

KOREANS IN NORTH KAZAKHSTAN: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (1937-1941)

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Abstract: The paper deals with theoretical and methodological approaches to studying the history of the Korean people in North Kazakhstan. The paper is based on a wide range of archive documents. The research involves a comprehensive analysis of Koreans removal proceedings to North Kazakhstan in 1937-1941.

The relevance of the research issue stems from the presence of Koreans in North Kazakhstan, their living arrangements, geoenvironmental and climatic conditions, which influenced their household pattern. All that put Koreans who came to the north regions of Kazakhstan into a situation that required complete or partial refocusing in economic activities, and in some cases a challenge was thrown down to the situation. A part of the Korean expatriate, living in the north region, steadily develops, gaining life experience, transforming it in alignment with new social and historical conditions. Migration, adaptation, and population processes not only in the Republic of Kazakhstan but in Central Asia as a whole can be observed by the example of the north regional part of the Korean population. The Kazakhstan's past and present feature a unique experience of coexistence of the representatives of different ethnoses. Studying of this experience is therefore significant in both historical and modern practical and forecasting views. The diversity of studying the issue is also attributed to its axiological educational focus and cognitive heuristic nature.

In the framework of the research the authors identify political causes of Koreans' displacement, their adaptation to unfavourable weather conditions of the north region of Kazakhstan. The economic life of the Korean expatriate experiences complete or partial refocusing of farming: Koreans grew agricultural crops not typical for the region; different methods of farmery were used; new plant varieties were bred. These features manifested themselves when creating new collective farms and state owned farms (kolkhozes and sovkhoses).

Repressions that followed deportation at immigration places even more aggravated the problem of socialization of Koreans in the territory of the north regions of Kazakhstan. Poor job conditions in industries, problems related to home search, professional refocusing, inadaptability to hard work, which had increased under conditions of northern climate, resulted in mass mortality among the Korean population.

An analysis of dispersive resettlement of Koreans across North Kazakhstan is one of the major issues of the paper.

Keywords: Deportation of Koreans, repressions, expatriate community, North Kazakhstan region, Kustanay region, Pavlodar region, Kokshetau region, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

INTRODUCTION

Koreans of the Far East district represented an established national community at the point of deportation; they lived densely. However, the deportation started in

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1937 forced them to make a six-seven thousand kilometers way from the traditional places of residence to North Kazakhstan. For some north regions became the terminal place of arrival, others were further subjected to displacement within the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. They were taken to the north of Kazakhstan by small collectives or were additionally settled with whole groups, which gave rise to discomfort on its own, since Koreans knew Russian poorly and didn't know Kazakh at all. A part of Koreans displaced to the north part of Kazakhstan were qualified agrarians – vegetable and rice growers; however, the specific character of agriculture of this place was different.

The choice of the issue of this paper is caused by the lack of special researches dedicated to the Koreans of North Kazakhstan. A number of works are of regional nature. The history of the Korean population of the Kustanay region of this period is represented in the publications of Kazakh researchers Ten V.A. and Zaitsev V.A., Chernysh and Khan V.N. (Ten, 1993: 12; Ten, 1994: 48; Ten & Zaitsev, 1993: Chernysh & Khan, 2000: 347). The authors study the issues of socioeconomic development of the Korean kolkhozes of the Kustanay region, the process of deportation in the late 1930s, the issues of adaptation and active working practice. The scientific papers of the above-mentioned authors do not apply for completeness of coverage of the Korean's history not only of North Kazakhstan but the Kustanay region.

Starting from 1991, with the emergence of a young sovereign state – the Republic of Kazakhstan – on the world map, a series of scientists, specializing on studying Koreans of pre-deportation and post-deportation periods (a special branch was formed in Kazakhstan historiography – Korean studies) can be distinguished. Kim G.N. was the first who addressed the issue of deportation and used the “expatriate” term. Most significant works are those of Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor Kan G.V., as well as Khan V.S., Men D.V., Zhang Won Chang, Bek Te Khen, Lee Yen Sok, Shyn Kim Bum, Kim Sung Hwa, Khan V. S., Kim G. (Kan, 2001: 136; Kan, 1994: 248; Kan, 1995: 208; Kan, 2001: 136; Kim & Men, 1995: 346; Kim, 1990: 278; Kim, 1990; Kim & Men, 1995: 346; Men et al., 1992: 168; Kan et al., 1997: 275; History of Koreans of Kazakhstan..., 1998-2000; Khan, 1998; Khan, 1996; Khan & Kim, 2001).

Among foreign researchers of the Korean expatriate of CIS, except South Korean scientists (Ko Sun Mu, Kim Kwang-gyoo, Kwon Hee Yong, Bang Peng Yool, Kim Bo Hee, Yun Sun Wahn and Hounng Wung Ho and others), studies of USA (Ginzburgs J., Stephan J., King R., Diner A. and others), European (Fumagalli M., M. Butino M. and others) and Japanese (Teruyuki Hara, Haruki Wada, Hidesuke Kimura, Natsuko Oka and others) scientists should be noted (Songmoo, 1987; Moo, 1990; Ginsburgs, 1975; Stephan, 1970; Stephan, 1994; Kyu & Soo, 1993).

Each scientific work has distinctions in kind, although the subject of their research is the same – the Korean population. It's therefore false to state that a social

and historical aspect of the Korean population life in the north region of Kazakhstan in 1937-1941 is well studied; there's, therefore, sufficient field left for studying.

The research objective is a complex historical analysis of a social historical aspect of the Korean population life in the north region of Kazakhstan in 1937-1941, interpretation of the Korean population history in the context of its advent to the north of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, determination of the share of Koreans' participation in the Republic's life.

