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KOREANS DEPORTED TO KAZAKHSTAN: HISTORICAL MEMORY AND EXPERIENCE OF ADAPTATION

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Abstract. *Introduction.* One of the harsh policies of the Stalinist totalitarian state in Kazakhstan's past was the deportation of the Korean community living in the Soviet Union. *The goals and purpose.* To examine the historical recollections, acquired through interviews, of the Koreans who remain surviving and were forced to flee to Kazakhstan as part of the Soviet Union's wholesale deportation. Using information from deported Koreans' interviews and the archive materials that were found, it is possible to illustrate how the deportees felt about the process of being forcibly relocated from their homes, how they managed to survive in their new surroundings, and why it is crucial to keep the lessons learned from the deportation process in the minds of their offspring. *Materials and methods.* The article uses interviewing methods, source analysis and synthesis in relation to well-known documents stored in the funds of the Central State Administration of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the author's field materials. *Results.* New and qualitative information has been gathered about the locations where deported Koreans were housed and resettled, as well as the circumstances surrounding their adaptation and continued stay in Kazakhstan. The memoirs of Koreans who were resettled in Kazakhstan highlight the unique ways in which they managed to survive and maintain their sense of national identity in their new country. In conclusion, notable figures from Kazakhstan's history who are deported Korean ambassadors are mentioned. *Conclusion.*



The study helped to clarify the scope of the forced relocation of Koreans to Kazakhstan and its ramifications. The study's originality comes from its utilization of little-known information about the deportation of Koreans, which was gathered via the author's fieldwork materials, which included deportee memoirs and interviews.

Keywords: Deported peoples, rehabilitation, ethnic deportation, deportation of Koreans, historical memory, national identity, spirit

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ҚАЗАҚСТАНҒА ЖЕР АУДАРЫЛҒАН КОРЕЙЛЕР: ТАРИХИ ЖАДЫ ЖӘНЕ БЕЙІМДЕЛУ ТӘЖІРИБЕСІ

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Андатпа. *Kіріспе.* Қазақстан тарихындағы Кеңес Одағы кезеңіндегі корей халқын депортациялау сталиндік тоталитарлық режимнің репрессиялық саясатының бір түрі болып табылады. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Кеңестік режимді жаппай депортациялау барысында Қазақстанға жер аударылған қазіргі тірі корейлердің тарихи жадында сақталған сұхбат арқылы алынған естеліктерін талдау. Жер аударылған корейлермен сұхбаттан алынған және анықталған мұрағаттық материалдар мен мәліметтер негізінде олардың туған жерлерінен күштеп қоныс аудару процесіне қатынасын, жаңа жағдайларда жер аударылғандардың аман қалу тәжірибесін көрсету, ұрпақтардың жадында депортация процесінің сабақтарын сақтаудың маңыздылығын негіздеу. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* мақалада ҚР ОМА және ҚР ПА қорларында сақталған құжаттарға және далалық материалдарына негізделген сұхбаттасу, деректанулық, талдау және синтездеу әдістері қолданылады. *Нәтижелер.* Депортацияланған корейлердің қоныс аудару және орналастыру процестері, оларды бейімдеу және Қазақстан аумағында одан әрі тұру шарттары туралы сапалы жаңа деректер алынды. Қазақстанға қоныс аударған корейлердің естеліктерінде олардың жаңа отанда өмір



сүруі мен ұлттық сана-сезімін сақтау ерекшеліктері көрсетілген. *Қорытынды.* Бұл зерттеуді жүргізу корейлердің Қазақстанға күштеп қоныс аудару процесінің ауқымдылығын және оның салдарын түсінуге ықпал етті. Зерттеудің жаңалығы, автордың далалық материалдары – депортацияланғандардың сұхбаттары мен естеліктері негізінде алынған корейлерді депортациялау процесі туралы аз зерттелген деректерді жұмылдыру.

Түйінді сөздер: Тарихи жады, ұлттық бірегейлік, ұлттық рух, депортацияланған халықтар, оңалту, этникалық депортация, корейлер

Алғыс: Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитетінің «Қазақстандағы Тәуелсіздік жылдарында халықтың тарихи жадын және ұлттық құрылыс саясатын зерттеу» бағдарламалық-мақсатты қаржыландыру аясында дайындалған (IPN № BR21882266)

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ДЕПОРТИРОВАННЫЕ В КАЗАХСТАН КОРЕЙЦЫ: ИСТОРИЧЕСКАЯ ПАМЯТЬ И ОПЫТ АДАПТАЦИИ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Депортация корейского населения Советского Союза является одной из форм репрессивной политики сталинского тоталитарного режима. *Цель и задачи.* Проанализировать воспоминания, посредством интервью, сохранившиеся в исторической памяти ныне живущих корейцев, выселенных на территорию Казахстана в ходе массовых депортаций. На основе выявленных архивных материалов и сведений, интервью, продемонстрировать отношение корейцев к процессу насильственного переселения с родных мест, опыт выживания депортированных в новых условиях, обосновать важность сохранения уроков процесса депортации в памяти потомков. *Материалы и методы.* В статье используются методы интервьюирования, источниковедческого анализа и синтеза документов, хранящихся в фондах ЦГА РК и АП РК и полевых материалов авторов. *Результаты.* Получены качественно новые данные о местах переселения и размещения депортированных корейцев, условиях их адаптации и дальнейшего проживания на территории Казахстана. В воспоминаниях корейцев выявлены особенности их выживания и сохранения



национального самосознания на новой Родине. *Заключение.* Проведение данного исследования способствовало пониманию всего масштаба процесса насильственного переселения корейцев в Казахстан и его последствий. Новизна заключается в привлечении малоизученных данных о процессе депортации корейцев, полученных на основе полевых материалов – интервью и воспоминаний депортированных.

