In order to understand the position of Koreans in Central Asia it would be useful to review the administrative composition and population of the five Republics of Central Asia. They are as follows: 106

(1) Kazakhskaya SSR (Capital: Alma-Ata)

Oblasts	Size	Population	Centre	Population
Aktyubinsk	298700	690000	Aktyubinsk	231000
Alma-Ata	104700	1973000	Alma-Ata	1068000
East-Kazakhstan	97300	915000	Ust'-Kamenogorsk	307000
Gur'yev	112000	389000	Gur'yev	145000
Dzhambul	144600	994000	Dzhambul	303000
Dzhezkazgan	313400	466000	Dzhezkazgan	102000
Karaganda	85400	1330000	Karaganda	617000
Kzyl-Orda	228100	615000	Kzyl-Orda	183000
Kokchetav	78100	643000	Kokchetav	120000
Kustanay	114500	1015000	Kustanay	199000
Mangyshlak	166600	313000	Shevchenko	147000
Pavlodar	127500	898000	Pavlodar	315000
North-Kazakhstan	44300	602000	Petropavlovsk	22600
Semipalatinsk	179600	803000	Semipalatinsk	317000
Taldy-Kurgan	118500	698000	Taldy-Kurgan	106000
Turgay	111900	314000	Arkalyk	51000*
Ural	151200	609000	Ural'sk	192000
Celinograd	124600	852000	Celinograd	262000
Chimkent	116300	1723000	Chimkent	369000
Total	2717300	15842000		

(2) Uzbekskaya SSR (Capital: Tashkent)

Autonomous Re-				
public and Oblasts	Size	Population	Centre	Population
Karakalpak ASSR	164900	1075000	Nukus	139000
Andizhan	4200	1554000	Andizhan	275000
Bukhara	39400	1017000	Bukhara	209000
Dzhizak	20500	626000	Dzhizak	85000
Kashkadar	28400	1387000	Karshi	133000
Navoi	110800	593000	Navoi	99000
Namangan	7900	1303000	Namangan	275000
Samarkand	16400	1935000	Samarkand	371000
Surkhandarya	20800	1092000	Termez	66000
Syr-Darya	5100	519000	Gulistan	39000**
Tashkent	15600	4038000	Tashkent	2030000

Fergana	7100	1944000	Fergana	195000
Khorezm	6300	891000	Urgench	116000
Total	447400	17974000		
(3) Kirgizskaya SSR	(Capital: Fr	unze)		
Oblasts	Size	Population	Centre	Population
Issyk-Kul	43500	379000	Przheval'sk	51000
Naryn	51100	254000	Naryn	26000**
Osh	65600	1708000	Osh	161000
Talas	19600	268000	Talas	
Rayons and cities sub-				
ordinate to the Republic	18700	1358000		
Total	198500	3967000		
(4) Tadzhikskaya SS	R (Capital: I	Oushanbe)		
Oblasts and Auto-				
nomous Oblast	Size	Population	Centre	Population
Kulyab	12000	529000	Kulyab	51000
Kurgan-Tyube	12600	911000	Kurgan-Tyube	
Leninabad	26100	1402000	Leninabad	123000
Gorno-Badakshan AO	63700	146000	Khorog	15000**
Rayons and cities sub-				
ordinate to the Republic	28700	1511000		
Total	143100	4499000		
(5) Turkmenskaya S	SR (Capital:	Ashkhabad)		
	` 1	,		
Oblasts	Size	Population	Centre	Population
Ashkhabad	95400	826000	Ashkhabad	356000
Krasnovodsk	138500	341000	Krasnovodsk	55000
Mary	86800	729000	Mary	85000
Tashauz	73600	628000	Tashauz	103000
Chardzhou	93800	665000	Chardzhou	157000
Total				

2.1. Distribution of Koreans

Of the five Republics of Central Asia, the majority of Koreans live in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, where their number reaches around 255,000 according to the 1979 census;

in Uzbekistan 163,000 and in Kazakhstan 92,000. For Koreans in the other 3 Republics the figures are, according to the 1970 census, Kirgizia 9,404, Tadzhikistan 8,490 and Turkmenia 3,493. They are distributed as follows according to the areas in which they live (according to the 1970 census):107

Republics	Whole Population	In Cities	In Countryside
Uzbekistan	147538	85417	62121
	(100%)	(57.9%)	(42.1%)
Kazakhstan	81598	59647	21951
	(100%)	(73.1%)	(26.9%)
Kirgizia	9404	6010	3394
	(100%)	(63.9%)	(36.1%)
Tadzhikistan	8490	7627	863
	(100%)	(89.8%)	(10.2)
Turkmenia	3493	2505	988
	(100%)	(71.7%)	(28.3%)

They are divided according to Oblasts as follows (according to the 1970 census):

(1)	Uzbekistan	
(1)	UZUCKISTAII	

Kzyl-Orda

Karaganda

(1) O DO O MIDITALI			
Autonomous Re-			
public and Oblasts	Whole Population	In Cities	In Countryside
Tashkent	73349 (100%)	30378 (41.4%)	42971 (58.6%)
City of Tashkent		18186	
Syr-Darya	11661 (100%)	6585 (56.5%)	5076 (43.5%)
Karakalpak ASSR	8958 (100%)	7352 (82.1%)	1606 (17.9%)
Samarkand	7708 (100%)	5540 (71.9%)	2168 (28.1%)
Fergana	6438 (100%)	5396 (83.8%)	1042 (16.2%)
Khorezm	6368 (100%)	2608 (41.0%)	3760 (59.0%)
Surkhandarya	3666 (100%)	1912 (52.2%)	1754 (47.8%)
Namangan	3641 (100%)	1789 (49.1%)	1852 (50.9%)
Andizhan	4660 (100%)	3135 (67.3%)	1525 (32.7%)
Bukhara	2257 (100%)	2023 (89.6%)	234 (10.4%)
(2) Kazakhstan			
Oblasts	Whole Population	In Cities	In Countryside

13429 (100%)

13391 (100%)

12279 (76.5%)

12811 (95.7%)

3150 (23.5%)

580 (4.3%)

Taldy-Kurgan	12514 (100%)	6251 (50.0%)	6263 (50.0%)
Chimkent	9862 (100%)	6669 (67.6%)	3193 (32.4%)
Dzhambul	8228 (100%)	6063 (74.1%)	2135 (25.9%)
City of Alma-Ata		6908	
Alma-Ata	4391 (100%)	599 (13.6%)	3792 (86.4%)
Gur'yev	2988 (100%)	2644 (88.5%)	344 (11.5%)
Kustanay	2730 (100%)	2359 (86.4%)	371 (13.6%)
Celinograd	1872 (100%)	1499 (80.1%)	373 (19.9%)
(3) Kirgizia			
City and Oblasts	Whole Population	In City	In Countryside
City of Frunze		4075	
Rayons subordinate			
to the Republic	3453 (100%)	470 (13.6%)	2983 (86.4%)
(4) Tadzhikistan			
City, Rayons			
and Oblast	Whole Population	In City	In Countryside
City of Dushanbe		3280	
Rayons subordinate			
to the Republic	2881 (100%)	2129 (73.9%)	752 (26.1%)
Leninabad	2323 (100%)	2213 (95.3%)	110 (4.7%)
(5) Turkmenia			
Oblast	Whole Population	In City	In Countryside
Tashauz	2536 (100%)	1700 (67.0%)	836 (33.0%)

The tables show that in Kazakhstan Koreans are principally concentrated in the five southern Oblasts, e.g. Kzyl-Orda, Chimkent, Dzhambul, Alma-Ata and Taldy-Kurgan. Besides these they live in the central part, e.g. Karaganda and Celinograd Oblasts, and in the western part, Gur'yev Oblast near the Caspian Sea. In Uzbekistan Koreans are spread rather evenly over the Republic, the Oblast with the greatest number is, in any case, Tashkent.

2.2. Daily life

In the 1950s Soviet scholars began to show academic interest in the Koreans living in Central Asia. ¹⁰⁸ As a result of the work carried out by cultural ethnographers, some

pieces of research appeared, which are more or less similar to each other in contents. In the following, a sample introducing the life of Koreans in Central Asia in the 1950s is summarized;¹⁰⁹

"Rice cultivation has a special position in the life of Koreans, for this reason areas for it were established by Koreans in Khorezm Oblast and the Karakalpak ASSR: and, in 1937 in the Kungrad Rayon of the Karakalpak ASSR, the first Korean kolkhoz for rice cultivation - Raushan - was formed. Here cotton, sugar beet, wheat and maize as well as rice are cultivated. Due to the influence of neighbouring Turkic peoples, they even breed livestock. In the surroundings of their houses stone mills operated by foot (tidil pang'a) and stone grinders (mettol) have been installed for their own needs. A famous kolkhoz led by Koreans is Politotdel near Tashkent.

The breeding of milch cows, which is culturally unfamiliar to Koreans, has been introduced, so that Koreans have begun to become experts at it. Not a few Koreans received the title of Hero of Labour because they have worked diligently, *Kim Pyong-hwa* (cf.ill.12) from the *Polyarnaya Zvezda* Kolkhoz being exemplary. On this kolkhoz 2,045 Koreans and 1,708 Uzbeks were working in 1963.

