

# Forced Deportation and Literary Imagination

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## 1. Introduction

The Soviet Koreans of Central Asia commemorate this year, 2002, as the 65th anniversary of their forced deportation from the Far East. Among the countries in Central Asia, Kazakhstan has played an important role in the history of Soviet Korean deportation. It is in Kazakhstan where some Korean deportees have reopened the Wondong choson sabom daehak (Far Eastern Korean Pedagogical Institute) and the Sowangnyong choson sabom hakkyo (Korean Junior College of Education of Nikol'sk-Ussuriisk). Kazakhstan is also the new home for the Choson kukchang (Korean Theatre) and the daily Korean newspaper, founded in 1938, the *Lennin kichi* (Lenin's banner).

According to the first census taken since the collapse of the Soviet Union there are 99,665 Koreans living in Kazakhstan. Koreans thus account for 0.67 percent of the total population of Kazakhstan. They can be divided into three categories. The first category consists of those Koreans deported forcedly to Kazakhstan from the Soviet Far East. This action was secured on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1937 by "Resolution No. 1428-326SS" of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the "Expulsion of the Korean Population From the Frontier Regions of the Far Eastern Border" signed by I. Stalin and V. Molotov. The second category consists of those Koreans who were mobilized by the Japanese during the Second World War to be sent to Sakhalin. Those who remained there after the end of the war moved to Kazakhstan in the 1970s. The third category consists of those Koreans who originally came to Soviet Union as North Korean students, and who later asked for political asylum. Considering the number of people, the second and third categories are relatively insignificant. The Koreans belonging to the first category form the majority of so-called Koryo saram or "Soviet Koreans". The language used by the Koryo saram is called Koryo mal, which is based on the northeastern Korean dialect.

The purpose of this article is to examine the effects of forced deportation on the Soviet Koreans, and how these experiences are realized in Soviet Korean literature. We have chosen "Kiok" (Memory), written by Son Lavrentii, as the object of our research. The Korean theatre presented the first performance of "Memory" on October 3, 1997 in Almaty, Kazakhstan. "Memory" is a recent drama, which can be considered Soviet Korean literature. Soviet Korean literature can be defined as works, which are written in Koryo mal, by the Koryo saram, and for Soviet Koreans. "Memory" not only satisfies this definition of Soviet Korean literature, but also reflects the process of deportation and addresses some problems, which Soviet Koreans experienced during their settlement. Through the contents of "Memory" we will analyze how the ethnic consciousness and historical understanding of deported Soviet Koreans are imagined literarily.

## 2. On the author of “Memory” and his creative activities

Son Lavrentii was born in Ushtobe, part of the Taldy–Kurgan province, Kazakhstan on February 2, 1941. After finishing secondary studies in 1958 at Nukus, Uzbekistan, he entered in the Sberdlovsk Junior College of Radio Technology in Ural, graduating from there in 1961. Since then, he has worked at the Military Radio Factory of Barnaul, in Altai, for 10 months in March 1961. He then worked at the Section of Ionosphere, Institute of Mathematics, Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences from November 1961 until August 1963. He was the first Soviet Korean to enroll at the All Union’s State Institute of Cinematography in September 1963. He graduated from there in 1967.

He worked at Kazakh Films from July 1967 to August 1985 as a cinema scenario writer and film director. In September 1985 he was employed by the Republican Korean Theatre of Musical Comedy, commonly referred to as the Korean Theatre, as general director. In January of 1987 he joined the Institute of Actors of Kazakh Films and occupied the same position. During this period of Kazakh Films, he wrote such scenarios as: 1) “Hieobychnyi dien” (No ordinary day), 2) “Vybob” (Choice), 3) “Ob’iasnieniie v liubvi” (Confess of love), 4) “Siemieinyi al’bom” (Family album), 5) “Dopolnitel’nyie voprosy” (Additional questions), 6) “Sol” (Salt): adaptation of a piece of Sapargali Begalin, 7) “Dien’ i chas Sierikkula” (Day and hour of Serikyl), 8) “Sani v gopu i pod goru” (Sani to the mountain and down from the mountain), and 9) “U kpomki lunnogo kpatiera” (Center of lunar crater). From these pieces numbers 3, 5, 6, and 8 were presented and supervised personally. He has also directed and supervised two other pieces: “Otchim” (Stepfather) by Shapiga Musina and “Primitie Adama” (Receive Adam) by Oljas Sulieimienov.