Ключевые слова: Историческая память, национальная идентичность, национальный дух, депортированные народы, реабилитация, этническая депортация, корейцы

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Introduction. In the memories of those who survived the vast migrations of people carried out by the Soviet authorities in the 1930s and 1950s, the subject of forced deportations of peoples continues to evoke deep grief.

Therefore, in order to develop an objective concept of the scope and nature of the atrocities committed by the totalitarian regime in the collective memory of the modern generation, it is imperative that we conduct a thorough analysis of the preserved archival documents of that period as well as the memories of eyewitnesses.

When discussing the current successes and issues facing Kazakhstani society, it is critical to never forget that the interethnic and interreligious concord established by earlier generations serves as the primary pillar supporting its dynamic development. Specifically, between the local populace, that assistance enabled the deported immigrants to establish themselves in their new location, and the ethnic groups uprooted from their homes and subjected to the sufferings of forced relocation during the years of deportation.

Mass forced deportation of the USSR peoples, applied by Stalin's leadership in the 30s and 40s of the 20th century is a tragic event that has had a significant impact on the history of Kazakhstan. The forced displacement of Balkars, Ingush, Kalmyks, Karachays, Crimean Tatars, Germans, Meskhetian Turks, Chechens, Koreans, Greeks, Kurds and other peoples from their homelands was recognized as a criminal act of repression only after almost half a century, as indicated in the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted on November 14, 1989. The document stated that one should not forget the mass arrests, acts of lawlessness and arbitrariness that took place during the years of Stalinist purges, including the policy of forced displacement, which resulted in destitute people in the deportation zones. The actions of the Soviet authorities to evict the above-mentioned peoples from their homeland during World War II were called "barbaric actions of Stalin's regime" (Vedomosti, 1989). By adopting the declaration, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR unequivocally condemned the practice of forced resettlement of entire peoples during the Stalinist repressions as a grave crime contrary to the foundations of international law and expressed its desire to take appropriate legislative measures to rehabilitate and restore the rights of the affected people.

In the developed and implemented deportation policy applied by the Stalin's regime, Kazakhstan became a place of eviction for many peoples, since its vast territory and harsh climate were favorably suited for exiles and camp sites for politically undesirable opponents. The study of the issues of deportation and accommodation of the peoples displaced to the territory of Kazakhstan shows that their arrival led to a significant change in the ethnic and linguistic composition of the population. The new unusual natural, climatic, moral and living



conditions in the places of expulsion complicated the process of adaptation of the deported peoples who sought to preserve their traditions, usual way of life and traditional ethnic structure.

Among these peoples were the Koreans, who, in spite of the catastrophes that transpired under Stalin's reign of terror, managed to hold onto a number of fundamental, historically established national spiritual principles. O.M. Vorozhishcheva, an ethnologist, notes the following: 1) reverence for parents and other family members; 2) adherence to the cult of ancestors; 3) diligence; etc. (Vorozhishcheva, 2012: 83-86). Despite the challenging years of World War II, deportations, and post-war reconstruction, these principles established by the elder generation were passed down from generation to generation and remained unwavering amid the circumstances surrounding Kazakhstan's establishment as an independent nation.

There is some scientific basis to the history of Koreans who have been deported. Korean history was produced in the USSR along well defined lines and elucidated by scientists like Kim Seung-Hwa and G. Kim. The renowned historian G.V. Kan of Kazakhstan, who produced several monographs based on selected materials from the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA RK), suggested an integrated method for researching Korean history. Regional perspectives on the study of the Korean diaspora are reflected in several dissertation studies as well as in works of P.M. Chernysh and V.N. Khan, Zh.U. Kobzhasarova and I.P. Kurenkov. Researchers note that during the Stalinist period in the USSR deportations as repressive measures had specific features. Firstly, they were administrative or extrajudicial. Secondly, they were of contingent and ethnic nature, meeting the criteria set from above. Therefore, repressions were aimed not at an individual citizen, but at a whole group of people, including an entire nation. Decisions on deportations were made mainly on the initiative of the OGPU-NKVD-KGB bodies and had the following justification - "in order to suppress Japanese espionage in the Far Eastern Krai" (Kan, 2021: 10)

The grounds for deportation were often unlawful and ill-founded. The fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens proclaimed by Soviet constitutions, including the 1937 Constitution of the Kazakh SSR, in fact, served as a legislative cover for totalitarian methods of state governance. For example, with the wording: "to clear the border area", which meant the creation of a security zone along the border of the USSR: Iranians, Kurds, Turks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles and other border peoples were deported to Kazakhstan (Kan, 2021: 13). As the documents revealed by the staff of the State Commission show, the directives of the Soviet leadership explicitly mentioned the "unreliability" of specific ethnic groups which justified the need for their expulsion. Thus, the following peoples were massively deported to Kazakhstan: Koreans, Germans, Poles, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars and others (Materials, 2022: 3-4).