The houses of Koreans are fenced with poplar, maple and mulberry trees, and pigs, domestic fowl and ducks are raised at home. The houses are built of bricks, the house walls are painted white and the saddle-shaped roofs are covered with tiles, thatch or reeds. The house usually comprises of 4-6 rooms, and each family occupies one or two rooms, a kitchen and an additional room with a wooden floor, and has a separate door. In one or two rooms *ondol* is laid, and the kitchen has a furnace. 110 As the fuel has been changed to coal, an iron plate is used as a cover. The main room is called *utkan*, and is in the typical Korean style. When people enter the room, they remove their shoes and they eat and sleep in the same place. Bedding consists of a mattress, quilt and pillow. The third room is influenced by the Russian style, so that chairs and beds are found. This room is usually used by children and many embroidered things are found here.

As for clothes, the traditional ones have almost disappeared. Men usually wear ready-made clothes and women often make clothes for themselves and their children. Some elderly people sometimes wear traditional costumes, i.e. for women *cŏgori* and *chima* and for men *paji* and *cokki*. 111 As for headgear, the straw hat, which is called *kat*, survives and is used in the fields while working. Elderly people wear felt hats and younger people caps with an eye shade. Main staples are rice and vegetables, to which meat and fish are added. People take three meals a day. They also prepare *kimchi* for the winter and observe the *kimjang* ritual. 112

At festivals Koreans prepare noodles and rice cakes. They make soy sauce and bean paste out of soya beans. Foods introduced by neighbouring nationalities are pilaw of the Uzbeks, minced meat fried in the Kazakh style and the Central Asian style pasty. The food popular among young people is Russian style bread and milk which children drink at schools and other places. Tea as a beverage is not widely spread. The use of chopsticks is not frequent now and they eat at a table 30-40 cm high. Koreans are skillful at weaving, so that they make strainers, baskets and winnows. In former times they wove straw-bags, straw mats and footwear from straw which, however, have vanished by now.

Koreans had the habit of buying and selling women before their move to Central Asia, but nowadays the sexes enjoy equal rights. Young Koreans sometimes marry other nationalities and practise exogamy. Koreans do not marry a person with the same family name and women keep their family name after marriage. The age of marriage is usually between 18-20 years. The wedding ceremony is performed at the bride's house, and on the table of the wedding ceremony there is a whole chicken cooked with a red chilli pepper inserted in the beak as a token of love, and decorated with blue and red threads as a symbol of long life. Most Koreans live separately from their parents after marriage and when their parents grow old, they stay at their eldest son's

house. They usually have 3-4 children.

When Koreans have children, they have the habit of taking a godparent for the child, this is known to have originated from the desire to protect the child from evil spirits. There are no fixed given names, which means that parents give children names individually, and there are families which have given their children a name mixing the Korean and Russian style. Russian style names are increasingly given to children nowadays. Sometimes the name of the first grandchild of the family is taken from the name of one of their ancestors. A big festival for children is their first birthday party. There is an old custom saying that when the child at his or her first birthday party picks up scissors from among the goods set in front of him, he will earn his livelihood by sewing and if he takes a pencil or a notebook, he will study well at school. They also believe that if the child picks up a rice cake, it portends bad luck, so people put rice cakes far out of the child's reach.

One big festivity is the *hwan'gap* ceremony.¹¹³ Young people bow to their parents wishing them long life, and give them presents like clothes and shoes. At the festival they enjoy themselves by beating drums, playing a flute and dancing. Families with old people at home celebrate the New Year according to the lunar calendar. The New Year celebrations usually last several days. On *hansik* day people visit the tombs of their parents or relatives.¹¹⁴ Traditionally funeral services were performed with complex rituals, but nowadays it is a 3-day service held among close relatives. They bury the dead in a wooden coffin and the graveyard is located in a place far away from the living area. The clothes of the dead are burned at the grave and after the burial a kind of rite is performed for the spirits of the earth and the dead. They build a mound upon the grave and in front of the grave a wooden cross or sign with a red star is erected. Since it is believed that the spirits of the dead linger around the relatives, sacrificial rites for the spirits of the ancestors are performed. The religious significance of such funeral services has been lost among the middle-aged and young people, but they are observed in respect for the elders.

Korean shamanism is mixed with Confucian and Buddhist ways of thought. During the time of the Tsars quite a number of Koreans were Orthodox. Koreans believed that they had to treat spirits well since their fortunes and misfortunes were thought to be blessed by a benevolent spirit. Superstitions were also prevalent. Nowadays such superstitions together with shamanism have almost disappeared. Among elderly people, however, some elements of shamanism and Confucian traditions of ancestor worship still remain. Nevertheless, most Koreans in Central Asia are atheists.

In their social life Koreans make substantial contributions to society as teachers, medical doctors and agronomists, etc. Some Koreans are elected as deputies to the Supreme Soviets in the Union and of the Kazakh and Uzbek Republics."

From the description above it can be deduced that Koreans in Central Asia had still in the 1960s preserved the main features of Korean traditions relatively well, even if they have been influenced by neighbouring nationalities. Kim Kyu-thaik, having in October, 1977, visited a kolkhoz where Koreans are in the majority and Kuylyuk near Tashkent, an area where the majority of the population is Korean, wrote as follows:

"...Our (*Korean - *the writer) traditional customs have certainly remained almost without change among Koreans in Tashkent. (In this respect this area would be a valuable place for the study of Korean ethnography.) In their daily life such Korean habits and traditions as footoperated mills (tidil pang'a), stone-grinders and stone-mortars, etc. are used in the kitchens of Korean houses in Kuiluk: and the first birthday party, the wedding ceremony and hwan'gap, etc. are observed: and such indispensible side-dishes as chilli paste, soya bean paste and kimchi, etc. are eaten. The most impressive thing for me was the use of the Korean language in their daily life..."

Yu Myŏng-yŏn, who visited the same area in October, 1979, writes as follows:116

"... In Tashkent there are 6-7 Korean kolkhozes, including 3 Korean kolkhozes which are located within a 10 km radius of the *Kuylyuk* market. Among these the *Politotdel* Kolkhoz is the most famous one in the Soviet Union. The director, Hwang Man-gum, is so famous that he is called a hero and is considered the richest man in the Uzbek Republic. I visited one family at the invitation of a woman about fifty years old, whom I happened to meet in the market place. The woman told me that she had moved to her present place in 1953, and her house was located near the kolkhoz and was quite Korean in style with *ondol*. However, the inside of the house was furnished with beds and a sofa, etc. in the Western style, but their food was Korean. *Kimchi* was placed on the table and eaten with rice cooked in water exactly as is done in Korea..."117

"...Most houses within the kolkhoz had installed *ondol* as the means of heating rooms, which means the maintenance of the traditional Korean way of life. A slight difference was that, in the corner of the room, an iron grill cover for cooking had been installed. People cook, using this iron grill cover. Some houses had a blacksmith's shop attached and in some there was a mortar. Koreans of the kolkhoz looked as if they enjoyed noodles. Koreans originally from Ceju Island had acquired machines for making noodles, owing to which noodles became very popular in this area..."118

As seen from the above, the basic life style of Koreans living in Central Asia in the 1970s had also been maintained in the traditional way.

The continuation of religious observances seems to have caused anxiety among the authorities recently, judging from articles in *Lenin Kichi*, where the people in different parts of Central Asia are asked not to believe in God, and several new publications on atheism are presented. In his article of December 18, 1986, Chai Aleksey, associate professor and chief lecturer in ethics, aesthetics and scientific atheism at the Pedagogical Institute of Namangan, says that nowadays bourgeois ideologists often use religion in their activities against socialism and the Marxist-Leninist view of the world. As an example he takes the case of '*Moon* from South Korea', continuing further as follows:

"The sociological research carried out in the form of 'questions and answers' among various groups in Namangan Oblast shows that a certain group of people including youngsters are not only under the influence of religious prejudice but also actively practise religious customs and rituals. This gives us good reason to effect improvements in atheistic propaganda."

From the article it is not clear which religion has influenced people and whether they are all Koreans or not. But an article about *An Vladimir Viktorovich* (born 1926) from Karaganda illuminates this problem further. He has endeavoured to eliminate Christian remnants both at school and at home. He has also written a study about his activities, which was accepted as a thesis at the Kazakh Pedagogical College. Work pertaining to lessening religious influence is also done in other areas, e.g. in the Karakalpak ASSR and in Alma-Ata. 120 In her article Cin Yekaterina Matveyevna, Associate Professor of Botany at the Agricultural Institute of Alma-Ata, urges readers not to believe in God, but to strengthen the idea of Marxism-Leninism among Soviet as well as foreign students. 121 The articles seem, at least partly, to be directed towards Koreans judging from the areas mentioned, as there is a high density of Koreans living there.

In *Lenin Kichi*, at the beginning of each year and month, calendars are published, where the solar and lunar systems with 24 divisions of the year are presented side by side. 122 The *hansik* and *sambok* days are also indicated with the corresponding solar calendar dates. 123 This means that the use of the lunar calendar is still deeply rooted among Koreans (cf. ill. 13).

