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WAR AND DEPORTATION: ON THE ISSUE OF RESETTLEMENT AND THE FATE OF KOREAN SETTLERS

In the example of a Korean ethnic group the article discusses the processes of deportation of people to Kazakhstan by analyzing the scope of archival documents. Our investigation is based on legal documents of the Soviet central and republican bodies of the party, documents of published collections and declassified archival documents extracted from the archives of Kazakhstan. The article contains the analyzing information of the documents of the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (TsGA RK, Almaty) and the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK, Almaty).

The purpose of this article is to study the issues of the deported nations to Central Asia, male and female experience of survival in an extreme circumstances, through the example of deported Koreans.

The study is examined the specific features of economical position, medical situation and social welfare of the population deported to Kazakhstan using the example of the Korean ethnic group. Article describes issues of the difficulties and problems faced by deported people during processes of relocation and special distribution that was held by policy of Soviet bodies and has led deaths, a catastrophic shortage of material resources, an insufficient industrial goods and food scarcity among Koreans. The social composition of deported people, questions in obtaining education and preserving the national language and culture are examined.

The socio-economic situation of the deported peoples was difficult, adaptation in the new environment, in the conditions of a catastrophic lack of resources, certainly tempered the spirit of the Korean people. The difficulties suffered by deported peoples in the first half of the 20th century will remain in the memory of many peoples of Kazakhstan and the countries of the former Soviet Union following decades.

Key words: Deportation, war, rear, Koreans, Kazakhstan, settlers, housing conditions, Korean, Soviet Koreans.

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Соғыс және депортация: қоныс аудару және кәріс жер аударушыларының тағдыры туралы

Партияның орталық және республикалық органдарының нормативтік құжаттарына, Қазақстан мұрағаттарынан алынған құжаттар топтамалары мен жасырын жарияланған мұрағат құжаттарына сүйене отырып, мақалада халықтарды Қазақстанға депортациялау процестері кәріс этникалық тобының мысалында талқыланылды. Атап айтсақ, Қазақстан Республикасы Орталық мемлекеттік мұрағатының (Алматы) (ҚР ОМА) және Қазақстан Республикасы Президентінің архивінің (Алматы) (ҚР ПА) құжаттары зерделенді.

Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – кәрістердің жер аударуының мысал ретінде қолдана отырып, Қазақстанға жер аударылған халықтың жағдайын, экстрималды көшіру жағдайындағы ерлер мен әйелдердің өмір сүру тәжірибесін зерттеу.

Зерттеу барысында кәріс этникалық тобын мысал ретінде қолдана отырып, Қазақстанға жер аударылған халықтың материалдық-тұрмыстық, медициналық-санитарлық жағдайы мен әлеуметтік қауіпсіздігінің ерекшеліктері қарастырылды. Депортацияға ұшырағандардың әлеуметтік құрамы, білім алу және ұлттық тіл мен мәдениетті сақтау мәселелері қарастырылған.

Жер аударылған халықтардың әлеуметтік-экономикалық жағдайы өте қиын болды, жаңа ортаға бейімделу, ресурстардың апатты түрде жетіспеушілігі сияқты жағдайлардың барлығы корей халқының рухын көтерді. Жер аударылған халықтардың XX ғасырдың бірінші жартысында

шеккен қиындықтары мен зардаптары Қазақстанның және бұрынғы Кеңес Одағы елдерінің көптеген халықтарының жадында ұзақ сақталады.

Түйін сөздер: депортация, соғыс, тыл, кәрістер, Қазақстан, жер аударушылар, тұрмыс жағдайы, кәріс тілі, депортацияланған кәрістер.

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Война и депортация: к вопросу о расселении и судьбах корейских переселенцев

В статье на основе нормативно-правовых документов центральных и республиканских органов партии, опубликованных сборников документов и рассекреченных архивных документов, извлеченных из архивов Казахстана, рассмотрены процессы депортации народов в Казахстан на примере корейского этноса. В частности, были изучены документы Центрального Государственного Архива Республики Казахстан (г. Алматы) (ЦГА РК) и Архива Президента Республики Казахстан (г. Алматы) (АП РК).