Based on the stated research objective, the following **tasks** were set:

- considering the process of Korean deportation to North Kazakhstan;
- identifying features of resettlement, social and economic adaptation of the Koreans of the north region of Kazakhstan;
- describing the local administrative policy related to the Korean population;
- identifying and reflecting constructive activities within the framework of social and economic development;
- activities of Korean intelligentsia representatives in north regions.

Focusing the research in the north territory of Kazakhstan, deepening and disclosing the issues of deportation and adaptation of the Korean population in detail, using archive documents of central archives, previously used by some researchers, but considered by us from a different point of view subject to covered questions or introduced into scientific use in this research for the first time, we tried to cover the history of the Korean population of North Kazakhstan in more detail.

For the first time in national historical studies:

- the Korean's contribution in the formation of new directions in agriculture: gardening, vegetable farming and melon-growing in the area of risk farming the north region belongs to was identified based on an analysis of scientific-theoretical concepts and approaches;
- the history of Koreans' appearance in North Kazakhstan is reflected;
- specific features of massive repressions towards Korean people were identified;
- primary areas of mass political work of state bodies in the North area towards Koreans were studied;
- Korean's contribution in the development of education in Kazakhstan is revealed.

All the above comprises the **scientific novelty** of the paper.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

General theoretical methodological base of the paper is civilizational and formational approach in revealing both a historical fact and particular analysis of the

appearance and living of Koreans in the north regions of Kazakhstan. The research is based on the principles of historicism objectivity and civic consciousness, with the use of general scientific analysis procedures, dialectic categories of causality, potentiality, actuality. The most important moment of cognition theory is used – practice as cognition basis and criterion of truth.

The use of narrative logic, particular methods of statistics, sociology in the form of analysis of documents, interviewing the participants of describe events, polling, archivistics and hermeneutics along with comparative method of examining used sources allowed recreating the perspective of studied object activity.

Main line of research: studying, analysis and review of archive documents, reflecting the history of Korean population of the north district in retrospective, new conditions of Korean population functioning under conditions of North Kazakhstan.

Problem-solving methods:

- considering the process of Korean deportation to North Kazakhstan;
- identifying features of resettlement, social and economic adaptation of the Koreans of the north region of Kazakhstan; consequent revelation and reflection of constructive activities in terms of region social and economic development;
- positive activities of Korean intelligentsia representatives in north regions.

Historiographic research base largely consists of archive documents, which became available due to lifting of a ban from many archive materials in the early 90s of the 20th century (some funds are still unavailable due to incomplete legalization).

Funds of administrative agencies, economic and culture organizations made up an important group of sources. Almost all archive records related to the north district are collected in Public Record Offices of North Kazakhstan and Kustanay regions, Central Public Record Office and President of the Republic Kazakhstan Archive (CPRO and RKPA). The material we're interested in for covering the issues of post-war development, dispersal movements and education is contained in the funds of CPRO and RKPA. Materials of current record keeping of the branches of Association of Koreans of Kazakhstan, materials of personal files of Korean population representatives of north regions were used.

Statistical data are an important empiric source for studying the process of resettlement, adaptation, domestic arrangement of the Korean population of the north of Kazakhstan: census of population, human resource accounting, migration of Koreans, social status.

When studying the history of the Korean population of the north district, periodicals that fulfill a function of additional source were used by two reasons:

- firstly, regional and republican newspapers published and publish facts, which cover major events, measures, reflecting the Korean population life activities;
- secondly, on May 15, 1938, a newspaper of Soviet Koreans titled *Lenin Kichi* came out in Kazakhstan. Since 1991 the newspaper had been issued under a new title *Koryo Ilbo*. From the late 80s of the 20th century to date *Lenin Kichi* and *Koryo Ilbo* feature many materials about Koreans of the north territory of Kazakhstan, indicating their pro-active attitude.

Resettlement witnesses' recollections can be considered important sources; interviews with Koreans of different generations, memoir literature, collections of documents were used as a part of historiographic base.

Thus, the historiographic base is diverse, different-scale owing to various historical records; it's characterized by durability, authenticity, sustainability and is sufficient for creating a scientific structure of a scientific paper. The totality of revealed and previously introduced into scientific use historical sources provided a basis for scientific justification of the problem under study.

Theoretical significance of this research is that theoretical results and conclusions can be used for studies in the area of history and also when developing the national strategy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Practical significance of the research is that main provisions and conclusions can be used in research studied on topical issues, including international relations in Kazakhstan and CIS. The paper materials can find practical application when developing concepts and programs of national development in the Republic of Kazakhstan, when planning domestic policy in regions, as well as in higher education institutes when reading education courses Modern History of Kazakhstan, Society and Politics and special courses Regional Studies, Topical Issues of Expatriate Studies, Economic and Legal System of Sociological Knowledge.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History of the Appearance of Koreans in the Territory of Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan became the second homeland for many nations of the Soviet Union and for Koreans, in particular. The Koreans, as any nation, can exist and develop taking interest in the such-like questions: "... who are you, where you are, and where to go then?"

Koreans were excellent workers. They open-heartedly took global changes, which the Soviet system brought. Because of this they demonstrated true patriotism fighting for the Soviet power in the years of the civil war. In the interwar years (the civil war in Russia and the Great Patriotic War against Nazi Germany) Koreans wisely arranged on the Soviet Far East. When the USSR was at risk of

war, two enemies stood out – German fascism and Japanese militarism. A false assumption about supposed danger on the part of Koreans as allies of the Japanese militarists' anti-Soviet policy was spread in the Soviet leadership. On August 21, 1937 a document was issued that marked the turning point of Koreans' destiny in the USSR – Decree # 1428-326 “ss” of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union “On the displacement of the Korean population from frontier areas of the Far East region”, it read that it was done “for the purpose of suppression of Japanese espionage penetration into the Far East district...” (History of the Koreans of Kazakhstan..., 1998: 55-56).