In 1984, Lenin Kichi several times allotted special space to meet the requests from readers to explain how to prepare traditional Korean dishes. It was entitled Cosŏn Saramdŭrŭi Yoribŏp 'Recipes of dishes of the Korean people'. Food featured in this series included tubu, sŏllŏngthang, noodles, about 10 different dishes prepared from pollack, soya bean paste and kimchi, etc. 124 Koreans in Central Asia use traditional ingredients in kimchi for kimjang, viz, Chinese cabbage, turnip, chilli pepper, salt, leek, garlic, ginger, fermented and salted shrimps, raw oyster, parsley, octopus and pickled yellow corvina, etc. Thus, the basic features of their main food are almost the same as in Korea. 125 Different sources also relate that the Koryŏ Saram both in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan enjoy kaijang (guk). 126

Korean food has even begun to spread among the neighbouring nationalities. In the *Lenger* Rayon of Chimkent Oblast, *Kuksujip* 'House of *Kuksu* (= Korean noodle)' was opened as a branch of the *Alatau* Restaurant in the place of a former liquor shop. It is reported that at lunch time around 100 people of different nationalities come and enjoy Korean food. The price is 60 kopeks. The keeper and initiator of *Kuksujip* is Choi Nikolay Alekseyevich. The workers at the restaurant have passed a month-long test. 127 Research on Korean food is also known to have been carried out. An example is the work of Li Stanislav, Research Fellow at the Kazakhstan Branch of the National Scientific Institute for the Mixed Fodder Industry, who has shown in his thesis that such Korean foods as *kanjang* 'soy sauce' and *toinjang* 'soya bean paste' contain more calories than milk and are easily digestable. 128

As for folk customs, Korean chess and the seesaw were presented in *Lenin Kichi*, which indicates that they are still known by Koreans. 129 It is also believed that *chusok* is observed by Koreans in Central Asia, but the traditional significance of this important day seems to have changed as can be seen from an article in *Lenin Kichi*: 130

"...Today it is a really good thing that Koreans, instead of visiting graves, burning incense with offerings of alcoholic beverages and bowing to tombs as rituals, reaffirm their resolve to carry out the unaccomplished duties of the deceased, and reminiscence of their late comrades' loyalty and patriotism shown during their life time: this is the new way..." 131

When an illustrious person in the Korean community dies, an obituary of the following type is placed in the newspaper:¹³²

"OBITUARY. The staff of *Lenin Kichi*, an interrepublic newspaper, hereby express their sincerest condolences and sorrow to the family and relatives of Chai Cong-hak, Hero of Socialist

Labour and managing director of the Kolkhoz of *The Third International* in the Karmakchiy Rayon of Kzyl-Orda Oblast, who passed away at the age of 71 on the fifth of this month."

In many cases, the epitaph on the tomb is written in both Korean and Russian (cf. ill. 14).

2.3. Giving of personal names

It has been briefly mentioned that some Koreans began to use russified names as early as in the 1860s in the Russian Far East.¹³³ Since the beginning of this century Koreans had, in many cases, preserved the traditional way of giving names, keeping at the same time russified names. According to Dzharylgasinova three stages of development in the giving of names can be classified:¹³⁴

- (1) The period of having traditional Korean names (from the middle of the 19th century to the 1920s).
- (2) The period of change from the traditional Korean way (1920s-1930s).
- (3) The period when the russified names have gradually increased (1930s-1960s).

2.3.1. Family names

Korean personal names are composed of two parts: family names and given names. Koreans write their family name first and then the given name. There are about 250 different family names in Korea which are mostly monosyllabic, except for a few bisyllabic ones. According to tradition Koreans cannot change their family names at all. Koreans probably began to use family names in the 7th century and wrote them with Chinese characters, so that in many cases Korean family names resemble those of the Chinese. This is doubtlessly the reason why, of all the components of Korean personal names, the family name shows the most conservative character. Contemporary family names of Koreans in Central Asia are the following: 135 An, Dyo, Yem, Kan, Kvon, Kim, Kil, Lem, Li, Lim, Lyan, Mun, Nam, Ni, Nim, Non, Pak, Pan, Pen, Pyak, Rem, Sey, Sin, Son, Ten, Tkhya, Ten, Tyu, Tyan, Fvon, Khak, Khan, Khen, Khon, Khvan, Khvon, Coy, Ckhan, Chzhen, Shek, Shim, Shin, Ém, Yun. 136

This is the first group comprising monosyllable family names. Several strange family names, not found in Korea in the same form, appear among the *Koryŏ Saram*. According to Soviet scholars this might be due to writing Korean family names in the Cyrillic alphabet on the basis of the pronunciation of the Hamgyong dialect. For example, the family names *Yŏm* and *Yi* are written as *Lem/Rem* and *Li/Ni* respectively in Central Asia.¹³⁷

There are also certain family names among Koreans in Central Asia which are not

found at all in Korea, e.g. *Non, Fvon, Khak, Khen* and *Khon*. These family names appear to have developed from the way of transliteration, as their forms show similarities to the original Korean ones. However, until now, their origins have not been satisfactorily studied. Koreans in Central Asia also keep their *pon*, the family's place of origin.¹³⁸

Compared with the family names of other nationalities in the Soviet Union, Korean ones are characterized by their shortness. Among the *Koryŏ Saram*, however, family names ending in -gay are found. These are unknown among Koreans living in other parts of the world. These family names form a special group, and are as follows: 139 Agay, Egay, Digay, Dyagay, Kogay, Lagay, Magay, Migay, Nagay, Nogay, Ogay, Pegay, Tyugay, Tyagay, Khegay, Khégay, Chagay, Shagay, Shegay, Shigay, Yugay. Besides these, an informant added the following: Degay, Tegay, Tigay.

It is difficult to trace how and why these forms have developed. The etymologies of *Agay*, *Dyagay* and *Shigay* seem to be unclear, but the others have probably developed, as Dzharylgasinova points out, from ordinary Korean family names simply by adding *- gay*. Since family names of this type are never found in Korea, they deserve special attention.

Koreans use the Sino-Korean word ka meaning 'house' and 'family', when they call a person by his family name: Kimga 'Kim's family; Kim by family name'. However, these forms in -ka(-ga) might have been misunderstood by Russians as belonging to the family name and hence officially stabilized. The final -y might be a derivative ending attached to nouns in the Hamgyong dialect. This assumption can be supported by the fact that in those cases when Koreans had both Korean and Russian style names, they used the family name with the -gay ending only with the Russian style names. For example O Ha-muk (1895-1937), a famous partisan fighter in the Far East in the 1920s, had a Russian name, Khristofer Nikolayevich $Ogay^{141}$ and a woman collective farmer from the Politotdel Kolkhoz near Tashkent, Ko Myŏng-suk (born in 1917) has a Russian name, Mariya Makarovna Kogay. In any case a more specialized study on the time of development of the family names in -gay and their role is required. A new tendency can be also observed that of shortening the family names ending in -gay by dropping the syllable -ga- thus forming a simple ending in -y. Until now only two cases have been attested: Dey from Degay and Yuy from Yugay. In Yugay.

The third group includes those family names which cannot be put into the two categories mentioned above. There are Korean family names which are translations into Russian. A typical example of this is Yugov, which is formed from the form yug 'south' by adding the Russian ending -ov. The form yug is a direct translation of the Korean family name Nam, a Sino-Korean word, which means 'south'. There is also the Korean family name Chikovani. Its origin reflects the historical and cultural background

in the Far East. Chikovani is derived from Kim Ko-an, the name of a Korean working in the Far East in the 1910s and 1920s and whom the Chinese called Jin Guwan, according to their pronunciation. When the registration of the population was carried out in the 1920s, the Russian authorities erroneously took the Chinese form registering it as a single name, but in a slightly modified form. Nowadays the descendants of Kim Ko-an carry the family name Chikovani, which is seemingly identical with the Georgian family name Chikovani. Another example where the whole name became a new family name can be given. Professor Pak II at the State University of Kazakhstan also uses the form Bagiri as his family name. With the first name and patronymic his full name in the Russian style is Petr A. Bagiri. 146

A Korean called *Paul Nikolayevich Ni-Li* (died 1980) worked at the School for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a lecturer. His son is now working for *Izvestiya*. The following explanation has been given about the origin of the family name *Ni-Li*: at the registration of the population *Paul Nikolayevich* wrote *Li* in the place for the family name. Then the officer told him that there was no such Korean family name as 'Li', therefore it must be "Not Li" which in Russian is 'Ni-Li'. Koreans in Central Asia use the Korean forms of their family names when they write in Korean. This holds good even in the case of family names which have the -gay ending. In Korean-language publications of Central Asia the following family names are found: *An*, *Ce*, *Cha*, *Chai*, *Choi*, *Cin*, *Co*, *Cŏng*, *Cu*, *Han*, *Hŏ*, *Hwang*, *Hyŏn*, *Kang*, *Kim*, *Ko*, *Ku*, *Kwak*, *Kwŏn*, *Li*, *Lim*, *Lyang*, *Lyŏm*, *Lyu*, *Ma*, *Maing*, *Mun*, *Myŏng*, *Nam*, *No*, *O*, *Ŏ*, *Ŏm*, *Pai*, *Pak*, *Pang*, *Sim*, *Sin*, *Sŏ*, *Sŏk*, *Song*, *Thai*, *U*, *Yŏn*, *Yu*.