Целью данной статьи является изучение положения депортированного в Казахстан населения, на примере депортации корейцев мужского и женского опыта выживания в экстремальной ситуации выселения.

В исследовании рассмотрены специфические особенности материально-бытового, медико-санитарного положения и социального обеспечения депортированного в Казахстан населения на примере корейского этноса. Проанализированы трудности и проблемы, с которыми столкнулись депортированные при размещении, обусловленные политикой государства, катастрофической нехваткой материальных ресурсов, дефицита продовольствия и промышленных товаров. Рассмотрены социальный состав переселенцев, проблемы в получении образования и сохранения национального языка и культуры.

Социально-экономическое положение депортированных народов было весьма сложным, адаптация в новой среде, в условиях катастрофической нехватки ресурсов безусловно закаляли дух корейского народа. Потери и трудности, переносимые депортированными народами в первой половине 20 века, надолго останутся в памяти многих народов Казахстана и стран бывшего Советского Союза.

Ключевые слова: депортация, война, тыл, корейцы, Казахстан, переселенцы, жилищные условия, корейский язык, депортированные корейцы.

Introduction

The “human dimension” of Stalin’s repressions of deportations is a new page in social history research that has not yet become the subject of a separate, comprehensive study. Despite the fact that deported processes as a whole are widely covered by researchers, at least in the context of victimization, the gender aspects of deportations, adaptation practices to new living conditions have not become the subject of a special study.

The difficulties experienced by entire nations as a result of Stalin’s totalitarian policy in the first half of the twentieth century have not been covered in Soviet historiography for a long time. Forced resettlement of entire nations occurs in the pre-war years. Koreans of the Far East were relocated by Soviet authorities in order to prevent “Japanese espionage”, therefore they were forced to leave their homes as soon as possible and transferred to

Central Asia without any idea of what to wait from the future.

Sources and Methods

The article is based on the data of legal documents of the Soviet central and republican bodies of the party, documents of published collections and declassified archival documents extracted from the archives of Kazakhstan. Private documents of Koreans in the funds of Central State Archive (TsGA RK, Almaty), in particular letters and statements reflecting the socio-economic situation of the deported Korean women and Korean men, their relationships and interactions with government bodies. Memorandums of party bodies show social and economic situation of the forced settlers, as well as an interethnic relation with the local population, deposited in the funds of the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (AP RK, Almaty).

These sources have a significant value in reflecting Kazakhstan' and Korean history.

Degree of knowledge. Studies of Kazakhstan' scientists Kim German Nikolaevich and Kan Georgii Vasilyevich, based on a wide range of archival sources, their works relate the issues of deported Koreans and deserve special attention. The aspects of resettlement deported Koreans to rural areas, difficulties in accessing medical care and employment problems are covered.

A great contribution to the study of the problem deported Koreans to Central Asia was made by Jon K. Chang (Chang, 2016), the study is based on oral historical data, in particular, on the basis of the recollections of a large number of eyewitnesses of the described events. The questions of transferring Koreans as "administrative exiles" to Central Asia is discussed intensively by Jonathan Otto Pohl, reflecting the legal aspects of "Russian-Koreans" in the USSR in 1937-1945 (Jonathan, 2018).

Dissertations on the problem of deportation of Koreans to Kazakhstan were defended by several historians as Yarochkina E.V., Amanova A.S. and An R.K. They reveal the socio-cultural development and economic situation of the deported Koreans to Northern Kazakhstan, and the issues of Koreans in Semirechye (in Southern Kazakhstan). On the topic of interethnic marriages between Koreans and other nationalities in Kazakhstan in the 30-90s of XX century was written a dissertation by Em N.B.