The process of displacing Koreans from the Far East district lasted for about three months. Then a publication appeared in *Pravda* as of December 20, 1937: “the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union awarded a commendation to the head of the administration of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs in the Far East Region comrade Lyushkov G.S., the staff collective of the administration of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs in the Far East Region and the workers of far eastern railroad for model and careful fulfillment of a high-profile transport task of the government”. We can suppose the question is the deportation of Koreans. However, the displacement didn't end in the December 1937, echelons with Korean families had been moved to Kazakhstan till the spring of 1938; they were named in reports “households”, but at that time they were displaced from outlandish taiga regions of the Far East Region.

According to the Soviet leadership, the deportation solved political and socioeconomic problems, and one of them – labour power intake for creating a new rice production base in Kazakhstan and maintaining the labour force of the Republic undermined by hunger in 1931-1933 and mass mortality of local population:

- firstly, almost 200 thousand of Koreans densely lived in the Far East Region, who had historical roots in Korea (a militaristic Japan's colony at the time), which served for Soviet Union leaders as an occasion to worry about its Far East frontiers; all the more, since in June, 1936, Japan passed “Empire National Security Directives”, which read the Soviet Union was the enemy No. 1, and in July 1936 a Japan-German Anti-Comintern pact was signed.
- secondly, on May 7, 1934 the Jewish Autonomous Region was formed next to Koreans in the Far East Region and the deportation took off the probable issue of creating a Korean autonomy from the agenda;
- thirdly, the need for labour power intake for creating a new rice production base in Kazakhstan and maintaining the labour force of the Republic undermined by hunger in 1931-1933 and mass mortality of local population.

The population census of 1926 stated that 3 620,8 thous. people of native population lived in the territory on the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. According to the population census of 1939, there was a decline in population that made up 1 321 thousand people. Any way man-power, rather its shortage, required replenishment resource with new forces (Kozybaev et al., 1992: 28).

By October 28, 1937, 90 echelons, 20789 families or 100 thousand of Koreans, while the plan was 63 echelons and 18009 families, arrived to Kazakhstan in three turns (Kan, 1995: 67). Regional centers of Kazakhstan took an active part in the organization work for settler reception. The “On arrangement and resettlement of Korean farms” document signed by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Mirzoyan featured recommendations to resettle Koreans in the corresponding order, to offer regional committee secretaries, regional Executive Committees’ chairmen, NKVD heads to address the issue of resettling arriving Korean farms personally. In such a way Korean kolkhozes began to form in the north regions, and, in particular, Korean kolkhozes were organized at the place of lossmaking hog collective farm #645 *Krasny Partizan* in the Kostanay Region.

The members of the *Samir* kolkhoz occupied the lands of the liquidated sovkhov bordering Kustanay from westward, south-east territory – the *Pyaty Dekabr* kolkhoz, but the kolkhozes had the general central farm in the village of *Krasny Partizan*.

The process of establishing Korean kolkhozes is also forced in the North Kazakhstan region. 2299 Korean farms are moved here, 508 farms are gained access to work at production enterprises, in sovkhoves, institutions. Remained 1791 farms were distributed as follows: it was decided to arrange 958 farms on the lands of liquidated *Krasnoarmeysky* sovkhov, to replace 799 farms in Karatal of the Almaty region, primarily, those who weren’t collective farmers, and to arrange 39 remained farms in already existing kolkhozes, i.e. to settle additionally (the term is officially used in documents about Koreans). It was decided to organize four Korean kolkhozes out of 958 farms transferred to the lands of *Krasnoarmeysky*, namely, *Makashevka* – 188 farms, *14 Godovschina Oktyabrya* – 209 farms, *Karanaryk* – 260 farms, *Karamyl* – 256 farms. Forty farms were employed in an organized machine and tractor station. Construction of Korean households in places of permanent residence was due to be completed in March 1938 (RKPA – Fund 708, List 1, Case 53b, Special folder, Sheet 2; List 1. Case 57. List 56; History of the Koreans of Kazakhstan..., 1998: 150-151). Korean kolkhozes arranged at the place of liquidated *Krasnoarmeysky* sovkhov fell under Kelleroovka region’s authority.

Consequently, a question on the change of region borders arose; comrade Tselykh, the chairman of the special committee “on the Korean question”, was charged to resolve this problem. On March 19, 1938, a decree of the Bureau of the North Kazakhstan Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was issued (Public Record Office of the North Kazakhstan region (hereafter referred