2.3.2. Given names

As Koreans became more settled in Central Asia in the late 1930s, they had more contact with their neighbouring nationalities. At this time Russian culture seems to have overwhelmingly formed their common background for communication. For this reason Koreans born in the (Russian) Soviet Far East who later moved to Central Asia used to have Russian names in addition to real Korean names. From the 1930s and 1940s onwards, more Koreans began to have Russian names even officially. These names are mainly selected out of the name calendar, so that for women names like Mariya, Yekaterina and Nadezhda, etc. and for men names like Konstantin, Mikhail and Aleksandr, etc. have been taken with slight modifications according to Korean pronunciation. Because other nationalities besides Russians live in Central Asia, they also acquired non-Russian names like German, Evelina and Moisey, etc. 147

Koreans took Chinese given names into use almost simultaneously with the adoption of Chinese family names. The Korean given name usually consists of two syllables, of

which one is called *hang'yŏl* the 'generation name'. In selecting the name for a child, especially for a male child, parents select a Chinese character of their own choice and add it to the *hang'yŏl*, which has been decided on by the clan council. In this way brothers will have one syllable in common, which is also called *tollimja* the 'circulating syllable'. Koreans in Central Asia have preserved this habit to a certain extent, even with foreign names. For example *Yun Morbel* (born in 1924) and *Son Tat'yana* (born in 1924) from the *Politotdel* Kolkhoz have four children: *Adik* (born in 1952), *Alik* (born in 1954), *Aron* (born in 1958) and *Artur* (born in 1963), whose names begin with the same letter *A*-.148

In the Russian style of giving names, there exists a patronymic which comes between the given and family names. The patronymic ends in either -ovich or -evich for men and -ovna or -evna for women. Neither the system of patronymics nor of gender is known to Koreans. But an interesting matter is the increasing tendency to attach Russian endings to original Korean names. An example of this, is the case of Co Myŏng-hŭi (1894–1942), who was an active member of Korea Artista Proleta Federatio in the 1920s in Seoul and became the founder of Korean literature in the Soviet Union after moving there. On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth, Lenin Kichi carried special articles about his life and works, 149 for which his children expressed their thanks through the paper. 150 The names of Co Myŏng-hŭi 's children are as follows:

daughter: Valentina Myongkhyyevna son: Mikhail Myongkhyyevich

son: Vladimir Myongkhyyevich151

The Russian endings for patronymics are thus added to the Korean name Myŏnghŭi. 152

There are also examples of forming children's names for daily use by adding Russian names to the father's Korean name. If the father's name is $My\delta ngju$, a Russian name, e.g. Kolya, is added to form Myongju Kolya for the son. There are also cases where names for daily use comprise both Korean and Russian elements: e.g. Appetit Sasha 'Aleksandr with a good appetite' and Pothori Tolya 'Widower Anatoliy'. 153 Koreans have a habit of giving their children nicknames, which are normally used at home among family members, depending on the appearance or character of the children. This habit seems to have been preserved to some extent judging from a novel by a Central Asian Korean writer where this was described. Here a child, whose official given name was Valentin, received the nickname Ttongdori 'Dung-tori' (ttong 'dung'). This kind of unpleasant sounding nickname was given in families where children often died young, in order to avert evil spirits from them. 154

Korean women do not change their family name after marriage. This custom is believed to have been maintained by most Koreans in Central Asia, even if since 1967, according to Soviet marriage regulations, more women are taking the family name of their

husband after marriage.¹⁵⁵ Koreans always put their family name first and then the given name. In *Lenin Kichi* even the Russian style names of Koreans are used in this traditional way, e.g. *Kim Moisey Fyodorovich* or simply *Pang Aleksey*.¹⁵⁶ But in the case of other nationalities the given name is placed first, e.g. *A. Irgebayev*, *N. A. Nasarbayev*.¹⁵⁷

2.3.3. Other names

In the Soviet Union organizations, factories and streets are often named after persons who have contributed their efforts or given their life to their country. Nowadays organizations or streets carrying the names of Koreans can be found in Central Asia. A pioneer group at the school on the *Politotdel* Kolkhoz near Tashkent carries the name of Li Tong-hwi (Yi Tong-hwi); a street in Kzyl-Orda is *Hong Pŏm-do* (cf. ill. 15, 16 and 17) *Street*; and the name of a kolkhoz in the Tashkent Oblast is *Kim Pyŏng-hwa Myŏngching Kkolhojŭ* the 'Kolkhoz named after Kim Pyŏng-hwa'. ¹⁵⁸ It was also reported that in the southern part of Tashkent a street was named after *Kim Pyŏng-hwa*. ¹⁵⁹ A street in the *Politotdel* management bears the name of the hero Min Aleksandr Pavlovich. ¹⁶⁰ It would be interesting to know how Koreans in Central Asia, as settlers in a completely new environment, name the lands and places where they now live when talking among themselves. ¹⁶¹

2.4. Domestic and social problems

By 1987 half a century had elapsed since Koreans settled down in Central Asia. This means that the generation of Koreans which was born and grew up in Central Asia will soon be reaching middle age. As seen above, while on one hand Koreans have maintained a relatively large part of their traditions and culture, on the other they could not avoid the influence of the different life styles which has arisen from the surrounding cultural variety and mechanization, etc. Accordingly, it can be presumed that not a few problems occur within Korean families and society. Even though field work was not carried out in Central Asia, a rough outline of problems facing Koreans caused by their young people, marriage, divorce and society can be made through materials collected from *Lenin Kichi*.

2.4.1. Young people

As an example of the problems of young people in Korean society, part of a dialogue between an elderly man and a youth of 16-17 years, which took place in a train from Tashkent to a Tien Shan valley, can be quoted: 162

"...Their hair was dishevelled and their faces were dirty, hinting at the fact that they had spent the

night in an unknown place. Both of them wore pantaloons and shirts, which were all wrinkled and shapeless. Furthermore they were speaking in a language which was a mixture of Korean, Russian and Uzbek, which only they could understand. A youth who was making a noise and posing self-consciously looked around saw us and directly came over to us, for what reason we did not know. Without taking his hands out of his pockets and without even a hello, he said:

- Pop! Give me a cigarette!

I was very irritated. The old man also grimaced with anger. We sat not daring to answer because it was too repugnant. Then the youngster urged:

- Pop! Won't you give me a cigarette?

— You brat! don't you have parents and brothers? Don't you know your seniors when you see them? At the age when you should be devoting yourself to study, how is it possible to ask an unknown old man for a cigarette? Damn cub! — the old man could not restrain his anger. Then the youngster, instead of apologizing, said self-righteously as if he were in the right:

— What's the matter? If you don't want to give me a cigarette, then you don't. Why are you shouting? Do you think that I'm afraid of you? — so he grumbled.

— Hey, Kolya, now we're at Chirchik. 163 Let's get off quickly! Go home and take a sleep!

- Let's meet vecherom! - the girl tried to hurry him up.164

Then we knew that they were living in Chirchik.

..."

Lenin Kichi pointed out, in publishing this article anonymously, that the parents of the boy and girl in this article had been running about here and there in order to make money without providing proper care for their children, being blind to anything but big money. And on the same page in an article with the title "What is the purpose of life?",165 Lenin Kichi writes that the bourgeois traits of desiring only things for one-self should be criticized because they are harmful to society. Of course this kind of problem is not restricted only to the Korean population in Central Asia, but apparently a rather big gap in language, customs and the way of thinking exists between the younger and older generations of Koreans in Central Asia.

It is observed that in Central Asia Koreans seem to have the same trend as in Korea in wishing to send their children, if possible, to a university or college rather than to a trade or vocational school. For example in 1982, at the vocational school (Principal: Stepan Stepanovich Sukhanov) of Yelizavetinka town in the Sortandy Rayon in Kazakhstan, it was hardly possible to fill the allotted number of students despite its good lecture hall, laboratory, work-shop and modern facilities, etc. Robert Stepanovich Morsov, director of the Vocational Education Administrative Department of the Oblast, said about this: "Really, nowadays this tendency exists. Young people sometimes avoid entering vocational school. The blame for this lies in how badly children at rural schools are informed about vocational opportunities. Furthermore some parents still have an old-fashioned view of the vocational school...". 166 In other words, the parents' old-fashioned way of thinking presumably still influences the young people's choice of school.

2.4.2. Marriage

Lenin Kichi ran a large scale discussion between April and August, 1982, in eight long articles with the title "Various Aspects Concerning Marriage, Home and Divorce",167 in which not only readers from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan participated, but also a Lenin Kichi reporter from Khabarovsk, who presented examples of Korean families living in different parts of the Soviet Union. This enables us to examine the family problems, principally, of those Koreans living in Central Asia.

It is known that the population of Alma-Ata is about one million, and about 12,000 marriages are registered annually. At the same time about 4,000 cases of divorce took place. In 53% of the cases, divorce took place less than three years after marriage. And around 700 suitors are reported to break off their engagement. Li II-man, who began the discussion, mentioned in the article of April 29, 1982, that the reason for divorce is women's liberation, conflict over the question of children with a desire for a higher living standard, and heavy drinking by husbands. Li continues that women's liberation has enabled them to engage in social activities, which has caused a break in the balance of the traditional work division at home, and that contemporary women can lead a life without a husband. He further stated that among petitioners for divorce 43% were women.

In response to Li Il-man's article Li Tong-ŏn from Ushtobe wrote in his article of June 5, 1982: "...We see frequent cases of ill-starred marriages which take place among young men and women who, apart from having met once at a dance hall, are complete strangers to one another. Unconsidered marriages in most cases end up in divorce, failing to build a happy home. These people divorce not only once but get married and divorce many times...". 168 Li Tong-ŏn mentions cases of divorce which resulted from "a miscalculation in the search for happiness in the life of the newly-weds..." without listening to advice from their parents. He also remarks upon the fact that men sometimes waste fortunes in gambling and bad habits and in heavy drinking, and he demanded a social campaign to get rid of them.