The methodological basis of the study is a dialectical understanding of the historical process, which makes it possible to consider the features of the deportation of Koreans inextricably linked with the specifics of a totalitarian state.

The principles of objectivity and scientificness allow us to analyze the level of reliability and value of information about various aspects of the social, economic and cultural life of deported Koreans.

Domestic aspects of deportation

In the first half of the 20th century, in connection with the Soviet departmental policy, whole peoples were forcibly resettled to Central Asia: Poles, Germans, Koreans, Crimean Tatars, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kalmyks, North Caucasian peoples (Kydyralina, 2000: 17). As a result of the deportation policy, according to the 1939 population census, the ethnic composition of the population has changed significantly: 40.2% of Russians, 38% of Kazakhs, 10.8% of Ukrainians, 1.7% of Uzbeks, 1.6% of Koreans, 1.6% Tatars, 1.5% of Germans, 0.6% of Uyghurs, 0.5% of Belarusians,

etc. (Amanova, 2005: 27). According to the census for 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 1999 (Amanova, 2005: 31.32) and 2009 (Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Statistics, 2009: 21), the proportion of Koreans from the total population of Kazakhstan was 1.6-0.7%, thereby varying from about 74.000 to 100.000 people. How accurate the data compiled as a result of censuses of the twentieth century is unknown. It can be led by reasons of high mortality rate and re-registration because of internal displacement of Koreans. According to the Report of the head of the OLTP of the Ministry of Health of the NKVD of the Kazakh SSR Shkele dated February 1-2, 1938 "*On the arrangement of Korean settlers, the contingent of settlers and their resettlement*" (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 7. Pp. 25-32). As a result of the first stage of the resettlement of Koreans from the Far East to the territory of the Kazakh SSR were deported 98,454 people. The main distribution area for Koreans-isettlers was Alma-Ata, Kzyl-Orda and Karaganda regions, with a large predominance of the rural population (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 698. S. 21. F. 45.). It is worth remembering that the places of resettlement of most Koreans were in not developed and not inhabited places, and some of them were relocated into existed kolkhozes, which indicates the problems of housing, employment and food provision.

It is necessary to distinguish two stages of the resettlement of Koreans: the first stage is the resettlement from the Far Eastern Territory to Kazakhstan in the autumn of 1937 and the second stage is the resettlement of 60% of Koreans within the territory of Kazakhstan in the spring of 1938 (Kan, 1995: 4-5). The forced resettlement of Koreans in Central Asia began with the release of Decree No. 1428-326ss of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks "*On the eviction of the Korean population from the border regions of the Far Eastern Territory*" dated August 21, 1937 and Decree No. 1647-377ss of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "*On the eviction of Koreans from the territory of the Far Eastern Territory*" dated September 28, 1937 (Collection of documents, 2014: 158-159, 168).

What is the role of these documents, and what are the results of their implementation? First of all, it is necessary to mention that these are one of the fundamental documents regulating the process of deportation of the Korean people from the territory of the Soviet Far East to Central Asia. These Decrees regulate the resettlement processes, appointment and

work of executive bodies in charge of resettlement policy realization and the terms of execution of deportation, including issues of spatial distribution and rights of Korean settlers.

The first paragraph of the Decree (August 21, 1937) assumed the resettlement of Koreans in the regions of Southern Kazakhstan, in particular to the areas of the Aral Sea and Balkhash, however with the beginning of the arrival of the first echelons in the territory of the Kazakh SSR (end of September), it was decided to carry out the invasion almost throughout the country, with the exception of border areas.

According to the second Decree, the following placement areas were established as follows: Aktobe and Karaganda cities, West and South Kazakhstan and in the Guryev district (also in Western Kazakhstan). If the first Decree regulates the eviction of Koreans only from the border areas of the Far Eastern Territory to Central Asia, the second one establishes the eviction of the remaining Koreans from all over the region Soviet Far East.