to as – PRO S-NK). Fund 1189. List 1. Case 444. Sheet 7). It solves the problems of Korean settlers stating that 4 Korean kolkhozes were arranged on the land of *Krasnoarmeysky* sovkhov, supplying the Koreans was maintained by establishing a trading network, settlement with Koreans by exchange receipts for livestock and standing crop they had left in the Far East Region was performed, area under crops was measured (PRO S-NK. Fund 1189. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 129). There were cases when Koreans were displaced to regions unfit for growing, for example, rice. Collective farmers of rice growing kolkhozes *Osoaviakhim* and *Tor* (Tikhookeansky Revolutsonier) repeatedly asked to resettle them from North Kazakhstan to the area of paddy culture (PRO S-NK. Fund 1189. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 129). Public Record Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan and local Record Office of the North Kazakhstan region contain the materials of this correspondence (PRO S-NK. Fund 1189. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 129). Rice growers of a resettled kolkhoz named after Stalin (Stepnoe village of the Kellerovka region, North Kazakhstan) addressed the Kremlin with a request to transfer them to the Semipalatinsk region, where climate is similar to Far East's and appropriate for paddy cultures and asked to hurry up with decision, since peasants want to "...be on time for sowing season" (Central Public Record Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan (hereafter referred to as – CPRRK). Fund 1987. List 1. Case 8. Sheet 274). The correspondence result was "Records on the number of resettled rice growers across the North Kazakhstan region": out of 14 arrived kolkhozes – 8 rice growing ones. North Kazakhstan region NKVD department head Shkele sent executive officer of the Council of People's Commissars Syrgabaev a copy of telegram as of April 15, 1938, which collective farmers of four rice growing kolkhozes wishing to get out to Karatal of the Almaty region had sent to the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union: *Risovy Oktyabr*, *Kollektivny Trud*, *Vostochnaya Zarya* and individual letters of *Stepnoy* and *Pioner* collective farmers. One of telegrams is ultimatum-like: "... in the event of failure to transfer us to the rice growing area, we'll leave at our own expense. As a result, the executive officer of the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR sent a letter that the North Kazakhstan Regional Executive Committee had been given instructions to transfer a part of Koreans wishing to grow rice to the Karatal district of the Almaty region (CPRRK. Fund 1987. List 1. Case 8. Sheet 333. PRO S-KR. Fund 1187. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 5,63,71,191).

A plan of resettlement of Koreans was sent to the North Kazakhstan region, according to which all fit regional areas were used for distributing the Korean population. Moreover, it was possible to preserve collective farms established on the Far East by the number of arrived households and depending on their specialization, for example, Korean kolkhozes *Pioner*, *Iskra*, *Novaya Zhizn* of the Suchansk region. That's why it was decided to locate these farms with their names preserved on the village lands of Altaysky – 32 farms (210 persons); a Korean kolkhoz *Iskra* with 23 farms (141 persons) settled on the lands of *Prigorodny*; the *Novaya Zhizn* kolkhoz

was established in the Petrovsky village – 71 farms (231 persons). Three Korean multi-industry kolkhozes appeared in the Stalinsk region: here they grew corn, vegetables, fruits, dairy and beef farming was being developed, a forest nursery was established (CPRRK. Fund 1987. List 1. Case 8. Sheet 333. PRO S-KR. Fund 1187. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 5,63,71,191: 28).

Areas of farmlands of watered and unwatered lands transferred in private hands of Korean farms were set in the north regions (Table 1).

TABLE 1: FARMLAND DISTRIBUTION PLAN IN KOREAN KOLKHOZES

<i>Region</i>	<i>Watered lands, ha</i>	<i>Dry (unwatered) lands, ha</i>
Kostanay	0,25	0,3-0,5
Amangeldy and Turgay	0,25	0,5-0,8
North Kazakhstan (Enbekshilder, Kzylty, Esil, Atbasar, Tonkereysk)	0,25	0,3-0,5
Ruzaev	0,25	0,4-0,7
Pavlodar	0,5	0,5-0,8

The decision was quite grounded and feasible, since Korean migrants for the most part were excellent farmers – vegetable growers, and they, therefore, would be able to provide themselves and the rest part of population with food, take impetus for solidifying at new places and, besides, there would be no conflicts related to disarrangement. Of course, Korean settlers had reclaimed small holdings they were given to the full.

As of March 1, 1938 a code of accounts on the North Kazakhstan region had been made for the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR. It represented the entire situation on Korean migrants' arrangement: there were 2299 Korean households and individual farms in the region, 508 households had been arranged to various institutions, from the rest 1791 households – 958 had been arranged in the territory of *Krasnoarmeysiy* sovkhov, 799 households had been taken to the Karatal-Almaty region, 39 households had been integrated to existing entities. On the basis of 958 households the following kolkhozes had been created: *Makashevka* – 188 households, “14th anniversary of October” – 209 households, *Kara-Zharyk* – 256 households, 40 more households had been arranged for working in an organized motor-tractor station (CPRRK. Fund 1987. List 1. Case 8. Sheet 333. PRO S-KR. Fund 1187. List 1. Case 445. Sheet 5,63,71,191: 101).

In the Kostanay region the situation with settlement was the following: 5 *Dekabr* – 210 households, *Samir* kolkhoz – 210 households, independent kolkhozes – 420 households, additional settlers – 101 households, including 587 workers. The additional settlement had been performed in 17 kolkhozes (CPRRK. Fund 1987. List 1. Case 12. Sheet 12).

The affair of such level and scale required creation of separate apparatus for management, administration and control of Koreans' resettlement. To regulate functions executed by officials and organizations the Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR issued decree # 4/1-10 of February 26, 1938 "Concerning Koreans". The very first its articles came into acute conflict with the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR of 1937. To provide everyday control and management of settlement and household arrangement of Koreans the special groups attached to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and Council of People's Commissars of the Kazakh SSR had been formed. The authoritative group, members of which take personal responsibility for their activities, had been approved. It had been also admitted to create separate groups of workers, so called "troyki", powers of which were so wide that they could act as judicial instance and carry out sentences (CPRRK. Fund 1481. List 10. Case 5. Sheet 19, 20). NKVD had been imposed with special control, which is confirmed by all documents, particularly, the eloquent fragment from telegram to NKVD management subordinates of March 7, 1938: "...we have been imposed with control for realization of all affairs on settlement and arrangement of migrants" (CPRRK. Fund 1490. List 1. Case 4. Sheet 45). In April of 1938 the special resettlement department under the auspices of NKVD dealing with issues of Koreans' settlement and arrangement was formed (CPRRK. Fund 1137. List 3. Case 594. Sheet 24). For the purpose of development of Korean settlements (houses, farms, schools, clubs, libraries, hospitals and feldsher's stations) the Republican building office "Spetsstroy" was organized (Chernysh & Khan, 2000: 45-46). In other words, there was entire management industry dealing with the issues of resettlement and household arrangement.