The investigation of how deportation is reflected in the historical memories of deported Koreans and their descendants was a significant component of this study. In order to accomplish this, it is required to define "Historical memory?"

According to researcher I.V. Griban of the Ural State Pedagogical University, we were able to discover a number of trends through the examination of publications that examined different facets of historical memory. These include the following: the diversity of historical memory and its features related to age, nation, and society; the virtualization of history and historical memory; and the growing use of archive materials in French historians' historical memory research (Griban, 2016: 338-339).

Although the phrase "historical memory" has many diverse connotations, other researchers T.P. Putyatina and A.V. Akhmetshina noted that, in general, it can be described as society's ability to preserve and enlighten future generations about historical events. Akhmetshina, 2014: 12–13) pointed out that historical memory is the foundation for "cultural continuity of generations and national and civic identity" at the same time.



The study of the traumatic past is important because of the negativity and catastrophism of the transferred and preserved experience, according to D.A. Anikin, a researcher from Lomonosov Moscow State University. This makes it important to determine the direction of historical memory research. It is also emphasized that historical trauma exists in the media, which allows it to include a wide number of people who were born much later than the terrible event in the traumatized community through the emotionality of its content (Anikin, 2020: 7–14).

In contemporary society, the events of the authoritarian past that the deported Koreans and their descendants remember take on new significance. This is mostly because of past trauma, because of the negative and catastrophic experiences that came with being forced to relocate. Consequently, the collective emotional and psychological damage imposed upon a group of people by the Soviet government's harsh policies is represented by the historical trauma endured by the deported Koreans.

Research methodology. The theoretical and methodological basis of the research is a set of general scientific principles and special-historical methods, which were used in the study of the process of deportation of Koreans to Kazakhstan. This approach facilitated a comprehensive analysis of the motives and methods of forced displacement of entire peoples from their ancestral places of residence. The method of individual interviews, conducted in the form of conversations with ethnic Koreans who directly experienced the hardships of the deportation process, is widely used. Field records organized by the participants of the State Commission helped to study in more detail the problems and difficulties of the deportees, their feelings, specifics of resettlement and adaptation to conditions in the new places of residence.

The authors of the article introduce into scientific circulation some documents of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CSA of the RK) and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP of the RK), which became available only thanks to the activities of the State Commission.

G.V. Kan, a famous Kazakhstani historian, started a comprehensive approach to study of the deportation of Koreans, his works "Koreans of Kazakhstan", "History of Koreans of Kazakhstan" were written on the basis of a large documentary material of the CSA of the RK and reveal the tragic pages of the history of Korean ethnic group. While studying the chronicles of deported peoples, researchers examine various aspects of this process: the number and conditions of accommodation of special settlers, their labor contribution to the common victory in World War II, and much more

Discussion. After the USSR collapsed, the study of deportation process of peoples became the subject of research of many Kazakhstani historians. The Decrees of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan gave a special impetus to the study of repressions and deportations of peoples, when 1997 was declared the Year of Nationwide Accord and Victims of Political Repressions. The adoption of this act was the most important step towards the formation of the process of nation-building of Independent Kazakhstan, one of the directions of which was the rehabilitation of the deported peoples.

The history of the deportation of peoples was the topic of discussion at many scientific conferences, round tables and forums. Active work on the study of this area was carried out by leading Kazakhstani historians: Ye.K. Aldazhumanov, K.S. Aldazhumanov, T.M. Baymakhanov, G.V. Kan, M.K. Kozybayev, G.B. Khan, D.A. Shaimukhanov, S.D. Shaimukhanova and others, which led to the development of the history of deportation process of peoples in many regional universities of Kazakhstan (Aldazhumanov, 1997; Aldazhumanov, 2000; Baymakhanov, 1996; Baymakhanov, 1998; Kan, 1994; Kan, 1995; Kozybayev, 1991; Kozybayev, Aldazhumanov, 1997; Khan, 1997; Shaimukhanov, Shaimukhanova, 1997). The logical consequence of this process was the scientific seminar



"Deportation of Peoples and the Problem of Human Rights" held in June 1997, the materials of which were published in 1998. The collection of archival documents "Peoples Deported to Kazakhstan: Time and Fate" was published and evoked a wide scientific response the same year. These publications considered various aspects of the history of the deportation process of the peoples exiled to Kazakhstan in the 1930s-1940s, including the regions of resettlement of special settlers, the peculiarities of their living conditions in exile, their further fate and role in the development of various sectors of Kazakhstan (Deportees, 1998; Deportation, 1998). In the 2000s, L.A. Burgart, L.Ch. Kalybekova, A.R. Kukushkina, L.K. Shotbakova and others made a great contribution to the study of this issue (Burgart, 2001; Kalybekova, 2008; Kukushkina, 2008; Shotbakova, 2022). So the collection of articles released in 2013 as part of the international project "Memory for the Future" by the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan and the Interstate Fund for Humanitarian Cooperation of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is also worthy of publication (Rakishcheva, 2013: 144-237). This project also included the publication of individual interviews with deported Koreans.

