russians, being the first Westerners Koreans had had as neighbours, caused curiosity rather than animosity.[24]

The attitude of Russians towards the Korean immigrants was also varied. The Russian Governors-General in the Far East like Korsakov and Dukhovskiy were of the opinion that Korean immigrants could be used as labourers in the development of the area. The Governor-General N. I. Grodekov, who succeeded Dukhovskiy, continued the same policy in that, in 1898, he permitted those Koreans who belonged to the third category according to the 1888 Regulations to settle down along banks of the rivers Iman, Khor, Kii and Amur, etc. On the other hand P. F. Unterberger evinced a negative attitude towards Korean immigrants, which can well be seen in his report presented to the Ministry of the Interior, March 8, 1908:

> "The characteristic feature of Korean immigrants is firstly to settle down. Accordingly, those Koreans who have Russian citizenship establish bases in order to help Koreans with Korean citizenship to immigrate elsewhere into the countryside and expand their tenant-farming land. The struggle to prevent such expansion is extremely difficult, the reason being that Russian inhabitants are ready to employ Koreans anywhere because their labour is cheap and convenient, and so they are unwilling to desist from using Korean labourers. Furthermore, a substantial part of this area is already occupied by Koreans, which means the weakening of the position of Russians along the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, for the interests of Russia it is extremely important to settle the Maritime Region with Russians."[25]

The opinion of Russian intellectuals in the area also seemed to be divided, however it appeared that there were more Russians who favoured the immigration of Koreans than those with a negative attitude. Among those Russians with positive views on this matter were A. A. Popov, G. F. Chirkin, N. V. Kyuner and A. N. Petrov, etc.[26] The majority of the Korean immigrants moved over the Korean-Russian border, but some of them used the Manchurian-Russian border and there were also cases of those who used sea routes. For example, 2,004 Koreans arrived in Vladivostok by ship in 1910 from Chŏngjin in Korea and Kobe in Japan.[27] Most of the Korean immigrants to the Maritime Region were from Hamgyŏng Province but among the immigrants who arrived by ship, people from the central southern part of Korea could also be found.[28]

1.1.2. Life in the Far East

Koreans led a very difficult life suffering constant hardship (cf. ill. 2). Landless Koreans had to work as tenant farmers under the control of other people and, in this case, they had no choice but to comply with the demands dictated by the landowners. In addition to this, all kinds of taxes were imposed by even the lowest officials with the threat of expulsion from the country in the case of non-compliance.[29] The situation at this time is described by Ten as follows:[30]

> "The tax policy served the officials and gendarmes of the Tsar's government in the way best to exploit Korean labourers. Taxation was imposed on Korean immigrants as kind of bribe for the speeding up of 'services', as well as for such trivial reasons as cutting down old trees in a forest, the non-baptism of Korean children, not having wedding ceremonies at church and, in extreme cases, carrying *sangthu* on their head and not believing in God."[31]

On the other hand, in 1910 Koreans with Russian citizenship began to appear in cities such as Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy, etc.[32] In the Maritime Region Koreans with Russian citizenship pejoratively called Koreans without Russian citizenship *lebeji* from the Russian word *lebed'* (лебедь) 'swan'(cf. ill. 3), whereas Koreans without citizenship called Koreans with Russian citizenship *Ŏlmaujai* (cf. ill. 4 and 5).[33]

The assimilation of Koreans to the Russian way of life had already become apparent during the early years of immigration. Przheval'skiy described a Korean of 48 years of age whom he had met in the village of Tizinhe. The Korean name of this man was Choi Ŭn-guk but, after becoming a convert to the Orthodox Church, he changed his name to Petr Semyonov after his priest, and he also spoke Russian to a certain extent.[34] Pucillo also mentioned in the foreword of his dictionary that a Korean called Nikolay Mikhailovich Lyan' helped him in editing it.[35] In the daily life of Koreans in the Russian

Far East, a considerable number of Russian words began to be used.[36]

A Korean quarter called Sinhanchon 'New Korean Town' (in Russian Новая Корейская Слободка) was also formed on the mountainous side of Vladivostok. Since this area was partly an erstwhile graveyard, skulls were found, now and then. It was also known that the streets of Sinhanchon were laid out in the shape of a square in an orderly fashion and that there were Korean primary schools, churches, printing houses of newspapers and municipal offices, etc. Koreans in this area played football and held concerts. They certainly celebrated the traditional Korean feasts in the Fifth and Eighth months of the lunar calendar. Their main occupations were fishing, wrapping cigarettes, laundering, manual work, brewing *soju* and business, etc.[37]

It should be particularly noted that Korean immigrants started rice cultivation in 1905 in the Russian Far East. It was thought that in this area rice cultivation would be impossible because of the natural conditions. However, the Korean immigrants succeeded in cultivating rice in small paddies here and there alongside rivers without any special irrigation system.[38] At first this success did not attract much attention but, after 1917, it received a great deal of consideration. Accordingly, after 1928 a sovkhoz for the systematic cultivation of rice had even been organized. During the period of the Japanese intervention in Siberia 1918-1922, the Japanese were known to have undertaken research to explore the possibilities of rice cultivation in the Maritime Region.[39] Rice cultivation had been carried out near Lake Khanka and on the eastern slopes of the Sikhote-Alin Range. In 1925 a ten year plan for rice cultivation had been established, according to which it was predicted that the area of land under rice cultivation would reach 13,000 hectares by 1926 and 94,000 hectares by 1936.[40] It could be said that rice cultivation was developed principally by Koreans judging from the number of farmers thus engaged. Statistics from 1928 show that altogether there were 11,378 rice cultivators, of which 1,196 were Russians, 6 Chinese and the rest Koreans.[41]

1.1.3. Cultural and political activities before the October Revolution

At the beginning of the 1900s, movements against Japanese colonialism in Korea had been partly led from the Russian Far East and, in addition to this, many independence movement organizations like *Kugminhoi* and *Kwŏnŏphoi* and Korean newspapers like *Haijo Sinmun, Taidong Kongbo* and *Kwŏnŏp Sinmun,* etc. were founded.[42] These newspapers did not survive long due to pressure from the Japanese authorities and financial difficulties.In the 1910s even in Chita, in Siberia, a Korean magazine,*Taihanin Cyŏnggyobo* 'Magazine of the Korean Orthodox Church' was briefly published by Yi Kang.[43] Most of the Korean immigrants in the Russian Far East were not well educated. Nevertheless, in Sinhanchon Korean schools were opened by Koreans themselves, of

which *Kyedong Hakkyo,* opened in 1907, should be mentioned. But these schools were far from fulfilling their educational needs and it was not uncommon to find cases of Koreans who were unable to speak either Russian or even Korean well since they had received no education in their mother tongue.[44] The number of schools for Koreans in the Russian Far East increased from 45 in 1922 to 267 in 1927.[45]

After the second Korean-Japanese Treaty in 1905 which wrested the rights of diplomacy from Korea, many Korean patriots crossed the Korean-Russian border and carried out guerilla-style raids against the Japanese from the Russian Far East. The Korean-Russian border naturally became a place which was under close observation by the Japanese, since *Ŭibyong Undong* (guerilla-style fights by The Korean Righteous Army) in the Russian Far East were interrelated with those of Hamgyŏng and Phyŏng'an Provinces and also Manchuria. One of these incidents was the assassination of Ito Hirobumi, the first Resident-General in Korea, in Harbin in October, 1909, by An Cung-gŭn.[46] During their intervention the Japanese authorities put the Russian Far East under the control of the Governors-General of Korea and thoroughly investigated the activities of Koreans there. During this period Koreans in the Far East also took an active part in the nation-wide uprising which is known as The March 1st Independence Struggle of 1919.[47]

1.1.4. Activities of Koreans on the side of the Bolsheviks

Before 1917, Koreans in the Russian Far East were engaged in all kinds of badly paid labour, including work in gold mines, in other kinds of mines and in construction. They had only limited rights. The first attempt at revolution had been made in January, 1905, and Russia was defeated in the Russo-Japanese War soon after this. Riots also broke out in 1905 and 1906 among Korean workers in the Russian Far East in places like Zeya and the gold mines of the Timton Company, etc. in their demand for more rights and an improvement in their working conditions. The riots were also joined by farmers. These movements were not successful even though Russians and workers of other nationalities participated in them. Soviet scholars consider that one of the main reasons for their failure lay in the inability of combining their efforts due to differences in language and way of life.[48]

The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 brought great changes to the Koreans living in the Far East. Prior to 1917 the political movements of Koreans in this region had mostly been linked with the national independence movements. For this reason only a few Koreans participated in the October Revolution itself.[49] In any case, the first communist organization was formed in April, 1918, with the name of *Hanin Sahoidang* 'The Korean Socialist Party' in Khabarovsk by Yi Tong-hwi, Pak Ai, Kim Lip and Kim Aleksandra Petrovna (cf. ill. 6), but it did not last long due to its division into two

parts,[50] i.e. *Koryŏ Kongsandang* 'The Korean Communist Party' of the Shanghai group and *Cŏnrosia Koryŏ Kongsandang* 'The All-Russian Korean Communist Party' of the *Irkutsk* group; and to the *Cayusi* 'Free City' incident.[51]

In April, 1918, Japanese troops and a little later American, British, French and Italian forces landed in Vladivostok: this was the Entente's intervention which lasted four years. The pretext for the expedition was to help the retreat of the Czechoslovakian legation, which could not return from the Far East to Europe due to the Russian Civil War, but its real purpose was to crush the revolutionary forces together with the help of the Whites. The Japanese did not, however, succeed and had to withdraw in October, 1922, without achieving their purpose. The Far Eastern Republic which had been formed as a kind of 'buffer state' was also reunified with the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in November, 1922. Accordingly, the Maritime Region became a part of the USSR. Korean partisans, whom Soviet historians call internationalists, made an important contribution in ending the Entente's intervention, particularly in the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from the Far East. Some significant examples of the struggle of Korean partisans against the Japanese troops can be mentioned, e.g.: Han Chang-gŏl in the Suchŏng area (1919), Chai Yong and Sin Ye in the Suyfun area (1920), Li Cyung-jip in Sorbagwan (1920), O Ha-muk in Cayusi (Svobodnyy) (1920) and Han Un-yong (cf. ill. 7) in Iman (1921).[52] One of the internationalists who was active in the 1920s in Sorbagwan was Hwang Un-jŏng (in the old orthography Hwang Un-dyŏng, cf. ill. 8), who is still living in Alma-Ata.[53] References to the difficult situation of that time can also be found in the works of Korean writers in Central Asia.[54]

After the formation of the USSR at the end of 1922, sovietization in the Far East was carried out in all sections of society. Between 1923-1924 *Koryŏ Cŏnim Wiwŏn Hyŏbŭihoi* 'The Korean Counselling Board' had been organized to create a further basic development programme, and starting in 1924-1925 it began to be put into effect. Accordingly, from 1923 agricultural, industrial and consumers' communes had been formed.[55] By 1925 most Koreans living in the Soviet Far East had obtained Soviet citizenship.[56] In the 1920s a number of textbooks in Korean such as a Russian primer and political readers were published.[57] One of the most noticeable publications purely in Korean from this period is *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏngwa Ssobethŭ Koryŏ Minjok* 'The Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the Soviet Korean Nation', published in 1927, which describes the contributions of Koreans to the construction of the Far East. The organization of kolkhozes also began in 1927 on a large scale and this was completed by 1932. In other words, the 1920s were the years when the complete sovietization of Koreans in the Soviet Far East was started.