The resettlement department of North Kazakhstan prepared economic-and-geographical description of eleven areas for settlement of new Korean migrants. The planning authorities paid special attention to the Krasnoarmeyskiy region. Its area made 178648 hectares, the density of population (26064 people represented with Russians, Kazakhs and other nationalities) was quite low, at last it was surrounded by such cities of regional subordination as Karaganda, Petropavlovsk, Kokshetau. Its main branches of agricultural industry: field cropping, vegetable farming and cattle breeding. At that time Kokshetau-city was a regional center and a part of the North Kazakhstan region, and the status of independent administrative area the Kokshetau region had obtained just in 1944. It adjoins the Akmolinskiy region. Population makes 29500 people. Despite continental climate, in winters temperatures here sometimes drop to -40° , -45°C , while summers are hot and dry – nevertheless it is possible to take sustainable yields of crops with the use of proper agricultural methods. In 1940 233 Korean households had been resettled to kolkhozes of the Kokshetau region. The higher authorities claimed for economically grounded benefit from additional resettlement of Koreans to plan its next stages and account number of deported households.

The peculiarities of Koreans' settlement in the northern regions of the Kazakh SSR can be expressed by statements of one of reports delivered to Moscow and Alma-Ata: "For the purpose of full development of available resources there is a necessity of people, the insufficiency of which can be observed in kolkhozes of the Kokshetau region". As far as density of population in the northern region was rather low, the insufficiency of manpower was quite a wide-spread phenomenon.

The second peculiarity of Koreans' settlement in North Kazakhstan was the fact that mainly small kolkhozes had been settled with new migrants to reach their enlargement.

The settlement of newly arrived Koreans had been performed mostly in existing sovkhoses and kolkhozes, while independent Korean kolkhozes had not been organized – and this is the third peculiarity of Koreans' settlement.

According to the resettlement affairs head's report, as of November 1937 the number of Korean migrants arrived from the Far East Region to the territory of North Kazakhstan made: Kostanay – 877 families (3913 people); the North-Kazakhstan region – 2702 families (12031 people). By April 1, 1939 the total amount of Korean households in Kazakhstan made 18495, in Kostanay and North-Kazakhstan regions – 1862, i.e. one percent of total amount of resettled households (Table 2).

TABLE 2: PRESENCE OF DISPLACED KOREANS IN THE KAZAKH SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC ACCORDING TO DATA AS OF 01.04.1939 (CPRRK. FUND 1137. LIST 3. CASE 17. SHEET 24)

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Farms total</i>	<i>Particularly in kolkhozes</i>			<i>Workers and employees</i>	<i>Total kolkhozes</i>		
		<i>Independent</i>	<i>Additionally resettled</i>	<i>Fishing</i>		<i>Independent</i>	<i>Additionally resettled</i>	<i>Fishing</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lamaty	4164	2174	774	426	790	15	31	4
Aktobe	318	417	49	-	352	4	3	-
Atyrau	983	298	160	225	300	3	9	1
West Kazakhstan	498	-	331	-	167	-	33	-
Kustanay	1090	402	101	-	587	2	17	-

The main location of arrival and temporary settlement of Koreans was the South Kazakhstan area – particularly, such cities as Kzyl-Orda, Dzhusaly, Kazalinsk, Chiili, Yany-Kurgan.

Another peculiarity of settlement was the following: initially it was considered Koreans should be settled in rice growing regions of South Kazakhstan and partially in fishing regions of the Aral and Balkhash basins. However with arrival of second

TABLE 3: DISPLACED KOREANS RATIO BY REGIONS

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of farms</i>
Kyzyl-Orda	7613
Almaty	4164
Karaganda	1288
South Kazakhstan	1269
Kustanay	1090
Guryev	983
Aktobe	818
North Kazakhstan	772
West Kazakhstan	498

and third streams of migrants the authorities had to settle Koreans almost in all regions of Kazakhstan. For example: the Pavlodar region due to its natural historical conditions was considered a favourable territory for migrants' reception. There were surpluses of lands for utilization: plough lands (663.383 hectares), pastures (961.836 hectares), steppe hayfields (56.507 hectares). However the land funds existed in the region had not been ready for reception of migrants, and such an opportunity had emerged just by 1940. Apparently, it was the reason why the Pavlodar region had not been included into Kazakhstan's allocation on deportees' reception.

The conditions of settlement were different as well. And while the first wave of Koreans settled in the south of Kazakhstan that differed with favourable climatic conditions had fallen on rather warm September, the Koreans arrived in October-December met all the severities linked to deportation – coldness, hunger, transportation inconvenience.

According to memories of deportation participants ill persons had not been provided with emergency care, and if they requested help they had been just got off the train and nobody had ever heard about them.

Construction of land fund that should take place since 1939 implied providing every Korean family with new or repaired accommodation: in the Kostanay region it was suggested to allocate 86 houses, in North Kazakhstan – 219. To facilitate Koreans' settlement the credits granted: in 1939 the loan for total amount of 12623 roubles was obtained by 3980 persons. The amount of credit is negligibly small, to our mind. Archive records of 1937-1941 state the adaptation and household arrangement of Koreans passed quite painfully. All these had its cause-and-effect relations:

1. Nature and climate of Kazakhstan are represented with hard winter and arid climatic zone. In petitions to region's party committees, the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of

the Kazakh SSR, and even to the Kremlin Koreans complained of climate, nature paucity, diseases, which literally twisted both – the old men and the children, and adaptation difficulties caused by the circumstances.