The third paragraph of this document allowed settlers to take property, household equipment, and livestock with them, but de facto Koreans only took the first necessities – clothes and a minimum of food. They left behind all their cattle and received exchange receipts (inventories) instead, with a hope to get them back after arriving in the new area. Upon their arrival at the places of resettlement, the processes of returning livestock and agricultural products were strongly delayed, partially paid or not paid at all. According to statistics from Jon K. Chang, based on a survey of eyewitnesses, only 8 out of 60 respondents received reimbursement (Chang, 2016: 155).

Why Koreans could not be able to receive their reimbursement? It is not because of lack funding and agricultural products as a compensation (except crops that did not cultivate in Kazakhstan). There were cases with lack of unified form of documents, moreover some people did not have any confirmations about their possessions. The aforesaid data were released on the reviewing documents of the Dzhusalinsky resettlement (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 7. Pp. 22, 67), that show the fact of the absence of unified form of official documents as a problem of getting clear information about types of crops, livestock and their quantities that had to be return. The report “On the inspection of the economic position of settlers (Koreans, Kurds, Armenians, Turks) for 1938” (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1987. S. 1. F. 10. Pp. 11, 274) confirms the fact of

late payments and the absence of certain types of crops, instead of which Koreans received equivalent and/or more valuable types of crops. In addition, the official documents revealed in archive confirmed the availability of funds in the state banks of the country, transferred by the People’s Commissariat of Finance to pay compensations for deported people. The money was not issued locally for several reasons: confusion in calculating the total amount, lack of accurate information, difficulties in converting a number of crops to cash, lack of local reception centers, etc. (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 7. Pp. 23, 67).

Additionally, goods and equipment, Koreans also left behind hunting weapons and supplies in large numbers. All seized weapons were sent to different regions of Kazakhstan, and deteriorated in time as a result of a lack of supervision and a small number of return statements from owners. (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 9. Pp. 227, 232). It is also worth noting that only smoothbore hunts, except for rifled hunters, carbines and small-caliber rifles, were subject to return (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 16. Pp. 421, 490).

The problems of preserving national culture

Despite the fact that the main population, according to official archival documents, was collective farmers and an illiterate population, all sectors of the Far Eastern Territory’ society were expelled. In the Directive “On the Relocation of the Korean Population to Kazakhstan” dated September 29, 1937 the following was noted: “Koreans of Communists and Komsomol members living and working in the region, as well as Korean intelligency (teachers, agronomists, doctors) – to relocate all of them on a common basis along with the rest of the Korean population” (Collection of documents, 2014: 170).

Among 98,454 deported Koreans, 11% of them had higher education, 37% were workers in fishing and agricultural kolkhozes. In addition, the fund of the Resettlement Department of the NKVD of the KSSR presented an official list of Korean students dated December 25, 1937 for obtaining passports with the aim of being able to get an education at the Kazakh State Medical Institute (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 16. p.267).

Out of 17 students of different courses, 14 were natives of the city of Khabarovsk, by origin represented of working class, peasants and

kolkhozes. Most of them came to study in Alma-Ata from other cities of Kazakhstan and even Uzbekistan. The age range of students varied from 18 to 26 years, including 6 females and 11 males. 65% of students were not party members, which implies less political commitment among students. A significant amount of statements from Koreans to regional Resettlement Departments and the NKVD of the KSSR were revealed in the archival funds related deportation policy. Correspondence and statements regarding education confirm the fact of higher education among deported peoples and the willing to get an education. However, there were cases of prohibition. Deported people could not leave their place of resettlement and were forbidden to study abroad, in some cases even to Alma-Ata (one of the vibrant cities in Kazakhstan). That is confirmed by refusals of Korean students' applications with a request to transfer them to the universities of Moscow, Leningrad, Tomsk, etc. The chief of the Resettlement Department of the NKVD of the KSSR (Shernev) and the inspector (Zakharov) reported that the relocation of settlers with the reason to study in Alma-Ata is impossible according to the instructions of the NKVD of the USSR (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 16. Pp. 290, 490), and at the same time, there were documents whose decisions had opposite solutions. In general, receiving an education within the territory of the Kazakh SSR was officially permitted (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 8. p. 286), but there was found the statement of student reflecting the facts of possibility of making local decision by authorities in KazSSR' regions.