By the Decree of the President of the RK Kassym-Zhomart K. Tokayev on November 24, 2020, the State Commission for the full rehabilitation of victims of political repression was established, its main tasks are the full legal and political rehabilitation of victims of repression. Within the framework of the State Commission activities 33 volumes of the series "Materials of the State Commission for the full rehabilitation of victims of political repression. 20-50s of the twentieth century" were published under the general editorship of the State Counsellor - Chairman Ye.T. Karin in 2022, including 31 collections of documents and 2 monographs. Out of them, volume 7 is devoted to the deportation topic and has been published under the editorship of Kan G.V. with the title "Peoples Deported to Kazakhstan and Special Settlers". The collection was formed mainly from the domestic archive materials, from previously closed stocks, as well as from foreign archives to which access was obtained. That is, it mainly includes documents that have never been published before. First of all, the acts of the party and soviet bodies of the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan have been collected, as well as the acts of the uniformed agencies and special bodies established by them, both central and local, which served as a basis for mass political repressions. Documents of law enforcement practice (circular notes, statements, reports, information, acts, indictments, verdicts, etc.) of higher authorities and officials have been added. A separate section of memoirs of victims of deportation is provided. In 2023, another 39 volumes were published as part of the unified series "Materials of the State Commission": 20 volumes were collections of memoirs in a new format and 19 were based on materials collected by the regional commissions.

The history of the deported peoples is a problematic field of historical research, as not all archival documents of that period have become public. With their gradual introduction into scientific discourse, it will be possible to reconstruct the history of each people forcibly resettled on the territory of Kazakhstan. Studies based on the memoirs of contemporaries, memoir sources, and oral histories told by the victims themselves and their descendants remain highly relevant. Historical memory of the past will contribute to a more accurate understanding of the processes taking place in the present.

Results of the study. Studying of the tragic fates of the deported families makes it possible to fully assess the real scale of the consequences of the Stalinist period and its impact on the fate of the entire Soviet society. Entire generations of their descendants have gone through many hardships and trials, being left out of the socio-political life of the country.

In 1937, the Sovnarkom (the Council of People's Commissars) of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (b) adopted resolutions



that played an important role in the life of Koreans living in the Far East of the USSR, on August 21 - "On the Eviction of the Korean Population from the Border Districts of the Far Eastern Territory" and on September 28 - "On the Eviction of the Korean Population from the Border Districts of the Far Eastern Krai". According to these resolutions, Koreans living in the territory of the Far East were massively evicted to Kazakhstan with indication of places of their further residence: Aktobe, West-Kazakhstan, Karaganda and South-Kazakhstan regions and Guryevsky district. The justification for the deportation of Koreans was the ideological materials created on the pages of leading newspapers and in works of literature. For example, "In the East" novel by P. Pavlenko, who later became a four-time winner of the Stalin Prize, extensively raised the issue of cases of espionage of Korean settlers in favor of Japan. During March-April 1937, the editorial staff of *Pravda* newspaper addressed this topic several times. It was not just the image of a single enemy that was being created. A whole nation was exposed as a likely enemy (Abuov, Sheriyazdanov, 2023: 75-76). Although particular resettlement zones were identified, Koreans were dispersed throughout Kazakhstan because the authorities forbade their compact settlement. As a result, the expulsion of Koreans from the Far East had a vast, comprehensive nature. They were responsible for devising the mechanism of the totalitarian era's relocation strategy (Kan, 1994: 7).

Ideological materials produced in literary works and on the pages of the central press served as the basis for the expulsion of Koreans. For instance, P. Pavlenko's book "In the East," which went on to win the Stalin Prize four times, addressed the subject of Korean settlers' alleged espionage against Japan on several occasions. In March and April of 1937, this subject was brought up several times by the *Pravda* newspaper editors. It was not merely a single enemy's image that was produced. A whole country was portrayed as a possible adversary (Abuov, Sheriyazdanov, 2023: 75-76).

The eviction of Koreans was forced, there was little time for packing up, and so the Koreans being relocated could take just a minimum of clothing and food. One of the deportees, Yuri Kim, said in his memoirs: "... they gave us very little time to prepare and pack some things, only 24 hours. We traveled for almost two months in a freight train, packed like sardines in a tin, but at least it was warm. When they brought us to the Sorting station, there was a distribution point there. We were taken to the Sverdlov state farm; we lived in a very small house for 11 people. My father got a job as an accountant at a state farm. That's how we ended up in Kazakhstan" (Materials, 2022: 279-280).