2. Organized Korean kolkhozes and new migrants incurred deficit in crediting, housing and water supply, the de facto had not corresponded to the de jure at all.
3. Deportation carried-out by a “cavalry pounce”, i.e. – in short terms, resulted in the situation when Koreans from the Far East Region had left everything they had there: their houses, household goods and buildings, livestock, standing crop – in other words they became paupers and were to have loss recovery by redemption checks in Kazakhstan – however it had not been happened to the full.

Nonetheless, the resettlement of so many Koreans from one end of Asia to another end within a short period of time was the necessary alternative to survive.

REPRESSIONS 1935 – 1936, DEPORTATION 1937

Koreans, which were ones of the first participants in such a wide-scale affair as deportation, represented separate social ethnos, and formation or evolvement of their social status at new place directly depended on how they could approve themselves. Koreans deported to Kazakhstan were thrown into the following dilemma: if they will have to change their occupation and views cardinally, how will they match a new ethno environment with their national “ego”, will they be able to preserve their culture, traditions, customs and the way of life in general?

Due to Soviet authority among Korean population its own intellectual class had emerged: at first it was represented by revolutionaries, people with higher education or ones studying in higher educational institutions, who had already changed their social orientation. It was a separate stratum within Korean society. Despite all the difficulties related to getting higher education, many Koreans sent their children to study in higher educational institutions – i.e. there was social transposition, the very place Koreans took in social structure of society had been changing.

The ranks of intellectuals had thinned out, when 2500 Koreans had been subjected to repressions in 1935-1937. The most educated and progressive members of Korean community left the life cycle. The survived and deported in 1937 persons could not be considered the inert mass. However consternation and incomprehension of such unfounded strikes, law-obedience and absolute trust in authority had not led to any loud manifestations of dissatisfaction with resettlement – it remained latent.

The main part of people that had been subjected to repressive measures was represented by men, the household heads. Women left with children in virtue of patriarchy and fear for life of their sons and daughters could not become a force

resisting deportation affairs. Average Korean family consisted of 4-7 people. Left without earner, such family suffered from hardships even in the Far East Region, and the suffering had just been aggravated in the context of deportation.

There was a decree of the Communist Party's Central Committee of November 19, 1937 on an increase in the number of persons that should be subjected to repression by the republic: 2000 people by 1st category of anti-Soviet activity and 3000 more by 2nd category – i.e. 5000 people in total. There was a reserve on repressions for 750 people as well: for 350 by 1st category and 400 more by 2nd one. For example, only for 15 days of February-March of 1938 631 people had been shot – mainly, the representatives of Kazakh intellectuals, among whom there were many specialists from various areas of economy, science, and education. The following table vividly demonstrates the repressions against Soviet citizens had been carried-out without taking into account the nationality aspect (Table 4).

As one can see from the table, the persons subjected to repressions were mainly educated specialists, while in case of low educational level – they were lifewise people with broad professional experience.

In investigative files there are many procedural errors and discrepancies in dates, reports, statements. Protocols had often been filled in quite illiterate and unprofessional manner – so there is not only falsification of cases of Koreans subjected to repressive measures, but also occupational incompetence of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs management's investigators (KRPRO. Fund 125. List 5. Case 77. Sheet 4; Yarochkina, 2012: 169-175).

Perhaps, there were cases when accused persons got liberty to face then great difficulties in terms of their future life arrangement. As a rule, they avoided returning to places of their earlier living, as far as people there felt suspicious, or even outright hostility about them. Therefore, they had to camp on the doorsteps of instances that had deprived them of liberty and then, having freed, had not recognized their legal civil rights. Upon discharging from prison they unflinchingly looked for employment assistance and therefore had to explain own motives for changing place of living and working and pass through derogatory procedures to take documents and absentee ballots for changing residence (Book of Sorrow..., 2000: 84, 134, 188). Ones, who had been shot as public enemies, were continuously sought by relatives, as far as they knew nothing about what had happened to prisoners. For example: Vera Nigay – the wife of I.I. Nigay shot in 1938 – for many years tried to find out what the fate of her husband was. And just in 1956 she got an answer to her request under No. 523285/222 of May 17, 1956 saying I.I. Nigay had been shot on the assumption of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs with regard to case No. 456 on October 12, 1938 and rehabilitated posthumously (Book of Sorrow..., 2000: 208).

TABLE 4: DATA ON KOREANS SUBJECTED TO REPRESSIVE MEASURES ACCORDING TO MATERIALS OF THE KOSTANAY REGION FOR 1938-1941

<i>No.</i>	<i>Surname of person subjected to repressive measures</i>	<i>Year of birth</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Date of repression</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
1	Kan Ir-U, lived in Novocherkassk, relatives lived in Kostanay, 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	1890	Bolshevik party	Higher	Primorsk territory	Soviet trading college teacher	9.08.1938
2	Kim Danila Kuzmich, lived in Dzhetysay	1918	Bolshevik party	-	Voroshi - lovsk	Field-crop agronomist	9.08.1938
3	Kim Mikhail Petrovich	1902	Bolshevik party	4 classes	Korea	Agronomist, starting from 1937 - Krasny Partizan village soviet secretary	11.08.1938
4	Kim De-Yur	1896	Bolshevik party	Uneducated	Korea	Brigade leader of crop growers in 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	13.08.1938
5	Kim Chan-Ir	1898	Bolshevik party	2 classes	Korea	Crop grower in 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	13.08.1938
6	Li Yen Un	1911	Can - didate	4 classes	Far East Region	Accountant of agrimotor vehicles	13.08.1938
7	Em Liz Ulk	1893	Member of VKPb	2 classes	Korea	Transportation specialist in 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	13.08.1938
8	Li Bon Khegay	1899	Member of VKPb from 1927	3 years in Vladivostok Economics Institute	Korea	Brigade leader of crop growers in 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	13.08.1938
9	Khen Tay Nikolay Vasilyevich	1899	Member of VKPb from 1927	3 years in Vladivostok Economics Institute	Korea, Khan-Gan-San village	Chairman of 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	2.11.1938
10	Nigay Ivan Illarionovich	1890	Bolshevik party	Secondary	Korea, kulak's son	Medical assistant in 5 Dekabr kolkhoz	1938