1.2. Transfer to Central Asia

According to Soviet publications, substantial progress had been made in the 1930s among the Korean kolkhozes in the Far East. In the Pos'yet area, for example, 95% of the population consisted of Koreans and 97.5% of the area had been organized into cooperatives by 1935. In this region cultivated land comprised 12,565 hectares, of which 36.5% was rice paddies. Also in the field of fishery and industry considerable 'improvement' had been made, so that on the kolkhoz called *Red Koreans,* for example, the kulak class had been completely eradicated by 1929.[58] In the field of culture the Korean Theatre was formed in 1932 and the Korean newspaper *Sŏnbong* 'Vanguard' was published.[59] However, the collectivization of agriculture did not progress smoothly. In some areas the situation became extremely difficult when Koreans protested against the fact that Russian collective farms got more land and were better provided with agricultural machinery. This even led to a number of clashes occurring between Koreans and Russians.[60]

At least it seems to the outside observer that the transfer of Koreans from the Soviet Far East to Central Asia was abruptly carried out in 1937. Up to the present it seems extremely difficult, in fact virtually impossible, to find material concerning the background and manner of the transfer. Even when the personal histories of elderly Koreans who were transferred are, for example, presented in connection with other matters in the Korean newspaper *Lenin Kichi* in Alma-Ata, one finds only such comments as e.g. "in 1937 in Central Asia..." with no explanation as to why they were in Central Asia.[61] Despite this state of affairs several attempts are made here to throw more light on this transfer.

1.2.1. Transfer and different theories

According to statistics even before the mass transfer of 1937, Koreans were living in Kazakhstan. Yegiazaryan says that they amounted to 52,000 in 1926, i.e. 0.8% of the total population of Kazakhstan, which was an Autonomous Republic in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR).[62] This does not reveal when they arrived there or in which part of Kazakhstan they were living. It can be conjectured that they came by the Trans-Siberian railway (built 1891-1915) and probably settled in the northern part of the area. *Lenin Kichi* also mentions that in 1928 some tens of Korean families immigrated to the vicinity of Kzyl-Orda in Kazakhstan from the Far East and organized the first groups, *Kazriz* and *International,* to cultivate rice.[63] In these cases it is not clear whether the they moved voluntarily or were moved by force. However, they seem to have nothing to do with the transfer of 1937. But Shiga, using Japanese

materials, mentions that oppression of Koreans in the Ussuri area by the Soviet authorities for political reason had begun in 1936. For example, O Chang-uk, rector of the Vladivostok Korean Pedagogical Institute, was dismissed. His family and that of Yi Tong-hwi, anti-Japanese fighter and nationalist, were exiled to the place in Kazakhstan where around 60 Korean families were forcibly moved as early as in 1931.[64]

The following tables show the appearance and growth of the Korean population in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan:[65]

1) Kazakhstan

	1926 (in1000s)(%)	1939 (%)	1959 (in1000s)(%)	1970 (in1000s)(%)	1979 (in1000s)(%)
Kazakhs	3,713(57.0)	(38.0)	2,787(30.0)	4,234(32.6)	5,289(36.0)
Russians	1,280(20.0)	(40.2)	3,972(42.7)	5,522(42.4)	5,991(40.8)
Ukrainians	861(13.2)	(10.8)	761(8.2)	934(7.2)	898(6.1)
Germans			659(7.1)	858(6.6)	
Tatars	81(1,2)	(1.7)	192(2.1)	288(2.2)	313(2.1)
Uzbeks	213(3.3)	(1,7)	136(1.5)	216(1.7)	263(1.8)
Belorussians	26(0.4)	(0.5)	107(1.2)	198(0.9)	181(1.2)
Uighurs	11(0.2)	(0.6)	60(0.6)	121(0.2)	148(1.0)
Koreans	52(0.8)	(1.6)	74(0.8)	82(0.6)	92(0.6)
Dungans	8(0.1)	(0.1)	10(0.1)	17(0.1)	22(0.2)
Azerbaijanis					73(0.5)
Poles	4				
TOTAL	6,503	6,082	9,295	13,009	14,684

2) Uzbekistan

	1926 (in1000s)(%)	1939 (%)	1959 (in1000s)(%)	1970 (in1000s)(%)	1979 (in1000s)(%)
Uzbeks	3,299(74.2)	(65.0)	5,038(62.1)	7,725(65.5)	10,569(68.7)
Karakalpaks	27(0.6)	(2.8)	168(2.1)	230(2.0)	298(1.9)
Russians	243(5.5)	(11.5)	1,093(13.5)	1,474(12.5)	1,666(10.8)
Tatars	27(0.6)	(2.3)	445(5.5)	574(4.9)	649(4.2)
Kazakhs	105(2.4)	(4.8)	343(4.2)	476(4.0)	620(4.0)
Tadzhiks	351(7.9)	(5.1)	311(3.8)	449(3.8)	595(3.9)
Koreans		73(1.2)	139(1.7)	148(1.3)	163(1.1)
Ukrainians	25(0.5)	(1.1)	88(1.1)	112(0.9)	114(0.7)
Kirgiz	80(1.8)	(1.4)	93(1.1)	111(0.9)	142(0.9)
Jews	38(0.8)	(0.8)	94(1.2)	103(0.9)	100(0.6)
Turkmens	26(0.6)	(0.7)	55(0.7)	71(0.6)	92(0.6)
TOTAL	4,446	6,271	8,119	11,799	15,389

Calculating from the percentage of Koreans in Kazakhstan in 1939, it can be estimated that there were about 97,000 Koreans out of the total population of Kazakhstan, which was 6,082,000.[66] This means that about 45,000 of the Koreans were newcomers. If the Koreans in Uzbekistan are added to this number, there were at least 118,000 Korean newcomers in Central Asia. Kozlov mentions that in 1939 there were altogether 182,300 Koreans in the USSR,[67] and Dzharylgasinova says that there were 182,000 Koreans in Central Asia and Kazakhstan in 1939.[68] It means that almost all Koreans living in the Soviet Far East were transferred from there to Central Asia, taking into consideration the fact that there were almost 170,000 Koreans in the Soviet Far East in 1927. Kimura puts the following two questions, adding that Soviet publications do not answer them:[69]

1. Does it mean that almost all Koreans were transferred to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, because by 1939 Koreans in theSoviet Union lived mainly in this area ?
2. Does it mean that the population of Koreans in the whole of the Soviet Union, which was 'at least 250,000' in 1926, decreased to 180,000 in 13 years?

Large discrepancies are evident in Soviet publications on the question of the Korean population in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. In the *Intourist's Pocket Guide* (1932) the number of Koreans mentioned is 87,000, this figure is obtained from the 1926 census and it is almost 100,000 less than that quoted in other sources published in the Soviet Union.[70] Kozlov tries to explain this by saying that; "a new group of Korean settlers arrived in the USSR attracted by the opportunity of creating rice cultivation in suitable regions of Central Asia (mainly in Uzbekistan) and southern Kazakhstan".[71] This explanation does not seem to hold true at all because it is difficult to imagine that it was possible for such a large number of people to be able to enter the Soviet Union from Korea and then move to Central Asia, an area about which they were entirely ignorant, and still less for the specific purpose of rice cultivation. That is why it is quite natural to assume that the Koreans were systematically transferred by the Soviet authorities from the Soviet Far East to Central Asia.

What, then, would be the reason for the transfer? In order to understand the background to this move it is necessary to look into a sequence of historical occurrences in international politics, i.e. the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the Japanese annexation of Korea by force (1910), the victory of the October Revolution in Russia (1917), the Sovietization of the Maritime Region (1922), the instigation of the Manchurian incident by Japan (1931) and the foundation of Manzhouguo (1932), the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region (1934), as well as the Khalkhiin-Gol battles (1939) shortly after the transfer. Inside the Soviet Union the situation was extremely unstable, especially after the promulgation of Stalin's constitution, which took place simultaneously with the

great purges and trials of 1936. Under these circumstances the following motives can be conjectured as reasons for the transfer of the Koreans.

Firstly, it is certain that the Soviet Union felt insecure due to the aggressive policy of Japan in the 1930s. The memory of defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 remained vividly in the minds of Russians and during the years 1918-1922 newly born Communist Russia had to suffer the hardship of Japanese armed intervention in the Far East. The political situation in the Far East developed critically after Japan instigated the Manchurian incidents in 1931, and established Manzhouguo in 1932. Among Koreans living in the area bordering Korea, Manchuria and the Soviet Union, independence movements arose and intelligence activities were carried out at that time. It was not always easy even for Koreans, not to mention foreigners, to distinguish these activities from one another. The basis for this assumption is the article of I. Volodin in Pravda, April 23, 1923, (cf. ill. 9) which is very often cited.[72] The thing which caused complications was that the Japanese authorities considered Koreans in the Soviet Far East to be Japanese subjects while, conversely, the Soviet authorities considered them to be citizens of the Soviet Union.