Based upon the texts of archive documents, the very process of displacement of deportees took place in extremely short time in intense secrecy. Therefore, explanatory work and time for preparation were not envisioned. All deportees were loaded into the cars of trains; most of them were not designed for the transportation of people, often unwashed, with broken windows or no windows at all, with holes in the roofs, without mechanical brakes, etc. Accidents that are inevitable in such situations, as well as mass illnesses and deaths of people, often occurred (CSA, F. 1987, Inv.1. Case 25. P. 2). There was a high infant mortality rate among the deportees which reached up to 60% (AP RK. F. 708. Inv. 5/2. Case 187. P. 28). The deportees were usually housed in former prisons, former military supply depots, warehouses, livestock yards, stables, buildings of abandoned mosques, club buildings, Red Corners (propaganda rooms), and pigsties. Rooms without windows, without doors, with earthen floors, etc. were often used (CSA, F. 1490. Inv. 1. Case 7. P. 11).

As a result of insufficient housing stock, the density of settlers reached up to one square meter of floor per person. The dwellings of the settlers often consisted of deep mud huts or dilapidated, previously abandoned, adobe dwellings of the Kazakhs. The food of the settlers was "extremely poor", and bread was not regularly delivered to them. There was a high infestation with lice among the deportees, bathhouses did not function. All of this contributed to the development of scurvy, which was a widespread disease. In addition to scurvy, typhoid,



diphtheria, measles, plague, cholera and some other infectious diseases were common among the settlers. Medical care was unsatisfactory, with little or no medicines, dressing material, etc. (CSA, F. 1490 p. Inv. 1. Case 7. P. 8-12).

The secret papers contain many facts with information about the tragic fate of the special settlers. For example, in one of the documents, the OGPU special representative informed the secretary of the Kazkrai Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (b) on the following: "Due to chronic malnutrition, lack of warm clothing, extremely poor living conditions, as a consequence of the above-mentioned epidemics, the mortality rate among the special settlers has increased excessively". For example, at Karatalstroy, 507 people out of 9,000 displaced persons died in one month alone. It was further stated: "during the inspection of the settlers' dwellings, young children have not been seen, since they mostly died out from childhood infections, gastrointestinal infections, and mainly from malnutrition" (Materials, 2022: 8-9). Even NKVD employees themselves wrote in their field reporting notes: "We consider such a situation to be completely unacceptable, bordering on a crime" (CSA, F. 1490. Inv. 1. Case 7. P. 61-66).

Interviews with youngsters who were still in school at the time and belonged to Korean families who were deported straight to Kazakhstan provide important insights on the deportation process. These documents then served as the foundation for field notes written by State Commission working group members.

Established by the State Commission for the rehabilitation of people who have experienced mass political repression (2021) the project office has created a questionnaire for use in interviewing victims and former victims of the Soviet government's political repressions in Kazakhstan, as well as their descendants, eyewitnesses to these events, older people born in the 1930s and 1950s, local historians, researchers, staff members of archives and museums, and search engine operators.

The surveys were created independently for every fundamental group of victims and repression victims. Certain staff employed technological tools (video camera, voice recorder) during the survey. It was possible to secure the respondent's written approval to the dissemination of the material received, which included his personal information. Each interviewee's full name, position, workplace, phone number, and email address were appended to the interview materials. Furthermore, an attached database included living citizens born in Kazakhstan's 1920s and 1940s categorized by area, along with other details (full name, home address, etc.) approved by the State Commission's Project Office. In total, the author collected more than 10 materials from different categories of victims of repression. A member of the working research group, guided by this questionnaire, conducted an interview with the living victims of deported Koreans in Almaty. During the conversation, the participants answered pre-prepared questions:

- 1) Full name;
- 2) Date and place of birth;
- 3) Nationality;
- 4) Address, contacts;
- 5) From which locality were they forcibly evicted;
- 6) There were cases when relatives or acquaintances died on the way or in the first months of arrival at a special settlement;
- 7) Do you know the year, month of their death and the place of their burial;
- 8) Have the letters from the places of special settlements of your relatives and acquaintances been preserved?
- 9) If so, will they agree to publish them;
- 10) If your relatives or friends have decided to stay permanently in Kazakhstan, can you name the reasons for such a decision;



11) What was the fate of your relatives or friends who chose Kazakhstan as their place of residence?

12) Can you tell us about the reaction of the local population to the arrival of special settlers? How did their relationship develop? Valuable data on the deportation process are revealed in interviews with directly deported to Kazakhstan Korean family members who were still school-aged children at that time. These materials later became the basis for the field notes of the participants in the State Commission. Below are details of the interviewees and the actual records of their recollections. Regretfully, Ni Valentin Khaksunovich, one of the interview subjects, passed away in Almaty this year following a protracted illness.

Ivan Timofeyevich Pak was born on August 13, 1930 in Tikhvingou village, Budennovsky district of the Primorsky Krai. Doctor of Technical Sciences, Professor, Honored Worker of Science and Technology. He lives in Almaty. 39 Svezhesty Street. Tel. 8-701-733-19-09.