He left the Kazakh Films in March 1989 and established The Song Cinema. There he produced documentary films about minority ethnicities in the Soviet Union. The representative works of these documentary style films are: 1) “Strpaniki” (Pilgrims: film about the Germans), 2) “Iskatieli Bielovod’ia” (People looking for Bielovod’ia: about Russian Greek orthodox followers), 3) “Balkhashskaia saga” (Saga of Balkhash: about the Swedish living nearby the Balkhash lake), 4) “Potiepiennaia kniga” (Lost book: about the Nibx tribe in Northern Shakalin), 5) “U posledniei cherty” (On the last line: about the Orochi tribe in southern Khabaropsk), 6) “Labunmedenu–ziemlia vadulob” (Labunmedeu, Vaduls’ land), 7) “Dieriebo molitv” (Tutelary tree: about the Kazakh), 8) “Biegliecy iz Kagalyma” (Escapee from Kagalym: about the Hanty tribe, one of Finn–Ouigur tribes), 9) “Poliubil turchanku turok” (Turkish man loved Turkish woman: about the Turkish), 10) “Opytnoie hoziaistvo” (Experimental farm: about the Korean farmers), 11) “Koryo saram” (Korean people: about non–Korean ethnics in Kazakhstan, who speak fluently in Koryo mal), 12) “Posiescieniie kladbisca” (Visit to the cemetery: about a Korean poet Kang T’aesu). He recieved Marie Ruspoli Prize with “Derebo molitv” at the 1992 Documentary Film Festival organized by the Musée de l’Homme in Paris, France. He returned to the Korean Theatre in October 1996 as general director of art and later worked as director of literature.

In Kazakhstan he is known chiefly as a film director and scenario writer but is also an author of short stories. There are two dramatic scenarios written in Russian from his earlier days entitled “Viesiennii vietiep” (Spring wind) and “Den’ rojdienie” (Birthday). For

both works, the Korean version was presented by the Korean Theatre. He has written two short stories: "Samgak'hongui myonjok" (Surface of triangle) and "Vspomnim lieto i nie paz" (Recalling summer several times).

### 3. The contents of "Memory" and its dramatic structure

"Memory" is a non-published dramatic work written in the spring of 1997. It is composed of 2 acts in 10 scenes based on the hardships, which the deported Koryo saram experienced in their forced resettlement from 1937 through the fall of 1942. The principal cast consists of the Kim and Pak families. These families are accompanied by a Kazakh shepherd named Orynbai Tchiemirov (age 60) and his wife Halima (45), Liza (40) and her husband Fiodr (45) who were separated during the deportation, a driver, a policeman, and a narrator of the scenes.

The members of the Kim family are Nikolai (17), his father Kilman (45), his mother Cho Sunyok (45), his grandfather Yongjin (65), all of whom belong to the aristocratic class. While the members of Pak's family are Anna (18), her father Piotr (45), her mother Yu Haeson (45), her grandmother Choi Kyongnan (63), who are members of the proletariat class.

"Memory" begins with a scene in which the deported Soviet Koreans are feeling uneasy about getting off the train. They walk up and down restlessly in a starry autumn night on the steppe. The year is 1937. A narrator appears and says that he would like to tell a story about a few families out of the uncountable Koryo saram, who were obliged to come to Kazakhstan.

The first scene begins with a situation in which the Kazakh shepherd Orynbai and his wife Halima are surprised to see the Korean deportees covering themselves with sacks of flex hemp and sleeping together at a place on the hill. Seeing a baby, Halima approaches to help them. Orynbai reproaches her as she has obviously forgotten what the authorities told them. Through the conversations between Piotr and Orynbai, Piotr comes to know that Orynbai's family is the only one remaining there and tells the shepherd that they are Koreans deported from the Far East. When Haeson, mother of Ondol, causes a commotion in seeking a diaper, a dispute arises between her and her husband, Piotr.