Secondly, it seemed that the Soviet authorities did not, after all, trust the Koreans in the Far East although they had made substantial contributions to the establishment of the Soviet Union in the area. One example as evidence for this inference is the above-mentioned clash between Koreans and Russians. Kolarz considers that this kind of event, which occurred during the initial period of collectivization in the Vladivostok area, could be one of the principal reasons why the Soviet Government took such drastic measures a few years later.[73] Furthermore, the Soviet authorities may have anticipated that there was the possibility that some day Koreans would demand autonomy because in the Pos'yet area, which is located very close to Korea, the proportion of Koreans was extremely high. Due to this, uncertainty had arisen in the minds of the Soviet authorities. Particularly in the early 1930s, slogans like *"Asia is a Yellow Continent", "Asia for the Asians"* and *"All the Land to Yakutia belongs to the Yellow Race"* were spread in the border area of the Soviet Union by the Japanese. In the meantime Koreans strived to show the Soviet authorities that the town of *Birobidzhan* belonged to them, however it was not granted to them.[74] This area was investigated from 1927 to discover its potential as a Jewish Autonomous Region, and this was actually created there in 1934.[75]

Thirdly, the Soviet Union presumably wished to widen still further the success achieved in rice cultivation by Koreans in the Soviet Far East. The area suitable for this purpose was the vast uninhabited lands of Central Asia. It seems that by transferring Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia, the Soviet authorities aimed to "kill two birds with one stone": cultivating virgin land and growing rice.

Fourthly, the intention of the Soviet Union was to disperse Koreans throughout Central Asia, a vast area which is about 18 times bigger than the Korean peninsula, so

that they would live intermixed with other nationalities instead of living together near Korea. In other words, it was to realize their policy towards minorities: divide and rule.

Fifthly, the Soviet authorities had thought to try to compensate for the absolute decline in the Kazakh population which had been caused by collectivization during the period 1929-1933. The collectivization of this traditionally nomadic people had caused large-scale migrations and the slaughtering of livestock. The population decreased from 3,968,000 in 1929 to 3,100,900 in 1939 showing a decline of -21.9%.[76] Many Kazakhs fled to China at that time. The loss of livestock was more severe; the total number in Kazakhstan being above 40 million head in 1929, falling to 33 million in 1930 and only five million in 1933.[77]

1.2.2. Manner of transfer and resettlement

In autumn 1937 for the complicated reasons mentioned above, the main reason apparently being security, the Koreans finally had to leave the Soviet Far East and were transferred to Central Asia, which is completely different from the Far East in climate and nature, etc. Their transfer could possibly have been carried out quite quickly if one takes into consideration the reign of Stalin in 1937. If the number of Koreans transported was, e.g. 150,000 and one train wagon could hold about 100 persons, then at least 1,500 train wagons would have been needed. If one train consisted of around 30 wagons, about 50 trains could have transported the Koreans from the Soviet Far East to Central Asia. Western scholars assume that the transportation had been completed by December 1937, this is based on a governmental announcement which was published on the back page of *Pravda* on December 20, 1937 (cf. ill. 10).[78] Until now, there has been no material available to reveal this stage of the transportation. The casting of more light on the details of the transportation will, in the future, be one of the basic tasks in the study of Koreans in Central Asia, the *Koryŏ Saram*.There is still hope that materials from the older generation concerning the transportation can be collected since many of the Far Eastern generation are still alive nowadays.

It would also be interesting to know how many weeks or days of warning were given to the Koreans to prepare for the transfer. And what kinds of explanations did the Soviet authorities give the Koreans? It is easy to imagine that not all the Koreans would have accepted the sudden transfer to an area which they hardly knew. In that case was there any resistance against the transfer? What were they permitted to take with them? It would have been impossible to carry all the things from their houses. The journey from the Far East to Central Asia is not short. While nowadays it takes almost ten days by train, how long would it have taken at that time? Was it carried out in such a way that several trains with about 30 wagons travelled many times between the Far East and

Central Asia? How many people died during the transfer? These are questions to be answered in the future.

Taking into consideration the fact that the peoples of Central Asia had, just after the October Revolution, a series of national liberation movements, e.g. *Alash-Orda* among Kazakhs, and the *Basmachi* and the *Dzhadid* movements among the Uzbeks, the Tadzhiks and Turkmens, it can be supposed that the indigenous Central Asian peoples expressed some kind of overt feeling of dissatisfaction towards the new-comers from the Far East. For example, the *Basmachis* were an indigenous anti-Soviet religious-military force suppressed only at the beginning of the 1930s.[79] Unlike other Turkic peoples, e.g. the Crimean Tatars who, in part, suffered the same fate of expulsion to Central Asia in 1944 for alleged collaboration with the German invaders, Koreans were quite unknown to the peoples of Central Asia. This is the reason for the conjecture above, but no evidence for this has yet been found. It is also quite probable that in order to avoid clashes between the peoples of Central Asia and Koreans, some of the Koreans were settled in barren land which they began to reclaim. Some articles at least deal with this stage of the new life in Central Asia, and they do not mention any clashes between peoples.[80]

Koreans transported to Central Asia mostly settled down near the rivers Syr Darya and Amu Darya, and in the valleys of the Karatal and Ili rivers in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, at first. Some Koreans were known to have been established in the Bekabad area to the south of Tashkent, Uzbekistan. In Kazakhstan, the areas settled by Koreans seem to have been Kzyl-Orda and Ushtobe, etc. It also seems that the Soviet authorities had taken the former occupations of Koreans into consideration when resettling them. In the Soviet Far East there were quite many fishermen, since the area is situated near the sea. For example, Cŏng Il'ya Yonggilovich's parents were settled beside the Aral Sea so that they could continue the fishing which they had practiced for generations.[81] But it is believed that the majority of Koreans had to cultivate the land. In 1937-1938 the first Korean kolkhozes were formed in the above-mentioned area, the most famous of which were *Avangard, Novyy Byt* and *Pravda* in Kungrad Oblast of the Karakalpak ASSR in Uzbekistan. These kolkhozes mainly specialized in cultivating rice and cotton.[82] At the beginning of their settlement, Koreans were exempted from taxation and received material help like farm machinery, fertilizers and construction materials as well as money from the government. Koreans worked diligently constructing irrigation canals and, within a short span of time, had turned uninhabited lands into agricultural land.[83]

If the tables of population of different nationalities in Central Asia shown above are examined carefully, it can be seen that the transfer was probably not just a single event. According to the statistics of 1939, there were more Koreans in Kazakhstan than in Uzbekistan. But after a period of twenty years, the Koreans in Uzbekistan had almost

doubled in number, while those in Kazakhstan had decreased. The increase of Koreans in Uzbekistan between 1939 and 1959 is difficult to explain even if we take natural increase into account, unless new transfers had been effected from outside of Uzbekistan. It has also been recorded that Koreans were moved, during 1937-1938, from the Far East to the Karakalpak ASSR of Uzbekistan.[84]

Administratively and politically Koreans did not form any kind of national region, the reason for which cannot be explained simply. First of all, of course, it is quite natural that the Soviet authorities would not allow Koreans to live together in one place, because Koreans had already caused them considerable anxiety by so doing in the Far East. Cases can also be found of the dissolution of some national autonomous republics, for example the Volga German Autonomous Republic in July 1941. Secondly, it is also quite probable that Koreans themselves did not or rather could not actively show their interest in this matter. Thirdly, Koreans do not have a common economical base which is essential to the establishment of any kind of national administrative unit. The reason for this is that they are dispersed not only throughout Central Asia but often also, throughout the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Ukraine, though temporarily, in order to cultivate onions, water-melons, etc., because this is considered to be more profitable there. Certainly Koreans dared not express their opinions when they were unwillingly in a condition of diaspora. We still do not have a completely clear picture of the conditions in which Koreans had to spend their first years in Central Asia nor of when Koreans were first allowed to leave their new settlements. According to Koreans from Tashkent, they were still living in very hard circumstances at the beginning of the 1950s when they first began to get the so-called internal passport which allowed them to travel inside the Soviet Union.

1.2.3. Witnesses and reasons for keeping silent

How is it possible that the transfer was so perfectly carried out or so secret that no materials about it have been found? It may be also asked if not even a single person out of those transferred wrote about their experiences. Surprisingly, it has to be admitted that detailed documents about this diaspora seem to be virtually nonexistent, there being only a few very short and scattered accounts by various persons.

G. S. Lyushkov (cf. ill. 11), who was the chief of the NKVD administration in the Far Eastern Territory and personally led the transfer of Koreans in 1937, defected to Japan in June, 1938, and left the following report:[85]

> "There were around 9,000 people from both the city and the countryside, from the Red Army, Party and the Soviets who were arrested simply on suspicion of being a member of a conspiratorial group in the Far East. Besides this, 11,000 Chinese were arrested and 8,000 exiled, 180,000 Koreans were expelled by force and 2,500 were arrested. Additionally, 1,000 Harbinians,

600 Poles, some hundreds of Germans, Latvians and Lithuanians were arrested, and because in *Birobidzhan* there were many Jews who had moved there from abroad, a special liquidation took place. In the Far East area around 60,000 were arrested altogether and about 190,000 expelled by force. In other words about 250,000 people were suppressed in one way or another. This number does not include all the victims."