Myŏng Chŏl wrote in his article of July 7, 1982, that he knows a case in which the parents of a boy who had graduated from university, broke his engagement by insisting that they would not accept a girl from a vocational school as their daughter-in-law. He also remarked that "...some Korean parents do all they can to hinder their son's marriage with a girl from a different nationality and even prevent it." Mentioning that nowadays in Soviet society marriage between different nationalities are common, he took the family of Ma Kyŏng-thai from Tashkent as an example. In this family three sons marrried Russian girls and a daughter also married a Russian boy, and all of them are living happily.

Intermarriage has become more prevalent in the Soviet Union in the name of internationalism. It is not difficult to follow what kind of results intermarriage brings

about culturally. The main thing will be the loss of one's mother tongue and the adoption of Russian, or the children of an intermarried family become bilingual, or even tri- or quadrilingual. It is not easy to define which language is in reality the mother tongue in such intermarriages between Koreans and other minorities in the Soviet Union. The following examples depict the situation well. Pak Vyacheslav Sergeyevich, born in Sakhalin and a doctor in Kirovskoe village of Talas Oblast in Kirgizia, married a Karachai woman. Their daughter speaks Korean with her father and Karachai with her mother. Besides these two languages, she has to learn both Kirgiz and Russian. ¹⁶⁹ The father of Thai Klara Ivanovna from Samarkand is a Korean but her mother is a Tatar. She herself married a Russian. She is teaching Russian and Russian literature at school. ¹⁷⁰

It is difficult to find material showing whether it is Korean men or women who marry people of different nationalities most. As for the question of nationalities to whom Koreans get married, the general tendency seems to be that they choose mainly Russians or nationalities of European origin such as Poles, Germans, etc. This assumption, of course, is not based on any official statistics but on articles in *Lenin Kichi* and interviews with *Koryŏ Saram*. We have no clear idea either whether Koreans often marry people whose nationality has an Islamic cultural background e.g. Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks. Since Islamic culture was completely unknown to them before their transfer to Central Asia, this would be a subject for further study. If there were such intermarriages in the 1930s, this would mean the first direct contact between Korean and Islamic cultures on the family level.

How can it be explained that, in intermarriages, Central Asian Koreans appear to prefer partners with a European style of culture than local people with an Islamic cultural background? Probably the answer can be found in the fact that Koreans are more accustomed to European culture than Islamic culture, because they had already lived quite a long span of time in the Soviet Far East. Secondly, the Korean way of life, especially the food culture causes problems difficult to overcome. Koreans eat almost anything, including pork, which is prohibited in Islamic culture. As for cases of marriage with foreigners outside the Soviet Union, very few cases have been attested so far, which is quite understandable taking into consideration the fact that contacts between Central Asia and foreign countries have not been frequent, particularly when compared with some other parts of the Soviet Union.

Li Cu-hak from Khabarovsk wrote in his article of August 11, 1982, that at this moment about one third of married couples in the Soviet Union get divorced, which causes much concern about, e.g. the increase in the number of single people, the decrease in the birth rate and the growing number of children being raised in single-parent families. According to Li the reason for divorce can be found firstly, in the couple overestimating each other's merits while they are going out together before marriage and only

discovering their shortcomings afterwards, which leads to disillusionment; secondly, in that "...overshadowed only by considerations of the social status and property of their partners' parents, they fail to realize their partners' personality and hobbies until after they are married..."; and thirdly, from the case of "...the difficulties in the material needs of newly-married families...". He further pointed out cases where married people had extramarital affairs and suggested the establishment of marriage guidance centres in many places. On the other hand, as a case of a successful marriage despite the number of children and all kinds of hardship, that of An Lak-cun from Uglegorsk in Sakhalin can be mentioned. An is known to be leading a happy life after having raised his nine children and having overcome difficult conditions during Japanese colonial rule.

In concluding the discussion on August 31, 1982, with the title of "Various Aspects Concerning Marriage, Home and Divorce (Summing up the Paper's Discussion)" it was stated that in order to make a happy home an important factor may be the degree of social maturity of the youngsters who were starting their independent life; when problems arise at home, their causes should be searched for reasonably and fairly, and it is important for parents or neighbours "to teach children to appreciate the beautiful and noble things both in social and daily life". 171 The remark of Li II-man pointing out women's liberation as one reason for divorce received heavy criticism from many readers. But it was reiterated that heavy drinking is an important factor.

In contrast to this, in an article of May 29, 1982, a reader of *Lenin Kichi*, Hwang Yongsök, introduced a large Korean family living happily and well. On the Kolkhoz named after *Lenin* in the Galabinskiy Rayon of Tashkent Oblast, the family of Han Nikolay lives with many children. He has been working as a car driver on the kolkhoz for 20 years and has 10 children. Four of his children are living in other parts of the Soviet Union and the other youngsters attend school, for which the parents have been respected and praised by the people. And on November 20, 1986, Kim Ion Konstantinovich and his wife Kim Nadezhda were introduced in *Lenin Kichi*, in which it was reported that they had lived together happily for more than 60 years after their marriage, and that they have a large family (cf. ill. 18).

Summarizing the above-mentioned articles, it can be assumed that questions of marriage and divorce have gradually become more serious for young Koreans in Central Asia. Hasty and interest-oriented marriages by young people were noticed, as was the prevalance of drinking and gambling. According to *Lenin Kichi* conceptional differences between the younger and older generations certainly do exist, so that although intermarriages between Koreans and other nationalities take place, at the same time, the resistance of the older generation against this can also be observed. However, *Lenin Kichi* reveals that there are more families who lead a happy home life with many children.

In a magazine called *Soviet Woman*, which is also published in Korean, the home of Old Kim living on the Kolkhoz named after the *21st Party Congress* was presented.¹⁷² Kim is the householder of a family moved from the Far East, and he has four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Vladislav, is serving as a naval officer in Estonia, the second son, Vyacheslav, is working as a driver in Pavlodar City, the eldest daughter, Nellya, is living in Frunze. Soya, the other daughter and the other two sons, Bronislav and Viktor, cultivate vegetables on the kolkhoz, following in the steps of their father. The description continues as follows:

"While adults chattered over this and that, the children started to play. Then Old Kim sternly rebuked them in Korean. The children went running out of the room. The lady of the house said laughing, 'Grandfather teaches those children Korean'. In this family they converse in Russian. There is no other possibility. Because the wife of Bronislav, Mariya, is a German woman and the wife of Vladislav, also Mariya, is Polish. Generally the Russian language has become the language of friendship on this multinational kolkhoz. At the general meeting of the kolkhoz members, in the fields and pastures, in the gymnasium and dancing halls, everybody speaks Russian."

A multinational Korean family like this is, apparently, not rare in Central Asia. Of course contacts and common life with neighbouring nationalities can mean cultural diversification. However, if the whole of life is communicated solely via the "language of friendship", it will be interesting to follow to what extent Koreans in Central Asia will be able to maintain their identity in the future.

2.4.3. Society

From time to time, *Lenin Kichi* also reports on cases of embezzlement and negligence at work by Koreans in Central Asia. In a sense these partly reflect the social situation in the Soviet Union generally. In an article on October 30, 1982, under the title of "Trying to eat the pheasant together with its egg" a story about a swindle by Kim Vyacheslav, chief power engineer of the *Prigodnyy* Sovkhoz near Alma-Ata was presented. 173 He was a man practising the old maxim: "A glass of wine while alive is better than three glasses after death." He stole a blank work pass and, after having put his name in it, acted as if he were a 6th grade electrician. According to the story, Kim started to run an experimental measuring device and some kind of automatic machine at the Chemolgan bone-powder plant where Nam Valentin was a chief engineer. Kim presented this fake pass and it was stamped by Nam Rimma, director of the managing board of the Chemolgan factory, he also received 763 roubles. After this, the case was brought to light. 174 In the same article, the case of Sŏ Gerasim, a carpenter of the Material Supply Bureau of Gasneftestroy, who indulged in drinking bouts with friends during working hours, was also presented.