Yongjin, who tried to stop the quarrel, is referred to by Piotr as somebody who will soon go to Beimangshan, and is asked not to tease them. As Kilman defends his father, Piotr tells him not to give himself airs and accuses him as one of those responsible for the deportation. Piotr is indignant at being insulted, even though he worked so hard for the Kim family in the past and praised courteously the Soviet regime that has emancipated them from the feudalism. Kilman asks Piotr to recall the fact that they have lived like brothers from childhood and he has brought him many books in the past, who in turn blames Kilman of trifling books. Liza, Fiodr's wife, reproaches Piotr for his hot-tempered character and says to Haeson that she would not lust after such a man. Haeson retorts that Liza is the reason that her husband ran away, referring to her as a "bitch". At that very moment, Orynbai and Halima bring hot water and dried bread to feed everyone.

The narrator appears and relates that when winter approached, the Koryo saram built underground huts to subsist, and overcame many hardships. He says that five years have passed since then and in the territory of Kazakhstan there was sufficient sun, soil, and water needed for. At just this time a war breaks out in the West.

The time of the second scene is in the spring of 1942. The narrator reveals that Nikolai is 17 years old and Anna is 18. Nikolai puts a wreath of dandelions on Anna's head showing that they love each other. Nikolai had gone to the Military Committee of Mobilization, but was refused because of his young age. The rejection is not easy for him. Nikolai verifies their love by asking to Anna if she could wait for him until he comes back from the war. To Nikolai, who asks about the health of Ondol, Anna replies that he is severely ill. Anna is anxious since no one can look after him in the busy farming season. A question occurs to Nikolai: why doesn't the Military Committee of Mobilization send Koreans to the war front. Nikolai and Anna converse about various things and finish by singing a song together.

With the voice of Kyongnan looking for Anna in the background, Piotr, who has found the two, speaks ill of Anna and orders her to return home quickly. He also commands her not to have relations with any of the Kim family. Nikolai rebuffs Piotr, but Piotr returns that he would never be a relative by marriage with the Kim family. Kyongnan then persuades Nikolai to return home and takes Anna with her. Piotr worries that something serious has already happened between the two young ones. Afterwards Liza, who has a hankering for carnal desire, appears and seduces Piotr. When Piotr is just about to embrace Liza, Kilman (of the Kim family) appears and urges them to participate in a meeting, which has been called. Piotr, who had no chance to satisfy his desire, provokes a quarrel with Kilman and accuses him of having spied upon Liza. The two families wives Sunyok and Haeson appear, since they are waiting for the meeting. When Piotr suggests they have a meeting about the bad behavior of certain persons of their brigade Haeson rebukes him severely. When Piotr proclaims that the beautiful Liza did not pass her hands over him, Haeson again abuses Liza with the following: "You little bitch, when are you going to correct your habit?". Kilman admonishes people and goes with them to the meeting hall.

The third scene commences in the underground hut of the Kim family, where Yongjin is reading a book. His daughter-in-law Sunyok shows him what she wrote in Korean and reads it. Nikolai, arriving home, hears what his mother is reading and applauds her. Yongjin asks Nikolai why he looks unpleasant. Nikolai hesitates a moment and asks his grandfather why they have been deported from their home. His grandfather tells him that many people who wanted to know the truth of the deportation have lost their lives, and asks him not to demand such questions any more. But Nikolai claims that he protects his country from the Fascists and heaves a sigh saying, "What kind of mistake did Korean people commit to make the authorities not want to send them to the front. Kilman returning home just that moment asks Nikolai if he loves Anna. Though Kilman worries about Anna's father, Nikolai makes clear his intention not to step back. When Nikolai asks his grandfather again the reason of the deportation, Yongjin replies simply that if Nikolai lives long enough he will come to know its cause.

In the fourth scene, Yongjin passes before the Pak house. Kyongnan greets him and tells him that her grandson Ondol is very ill, and that she has sent Anna for Piotr. Recalling the past, they begin to speak of their memories. Yongjin tells her that Nikolai seems to love Anna. However, Kyongnan requests that he never say such a thing before Piotr. Piotr returns from the field and, seeing Yongjin there, flies into a rage and asks the old man to

leave. Then Yongjin tells Piotr that he can diagnose some illnesses and asks his consent to check on Ondol. However, Piotr refers to him as a charlatan and tells him to go back home and read books. Piotr bears a grudge against Yongjin because his family was obliged to leave even their rice sacks in order to bring their books. Kyongnan blames Piotr for his bad manners in speaking at random towards an aged person. However, Piotr shouts at her not to intrude. Piotr reproaches Yongjin for his pro-Japanese behavior in the past. He says that they were deported from the Far East due to people like Yongjin who got along with the Japanese.