There are hundreds of such fates in the northern region of Kazakhstan. The cases opened on Koreans often included accusation based on article 58 clauses 6, 7, 9, 10, which implied supreme penalty – the execution by shooting (KRPRO. Fund 250. List1. Case 2. Sheet 4). While a group of Koreans from Kostanay kolkhoz 5 *Dekabr* had been accused of creating anti-Soviet organization, the Koreans from North Kazakhstan were not charged of participation in any grouping, however all of them had been accused of espionage by stereotyped scenario of NKVD.

Among those who had been subjected to ungrounded accusation and persecutions and then killed, there were many literate and useful members of society, good employers and wise leaders. The investigation often rested on delations, pure and simple slander. This once again confirms not only inhomogeneity of migrants' social composition, but also their moral and ethic level, internal human dignity.

The facts are the following: during the years of Stalin's repressions all groups of Korean population had been affected, many families – even twice: they had been subjected to repressions in the Far East at first, and then during the period of resettlement in Kazakhstan in 1938-1940. The major part of people subjected to repressive measures is represented with educated persons and intellectuals emerged within a period of cultural revolution in the USSR.

Personal files of people subjected to repressions depict tragedies of definite persons, their families and relatives, and even their friends, who had been considered “the friends of public enemies” and subjected to prosecution.

Falsifications of NKVD were often reduced to absurdity.

If a man (in the present case – Li Yen Un (Li Gay A.V.) could not be accused by article 58, clause 10, section 1, in view of lack of crime components, investigators just started another case and the term of being in custody had been extended for additional investigation. In the second case he had been accused by clauses 7 and 10 of article 58 of the Criminal Code. Due to the lack of reasonable ground the judicial proceedings had later been stopped as well.

So Li Yen Un had been committed for trial in accordance with article 58 by initial accusation of clause 10, section 1. The term of being in custody had been extended again. Initially Li Yen Un had been arrested on August 13, 1938. Upon third accusation the investigators of NKVD followed article 204, clause “b”, and article 221 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The case was closed again due to the lack of crime components and non-recognition of any guilt by the person on remand. The investigators prepare new accusation according to article 202 of the Criminal Procedure Code and incriminate a crime linked to the definite sayings of Li Yen Un – i.e. they find any excuse to avoid admission in inadequacy of their actions in the capacity of public officials. For this purpose they appoint a committee consisting of three persons the investigators consider competent representatives from among Koreans, which are allegedly able to estimate the seditious character of Li Yen

Un's words. Almost all the documents of the case contain mismatches in dates: they either get ahead of the events, or, on the contrary, delay. Despite such "black humour" in processing the case of Li Yen Un it had been brought to tragic end. The plan on repressions had been executing quite well in Kazakhstan.

During the research works in the Funds of Kostanay regional Museum of Local Lore, History and Economy aside from important documents concerning the case of judge Sagdagaliev M., there are materials that, to our mind, are just unique, since they scrupulously recover events of life and tragic end of outstanding Korean revolutionary Kim Men Mu.

He was one of the most educated Koreans ever, knew three foreign languages: Japanese, Russian and Chinese. His career history reflects life of population's representatives participated in rebellion of March 1, 1919 in Korea. To avoid death penalty Kim Men Mu escaped with his family to Manchuria, completed military courses, became a squad leader. In 1920 together with a partisan unit he crossed the border of the USSR in the area of the Far East and had been fighting on the part of the Red Army up to 1922. Then for several years he worked as Korean teacher, from 1934 to 1936 was a student of Vladivostok pedagogical school. He made great success in education, differed with considerable abilities and knowledge versatility. This proves once again the need of a better education had been associated not only with mercantile interests by Koreans, but also with their usefulness for society. In May 1936 Kim Men Mu had been appointed a Japanese teacher to Khabarovsk NKVD, where he taught the staff of Khabarovsk chekists Chinese and Japanese languages. However, on September 23, 1937 he had been denounced and arrested on a charge of espionage in behalf of Japan. In April 1938 his family's house had been visited by NKVD executives, who ordered to get ready for departure. The next morning the family members had been convoyed to railway station of Khabarovsk, wherefrom pregnant woman with three children went to Kostanay. First three days in Kostanay they lived just in the street, then the mother found nights lodging in *Samir kolkhoz*. Thus, the family stayed for living in the Korean village. What had happened to family's head remained unclear until 1956, when daughter of Kim Men Mu tried hard her father to be rehabilitated.

Although his guilt had not been proven, the accusation was riddled with errors and contradicted all the merits this devoted Korean differed with towards his new Homeland. The death penalty had been executed on September 13, 1938, and only on November 24, 1959 his family had obtained posthumous rehabilitation of Kim Men Mu by the board of Supreme Court of the USSR.

By 1941 life of Korean population got stable, although in very slow pace. When the Great Patriotic War had broken out, Koreans were sure their Motherland would trust them to protect it, as far as communistic ideology and the Constitution officially declared that all nations are equal in the USSR.