His recollections are presented as follows: "In 1937, our family lived in the Primorsky Krai in Bukhta Vostoka settlement, where Avangard fishing collective farm was located. My father worked as a fisherman. My sister Bunoga was born in 1936, and I also had my brother Kolya. Kolya died in 1937 and was buried in the Primorsky Krai, my mother cried all the time since she had left her son's grave.

I was seven years old when the deportation started. I went to the first grade. Everyone suddenly started packing up for the long journey, the adults were upset, and some of them were crying. I couldn't figure out why they were upset to tears. After a short preparation, we were put on a fishing boat with the name Kawasaki (perhaps it was called differently) and taken by sea to Uglegorsk town. They put us ashore there, and we lived in this city in a club building for several days.

Then, they put us on a train. There were double-tier bunks in the freight car which was not designed for people transportation. Eight families traveled in this car. There was an iron stove installed in the center of the car. No water, no toilet. We did it all outside during a train stop wherever one could.

Finally, we were placed in Astrakhan city, right on the seashore. It was already very cold. We soon were loaded onto a barge again and taken to the Guryev city. Then, they drove us by truck, this time to Saraichik village, 45 kilometers away.

We saw Kazakh people there for the first time, it was interesting that they looked like us, but there were difficulties in communication due to a lack of knowledge of the language. We lived there for almost five months. It was a difficult time, unfamiliar environment, unfamiliar language, poverty, no food. The locals helped us, sharing what they had themselves.

In the spring of 1938, we were resettled the second time - locally. This was already the fifth place of our stay. We were transported from Saraichik to an abandoned farm seven kilometers down the right bank of the Ural River. And they placed us in the stable. Each family was allocated an area of about twenty square meters.

We had to build our houses. How? From what? We had no idea where to get the construction materials. But we found out that in these lands they used adobe to build the walls - a raw brick made from clay and straw. About 50 houses for 100 families were built from such adobe bricks during the spring and summer of 1938. All the dwellings in these parts had flat roofs covered with clay. On the ceiling one could notice reed mats used. The summer was very hot, with almost no rain, and the winter was very harsh. Besides, there was no firewood. Dry twigs, straw, and reeds were used as fuel.

Three residential buildings were allocated for the school. The fact is that until 1939 that is for two years after the resettlement schoolchildren studied in various buildings used for lessons, and all of them were far away from the settlement. Each day we had to travel



8 kilometers. It was, of course, not learning, but torture. That is why there were very few of the settlers' children born between 1926 and 1930 who finished high school. There were very few graduates in their early twenties.

The great role of the local population in the rapid adaptation of Koreans to the new environment is undeniable. Much is said and written about it because thanks to the hospitable Kazakh land, the Koreans of the first generation found a second homeland here and were able to create favorable conditions for the creative development of subsequent generations. If it hadn't been like that, would Koreans have been able to adapt so quickly? Of course, the hard work and adaptability inherent in Koreans played an important role. Nevertheless, what else are important are the hospitality, kindness, and selflessness of the Kazakhs, and their desire to help their ethnically close people. It should be noted that many Kazakh traditions, in particular, honoring elders, are similar to our customs. And we look a lot alike, too. It is no coincidence that nowadays marriages between Kazakhs and Koreans are very often concluded. Describing further the collective farm life, I want to say that in 1940 the way of life improved. Irrigation water was supplied to each yard; all the household plots were planted with vegetables and corn.

These are my memories of mass forced resettlement of Koreans from the Far East in 1937, including our family" (Materials, 2023:274-278).

Valentin Khaksunovich Ni was born on December 12, 1927 in Posyet village, Posyet district, the Primorsky Krai. He is the Candidate of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, Professor. He lives in Almaty. 2 Aksai-3b, F.52, tel. 8-701-764-92-42.

His memories of the first years of deportation are presented as follows: "We lived in Posyet village, my father Khaksun Ni worked as a foreman of the fishing team of "Dostizheniye" collective farm. Then, he became the Deputy Chairman of the collective farm in Andreevka village; it was a far remote district. Later, he became Chairman of the collective farm.

Just before the deportation, we had some feelings of repressions, because people started to disappear. We get up in the morning, they tell us that a person has disappeared, everything happened at night. Some uniformed people would come and take people away without explaining anything to anyone.

In the autumn of 1937, there were rumors that we would all be evicted. We heard that there was Stalin's order, he was told that no one could notice the difference between Koreans and Japanese, that some Japanese learned the Korean language, settled in the border areas and worked for Japan. Especially, since the Japanese had taken over Korea and were running the place. And it was only fifteen kilometers from our place to the border. This was allegedly how it was decided to evict Koreans from the border area.

But the local authorities acted in their own way, and they began to evict all Koreans without exception. In the beginning of October 1937, we were told to take only the most necessary things and as the whole collective farm we were evicted. Of course, you could see that the adults were upset, some women were crying, they had abandoned all their possessions, their homes, their crops. No one explained anything, why we were evicted, where they were taking us, how long we would be traveling. I remember having the bare minimum of necessities, clothes, and food for the first time. They brought a barge to the shore, loaded us and sailed to Vladivostok. At the edge of the city we were unloaded and led to the railroad track where we saw a special train of freight cars.