Problems of alcohol abuse, which existed also in the countryside before the new

regulation against drinking during work came into effect from June 1, 1985, have not been concealed. Per Before this, damage to agricultural machines was, in many cases, caused by drunk people, for example on the 3rd International Kolkhoz in Kzyl-Orda Oblast. Sometimes people could not accomplish their tasks because they came to work drunk. But nowadays, after the new regulation, it was reported that the celebrating of weddings and hwan'gap has been postponed until after harvest. The application of the brigade trust system has also been of great help in diminishing alcohol problems. People in the various places when celebrating the above-mentioned festivals, it is reported that kvass, juice and other beverages instead of alcoholic drinks are served. If any accidents happen during the celebration, the organizer has to take responsibility. On the Avangard Sovkhoz in Kzyl-Orda Oblast the selling of alcohol during harvest time is forbidden. Articles on the campaign against alcohol abuse are often found in Lenin Kichi and the campaign is known to have paid off. 18

In an article of June 19, 1984, with the title of "Lost the dog after having gone hunting", the case of Kim Micca was introduced. Kim envisioned becoming a newspaper photographer.¹⁷⁹ For this purpose while he studied at school, he practised photographic techniques by taking pictures of classmates, relatives and neighbours. Since he was not satisfied with the money he received at irregular intervals from newspapers and magazines, he searched for a means of making more. Therefore he worked at camp sites, resorts and graduation ceremonies at schools, etc. taking pictures. Then he bought a motorcycle and later on a second-hand Moskvich car. One day, because he dreamt of having a Zhiguli or Volga, he visited a car salesman with his friend, and there he met an embezzler posing as a pilot. The 'pilot' proposed to sell his nearly new Volga car at a price of 22,000 roubles under the pretext of his imminent transfer to Syria. Kim promised to pay 17,000 roubles the next day and the remaining amount on receiving the car registration certificate. The first appointment passed without a meeting due to the failure of the 'pilot' to show up. Later on when Kim went to the place of another appointment, a Volga stood in front of a house. The 'pilot' showed him the car by opening its door. Kim handed over 17,000 roubles and the 'pilot' went into the house saying that he wanted to count the money. Kim waited, but the 'pilot' did not reappear. At last it became evident that the 'pilot' was an embezzler, and the car belonged to someone else, and Kim lost all his money.

Of course these kinds of happenings are not only limited to Koreans. However, they are in the difficult position of having to overcome the various changes produced by the generation gap, differences of environment and culture shock all at the same time. When Koreans lived in the Maritime Region in the Soviet Far East, all they had to do was to adapt themselves to the Russian style in daily life because their home life style, nature and weather were more or less same as those of Korea due to its close proximity to that country. But after they were moved to Central Asia, they had to accustom themselves to

both the Russian and the local way of life. These kinds of adaptations meant substantial changes for a Korean who was moved to Central Asia from the Far East in his twenties, after having been born in Korea and spending his childhood in the Soviet Far East.

2.5. Occupations and social activities

No reliable materials are available about the occupations engaged in by the *Koryŏ Saram* or about their social activities. As we have seen in the tables above, well over half of the Koreans live in cities, which means that they do not practise agriculture or stockbreeding so much. The republic with the highest percentage of Koreans living in rural districts is Uzbekistan. Tadzhikistan has the highest percentage of urban Koreans.

2.5.1. Countryside

Before the transfer to Central Asia, Koreans had done various kinds of work in the countryside, e.g. cultivating different kinds of crops, fishing, silkworm breeding and mining. But it is quite evident that not all the Koreans transferred could continue the same work that they had done in the Far East, partly due to the fact that natural conditions were quite different. We do not know yet whether Koreans were at first settled only in the countryside and allowed to cultivate land. Anyway, the most significant occupation practised by Koreans in the countryside has, without doubt, been rice cultivation, which will be dealt with separately in the next chapter.

As Koreans began to live with different nationalities, who had a different culture, on the same sovkhozes or kolkhozes, they were in a position both of being able to teach their way of life and at the same time adopting that of others. Besides cultivating rice, they have preserved the cultivation of barley, wheat, beans, vegetables, etc. from the Far East. 180 The growing of vegetables is a noteworthy occupation of Koreans since in their food culture, vegetables occupy a very important position. In the middle and southern parts of the Korean peninsula, cotton and tobacco are grown, but in the Soviet Far East these plants could not endure the climate. 181 Nowadays they can again cultivate these familiar plants, especially cotton, and on a large scale. 182 On the other hand, they have also begun to cultivate plants which are completely new to them. One of these is kenaf.

On kolkhozes and sovkhozes where Koreans live together with other nationalities, stockbreeding has become one of their important occupations. Traditionally Koreans are not familiar with milk and lactic products, but it seems that they have become accustomed to this culture to a considerable extent. Koreans are engaged in dairy work and in the growing of fodders like maize, hay, lucerne, etc.¹⁸³ It is interesting to note that the terms

used by Koreans in the field of stock-breeding are mostly of foreign origin, e.g. *chaban* 'herd', *ssillossŭ* 'silo', *lyuccerŭna* 'lucerne'. Nowadays Koreans who have become professional stock-breeders after graduating from agricultural college can be found. 184 Although not widely, sericulture is practised by Koreans in Andizhan and Khorezm Oblasts in Uzbekistan. 185

2.5.2. City

Since there are virtually no data available about the occupations of Koreans living in different urban areas in Central Asia, it is not easy to sketch a picture of them. The only material that describes their activities, although this is very limited, seems to be in *Lenin Kichi*. In order to get some idea about it, 190 urban Koreans have been chosen from the 1986 issues of *Lenin Kichi*. These people are mentioned in interviews or reportages. Their occupations can be divided into the following broad categories:

Working Place/Occupation	Number
Organs of the Party or Unions	33
University	32
Government Offices	30
Schools	21
Enterprises	14
Factories	12
Hospital	9
Institutes	9
Engineers or Technicians	9
Scientists	9
Artists	3
Others	9
Total	190

Naturally these occupations do not include all urban Koreans but, on the other hand, the table shows the tendency towards which occupations Koreans pursue. It is a rather striking feature that the first three working places, i.e. organs of the Party or Unions, university and government offices, make up exactly the half. This division can be explained as follows: firstly, taking into consideration the fact that these places require fluency in the Russian language, at least a considerable part of Koreans in Central Asia speak Russian as their mother tongue. This coincides with official Soviet statistics (a high percentage of Koreans having Russian and a low percentage having Korean as their mother tongue). Secondly, Koreans in Central Asia have almost identical occupational preferences as Koreans in Korea. The same group can be divided as follows according to the areas in which they live:

Kazakhstan	
City of Alma-Ata	25
Alma-Ata Oblast	4
Celinograd Oblast	8
Chimkent Oblast	6
Dzhambul Oblast	6
Dzhezkazgan Oblast	2
Karaganda Oblast	18
Kokchetav Oblast	4
Kustanay Oblast	2
Kzyl-Orda Oblast	8
Pavlodar Oblast	1
Semipalatinsk Oblast	2
Taldy-Kurgan Oblast	7
Turgay Oblast	1
Ural Oblast	1
Uzbekistan	
Andizhan Oblast	12
Bukhara Oblast	1
Fergana Oblast	10
Karakalpak ASSR	6
Kashkadar Oblast	4
Khorezm Oblast	2
Namangan Oblast	5
Navoi Oblast	1
Samarkand Oblast	12
Syr-Darya Oblast	3
City of Tashkent	6
Tashkent Oblast	17
Tadzhikistan	
City of Dushanbe	11
Kurgan-Tyube Oblast	2
Kirgizia	
City of Frunze	2
Other Areas	1
Total	190

As for participation in the Party life by Koreans, the case of Kazakhstan is a good example. According to the election carried out in February, 1985, the various levels of Soviets in Kazakhstan include around 130,000 deputy members. They are divided as follows: 186

Supreme Soviet	510
Oblast Soviets	3,650

Rayon Soviets	19,597
City Soviets	12,299
City Rayon Soviets	7,055
Village Soviets	11,267
Farm and Aul Soviets	76,262

In this number 73 different nationalities are included, of which Koreans are as follows:

Supreme Soviet ¹⁸⁷	3
Oblast Soviets	19
Rayon Soviets	75
City Soviets	90
City Rayon Soviets	48
Village Soviets	78
Farm and Aul Soviets	276

Among the Korean Party members, Hwang Un-jong, a famous internationalist who fought against the Japanese interventionists during 1918-1922 in the Far East, is considered the oldest one who is still alive. 188 He has been a party member since 1921.

NOTES

106. The order of oblasts is arranged according to the Russian alphabet. The size is given in square km. The population of oblasts and the centres of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenia as well as the population of oblasts of Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan are given according to the Atlas SSSR (1986). The population of the Oblast centres of Kirgizia and Tadzhikistan are quoted from Manna Athac CCCP (1979). Those marked with an asterisk (*) are from the statistics of January, 1980 (Казакская Советская Энциклопедия, р. 136). Those marked with two asterisks (**) are based on the statistics of January, 1975.

107. Итоги всесоюзной переписи населения 1970 года, pp. 202-252, 284-302 and 306-314. These statistics are also mentioned in Haarmann's work. The percentages in parentheses are quoted from his book. The distribution of Koreans in the RSFSR according to the 1970 statistics is as follows: in Primorskiy Kray 8,003 (Итоги всесоюзной переписи населения 1970 года, p. 70), in Khabarovskiy Kray 19,249 (ibid. p. 74), in Kamchatskaya Oblast 2,484 (ibid. p. 91), in Koryakskiy Nacional'nyy Okrug 276 (ibid. p. 92), in Rostovskaya Oblast 4,966 (ibid. p. 114), in Sakhalinskaya Oblast 35,396 (ibid. p. 117), in the Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR 3,773 (ibid. p. 135) and in the Severo-Osetinskaya ASSR 2,521 (ibid. p. 142). According to the statistics of 1979, about 45% of the Koreans in the Soviet Union live in Uzbekistan, numbering around 180,000. They are around 30,000 in Tashkent City and 80,000 in Tashkent Oblast. In Uzbekistan more than 100 different nationalities live. The next census will be carried out in January, 1989 (LK 1986 Apr. 23, p. 4).