PARTICIPATION OF KOREANS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Before resettlement of Koreans the socio-demographic and cultural-and-educational situation was the following: Koreans were the citizens of the USSR, who actively participated in all spheres of socio-political life of their region – they were members of the National Bolshevik Party, komsomols, members of “school of communism”; their national culture had been developing in accordance with socialist realism, there were formation of Korean intellectual class, printed newspapers in Korean, own radio broadcasting, a national theater, an institute, where pedagogical intellectuals were studying, two teacher training colleges, cooperative and rice growing technical schools. The Korean youth studied in higher educational institutions from Moscow to Vladivostok.

In archives there are documents that allow following up the socio-political involvement of young Koreans, their maturation and profession skill improvement. Most often their personal files are abound with delations made by anonymous informers. They contain information about their private, komsomol or professional life. In the end of the 30s – the early 40s Korean teachers become the aim of thorough checks performed by security services with respect to their loyalty to the Soviet power. Owing to the deportation of 1937 Korean students were withdrawn from institutes and colleges; they just took notes of which higher or technical educational institution they had studied in and what was their academic progress. Generally such lists contained very high estimates of Koreans’ proficiency.

Upon arrival to the northern regions of Kazakhstan the Korean young people tried to continue education in local higher educational institutions, however with a specialization other than they had before deportation. For example, if one studied at financial and economic faculty of Vladivostok Economics Institute, upon arrival to, for instance, Kostanay he had to enter the mathematical faculty of Teachers’ Institute. By the beginning of war they had already been specialists with higher education, and that is why in public education system there were so many graduated Korean teachers. The story of one of the most known principals of Kostanay schools A.M. Pak, who had risen from simple teacher to outstanding initiative leader, is of special interest.

In the end of 1938 the Central Committee of Communist Party of Kazakhstan adopted decree “Concerning Koreans”, which, particularly, declared there were escalated issues about education of Korean children. It was necessary to open new schools as quick as possible – especially, in areas, where Koreans are settled by groups and kolkhozes. The issue had been raised once again in the beginning of 1939 in connection with creation of new resettlers’ kolkhozes in Kostanay and North Kazakhstan regions.

The educational system of Kazakhstan in the majority of cases were acquired talented teachers and capable specialists represented by Koreans. Many of them

were appointed for working in Russian schools. However, in Ryazanovka village a Korean school completed with Korean teachers and textbooks was opened.

But a year later the trend for population's Russification was emerged. On March 13, 1938, there was a Decree of Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and Central Committee of VKPb about teaching Russian in national schools of republics. All schools of such type had to pass to more qualitative level of teaching Russian language, the special attention had been paid to national schools for deported population. The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and Central Committee of VKPb resolved the teaching of Russian language was performed in quite a poor manner, which impeded realization of the national policy. In particular, the decree contains the following motives for improved teaching of Russian: under conditions of polyethnic state, which is the USSR, Russian language promotes nations' convergence, their involvement into economic and cultural life of country, provides wide prospects for improving domestic labour in the most different areas of science and technology; knowledge of Russian should also provide necessary conditions for effective service of the USSR citizens in the ranks of the army. The arguments may seem undeniable; however, the underside of this all-Soviet affair is the straight way to denationalization of culture and Russification imposition that entailed far-reaching negative consequences. Learning of Russian language had been introduced to all non-Russian schools starting from 2nd class.

The decree may also seem imposed by the time: the USSR is a great state, and the knowledge of Russian by Soviet people of all nationalities opens wide prospects in all spheres of human activity, however all these takes place due to the increase of lessons in Russian and the reduction of lessons in Kazakh and other minority languages. Realization of the decree leads to all-round liquidation of Kazakh, Korean, and other national schools. There were some variations; however, execution of the decision provides the following: "...to reorganize existing national schools: Tatar, German, Korean and other Soviet conventional schools". In November of 1939 there was a decision on taking out Korean literature and writing it off to paper wastage. Thus, the socio-cultural impact of national language had been limited only by intrafamilial and household communication. All these had caused the Koreans of second and subsequent deportee generations had forgot literary Korean language, though the knowledge of everyday Korean language had almost been reduced to zero as well.

Any teacher plays the leading role in teaching and upbringing of pupils, and it was even more difficult for Korean teachers to make their work under unstable socio-political conditions expressed with abrupt restructuring of education process, lack of national pedagogical staff and repressions.

CONCLUSIONS

Authors of the present paper took steps in covering a relevant issue in national history. We supposed the data found in archives and concerning deportation, settlement and arrangement, as well as future life activities of Koreans and evolvment of their social status in the northern regions of Kazakhstan, will help to extend and enrich historical material on the matter.

Having considered social and historical aspect of Koreans' settlement in North Kazakhstan in 1937-1941, we can make the following conclusions:

1. The main achievement of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the possibility of uncensored considering and estimating historical events.
2. The process of deportation of Koreans to the northern regions, their future staying in Kazakhstan, is the separate page in the history of Koreans and Kazakhstan in general.
3. The creative labour of Koreans in many areas of human activities for their own sake and the sake of society comprises general economic conversions of present day.
4. Koreans remained faithful to themselves and their mentality, having proven they were pulled together by strong ties, and the process of their development and upbringing of patriots and internationalists was going on.
5. Relatively small Korean community of North Kazakhstan functions in quite a productive way, united and inspired by Korean Association of Kazakhstan.
6. Koreans have deserved authority and intergenerational continuity. The named authority is consolidated in the activity of Korean Association promoting their participation in socio-political life of society and exercising constitutional rights.
7. The moral obligation and duty of young people is the analytical and critical re-evaluation of the historical period and drawing lessons to avoid repeating mistakes. The totalitarian system should remain only in historical records.

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