We were loaded into a freight car not fit for transporting people. It was already October, and they were taking us across Siberia. It started to get cold; there was no toilet, no water, no heat in the train car. We went to toilet when the train stopped, did that just under the cars. We were looking for water, running to the stations, passing-tracks. People died on the way, especially children, and they were buried hastily at the railroad embankment, covered with



stones. There was no heat, there was not even a makeshift stove, and it was already deep autumn, cold. I remember that it was really cold, there was no fire at all, nothing hot was cooked. We felt like we were being taken to our deaths.

For a whole month we were taken to unknown places, without any schedule, if it was an unoccupied railway track, we would go, if no, we would stop, standing for a long time. Finally, we were brought to Kazakhstan to the northern part of the end of Lake Balkhash, in the area of the Lepsy station. They unloaded us near some building. It used to be a fish receiving unit. We spent our first winter of 1937-1938 in Kazakhstan there. It was the hardest time. It was cold, there was nothing to heat the building with, we gathered some brushwood, went to the station, found ash dumps, picked it through with our hands, took the remnants of unburnt coals and used it for heating. Local population helped us. The Kazakhs treated us very well.

In the spring of 1938, when the ice moved, a barge came to the Balkhash shore and our entire collective farm Dostizheniye was loaded on it and taken away. We were being transported on this barge for ten days across the entire lake. They brought us to a place where the Ili River flows into the Balkhash. We were dropped off on the left bank of the Ili River on a bare spot. There was clay along the bank. Koreans began to make adobe bricks from it and build adobe houses. Koreans brought wood, glass, nails from the Ili station on a raft. We sawed logs and made boards for doors and windows. So, we began to settle in a new place. Now it is Kuigan village on the shore of Lake Balkhash at the mouth of the Ili River." (Materials, 2023: 278-280).

Mai Udenovich Khvan was born on May 1, 1930 in Vladivostok. He is an Honored Coach of Kazakhstan. He lives in Almaty. Lives in: Almaty, 18 Satpaev street, tel. 8-777-611-92-33.

His memoirs provide the following material: "We were deported to Kazakhstan from Birobidzhan, the Khabarovsk Krai, in the late autumn of 1937, we were sent in the last special trains. There were four of us in the family: my mother, myself, my elder sister Raya and my brother Karl. My father Un Den Khvan, a participant of the uprising on March 1, 1919 in Seoul against the Japanese colonialists, who fled from their persecution to the Russian Far East. There, he participated in the guerrilla movement against the Japanese interventionists. He was arrested as an enemy of the people, convicted under the notorious 58th article and sent to the Karaganda camp (Karltag). In Karltag, my father worked in a coal mine, and served his entire term from start to finish. When my father was arrested, my mother having three young children to take care of, being uneducated, without means of support, did not know what to do for her children to survive. On top of that, the year 1937 came and mass forced deportations started. Our train traveled mostly during the hours of darkness. People used to die in train cars, and then they would be buried near the railway embankment, covered with stones.

Our train from Birobidzhan was still traveling around Central Asia for almost a month. Finally, it was sent to the north of Kazakhstan to Akmola region. Its final stop was Shortandy station. Our car was the last one, it was unhitched, and the train left. All around was bare steppe, blown through by the cold wind. We were accommodated in a nearby stable for the first period. There were several yurts and sheep barns nearby. The Kazakhs who lived in the yurts would furtively bring kurts and flat bread. They treated us very well, sympathized and helped us in any way they could. That's how we made it through the winter.

Gradually, life was getting better in a new place. My mother started working in a sewing workshop. My father returned after serving his sentence. On May 5, 1958, he was rehabilitated by the Military Tribunal of the Far Eastern District due to a lack of evidence. In 2005, by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Korea, Un Den Khvan, was awarded with the Order for Contribution to Nation Building (posthumously). In 2019, the remains of Un Den Khvan, a National Hero of the national liberation movement in Korea,



were transported to his historical homeland, the Republic of Korea and buried at the national cemetery in Daejeon" (Materials, 2023:280-281).

Conclusion. The policy of the totalitarian state with its repressions, one of the types of which was the mass deportation of peoples, adversely affected the socio-economic, cultural, and demographic situation of Koreans. The Koreans that were deported were dispersed throughout practically every area of Kazakhstan. Hunger and sickness caused a large portion of their ethnic group to disappear. Many people had their political and civil rights taken away from them.

People were routinely deported to Kazakhstan, especially Koreans, as part of the Soviet Union's leadership's repressive strategy, which was implemented in a methodical manner for an extended period of time. Nearly all of these locations were frequently utilized as “punished people” exile locations. Consequently, the term "ethnic deportations" must be used to characterize the forced relocation of ethnic groups during the years of widespread political repression. This definition enables us to identify ethnic deportations as a distinct kind of mass political repression, the basis of which was collective responsibility for belonging to an ethnic group deemed socially dangerous by the Soviet authorities and therefore “unreliable”.