Although not particularly satisfactorily, Japanese sources give relatively much information about the transfer. The *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* reported as follows:[86]

"(Telephone from Seoul) Announcement from Korean Army Headquarters (**Japanese - *the writer*) on the 8th (**October, 1937*) = The Korean Army authorities have announced a report on the forcible transfer of Koreans in a statement, quoting what a Korean farmer called *Li*, who crossed the border illegally and was arrested in the vicinity of *Lishugou* of *Hunchun* at the end of September said. Δ...The order to transfer 200,000 Koreans living in the Soviet Far East to the desert area of Central Asia was given on the first of September. As I was working as the chief of a kolkhoz, I got permission to postpone my departure until after the harvest, I was able to follow the situation carefully after the order. It is a fact that the transfer by force of all 200,000 Koreans living in the vicinity of the border of the Soviet Far East has hidden political reasons. First of all the attitude of Koreans who are suffering from the life in the Soviet Union is clearly anti-Soviet and nationalistic, and there is a danger that Koreans may very possibly riot against the Soviet Union on the border between Japan and Manchuria. Δ...The order for the forced transfer and its execution was carried out in such a short time that people were not even able to sell their households and livestock cheaply and most of them were not able to take food even for the journey, so that it was miserable to see their wretchedness. A housewife whose house I visited when I was crossing the border was weeping and saying that her desire to return to Korea was great but permission had not been granted, instead she had to leave for foreign lands in the west, giving up her harvest. This is the terrible sorrow which the 200,000 Soviet Koreans confronted at the same time."

Fitzroy Maclean, a British diplomat in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, also had a chance to witness the transfer at Altaisk at the end of September, 1937. He describes the event in his reminiscences as follows:[87]

"At Altaisk, a few miles from Barnaul where the Biisk line joins the Turksib, we stopped for several hours while a number of cattle trucks were hitched on our train. These were filled with people who, at first sight, seemed to be Chinese. They turned out to be Koreans, who with their families and their belongings were on their way from the Far East to Central Asia where they were being sent to work on the cotton plantations. They had no idea why they were being deported but all grinned incessantly and I gathered from the few words I could exchange with some of their number that they were pleased to have left the Far Eastern territory where conditions were terrible and to be going to Central Asia of which they had evidently been given enthusiastic accounts. Later I heard that the Soviet authorities had quite arbitrarily removed some 200,000 Koreans to Central Asia, as likely to prove untrustworthy in the event of a war with Japan."

Yun Pyŏng-sŏk describes the transportation in his commentary on *Aryŏng Silgi* as follows:[88]

"It is said that in this year, in September 1937, the Soviet secret police GPU (**he presumably means the NKVD - *the writer*) was commanded to transport a hundred thousand Koreans in one morning by goods train to the desolate half desert steppe lands of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

> in Central Asia. This forced transportation was unknown to anyone in the Korean community and came upon them so suddenly that nobody had time to arrange their property. According to some reports tens of thousands of Koreans were transported, loaded like freight, in deep anxiety; and the wagons were connected in their hundreds..."

Solzhenitsyn writes in his book *The Gulag Archipelago* as follows:[89]

> "Even *He* was slow to realize the value of his discovery. His first experiment was very cautious. In 1937 some tens of thousands of those suspicious Koreans — with Khalkhin-Gol in mind, face to face with Japanese imperialism, who could trust slant-eyed heathens? —, from palsied old people to puling infants, with some portion of their beggarly belongings, were swiftly and quietly transferred from the Far East to Kazakhstan. So swiftly that they spent the first winter in mud-brick houses without windows (where would all that glass have come from!). And so quietly that nobody except the neighbouring Kazakhs learned of this resettlement, no one who counted let slip a word about it, no foreign correspondent uttered a squeak. (Now you see why the whole press must be in the hands of the proletariat.)"

There is also the report of a Japanese diplomat saying that trains going in the direction of Vladivostok were suddenly halted but trains going in the opposite direction were continuously allowed into Uttawa station. The Japanese diplomat was returning to Japan by train after finishing his period of diplomatic service in Moscow. He found something strange in this situation and noticed that Koreans were being transported in goods wagons.[90] It is also known that, on November 14, 1937, the Japanese authorities, through their consul in Moscow, Nishi Haruhiko, lodged a strong protest against the transfer insisting that it violated the 1925 agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union.[91] The Soviet authorities were known to have answered the Japanese protest on November 27 in the same year stating that it was an internal Soviet affair in which Japan had no right to interfere since Koreans in the Soviet Union were Soviet citizens. It is not clear whether they further discussed this matter or not.[92]

It is also conceivable that Kazakhs might have left some materials about the coming of Koreans to Kazakhstan and their life there, but unfortunately hardly anything has been found until now. In the northeast area of China near the Russo-Chinese border, almost two million Koreans live. It may be asked whether Koreans in China have heard of the transfer of their kinsmen or not. It seems to be quite fruitless to try to get any information from them. Many of the Korean intelligentsia in Beijing and the north-eastern part of China have no idea of this transfer, nor do they even know that there are also Koreans living in Soviet Central Asia.[93]

It is quite evident that the best witnesses are the Koreans who were themselves transferred. But they have kept silent on this matter. What kinds of instructions were given to them so that they do not speak at all about their past? And how strict were these instructions? If the purpose of the Soviet authorities was to silence Koreans totally, then it seems that they have succeeded in this. We can call Koreans born in the Far East the Far Eastern generation and Koreans born in Central Asia the Central Asian generation.

Is the Central Asian generation not interested in their past? Or has the Far Eastern generation not told the Central Asian generation about the transfer at all? Surely the Central Asian generation wants to know of their past,[94] but still no document written by the Central Asian generation has been found. It can only be presumed that at home at least the older generation tells the younger generation what they have been through.

What, then, can be the reason for the silence on the part of the Soviet authorities? The most probable answer must be that they simply did not want the transfer to be known to the outside world. Why are Koreans then keeping silent? Probably they are afraid of severe punishment. Besides this they do not have many possibilities to leave documents about their affairs because after the transfer publications in Korean were very limited. Thirdly, until recently they did not have any audience to whom they could tell of their past since they were scattered over a vast area, having few opportunities to contact people outside the Soviet Union.

1.2.4. Relations with the Korean Peninsula and late comers

The Soviet Union was one of the two victorious powers which, with the United States, came to the Korean Peninsula at the end of the Second World War. The former was in charge of disarming the Japanese Army in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and the latter in the southern part. It is known that Koreans from Soviet Central Asia played a very important role during the years following the liberation from the Japanese occupation in 1945, and in establishing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). These Koreans were known as the *Soviet Group*. The first group of *Koryŏ Saram* arrived in August, 1945, in Phyŏng'yang with the 7th Department (Civil Affairs Department of the Army's Political Department) of the 25th Army of the Soviet Occupation Army.[95] Lim Ŭn describes this scene as follows:[96]

> "Twenty-eight persons were in the group. Among them, were the soldiers Kang Mikhail (Major) and O Ki-chan (Captain). Civilians were Yi Pong-gil, Co Ki-chŏn, Cŏn Tong-hyŏk, Yim Ha, Kim Wŏn-bong, Kim Se-il, Kim Sŭng-hwa, Pak Ki-ho and others. Pak Ki-ho moved to the Soviet Union with his parents on August 29, 1910, when the Japanese annexation was made. On August 29, 1945, he returned home as a grey-haired old man after exactly 35 years. Co Ki-bu (poet), Cŏn Tong-hyŏk (poet), Yim Ha (drama writer) and others were literary activists. They set up the 'Soviet Army Press Company' in front of the Phyong'yang railroad station and published a Korean-language paper.
>
> Major Kang Mikhail was the chief interpreter of the Civil Administration Headquaters of the Soviet Army and acted as a spokesman. During the post-liberation days, he played a great role in the control of political developments and the maintenance of public order."

This post-war period is generally called the *"Age of the Rule of Interpreters"* because the interpreters, Kang Mikhail, Yi Pong-gil and Pak Thai-sŏp, were powerful ambassadors of the Soviet Army Headquarters. To meet the need for a number of

experienced experts who could set the newly-born nation on the right course, the Soviet Union sent a second group of *Koryŏ Saram* to North Korea, which arrived in Phyŏng'yang in about the middle of December, 1945. It consisted of 53 people and a third group arrived in Korea in December, 1945, also. The people in this latter group were generally on a higher level than members of the the second group, and they took charge of key posts in the Communist Party of Korea and national organization. During 1947-1948, the fourth and fifth groups arrived in Phyŏng'yang, more than 80 persons in all; most of them had been school teachers in the Soviet Union.[97] According to Lim Ŭn, the total number of *Koryŏ Saram* in North Korea was 428 as of January 1, 1949, and the Commander-in-Chief of the *Koryŏ Saram* Corps was Hŏ Ka-i.[98] The *Koryŏ Saram* Corps were eventually annihilated, and, after the purge of the Soviet faction during 1953-1956, the rest of the *Koryŏ Saram* returned to the Soviet Union. In other words relations between Koreans in Central Asia and the Korean Peninsula in the 1940s and 1950s were political, only a limited number of people having any chance to establish contacts.

The position of this relationship in the 1960s and 1970s has not been well defined. Recently it has become known that *Koryŏ Saram* visit North Korea in groups.[99] But it is not clear when the programme began and how often such trips are arranged. At any rate it is reported that from both Alma-Ata and Tashkent group tours have been organized. North Korean book exhibitions have been arranged in Alma-Ata and Tashkent, and various sports teams have visited Central Asia.[100] Although rare, North Korean students can also be found in the universities of Central Asia.[101] There are no real relations with South Korea, apart from a very few cases of South Korean visitors to the area. However, those South Koreans who have obtained citizenship of another country, e.g. the United States and European countries have, primarily in the 1980s, visited Central Asia to meet *Koryŏ Saram*. These people have presented the situation of the *Koryŏ Saram* in various newspapers in Korean in Korea as well as in other countries and publications also.[102]

The Koreans transferred in 1937 from the Far East are not the only wave of Korean migrants to Central Asia. Those who arrived later consist of three different groups. The first group includes forest workers and fishermen from North Korea who came after 1945. It is reported that the number of fishermen exceeds some thousands, but it is not clear how many of them have settled down permanently in Central Asia. The second group are those intellectuals from North Korea who, mainly for political reasons, refused to return home after studying in the Soviet Union. Some students went back to North Korea, but in the 1960s returned to the Soviet Union. It is known that many of these intelligentsia settled down in Central Asia. This group is not large in number but plays a rather important role in preserving cultural identity. The third group is Koreans from Sakhalin. Before the end of the Second World War, Japan brought Koreans as drafted

workers from Korea to the southern part of Sakhalin, which was under Japanese occupation at that time, to engage in different kinds of work such as mining and lumbering. After the War the whole island came into the possession of the Soviet Union and the Koreans there had to stay for some period of time without the citizenship of any country.[103] It is known that most of the new generation of Sakhalin Koreans obtained Soviet citizenship. They are known to have moved to Central Asia in various ways.[104] They can supply sea food to which Koreans are used, but which cannot be obtained in Central Asia. It is also known that they transmit news and popular songs to Central Asia which they hear from the special programme for the Sakhalin Koreans from the South Korean radio. We do not have any clear picture of how many Sakhalin Koreans have settled down in Central Asia. Their number differ widely according to different sources, being somewhere between 40,000 and 60,000.[105]

NOTES

1. Soviet Central Asia will simply be called *Central Asia* hereafter. The five Republics are often called Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan. The *Republics* should really be called *Soviet Socialist Republics*, but in this volume they will be called *Republics* for the sake of convenience.