Confusion in the field of education by Koreans existed whether because of ignorance or intentional infringement of the rights of deported Koreans. An interesting situation is reflected in the letter of a student of a music school – Khan Olga Alexandrovna. (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 16. p. 139). In her statement, the girl was perplexed by the situation that, being a student with excellent academic performance, she was faced with the fact that at the 3rd year she was denied the possibility of continuing her studies, justifying this with the status of a migrant who “can't live and study in a regime city”. In response to this statement, the head of the resettlement department of the NKVD of the USSR sends a letter to the head of the South Kazakhstan region of the NKVD department, indicating to Khan Olga about the right to continue her studies, and finding out the person who put the ban on the words of the resettlement herself. This letter confirms the

existence of discrimination against deported peoples on the ground, including in the educational sphere.

But not all Koreans developed in such a successful way. For example, in his memoirs S. Yugay writes: “... My cousin Hwan Ivan was expelled in mid-1941 from the Institute of Steel to them. I. Stalin (they were expelled from universities as children of deportees). He was considered the best performing student of the university. Subsequently, he volunteered to participate in the war against Nazi Germany, wounded near the city of Vyborg, died in 1942 in a hospital in Leningrad. Ivan was buried at Piskarevsky cemetery. Brother Boris was expelled from the second year of flight school in the city of Arkhangelsk. He returned in 1942, and immediately he was sent to work, to the mine near Tula” (Namrueva , 2010: 39).

In the process of evicting the Korean population, equipment was exported from Korean schools, reading houses, libraries: books in Korean, visual aids with Korean text (Collection of documents, 2014: 171). Moreover, by the beginning of 1938, the number of Korean children enrolled in school was 14,327 people (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 7. p. 32). By that time, schools, pedagogical institutes were relocated from the DCK, with him a teacher institute and a pedagogical workers' faculty, and a pedagogical school (technical school). Despite the seemingly begun opportunities to determine their national identity through the development of culture and the preservation of the mother tongue, by November 1937 a decision was made to reduce the number of students in educational institutions by liquidating the teacher's institute, reducing the total number of students in the pedagogical institute from 1300 to 800 man.

One of the urgent problems of educational institutions was the issue of providing premises and housing for both students and teachers. Due to the acute shortage of dormitories at the Korean Pedagogical Institute of Kzyl-Orda, a conflict arose between the director of the institute and the chairman of the Regional Committee of the CP (b) K (AP RK. F. 725. S. 3. F. 220. Pp. 1-2).

A more serious event in the educational sphere was the publication of Resolution No. 353 of April 13, 1938, “On the Reorganization of National Schools.” According to the decree, the goal was to eliminate all national schools, which was called “reorganization” into usual type of Soviet schools with the Kazakh and Russian languages of instruction. Despite the fact that some of them were gradually liquidated, the total number of schools

at the time of the reorganization was 118 (Em, 2004: 33). Despite this, some schools still taught Korean as a separate discipline. In December 1939, decisions were adopted “On Korean Literature” and “On the Withdrawal of Korean Literature from the Bookselling Network and Libraries,” which resulted in the destruction of more than 120 thousand copies of books and more than 17 thousand textbooks on the Korean language. A flagrant fact has been the destruction of historically valuable Korean books relating to 17,18,19 century editions. This event took place at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute, which was located in Vladivostok before moving to Kzyl-Orda. Valuable historical books of the pre-revolutionary period were received from the Far Eastern State University, and subsequently, by the institute’ director a comrade Rybkin’s instructions, they were destroyed. All Korean library books were subject to liquidation. Expression of discontent from Korean students threatened with imprisonment. The coverage of this barbarism was a letter to comrade N.S. Khrushchev (Central Committee of the CPSU), signed by six members of the CPSU (Kim Sergey, Kim M.T., Yan Manchun, Ohai Hencher, Kang Senmun, Shin Thiabon) in December 1957 (Kim, Men, 1995: 245-249).