108. One of the main reasons why scientific attention was not payed earlier might be the Second World War. It is not difficult to find cases of Koreans participating as soldiers in the Red Army in the Second World War on the European front. For example, Min Aleksandr Pavlovich is known to have been killed (LK 1982 Nov. 7, p.4), and Kim David Fedoseyevich, who is now living in Kzyl-Orda was, at the end of the War, on the Rumanian front (LK 1982 May 8, p. 2).

109. Корейцы, рр. 564-581.

110. Ondol is the typical Korean heating system, by which the rooms are heated via subfloor flues.

111. Cŏgori is the upper part of the national costume, chima a woman's skirt, paji a man's trousers and cokki a man's jacket.

- 112. Kimchi is a fermented vegetable pickle seasoned with garlic, red pepper and ginger, etc. It is the national dish of Korea. Kimjang is an annual ritual referring to the making of the staple side dish, kimchi, in bulk for consumption in winter.
- 113. Hwan'gap is the 60th birthday, when one has completed one's zodiacal cycle.
- 114. Hansik is the 105th day after the winter solstice, falling on about the fifth of April by the solar calendar. On this day, rites for the ancestors are observed early in the morning, and the whole family visits the tombs of their direct ancestors, to pay them respect, tidy up the tombs and plant more turf if necessary.
- 115. Kim Kyu-thaik had the opportunity to visit Tashkent while he was working as the Secretary General of UNESCO in Korea. Kim Kyu-thaik, *Ssoryŏnŭi Han'guginŭl Chaja 3* 'Visiting Koreans in the Soviet Union' (*Saimthŏ* No. 4, 1983, pp. 66-67).
- 116. Yu Myŏng-yŏn visited Central Asia as a journalist. He resides permanently in Stockholm.
- 117. Yu Myŏng-yŏn, Ssoryŏn Sogŭi Han'gugin Kholhojŭ 2 'A Korean Kolkhoz in the Soviet Union'. (The Kuju Shinmun No. 2, Jan. 1982, p. 12). It is known that Hwang Man-gum was arrested probably in the second part of 1985 charged with illegal activities in financial matters. In February, 1985, he was still presented as a candidate to the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan from the Kommunisticheskiy Rayon in Tashkent Oblast. He was described as the Director of the Politotdel Kolkhoz and a Hero of Socialist Labour. He wrote about the history of the Politotdel Kolkhoz (M.F.XBah, Koakos "Noahtotaen", Mockba 1977), and this was translated also into Japanese (Gekkan Sanzenri, No.48, 1985 Nov. pp 128-137).
- 118. Ssoryŏn Sogŭi Han'gugin Kholhojŭ 3. (The Kuju Shinmun No. 3, March 1982, p. 12). Ceju Island is the biggest island in Korea and located approximately 100 km to the south of the southern coast of the Korean peninsula.
- 119. LK 1986 Nov. 15, p. 4.
- 120. LK 1986 March 8, p. 2, Nov. 22, p. 2.
- 121. LK 1986 March 8, p. 2.
- 122. As an example, LK 1986 Nov. 1, p. 4 and 1987 Jan. 3, p. 4.
- 123. Sambok 'Three heats' means the three hot days in summer which are fixed according to the lunar calendar. On these 'hot days' people eat strongly spiced food to avoid heat and fever.
- 124. LK Feb. 11, 18, Apr. 18, May 12, June 15, 28, July 12 and Sept. 5, 1984. *Tubu* is bean-curd, sŏllŏngthang a kind of soup with boiled beef and intestines and usually eaten mixed with rice and sliced leek.
- 125. The method of preparing *kimchi* was explained in LK September 5, 1984, p. 4. The seafoods which are used in preparing *kimchi* are presumably obtained through Sakhalin Koreans but it is not known how many *Koryŏ Saram* can enjoy this possibility.
- 126. Kaijang or kaijangguk is a kind of soup prepared from dog meat with hot sauces, which is usually eaten during the hot summer days in Korea in the hope of avoiding the heat. Kim Kyu-thaik reports it in his travelogue (see note 115).
- 127. LK 1986 Dec. 24, p. 4.
- 128. LK 1986 Feb. 15, p. 4.
- 129. LK 1984 March 20, p. 4.
- 130. Chusok is an important day for Koreans on the 15th of the Eighth Month, usually called Harvest Moon in the lunar calendar. On this day people celebrate the new harvest and visit the tombs of their family and relatives.
- 131. LK 1984 Aug. 16, p. 4.
- 132. Ibid. 1984 May 8, p. 4.
- 133. Cf. notes 34 and 35.
- 134. Джарылгасинова 1970, p. 141. The classification surely concerns family names.
- 135. Джарылгасинова 1978, p. 204. Kim O. M. mentions the following 129 Korean family names found in Tashkent Oblast in Uzbekistan: An, Ben, Bun, Bya, Byagay, Vi, Vigay, Von, Vya, Degay, Den, Dyo, Dyogay, Digay, Do, Dogay, Don, Du, Dugay, Dyu, Dyugay, Dyagay, Yegay, Yem, I, Igay,

Im, Ka, Kagay, Kam, Kan, Kvak, Kvok, Kvon, Ki, Kigay, Kim, Kilgay, Ko, Kogay, Ku, Kugay, Kuk, Kun, Lem, Li, Ligay, Lim, Logay, Lyu, Lyan, Ma, Magay, Men, Min, Mun, Myan, Nam, Negay, Ni, Nigay, Ni-Li, No, Nogay, Nyu, O, Ogay, Ok, Pak, Pan, Pok, Pun, Pya, Pyagay, Pyak, Pyan, Rem, Sel'gay, Sen, Sim, Son, Ten, Tyo, Tin, To, Tkhay, Tkhya, Tkhyagay, Tkhyak, Tyu, Tyugay, U, Ugay, Fen, Fi, Figay, Fil'gay, Shagay, Shek, Shim, Shin, Shogay, Kha, Khagay, Kham, Khvan, Khe, Khegay, Khen, Kho, Khon, Cha, Chagay, Chon, Chzhen, Chu, Chugay, Cay, Coy, E, Egey, Em, Yu, Yugay, Yuk, Yun and Yan (arranged according to the Russian alphabet). Kim O. M. further says that the family names Bya, Byagay, Pya and Pyagay have developed from the same name, seemingly from Pai according to the Korean transliteration (Kim O. M. pp. 60-61).

136. These are transliterations from the Russian forms.

137. Джарылгасинова 1978, p. 204. Rare family names like Yŏm and Thai, etc. would be helpful in discovering the original place of departure from Korea since usually people with the same family name lived in the same place. According to the 1930 census of the total number of 7,170 families called Yŏm, about 2,000 were concentrated in Southern Hamgyong Province, of which 1,001 families lived in Tanchŏn County (Han'guk Sŏngssi Taigwan 'Encyclopaedia of Korean Family Names', p. 868). As for Thai, out of a total of 1,034 families, 568 lived in Hamgyŏng Province. 478 families in particular were concentrated in Northern Hamgyŏng Province (ibid. p. 995).

138. Ионова 1963, р. 32. Джарылгасинова 1968, р. 345.

139. Джарылгасинова 1978, р. 204.

140. As for the origin of those family names ending in -gay, Kim O. M. is of the same opinion (Kim O. M., p. 61). Similarly Uzbeks and Tadzhiks attach their own honorific suffixes to Korean family names forming e.g. Choi-bobo 'Uncle Choi', which gradually stablilize among the neighbouring nationalities (Джарылгасинова 1968, p. 344).

141. Ким Сын Хва, р. 121.

142. Джарылгасинова 1970, р. 142.

143. Ibid.

144. Pensioner, Yuy Ivan Semyonovich (born 1912), has worked in the Factory named after Kirov in Alma-Ata: he also lives in the same city and grows grapes. He does not know why his family name became Yuy (LK 1986 Sept. 27, p. 4).

145. Neuvostoliittolaisten henkilönnimien opas. Helsinki 1984, p. 244. E. Chikovani is working as a photographer at *Lenin Kichi* (LK 1986 Feb. 13, p. 2).

146. Kim Cun, Sum, p. 11. In the opinion of a Koryŏ Saram writer the way of writing the name Pak Il as Bagiri was a mistake.

147. Джарылгасинова 1960, р. 60. Джарылгасинова 1970, рр. 146-147.

148. Джарылгасинова 1970, p. 147. Another example: Gena (elder brother) and Gerasim (younger brother).

149. LK 1984 Aug. 10 and 14, p. 4. Co Myŏng-hŭi's pupil Choi Yekaterina wrote the articles with the title of "Sŏnsaing'ŭl Hoisanghamyŏnsŏ" 'Remembering My Teacher'. Co Myŏng-hŭi will be treated infra in detail in the chapter on literature.

150. LK 1984 Oct. 3, p. 4.

151. Co Valentina Myongkhyyevna also has a Korean name: Co Nai-suk. She is working at the planning office of UZGIPROVODKHOZ as a chief of the standardizing department of the library in Uzbekistan. Co Mikhail Myongkhyyevich, whose Korean name is Co Nai-in, is working at the water power station of Tash-Kumyr as a chief planning engineer in Kirgizia. Co Vladimir Myongkhyyevich probably does not have a Korean name and is also known to work at a water power station.