2. Население СССР, p. 187. In this figure only Koreans in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are included. The Koreans living in the remaining three Republics are not specified. According to the 1979 census, there are around 389,000 Koreans in the Soviet Union (ibid. p. 129).

3. The term *Koryŏ Saram* has been used in publications in the 1920s in the Soviet Union (*Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*,pp. 78-79). In this case this term was applied to all Koreans, while for Koreans who had moved to the Russian Far East the terms of *yŏnhaido koryŏin, yonhaiju hanin, wŏndong koryŏin*, etc. were used (ibid. p. 45, p. 50 and p. 52). In the same book Korea is called *Han'guk* (p. 29), *Tyosŏn* (p. 32) and *Koryŏ* (p. 38). The term *Koryŏ* used now in Central Asia might be derived from the Russian word for Korea *Koréya* rather than from the name of the *Koryŏ* dynasty (918-1392). This opinion can be supported by the fact that the Russian word for Korea *Koréya* reminded Koreans in the Russian Far East very much of the name of the *Koryŏ* dynasty. Actually the western designation for Korea is derived from the *Koryŏ* dynasty. In contemporary Korean publications in Central Asia (e.g. *Lenin Kichi*) Koreans in Central Asia are described as *Ssoryŏn Cosŏnin* 'Soviet Koreans'. Perhaps this term indicates all Koreans living in the Soviet Union. The reason why Koreans in Central Asia do not use the term *Koryŏ Saram* in their publications is explained in note 95.

4. Альбаум, pp. 74-75. The wall painting of *Afrasiab* was also introduced in Korea (Kim, Wŏnlyong, *Samarŭkhandŭ Aphŭrasiap Kungjŏn Pyŏkhwaŭi Sajŏldo* 'Painting of Envoys in the *Afrasiab* Palace in Samarkand'. Seoul 1976). In his article, Kim surmised that these could be envoys from the *Sinla* dynasty around the 700s. However, he added Al'baum's view by quoting the Japanese scholar Anazawa Kazumitsu. Al'baum does not insist that these *are* envoys from *Koguryŏ*, but mentioning the legend of *Kojumong*, the founder of the *Koguryŏ* dynasty, (Альбаум, p. 74) and wall paintings from the *Koguryŏ* tombs (ibid. p. 75) suggests that the two "non-Central Asians" *could* be men from *Koguryŏ*. Soviet scholars date the wall paintings in *Afrasiab* back to the middle of the 7th century (ibid. p. 108). The writer of these lines has studied possible contacts between *Koguryŏ* and Central Asia by comparing some official titles of *Koguryŏ* (Kho, Songmoo, *Yoksal, Chŏryŏgŭnji, Makriji. Han'gŭl Saisosik* No. 147, pp. 16-17. Seoul 1984).

5. Левин, p. 209.

6. In March, 1983, a seminar was held by the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii in Tokyo where several scholars from Japan, Korea and the United States met to discuss the topic of the Korean minority in the USSR. Last year (1986) in September, a young American Koreanist from Harvard University, *J.R.P. King* carried out a short period of field work in Tashkent and wrote a rather long article which will be published in 1987 in the United States. King is the first western linguist who has tried to analyze both synchronically and diachronically the language of the *Koryŏ Saram* with materials collected through field work. From this point of view King's work will give a good basis for future study.

7. Kim Kyu-thaik, who was the Secretary General of the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, visited Tashkent in October, 1977, and wrote a travelogue with the title of *Ssoryyŏnŭi Han'guginŭl Chaja* 'Visiting Koreans in the Soviet Union', which was published in the monthly magazine *Saimthŏ* (Nos. 2-4, 1983). He was accompanied by another Korean official, Co Kyu-hyang. Yu Myŏng-yŏn, who was a journalist, visited the Koreans of Alam-Ata and Tashkent in October, 1979. His report, *Ssoryŏn Sogŭi Han'gugin Kholhojŭ* 'A Korean Kolkhoz in the Soviet Union', was published in Frankfurt in the newspaper *The Kuju Shinmun* (No. 1, Dec. 1981; No. 2, Jan. 1982 and No. 3, March 1982). In the last few years more Koreans have begun to be interested in the *Koryŏ Saram* and to visit them. Among them we can mention Shin Youn-cha (in 1985), Kim Il-pyŏng (in 1986) and Hyŏn Kyu-hwan and his son (in 1986). Kim Kyu-thaik went as a citizen of the Republic of Korea (South Korea). Shin Youn-cha, Kim Il-pyŏng and others mentioned went there as citizens of the United States and wrote travelogues containing valuable observations in Korean. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) has full diplomatic relations with the USSR but there are hardly any articles about Koreans in Central Asia in North Korean publications. The reason for this seems to be that the question of the *Koryŏ Saram* is rather sensitive to be treated by an ideologically friendly country because the *Koryŏ Saram* consist of several layers of immigrants the last wave of which represents people from North Korea who arrived in the 1940s and 1950s. This question will be dealt with *infra* 1.2.4.

8. The work was presented at a symposium held by the International Cultural Society of Korea in November, 1984, in Seoul. It was published by the same organization with the title of *Ssoryŏn Cung'ang Asiaŭi Hanindŭl* 'Koreans in Soviet Central Asia'.

9. In the notes, the name *Lenin Kichi* is abbreviated as LK.

10. In 1246, the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Pian del Carpini (ca. 1180-1252), arrived at the Mongol camp near Karakorum as the head of Pope Innocent IV's first mission to Mongolia on the occasion of the election of Güyük as Khan. There Carpini observed the attendance of an envoy from *Solangi,* which very probably means Korea. In the late 1200s there were Russian troops in Peking, a part of whom were dispatched to the *Liaoning* Province to defend northwest Korea, where some contact between the population inhabiting that area and the Russian forces may have taken place. It is also quite possible to speculate that Russians were conscripted into the Mongolian army which came to Korea to crush revolts in 1231-32, 1235, 1241 and from 1247 to 1258. Donald Ross Hazelton Macdonald dealt with this matter in detail in his unpublished thesis entitled *Russian Interest in Korea, to 1895* (Harvard University 1957, pp. 3-18).

11. Pyon Kŭp and Sin Lyu were the Korean generals dispatched on the request of China on the military campaign against Korea.

12. *Pukcŏng Ilgi* is a diary written by Sin Lyu, who led Korean troops in the fighting against the Russians in 1658. In this battle the chief of the Russian soldiers Stepanov and 270 Cossacks were wiped out. The original name of this diary is *Pukcŏngrok.*In 1977 Pak Thai-gŭn found it and in 1980 he published a translation from Chinese into Korean with fine notes.

13. In 1984 a collection of articles under the title of *Hanlo Kwan'gye Paignyŏnsa* 'A Centenary History of the Relations between Korea and Russia' appeared on the occasion of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the *Cosŏn* Kingdom (Korea) and Tsarist Russia. In this volume Pak Thai-gŭn gave a detailed description of early relations between Korea and Russia (pp. 1-48).

14. *M. P. Pucillo* (1845-1889) mentioned in the foreword of his dictionary (p. IV) that although Koreans settled down in the Maritime Region of the Russian Far East in 1863, it was officially recorded as 1864. In the newspaper *Toglip Sinmun* 'The Independent' (Vol. II, No. 1, p. 1, 1897) an English

woman, Isabella Bird Bishop, having travelled in the Maritime Region, wrote that about 100 Koreans moved to that area from Hamgyong Province in 1863. In *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn* it is mentioned that Koreans began to move to the Maritime Province from 1862 (p. 78). A. N. Petrov remarks that the year of immigration of Koreans into the Russian Far East is 1862 based on official data (p. 41). On the other hand, Kolarz thinks it was 1861. Of course even before this time, there were cases of Koreans crossing the border briefly for the purpose of cultivating land and then returning.

15. Ким Сын Хва, p. 28.

16. Пржевальский (1839-1888), p. 97.

17. Ким Сын Хва, p. 30. — There is also a report about Koreans in Vladivostok in 1869 by Finns. A group of Finns (26 people) founded a company, the aim of which was to establish a settlement in the Amur Region. They left Helsinki in 1868 and arrived in Nakhodka in autumn, 1869. After having settled down in Strelok, situated on a bay between Vladivostok and Nakhodka, they needed hired hands for their agricultural work. For this purpose they brought 15 Koreans from Vladivostok, who, however, ran away in May, 1870 (Lagus, pp. 147 and 154). In 1870 the company had already been dissolved due to various difficulties. Carl Johan Schoultz (1869-1923), who was a member of the company, moved to Vladivostok where he got married and ran a photographic studio in the 1870s and 1880s before he left Vladivostok for Finland in 1892. In his studio he purposely took several pictures of Koreans. These pictures, now kept by his granddaughter Madeleine Tigerstedt living in Helsinki, are the oldest ones (quite probably taken in the 1880s at the latest) ever found up to the present day of Koreans during the period of settlement in the Russian Far East. They show the conditions of Koreans of those days very vividly. The writer sincerely thanks Mrs. Tigerstedt for her kindness in letting these valuable pictures be used for scholarly purposes.

18. Petrov mentions that this village was established in 1876 and located in a place 570 km to the west of the present Blagoveshchensk (p. 41). This means the village in question was located far from the other Korean villages in the north. Kolarz says that this village was later incorporated into the Jewish Autonomous Province (pp. 33-34). The Jewish Autonomous Region was established in 1934.