Based on the data of the memos, we see that in the process of closing schools there is a gradual loss of the teaching staff of Korean immigrants. Some Korean teachers who speak Russian and have secondary or higher pedagogical education continued their work in schools with Russian as the language of instruction. In case of poor knowledge of the Russian language and the identification of a desire to learn it, Korean teachers were further provided with employment. The rest were dismissed from work (Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. F. 1490. S. 1. F. 16. p. 86).

In the middle of the twentieth century, there was a tendency to gradually lose the importance of knowledge of the native language, which was due to the lack of prospects for its study and use in the future. According to the census, Korean men switched to the Russian language of instruction faster than the female half. The frequent use of language as an interethnic one was characteristic of men in connection with their professional production and socio-political activities (Kim, Men, 1995: 219).

There were cases of non-payment of salaries to teachers for a long time, as a result of which there was an outflow of educational specialists to other jobs, often not requiring qualifications. After analyzing the content of the applications of Koreans-immigrants, the second most frequent request after searching for relatives and reuniting with them,

were requests for transfer to a particular area where they can provide work in their specialty. The desire to work in other areas of Kazakhstan was due to the lack of jobs in the specialties in the places of their resettlement.

Koreans at the front and rear

During the war, Soviet Koreans resettled on far-fetched accusations tried to get to the front and selflessly worked in the rear and contributed to the victory, like other nations. It was probably difficult to find a branch of the national economy in which they would not work. One of the most famous rice farmers of the Soviet Union, Kim Man Sam worked on the “Avangard” kolhoze in the Chiyli district of Kzyl-Orda region. Korean women, like all Kazakhstan’ women, also selflessly worked in the rear, in all spheres of the national economy. We can also note the master of production, Makat Khan Tatyana, who, fulfilled the oil production work plan by 115-125% during the front month (AP RK. F.708; S.7/1, F.924. Pp. 2-3 tr, 2 tr.). In a letter to Stalin the leadership of the Republic among the “best people of Kazakhstan, who have made their savings in the defence of the Motherland” noted Koreans:

Khan Leonti-Chairman of the kolkhoz “Giant”, Chilik district (150 thousand rubles);

Shin Hyun-Mun – Chairman of the kolkhoz “far East”, Karatal area (120 thousand roubles);

Khan Montir-Chairman of the kolkhoz “OSO”, Karatal district (115 thousand rubles);

Kim Man Sam farmer of the cooperative “Avangard”, Chiliyskogo area (105 thousand roubles) (AP RK. F.708; S.7/1, F.178. Pp. 7-10).

It is noteworthy that the chairman of the kolkhoze for the Northern Lighthouse in the Sredne-Chirchik district of the Tashkent region S. G. Tsoi gave one million rubles of his savings for the construction of the aircraft. Soon, a plane built at the expense of S.G. Choi, flew to the “North Lighthouse” kolkhoze in gratitude (Namrueva, 2010: 40). At the same time, the attitude towards the Koreans during the war years was ambiguous. For example, some people evacuated to Kazakhstan noted that: “... you can hear such “greetings” and “caresses” from those people who were expelled from the Far East, and now healthy men have settled in warm places and are ruining the rest of the population, taking care of their personal health” (AP RK. F.725; Op.4, d.412, l.124).