Unknowingly, Kazakhstan's region was used as a test bed for Soviet system trials on several ethnic groups, notably the Koreans.

Living in a neighborhood with different peoples, the exiled Koreans saved their national identity and national spirit. Koreans live and work in the Republic of Kazakhstan, their destinies and aspirations are inextricably linked with all peoples living on the ancient Kazakh land. About 500 Korean doctors and Candidates of Science work actively in universities, academic and research institutes. They have achieved the highest results in physics, mathematics, geology, chemistry, medicine and natural sciences. It is important to name outstanding figures of Korean nationality in Kazakhstan - an Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan L.P. Ni; an Honored Science Worker of the Republic of Kazakhstan I.T. Pak; Doctor of Medical Sciences, Professor, Hero of Labor of Kazakhstan Yu.V. Pya; Doctor of Agricultural Sciences, Honored Science Worker of Kazakhstan D.N. Pak; Doctor of Philosophy O.G. Kim, Doctor of Historical Sciences G.V. Kan and G.N. Kim and many others.

Thus, Ulyana Kim the granddaughter of Tsai Deng Hak, the Hero of Socialist Labor noted “I don't know how the fate of my grandfather and all those Koreans who were deported to Kazakhstan would have turned out, but since it happened, it is necessary to keep these tragic episodes in memory”, the writer wrote after touring her grandfather's museum in the Kyzylorda area. “To express gratitude to the native land of Kazakhstan for providing all oppressed peoples with refuge and a warm welcome” (Ibraeva, Zhakibaeva, 2023).

Deputy of Almaty National Cultural Center KAN G.V. suggested that the following high humanist fact be maintained. Essentially, it tells the story of how some Koreans who were deported from the Far East in 1937 settled in the Makhambet district, Beybarys hamlet, and the Atyrau region. There, the Koreans established a communal farm, but over time, many of them departed—some to work, some to study, etc. On the banks of the Urals, a Korean cemetery developed during their lifetime. Then, in the spring of 1993, the flood started, the river started to overflow its banks, some of the banks fell, and there was a serious risk that Korean cemeteries would be submerged under the water and destroyed. Subsequently, the local Kazakh population relocated these graves to a secure location, where they remain interred to this day. It is suggested that a memorial sign be erected there by the appreciative Korean descendants.

For the sake of next generations, it is crucial to investigate and objectively evaluate collective historical memory. The most priceless resource is the interviewees' recollections, which they convey through anecdotes about their friends, neighbors, and family.



Their narratives serve as living histories, historical recollections, and links between many eras and peoples. Sustaining people's faith in the government, society, and each other is contingent upon this. Although totalitarianism and its brutal anti-human practices are history, future interactions between nations and peoples should not be shaped by their legacy. We have a lesson here for the next generation.

During the years of Independence of Kazakhstan, a lot of work has been done to rehabilitate the victims - the peoples deported to Kazakhstan. In particular, the law was adopted on April 14, 1993, many books and publications were prepared and published, academic forums on the deportation history were conducted. According to official data, 75 thousand people were rehabilitated by the prosecutor's offices before 1993, then after the adoption of the law, the work on rehabilitation was noticeably intensified. During these years, 14 “Books of Sorrow” were published in Kazakhstan, in which the names of almost 146 thousand innocently injured compatriots are inscribed. More than 340,000 illegally repressed citizens have been rehabilitated in accordance with the law, and dozens of memorial signs have been erected at the burial sites of the victims of totalitarianism.

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Kassym-Zhomart K. Tokayev in his speech of May 29, 2020 on the occasion of the Day of Remembrance of Victims of Political Repression and Famine noted that “since gaining Independence, Kazakhstan has taken measures at the state level to perpetuate the memory of the victims of this tragedy. Treasuring the memory of the unjustly convicted will help us to build a bright future with our Independence as the foundation of it” (Tokayev, 2020). It is worth noting that recently the issue of rehabilitating General Hong Beom-do, the National Hero of Korea and founder of the Korean Independence Army, was raised at the government level. His remains were repatriated to the Republic of Korea upon the long-standing request of the leadership of that country, during the state visit of the President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Zhomart K. Tokayev to South Korea on August 17, 2021.

The primary methodological conclusion that can be drawn from the examination of the global practice of forced deportation of individuals is that it was undoubtedly a political act, with the political authority of a particular state bearing the responsibility for it. In conclusion, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the peoples who were subjected to forced ethnic deportation in their time revere piously the memory of the victims of those events. They commemorate their memory every year, usually on the specific day of their deportation. In order to preserve this memory in history, to draw lessons from it, to give it greater significance, it would perhaps be worthwhile to propose to the relevant authorities to establish the International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of the Deportation of Peoples. The date could be August 21, because on this day in 1937 the USSR leadership made a decision on the mass forced deportation of almost 200 thousand Far East Koreans. This event started the mass ethnic deportations, as a result of which Kazakhstan became the main place of settlement for more than a million people of various nationalities.

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