19. *Han'guksa* 'History of Korea', Vol. 16, p. 644. In the 19th century and at the beginning of this century, the form *Corea* was used instead of the form with an initial *'K'*.

20. Ким Сын Хва, pp. 37-38.

21. Аносов, p. 27.

22. Петров, p. 45.

23. The Three Great Persecutions of Catholics took place in 1801, 1839 and 1866.

24. Hyŏn Kyu-hwan gave the following three reasons as the motivation for Korean immigration to the Russian Far East in his book (pp. 43-46): 1. the geographical reason and reasons of natural resources, 2. political reasons and 3. economical and other reasons.

25. Аносов, pp. 11-12.

26. Петров, p. 46.

27. Chŏngjin is a harbour on the coast of the Eastern Sea in Northern Hamgyŏng Province (Ким Сын Хва, pp. 32-33).

28. Hamgyŏng Province is the northernmost province of Korea and is nowadays divided into two parts; the Northern and the Southern.

29. Аносов, p. 16.

30. Тен, p. 45.

31. *Sangthu* is a topknot of hair which a man carries after marriage, according to the traditional Korean habit. Nowadays this custom has almost disappeared.

32. Ким Сын Хва, p. 38.

33. Yi Ci-thaik, *Siberiaŭi 3.1 Undong* 'The March First Movement in Siberia' (*Wŏlgan Cung'ang* 1971 No. 3, pp. 193-194). The word *lebeji* was applied to Koreans because they generally wore white-coloured clothes and walked along the countryside in single file, which is reminiscent of the behaviour of swans. In the dialect of Hamgyong Province *maujai* means 'Russian'. The word *Ŏlmaujai* was formed by adding *ŏl*, which very possibly came from the Chinese word *er*, meaning 'two'. In this way *Ŏlmaujai*

meant 'secondary Russian', which developed to mean 'Koreans with Russian citizenship' in a pejorative sense. The etymology of *maujai* has not yet been satisfactorily investigated. Normally Koreans called Russians either *aras(y)a saram* or *rosiya saram.*

34. Пржевальский, p. 100.

35. Пуциллo, p. XII.

36. A Korean who spent his childhood in the 1910s in Vladivostok, and is now living in a socialist country in Eastern Europe kindly sent the writer in April, 1980, a list of the words of Russian origin used among Koreans at that time in that area. In his opinion these words could be classified as the dialect of Kangdong ('East of the River') of the Korean language. These are as follows:

'Dialect of Kangdong '	Meaning	Russian original
ccibe(nŭn)	'as for you'	тебе
cenggi	'money'	деньги
chulkki	'socks'	чулки
chyoldo	'devil'	чёрт
hŭllebari	'bread'	хлеб
kkŏrŭmani	'pocket'	карман
kkuppi	'buy!'	купи!
kŭnigai	'book'	книга
lubasŭkkai	'shirt'	рубашка
magasin	'shop'	магазин
mahorŭkkai	'makhorka'	махорка
makkakkai	'macaco'	макака
noyabŭrari	'November'	ноябрь
okccyabŭrari	'October'	октябрь
ŏrimeni	'belt'	ремень
phebŭrari	'February'	февраль
ppassibai	'thank you'	спасибо
pperichai	'chilli pepper'	перец
ppilthŭrŭ	'spirits'	спирит
pummagai	'paper'	бумага
sabagwi	'shoes'	сапоги
sillyappai	'hat'	шляпа
ssabakkai	'dog'	собака
ssamowari	'samovar'	самовар
ssŭppichŭkkai, pichikkai	'match'	спичка
suppŭ, suphŭ	'soup'	суп
ttanchai	'stop(ping place)'	станция
tteppan	'Stephan'	Степан
ullichai	'street'	улица
wŏthŭkkai	'vodka'	водка
ccibenŭn we ccengge ccengge hai!	'Why do you speak often of money?'	
tteppan iji kkuppi ppilthŭrŭ!	'Stephan, go and buy spirits!'	
nŏ makkakkaigathŭn nom	'You, a person like a macaco-monkey!'	
yokto yomaiji!	'You, a wanton woman!' (a curse to a woman)	

According to another Korean, who also spent his childhood in Vladivostok and is now living in Alma-Ata, the above-mentioned words and expressions cannot be called the 'dialect of Kangdong' but can be considered a version of Russian words wrongly pronounced . A Korean in Alma-Ata said that he has never heard of the term 'dialect of Kangdong'. Anyway the above-mentioned words and expressions, whether they are dialectical or not, show the strong influence of the Russian language among Koreans.

37. The same Eastern European Korean mentioned in note 36 explained this in a letter in May, 1980. In a letter sent in April, 1980, he also mentioned that there were Koreans in Vladivostok who considered that city to be the founding place of their family, so that they said e.g. *Haisam* (or *Haisamwi*) *Kimssi* 'Kim's Family from Vladivostok'. *Haisamwi* is the Sino-Korean name for Vladivostok. *Haisam* is the abbreviation of it. But the forementioned Korean in Alma-Ata again rejects this.— *Soju* is a kind of popular Korean alcoholic drink.
38. Ким Сын Хва, pp. 181-182.
39. Петров, p. 48.
40. Петров, p. 47.
41. Ким Сын Хва, p. 182.
42. *Aryŏng Silgi* 'Documentary in Russian Territory' describes the settling down of Koreans in the Russian Far East and their life and social activities from the very beginning of the immigration until 1917. *Aryŏng Silgi* was published in the Shanghai edition of *Toglip Sinmun* 'The Independent' from No. 48 (Feb. 20, 1920) to No. 62 (Apr. 12, 1920) which was the organ of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai. The writer of *Aryŏng Silgi* was known simply as Twibabo, which is certainly a pen-name and probably means 'A fool behind' (this is a literal translation from Korean and the meaning is not clear in this language, either). Yun Pyŏng-sŏk estimates that Twibabo could be Pak Ŭn-sik (1861-1926; his pen-name was Paigam), a patriot for Korean independence. Yun Pyŏng-sŏk republished *Aryŏng Silgi* with a preface and notes in *Sŏul Phyŏnglon* 'Current Comments of Seoul' between Oct. 2 (No. 98) and Oct. 23 (No. 101), 1975. *Aryŏng Silgi* is considered to be one of the most important sources for the study of the early life of Korean immigrants in the Russian Far East.
43. *Taihanin Cyŏnggyobo* may be the first Korean magazine written purely in *Han'gŭl*, the Korean alphabet, to be published abroad. The issue which was published on May 1, 1914, is to be found at the Department of Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki. The writer of these lines presented this magazine in Korea in *Han'gŭl Saisosik* (News Bulletin of the Korean Language Society in Seoul), No. 89 (Jan.1980), pp. 8-9. *Taihanin Cyŏnggyobo* includes extremely important information on the activities of Koreans in the 1910s in the Russian Far East and Siberia. Yi Kang (1878-1964) was a fighter for the independence of Korea mainly in the Russian Far East.
44. Hyŏn Kyu-hwan, pp. 155-156.
45. *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, p. 104.
46. An Cung-gŭn (1879-1910) also stayed for a while in Vladivostok and worked as a kind of local reporter for the Korean newspaper *Taidong Kongbo* in 1909 in Novokievskoe. In the assassination of Ito Hirobumi, three other patriots, Yu Tong-ha, Co To-sŏn and U Tŏk-sun, cooperated.
47. *Saidokpon (Caraniŭi)*, p. 80.
48. The number of Korean workers in the Russian Far East reached 2,900 in 1903 increasing to as many as 10,400 by 1906. In gold mines the number of Korean workers was 5,865 and that of Russians 4,484. In coal mines Russians numbered only 1,829 out of a total of 7,139 workers, the rest were Koreans (Ким Сын Хва, pp. 60-66).
49. *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, p. 45.
50. Kim Aleksandra Petrovna (1885-1918) was born in the Maritime Region and studied in Vladivostok. It is known that her view of the world, which was influenced by the Bolsheviks, was formed between 1914-1917 while she was working at the Nadezhinsk sawmill near the Ural Mountains. She was shot in August, 1918 by Kalmykov 's White Army in Khabarovsk. In the Soviet Union she is counted as one of the first Korean communists (*Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, pp. 47-48. Ким Сын Хва, pp. 91-94).
51. The *Cayusi* Incident is also called *Hŭkha Sabyŏn* 'The River Heilongjiang Incident'. Between 1920-1921 many of the fighters for Korean Independence moved to Siberia from Manchuria in the hope of reorganizing their forces. The Bolsheviks welcomed them at first, the reason for which was to use the Korean forces against the Whites and the Japanese interventionists and, later on, to turn them into communists who could serve as a vanguard in the future. On this basis an arrangement was reached between the Korean Independence Army and the Government of the Far Eastern Republic in February,

1921, according to which the latter would give the former military aid. Then on June 22 of the same year, a sudden note came to the Korean Independence Army, which was in *Cayusi*, saying that the arms should immediately be returned to the Russian side. The Koreans tried in vain to negotiate with the Russians which led to armed clashes between Koreans on the side of the Russians and the Korean Independence Army. The Koreans on the Russian side attacked the Korean Independence Army with overwhelming forces and as a result 372 persons of the latter were killed, 250 went missing, 31 were drowned and 917 were imprisoned and the rest returned to Northern Manchuria. This incident is called the *Cayusi* 'Free City' incident after the name of the city *Svobodnyy* 'Free'. One opinion is that the basic reason for the armed clashes was a conflict between the two different groups of Korean forces, i.e. *Cayu Taidai* and *Sakhalin Pudai* (*Hyŏndaisawa Kongsanjuŭi* 'Modern History and Communism', pp. 17-19).

52. Ким Сын Хва, pp. 94-122. *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*,pp. 46-77. At the beginning of 1921, the Korean partisan army consisting of 5,060 men, who were fighting on the side of the Bolsheviks in the border areas of the Russian Far East, China and Korea (Boris Pak, *Lenin'gwa Cosŏn Hyŏg-myŏnggadŭl* 'Lenin and Korean Revolutionaries'. LK 1987 Apr. 24, p. 3).