With the outbreak of World War II, the prohibition on conscripting Koreans for military service continued, it was only allowed to mobilize them to the labor army. But Korean youth sought

to get to the front. “Patriotic feelings were high,” it was reported in a secret report to the NKVD of the USSR in August 1943, “this was confirmed by numerous statements submitted by Korean youth to the military registration and enlistment offices asking them to be enlisted in the army ... Refusal to appeal to the Red Army undoubtedly led to discouragement and displeasure ... Dissatisfaction with this action was manifested sharply among Communists and Komsomol members of Korean nationality ... In the end, this was regarded as an infringement of the legitimate rights and interests of Koreans, as distrust of them on the part of the Soviet government” (Song, 2015: 205).

For example, S. Yugay, as a Komsomol member of the 1940s, asked for the front. In 1943, a 17-year-old young man was called up by the district military enlistment office of Kzyl-Orda. The Military Commissariat prepares conscripts for dispatch to the artillery regiment. At the end of November, they were loaded into freight cars, there were about 200 Koreans of 17-18 years old mobilized from all over Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Instead of the promised artillery, and later tank regiments, they were brought to the Far North in the labor army. They had to serve and work at the USSR’s first oil mine in the system of the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs. The rest of guys worked at the logging and in other places. Half-starved, dressed in pea jackets, they swelled from hunger and cold. Labor and living conditions were difficult. They lived in barracks, slept on bunk beds. It was probably difficult to find a sector of the national economy in which they would not work, and this is a special section of the history of Soviet Koreans (Namrueva, 2010: 39).

Despite all the restrictions and obstacles, as noted by Song Zh.G., Koreans went to the front in different ways: they wrote letters to I. Stalin personally, fled from the labor army, changed their surname and nationality (in those years the peasants did not have passports), mixed marriages took the names of wives and husbands, etc. Thanks to the publication of the book “Soviet Koreans on the Fronts of the Great Patriotic War, 1941-1945”, published by a team of authors (D.V. Shin, B.D. Pak, V.V. Tsoi), the names of 372 Koreans war veterans were revealed. 195 of them died and went missing, and only 127 returned alive. The fate of the rest remains unknown. 13 among them are Korean women. It is noteworthy that all these women were called up from Moscow, Leningrad, Ordzhonikidze, etc., which means that Koreans who were outside the resettlement territory (Kazakhstan, Central

Asian Republics) had the opportunity to go to the front. The Koreans, who appeared at the beginning of the war in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, had no rights serving in the Soviet military (Song, 2015: 206, 211), but had been conscripted into the labor army.

Conclusions

As a result of researching documents of official bodies of the Soviet government and letters of settlers, issues of the territorial distribution of deportees, their employment, status and the right to education and use of their native language were examined. Forced resettlement in freight cars or cattle wagons in the wasteland, to places with undeveloped infrastructure and industry, was caused by a shortage of labor resources, with the aim of developing agricultural crops and industrial development in Central Asia. The status of an “unreliable” people, the accusation of Japanese espionage is the official version of the resettlement policy of the Soviet bodies towards the Korean people.

Settlers, in most cases, lived in half dugouts and sheds and were exposed to many diseases, because of unsanitary conditions and the lack of the proper amount of medicines and medical staff. Resolving housing issues took a long time, the lack of premises of educational institutions (schools and universities), student dormitories, the poor condition of teachers’ apartments, which caused conflicts and complaints, are reflected in archival documents and convey the complete picture of their economic position. In terms of education and culture, the deported Koreans began to experience significant problems since September 1938. In compliance with the directives of the highest authorities, all schools with the national language of instruction were completely liquidated. The main reason for such reforms was the “threat of anti-Soviet sentiment”. The destruction of Korean books and teaching aids led to a large gap in the development of Korean culture among settlers, and was one of the reasons for the decrease in the number of Koreans who speak in their native language.

The socio-economic situation of the deported peoples was difficult, adaptation in the new environment, in the conditions of a catastrophic lack of resources, certainly tempered the spirit of the Korean people. The difficulties suffered by deported peoples in the first half of the 20th century will remain in the memory of many peoples of Kazakhstan and the countries of the former Soviet Union next following decades.

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