152. More examples can be found (the family names are transliterated from the Korean forms, but the other names are transliterated from the Russian forms which the author has tried to adapt into forms which would be possible in the Korean alphabet): Chai Nikolay Tongunovich, manager at the Takhiatash Construction Factory in the Karakalpak ASSR (LK 1986 Oct. 22, p. 2). Choi Anatoliy Chungurovich, chief mechanic on the Sazavot Sovkhoz (Kommunisticheskiy Rayon) in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast in Tadzhikistan (LK 1985 July 9, p. 2, 1986 Apr. 4, p. 2). Choi Lev Synzunovich, leader of

the experimental group of agriculture in the Kzyl-Orda exploring team of the KAZGIPROSEM Planning Institute (LK 1986 Apr. 9, p. 2). Cong Il'ya Yongilovich, chief of the soil research group at the Kzyl-Orda branch of the Institute of SOYUZGIPRORIZ. His father was a fisherman in the Far East and later his family has worked as fishermen on the Aral Sea (LK 1986 March 25, p. 2). Kim Aleksey Yonsunovich, Chief of the political education department in the Bekabad Metallurgy Factory in Uzbekistan (LK 1986 June 3, p. 2). Kim Nikolay Hyayongnovich, Candidate of Technology and associate professor (LK 1986 Oct. 10, p. 4). Kim Nikolay Kibonovich, chief of the No. 4 branch on the Al-Khorezmi Sovkhoz in Khorezm Oblast in Uzbekistan (LK 1986 June 5, p. 2). Kim Viktor Kvangukovich, assistant manager of the Ushtobinskiy Sovkhoz in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast in Kazakhstan (LK 1986 March 18, p.1). Kwon Sergey Sunguvich, Doctor of Engineering, a teacher at a technical institute (LK 1986 Oct. 10, p. 4). Li Dmitriy Sankhovich (born 1899), general book-keeper. He has lived in Soldatskiy in Tashkent Oblast (LK 1985 Jun. 14, p. 2). Li Viktor Toikovich, chief of the financial economics department at the Alma-Ata People's University of Economics (LK 1985 July 16, p. 4). Sin Gennadiy Hyonmunovich, manager of the Sovkhoz named after the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution (Balkhash Rayon) in Alma-Ata Oblast (LK 1985 Aug. 5, p. 3, 1985 Oct. 23, 1986 Aug. 26, p. 2)

153. Джарылгасинова 1978, р. 205.

154. In the novel Lagyobi Cilttai 'When Leaves Fall' by Won Il (LK 1986 Oct. 31, p. 4).

155. Джарылгасинова 1978, р. 204.

156. Kim Moisey Fyodorovich is an associate professor and a laboratory chief for drilling detonation work and technical processes at the Kazakh Technical University (LK 1984 Apr. 16, p. 4). Pang Aleksey works as a reporter for *Lenin Kichi*.

157. A. Irgebayev wrote a book-review under the title of "Cosŏnesŏŭi Kyemyong Undong Lyŏksae Kwanhayŏ" 'On the History of the Enlightenment Movement in Korea' (LK 1983 June 10, p. 4). N.A.

Nasarbayev is the Primeminister of the Kazakh Republic.

158. The pioneer team of the 6th grade B class at the No. 19 middle school (Principal: Kim Viktor) on *Politotdel* Kolkhoz in the Kommunisticheskiy Rayon in Tashkent Oblast is named after Li Tong-hwi (LK 1983 Dec. 9, p. 4). Li Tong-hwi (Yi Tong-hwi, 1873—1928) was one of the first Korean socialists and at the same time a patriotic fighter against Japanese aggression in Korea. Hong Pŏm-do (1868, Korea—1943, Central Asia) was a patriotic fighter against Japanese aggression in Korea. He led armed guerilla groups in Northern Manchuria and Siberia in the 1920s and became a citizen of the USSR. Possibly in the 1930s, he was moved to Central Asia where he died. He is also considered as an active internationalist in the Soviet Union (LK 1984 Nov. 21, p. 4 and 1987 Aug. 20, p. 3). Kim Pyŏng-hwa (1905—1974) was twice a Hero of Socialist Labour in Uzbekistan (LK 1984 July 20, p. 2).

159. LK 1982, Dec. 24, p. 4. "Kim Pyŏng-hwa Street" is contiguous to Kuylyuk No. 3, which is a new residential quarter in Tashkent.

160. LK 1982 Nov. 7, p. 4.

161. For example Koreans in Tashkent call Uzbeks *pekke saram*. The form *pekke* is possibly an abbreviation of the word *Uzbek*.

162. LK 1983 Oct. 1, p. 4. This is from an article entitled "Medwaiji Cabŭrŏ Kasstaga Ciptwaiji Ilhnŭnda" 'While one goes hunting wild boar, one loses one's domestic pig'. The names in this story are known to be real.

163. Chirchik: name of a city located about 30 km to the north-east of Tashkent.

164. вечером 'in the evening'.

165. The name of the article in Korean is "Sainghwarŭi Mokcogi Muosilga".

166. LK 1982 Nov. 19, p. 4. This article does not seem to be directly aimed at Koreans, but, judging from the fact that the writer of the article, Son Vladimir, is a Korean, and that in the articles Koreans among others are also mentioned, it is quite possible that this problem also concerns Koreans.

167. LK 1982 Apr. 29, May 18 and 29, June 5, July 7 and 17, Aug. 11 and 31. All articles are on page 4. The name of the article in Korean is "Kyŏlhon, Kajŏng, Lihone Taihan Imojŏmo".

168. Ushtobe: name of a city located near the Karatal River in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast in Kazakhstan.

169. LK 1985 Apr. 30, p. 3.

170. LK 1986 Apr. 19, p. 4.

171. The original name of the article in Korean is "Kyŏlhon, Kajŏng, Lihone Taihan Imojŏmo" (Cisang Thoronŭl Chonghwa Hamyŏnsŏ).

172. Ssoryŏn Nyŏsŏng 'Soviet Woman'. May 1983, p. 36.

173. The original name of the article in Korean is "Kkwong Mokko Arul Moguryodaga".

174. Chemolgan: name of a small city located to the south-west of Alma-Ata near the Kazakhstan- Kirgiz border.

175. LK 1985 Aug. 7, p. 4.

176. LK 1985 June 22, p. 3. In the Karatal Rayon in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, Pak Sergey Timofeyevich, the First Secretary of the Committee of the Young Communist Union, said that in 1985, 87 young people, of which 32 were members of the Young Communist Union, were detained at the curing centre because of alcohol problems. In *Ushtobe* at the initiative of *Pak Sergey Timofeyevich*, parties were arranged for young people in restaurants for the first time without alcoholic drinks and on the *Berlik* Sovkhoz a wedding ceremony was also arranged in the same way (LK 1986 Jan. 3, p. 2).

177. LK 1986 Feb. 5, p. 4.

178. For example, LK 1985 June 13, p. 3, July 19, p. 3, Nov. 9, p. 8

179. The original name of the article in Korean is "Sanyangharyo Kasstaga Cipkai Ilhossta".

180. In the Far East, Koreans cultivated rye, wheat, buckwheat, millet, oats, barley, maize, potatoes, rice, foxtale millet and beans in the 1920s (Ким Сын Хва, р. 152).

181. The cultivation of tobacco was started in Uzbekistan in 1928. Now it is cultivated in Samarkand Oblast (LK 1985 July 16, p. 2). There is an allusion that Koreans are growing tobacco even in Kirgizia (LK 1986 May 24, p. 3).

182. Cotton, called *white gold* in Uzbekistan, is mainly cultivated in Fergana, Namangan, Kashkadar and Tashkent Oblasts. It is also cultivated in Tadzhikistan, e.g. in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast (for example LK 1985 Apr. 5, Nov. 23, Dec. 4, 1986 Jan. 9, March 19, Aug. 16).

183. LK 1986 Apr. 30, p. 2.

184. Li Yevgeniy (Gurlen Sovkhoz, Khorezm Oblast), Li Valentin (Galabinskiy Rayon in Tashkent Oblast), Kim Lev, Cŏng Oleg and O Oleg (Gulistan Sovkhoz, Syr-Darya Oblast) graduated from the Kalinin National Agricultural College (LK 1986 Mar. 26, p. 2).

185. LK 1985 Aug. 20, p. 2, Dec. 18, p. 2. It was known that in the Maritime Region sericulture existed even in the tenth or eleventh centuries, but it was discontinued. The revival of sericulture in this region was begun in 1905, when a Korean named An laid the foundations of the first cultivated plantation in the village of Sinelovka, in the Pokrovskiy District (40 km from Nikol'sk-Ussuriyskiy). A strong impulse to the development of sericulture was given in 1925 by the Provincial Land Department, and by the Korean Cooperative "Red East", which imported 1,330,000 young mulberry trees from Korea (Л. ИОЛЬСОН, ТРУДЫ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО ДАЛЬНЕВОСТОЧНОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА III:8, Vladivostok 1928, p. 21). However, sericulture now carried out by Koreans in Uzbekistan does not have any connections with that of the Far East.

186. LK 1985 Dec. 27, p. 2. The statistics from other republics are not known. Aul is a village in Central Asia.

187. Those Koreans who have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan for the 11th term are the following: Con Moisey Alekseyevich, chief of the agriculture managing department of Kokchetav since 1970. Kim Nikolay Ivanovich, brigade-leader of the 3rd International Kolkhoz (Karmakchiy Rayon). Kim Alla Sergeyevna, poultry breeder in Ushtobinskiy Sovkhoz of Taldy-Kurgan. 188, cf. note 53.