53. The descendants of Hwang Un-jŏng bear the name of Un-jŏng in their russified patronymic, e.g. in the form of Uncenovich. The relatives of Hwang Un-jŏng are also living nowadays in Alma-Ata. He was one of those who organized a party cell and an army in the area of Sorbakwan in March, 1922. Sin U-yŏ, Hyŏn Tong-gyu, Sim Chan-ho, Cang Paik-sŏk and Nam Kŭk-sŏng, etc. participated in these activities (*Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, p. 66).

54. The work of Kim Ki-chŏl (born in 1906 in Southern Hamgyŏng Province in Korea), *Kŭmgagman* 'Bay of Golden Horn' can be mentioned (cf. note 470). Another one is the short story by Nam Chŏl, *Mindŭllekkoch phil muryŏp* 'When Dandelions Are Blooming', which was also published in *Lenin Kichi* between August 31 and September 3, 1983.

55. *Sibwŏl Hyŏgmyŏng Sipcunyŏn*, pp. 80-94.

56. Корейцы, p. 565. Here the number mentioned is about 120,000.

57. The textbook of Russian for Koreans: П. Ни, Т. Огай и Н. Оселедько, *Русский букварь для корейских школ*. Хабаровск 1929. 54 + XIV pp. As for the political textbooks for Koreans the following can be mentioned: — *U. Yi. Ttaisin gwa Phŭ. Phŭ. Kkosŭllobŭ, Li Cong-il yŏk,* ***Cyŏngchihak Tokpon. Tye 8, 9, 10 Kanghwa.*** *Nongchon sunhoi hakkyowa tokhagyong kyogwasŏ. Haisamwi tosŏ cusik hoisa 'Khŭnisŭnoyedyello'* 1927. 128 p. (= U. I. Taishin and P. P. Kozlov, translated by Li Cong-il, Political Textbook. Chapters 8, 9, 10. For the circulating schools in the countryside and self-education. Book Company of Vladivostok 'Knizhnoedelo' 1927. 128 p.). — *U. Yi. Ttaisin gwa Phŭ. Phŭ. Kkosŭllobŭ, Li Cong-il yŏk,* ***Cyŏngchihak Tokpon. Tye 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 Kanghwa.*** *Nongchon sunhoi hakkyowa tokhagyong kyogwasŏ. Haisamwi tosŏ cusik hoisa 'Khŭnisŭnodyello'* 1927. 279 p. (Same as the above-mentioned. Chapters 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. 1927. 279 p.). — *Spŭ. Skerŭsenchephŭ wa A. Leonsciyephŭ,* ***Lenin Cuŭi Chobo. Tye 2 Gwŏn.*** *Tosi tanghakkyo kŭp tokhagyong kyogwasŏ. Kim Chŏl-san yŏk. Wŏndong pyŏn'gang tangganbu sosuminjokkwa kyoyŏl. Habaropssŭkhŭ tosŏ cusik hoisa 'Khŭnisŭnoyedyello'* 1929. 119 pp. (= P. Kerzhencev and A. Leont'ev, Primer of Leninism. Vol. II. For party schools in cities and self-education. Translated by Kim Chol-san. Revised by the Department of Minorities of Party Cadres in the Maritime Region of the Far East. Book Company of Khabarovsk 'Knizhnoedelo' 1929. 119 p.). —*Wŏndong loryŏk hakkyo.* ***Saidokpon. Pulgŭn Ai. Tye 3 Gwŏn.*** *Wŏndong kyoyukpu kwahak pangbŏp hoiŭi in'ga. Tosŏ cusik hoisa. Habarupssŭkhŭ-Purajibossŭttokhŭ*1927. 275 p. (= Working School of the Far East. New Textbook. The Red Children. Vol. III. Approved by the Council of Scientific Method in the Educational Department in the Far East. Khabarovsk-Vladivostok. 1927. 275 p.).

58. Тен, pp. 45-48.

59. *Sŏnbong* was published between 1923 and 1937. Kang Cu-jin says in his book that *Sŏnbong* was published between 1919 and 1936, but this is incorrect (*Kang Cu-jin*, p. 133).

60. Kolarz, pp. 36-37.

61. **Han Valentin Andreyevich** who was working as the manager on the Kolkhoz *Zarya Kommunizma* in the Galabinskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast in Uzbekistan was presented, and the 1935-

1937 period of his life was illustrated as follows: "...when I see you, I remember my youth; in 1935 when I was studying at the Institute of Labour in Vladivostok, they showed at that time the Korean drama *Chunhyangjŏn*.... Han Valentin Andreyevich had to stop his studies and work as a clerk in a department store in Vladivostok. But his work there did not bring satisfaction. He felt an attraction to the soil because he was born and raised in a farming family. Thus in 1937 he went to the managing department of the Kolkhoz whose former name was *Pujonnŭ* (*Buzonnyy*)..." (LK 1984 July 18, p. 4). In the case of Pak Stefan Vasil'yevich, in explaining his participation in the Second World War, the story is begun from the year 1938 (LK 1985 Apr. 26, p. 4). — **Hwang In-sŏk** (born in 1914) was living in Pucilovka village of the Voroshilov Rayon in the Far East when the first tractor came to his village in 1931. He soon became a tractor driver and obtained the right to drive all kinds of vehicles. In Central Asia he has been living on the *Kommunizm* Kolkhoz in Khorezm Oblast. He has been a pensioner since 1974 but is still working (LK 1985 May 1, p. 2). — **Li In-su** and **Choi Ok-sun** got married in 1935 in the Far East. The husband worked in a canning factory near Valentinovka Bay of the Ol'ga Rayon. Choi Ok-sun worked on a kolkhoz in the Suchŏng Rayon. They are now living in Tashkent (LK 1985 June 11, p. 4). — **Kim Pyŏng-gu** (born in 1892) fought in 1919 in the Far East against the Japanese as a partisan and in 1920 as a member of a special Korean sharpshooting squad. In 1924 he became a member of the Communist Party. He began his civil life by working in a fishermen's cooperative named *Chayka* near Vladivostok and in 1927 was a fisherman in the *Bor'ba* cooperative. In the 1930s he was the Party Secretary of the Pos'yet Rayon Party Committee. In the 1940s he led the fishing kolkhoz *Novyy Put'* in the town of Kuygun in Pribalkhashie. In 1949 he moved to Ushtobe where he is now living with his family. His wife is Choi Yekaterina Timofeyevna. He has been a pensioner since 1963 (LK 1985 June 12, p. 3). — **Li Dmitriy Sankhovich** (born in 1899 in Korea) came to Russia with his father at the age of five. When he was 12 years old, his father died and he lived near Vladivostok taking care of his family. Beginning in 1914 he worked in a match factory for eight-years. In 1918 he married Cŏng Anna, who was working at the same factory. He witnessed the intervention of Japanese troops in Vladivostok. He graduated from an agricultural school in Khabarovsk and worked as a branch manager on a sovkhoz near Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy. He worked as a book-keeper for 30 years, for example in Petropavlovsk. Later on he was in charge of propaganda in a basic party group of a repair factory named *Soldatskiy* in Tashkent Oblast. He is an old party member (LK 1985 June 14, p. 2). — At the age of 9 **Pak Hŭi-gwan** participated in the Civil War in the Far East as a communications soldier under the partisan Han Chang-gol in the battles of Ol'ga and Anuchino. Later on he took part in the battle of Stalingrad in 1942, where he lost both his legs. He received the *1st Class Order of the Patriotic War*. He is now living on the *Politotdel* Kolkhoz in Tashkent Oblast (LK 1986 May 9, p. 4). — **Kim Yŏng-nam** (born in 1911) took part in 'the Great Patriotic War' from its first year in the Far East. He also participated in scouting in the northernmost area of Korea by crossing the Tumen River at the beginning of the spring, 1945, with twelve other Koreans. After the Second World War he worked as an economist in Kzyl-Orda. He joined the Party as early as 1931. He was elected as an *udarnik* 'shock worker' during the First Five Year Plan. He has received the *Order of the Red Flag, the 2nd Class Order of the Patriotic War,* 11 different medals and a badge for 50 years membership of the Communist Party (LK 1986 May 9, p. 4). — **Kim Yong-gwan** (born in 1911) graduated from Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy Pedagogical Special School in 1932 and the machinery and mathematics department of Moscow National University in 1937. Thereafter he worked at the Vladivostok Pedagogical Institute and later at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute. Since 1964 he has been working both at the Kazakh National University and Kazakh Academy of Sciences. He has published more than 100 treatises (LK 1986 Nov. 28, p. 4). — More Koreans who were born in the Soviet Far East and transferred to Central Asia can be found with biographies: **Cang Ol'ga Nikolayevna**, born in 1926 in Krounovka village of Voroshilovka Area in Ussuriysk Region (LK 1986 Oct. 14, p. 4); **Kim Ion Konstantinovich** and his wife **Kim Nadezhda**: they lived in Ust'-Sidimi village of the Khasan Area in the Primor'ye Region (LK 1986 Nov. 20, p. 4).

62. Егиазарян, p. 89.

63. LK 1981 June 10, p. 3. According to Корейцы (p. 565) some Koreans moved to Central Asia in

the 1920s and settled down there. This process continued for a while.
64. Shiga Masaru wrote an article about the expulsion of Koreans from the Far East entitled *"Chuuou Ajiae Awareta Hitobito." Sanzenri* No. 44 (1985), p. 52.
65. Егиазарян, pp. 88-89. Казахская советская энциклопедия. Alma-Ata 1981, p. 131. Here the tables are from Kimura's article (1983). Apparent printing errors in the numbers are corrected by the writer.
66. Козлов, p. 65.
67. Ibid. p. 287.
68. Джарылгасинова 1980, p. 43. Очерки общей этнографии, p. 273.
69. Kimura 1983, p. 5.
70. *Intourist's Pocket Guide to the Soviet Union.* 1932, p. 607. The variety of races and peoples has caused serious problems for the USSR, and this can also be seen in this Soviet publication: "One of the most difficult problems which the USSR had to solve is that of making adequate provision for the political and cultural needs of the extraordinary variety of races and peoples within its border, each with its own ancient traditions and its own language or dialect." (Ibid. pp. 606-607).
71. Козлов, p. 289.
72. On page 5 the article contains the following parts about Korea under the title of *"Foreign Espionage in the Soviet Far East"*: "... the strongest branch of this intelligence organization is, in Korea, the Korean (**Japanese- *the author*) Military Intelligence Department and, in Manchuria, the Intelligence Organization of the Kwandung Army and the Japanese Military Intelligence Department of Northern China, which practice intelligence activities against the USSR and China..."; "... agents, saboteurs and terrorists who illegally infiltrated the territory of the Soviet Far East are selected from among the White Russians, native Manchurians and Koreans who are degenerated and sell themselves, being professional smugglers and agents..."; "... accordingly intelligence activities are designed bearing in mind the composition of the area in question, consequently Koreans, Chinese or White Russians are sent as agents..."
73. Kolarz, pp. 36-37.
74. Heller, p. 158. In this area there were 3,200 Koreans by 1930, while Jews numbered 2,700. (Kolarz, p. 34).
75. Of the various reasons for deciding on Birobidzhan as the centre of the Jewish Autonomous Region, the decisive motive was that the USSR considered the security of the area located close to Japan in the Far East important. During the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s the Soviet Union sought an improvement in relations with the West, and thus the Soviet Union thought the Birobidzhan Project might serve to form a favourable opinion among Jews and Jewish supporters (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 4, column 1045).
76. Козлов 1982, p. 285. In Kimura's article the decrease was from 3,700,000 in 1926 to 2,310,000 in 1939 with the loss of as many as 1,400,000. Kimura also considers that the forcible transfer of various peoples beginning with Koreans to Kazakhstan was done to cover up the decline in the population (Kimura 1983, p. 14).
77. Krader 1966, p. 185.
78. "The Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) have expressed their gratitude for the exemplary and precise fulfilment of a Government assignment in the field of transport to the chief of the N.K.V.D. administration in the Far Eastern Territory, G. S. Lyushkov, to the whole staff of the N.K.V.D. of the F.E.T. and to the personnel of the Far Eastern Railway which participated in the implementation of the assignment." (Kolarz, p. 39).
79. Krader 1966, p. 107.
80. LK 1986 March 29, p. 2.
81. LK 1986 March 25, p. 2.
82. Джарылгасинова 1960, p. 54.
83. Корейцы, p. 566. As an example, Koreans on the *Raushan* Sovkhoz of Kungrad Oblast built a new irrigation canal which was connected to *Hudoyar-yab* and named *Koreyskiy-yab* 'Korean water'

(Джарылгасинова 1960, p. 54).
84. Джарылгасинова 1960, p. 54.
85. Kimura 1983, p. 5-6. According to Kimura an article was published by Lyushkov in *Gekkan Roshiya* (Vol. 5, No. 5, pp. 49-50, 1939). Lyushkov was born in 1900 in Odessa and became a member of Cheka in the Ukraine in 1920. In 1936 he became an Oblast Minister of Rostov of the Interior People's Commissariat and a year later, Minister of the Far Eastern Territory and at the same time a member of the Supreme Soviet. He was killed by the Kanto Army in August, 1945. A book about him was published in 1979 by Nishino Tatsukichi, *Nazono Boumeisha Ryushikofu*. (Kimura 1983, p. 14). A record of the escape of Lyushkov was published in Korean in the magazine *Cogwang* (1938 August, pp. 72-79). In this article Lyushkov discloses his motivation for defection by saying that he was afraid of being arrested because he was called back to Moscow.
86. *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* ,1939 Oct. 9. Shiga Maseru, *Sanzenri* No.44 (1985) pp. 45-46.
87. Maclean, p. 60. The writer sincerely thanks Kaj Öhrnberg for his kindness in giving this material.
88. About *Aryŏng Silgi* , cf. note 42. Yun Pyŏng-sŏk does not mention the source.
89. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, The Gulag Archipelago 3, 1918-1956. An Experiment in Literary Investigation V-VII. (Translated from the Russian by H. T. Willetts). First issued in Fontana 1978. pp. 386-387.
90. Choi Sŏ-myŏn, former director of the Institute for Korean Studies in Tokyo, mentions this in a discussion arranged by the First Conference of Koreans Abroad (New York, 1984), *Haioi Hanminjok Caryojip 1, Haioi Hanminjogŭi Hyŏnhwanggwa Cŏnmang* (The Collection of Materials of Koreans Abroad 1, The Situation and Perspective of Koreans Abroad), p. 74. The name of the railway station, *Uttawa,* may be slightly different from the original one since it is rewritten from the form in the Korean alphabet. It could not be located on the map.
91. The name of the agreement is *"The Agreement concerning Basic Rules which Define the Relations between Japan and the Soviet Union."* According to this Agreement, the Soviet Union no longer permitted Koreans to enter the country and, even if they had a passport, the Soviet Union took the attitude that Koreans would no longer be given permission to enter its territory. This means that the rather free traffic across the Soviet-Korean border practically stopped (Shiga Maseru, 1985 p. 47).
92. It is known that Shigematsu Mamoru (1887-1957), Japanese ambassador to the Soviet Union at that time, had also protested against the transfer.
93. The writer has interviewed half a dozen Chinese Korean scholars from Beijing and the Yanbian area about this matter but they did not know any details. In correspondence with them about the transfer of Koreans to Central Asia the result was the same.
94. Interview with a Korean who was born in Bekabad, Tashkent Oblast of Uzbekistan.
95. Some of the *Koryŏ Saram* participated in the 'Korean Liberation War' as members of the Soviet Army. Lim Ŭn mentions the following names: Cŏng Yul (navy officer), Choi Cong-hak (Captain), Choi Hŭng-guk (Captain), Cŏng Hak-jun, Choi Valentin (Lieutenant), Choi Phyo-dŏk (Lieutenant-Colonel) and others (Lim Ŭn, p. 141). Cŏng Sang-jin, who participated in the landing in Unggi Harbour in August 1945, wrote his memories in *Lenin Kichi,* August 15, 1985. The same story was presented in Lim Ŭn's book (pp. 141-143). It means that Cŏng Yul and Cŏng Sang-jin denote the same person. Kim Yong-nam (born 1911) and O Paik-yong took part in scouting in the northernmost part of Korea by crossing the Tumen River at the beginning of spring, 1945 (*Lenin Kichi* 1986 May, p. 4). — Lim Ŭn p. 143. Lim Ŭn (pseudonym) who, according to the information he supplies about himself written on the title page of his book, is a Korean revolutionary, has participated in the social construction and devoted himself to the communist movement in Korea. Among scholars it is generally believed that the real name of Lim Ŭn is Hŏ Cin and that he lives in Moscow. However, according to other sources Lim Ŭn's real name is not Hŏ Cin. Anyway it is generally known that he is the grandson of Hŏ Wi (1855-1908), a famous fighter against Japanese colonialism in Korea. The pseudonym Lim Ŭn originates from a place name where his ancestors had lived, i. e. *Kyŏngsang Pukto Sŏnsan'gun Kumimyŏn Im Ŭn (Lim Ŭn)ri,* now in South Korea. — This is a suitable point to explain why the term *Koryŏ Saram* is not used in Korean publications of Central Asia, but in its place the term *Cosŏn Saram.* Those *Koryŏ*

Saram and their families who were sent to North Korea after August, 1945, began to use the term *Cosŏn* upon their return home and it became widely used and more popular than the term *Koryŏ*. The use of the term *Cosŏn* also increased through the offcial and cultural contacts between the USSR and North Korea, whose official name is in Korean *Cosŏn Minjujuŭi Inmin Konghwaguk* the 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea' which is often abbreviated to *Cosŏn*. Besides, the Central Asian Korean intelligentsia prefer to use the term *Cosŏn* to *Koryo*, probably being influenced by North Korean publications. The term *Cosŏn* was also the official name of the last kingdom of Korea which lasted from 1392 to 1910.

96. Lim Ŭn, p. 143.

97. Ibid. pp. 144-145.

98. Ibid. p. 146.

99. In North Korean newspapers there can be found, although very infrequently, some mention of *'Koreans in the Soviet Union'* ,in reporting news about their visits to the *'homeland'*.(*Rodong Sinmun* 1983 Sept. 17, p. 5).However, it is not clear whether *'Koreans in the Soviet Union'* means the *Koryŏ Saram* or not.

100. LK 1985 Aug. 23, p. 4. There is an article about the Phyong'yang women volleyball team arriving in *Alma-Ata*.

101. LK 1985 March 23, p. 2.

102. Cf. note 7.

103. The majority of the *Sakhalin* Koreans are from the southern part of Korea, the present South Korea. This means that many of them have their families and relatives in South Korea which has no relations with the Soviet Union. This unfortunate situation has caused a series of problems. These Koreans have had to live in *Sakhalin* for almost four decades separated from their families. There are several organizations which have tried to solve the problem of the separated families but without any perceptible results. This has also been a topic of debate in newspapers and other publications both in South Korea and the Soviet Union: e.g. *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun* (South Korea) 1983 March 1, July 30, Aug. 15, LK 1983 Nov. 11, 1984 Feb. 12, March 13.

104. *Lenin Kichi* occasionally introduces Sakhalin Koreans who are now living in Central Asia: e.g. Choi Mi-ok, senior seller at the No.4 shop in Kalininskiy Region in Alma-Ata, grew up near the sea in Sakhalin (1985 June 14, p. 4).

105. The Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* carried a special series about the Sakhalin Koreans entitled *Saharinno Chousenjin* 'Koreans of Sakhalin' (1985 Nov. 13-18). This article stated that, according to the 1979 census, there were 35,400 Koreans in the Sakhalin Oblast, i.e. about 5.7% of the Oblast population, but the estimation for the end of 1985 was around 40,000. Of this number around 70% got the citizenship of the Soviet Union and the rest that of North Korea. Those Koreans who consider South Korea their birthplace are treated as stateless people. They are aged and slowly diminishing. Their number is said to be some hundreds (*Asahi Shimbun* 1985 Nov. 13, p. 3).