The fifth scene starts with all members of the Pak family sitting around Ondol. When Kyongnan sends Anna for Yongjin, Piotr does not let her go since it is useless. Anna tries to read her father's mind and finally goes to invite Yongjin. On the way, she meets with Nikolai who was waiting for her at the predetermined spot. When Anna tells him that she can not keep her promise because Ondol is severely ill, Nikolai says that if Ondol takes the herb remedy which his grandfather prescribes, he will get well soon. Yongjin enters the Pak house and greets everyone. Instead of greeting, Piotr lowers his head without word. After examining Ondol's pulse Yongjin confirms the child's death. The first act finishes with Haeson and Kyongnan weeping bitterly.

The second act starts with the sixth scene. While taking a rest on the way home, bringing drinking water, Sunyok and Liza talk about their lives. Liza worries that her husband Fiodr forgets her completely and keeps himself amused with another woman. She also tells Sunyok that she hates Piotr. However, when he calls her she cannot help shuddering. Liza thanks Sunyok for having been on good terms with her, even though the other villagers look down on her. She says that one day, when with Piotr, she was suddenly reminded of her husband Fiodr and tried to stop the affair with Piotr. She confesses that, for the moment, she cannot live without a man.

At the very moment, the sound of a car is heard and a light shines from the dark. It is a policeman who says that he is seeking Orynbai who lives nearby. He then reports that Orynbai's son was killed in the war. Liza and Synyok go to find everyone. The policeman and driver proceed to take a coffin from the truck. Yongjin was informed from Kilman that Orynbai's son was killed in the war. He feels sorry for the pitiable circumstances of Orynbai, and worries about how Orynbai could hold the funeral alone. The policeman left after Kilman signed the documents proclaiming that he has taken over the body. Orynbai and Halima, hearing the tragic news, are so surprised that they do not know what to do. When Nikolai opens the coffin lid, Halima runs to the body and holds it in her arms.

The seventh scene starts with the ritual in which the Koryo saram put soil around the tomb of Bakhtagul Orynbai. According to the Kazakh tradition women normally cannot participate in the funeral ceremony. Therefore, Yongjin asks to Orynbai to allow him to hold the funeral ceremony in the Korean way so that Halima and the other Korean women can participate. Each person in turn pours vodka in a glass, kisses the glass, and then pours the vodka around the tomb. On the way home, Liza tells Haeson that she will not meet with Piotr anymore and asks Haeson to forgive her. She says that she saw Fiodr in her dreams and that he will soon come back. She suggests that Haeson gives Piotr a good scolding so that he will thereafter refrain from cheating. Liza tells her about a plan which she could employ for this purpose. Liza gives a hint to Haeson, saying that if a man seeks another woman it is because his wife does not look after herself.

The eighth scene opens at midnight with the appearance of Haeson by a willow on a cliff overlooking the river. She has disguised herself as Liza. Piotr appears as Liza, out of sight, sings a song. As Piotr approaches to hug the false Liza, she gesticulates that she does not like it. Liza runs out from behind the willow and throws him on the ground. After asking Haeson to tie his hands tightly, Liza sits on the legs of Piotr and threatens to cut off his genitals. Piotr is informed that his days of infidelity are through. As she is about to unfasten his belt, Piotr barely manages to untie his hands and grabs his trousers. Liza shouts that his wife will not stand for being mistreated, while Piotr disappears calling them dirty women. Haeson follows after her husband. Liza tells herself the story of her own poor life and, covering her face on the ground, weeps bitterly.

In the ninth scene Nikolai, holding a package, meets with Anna. He is leaving incognito for the Military Committee of Mobilization. Nikolai asks Anna to wait for him until he returns. Anna hesitates a moment and then reveals that she is pregnant. Nikolai takes a letter addressed to his grandfather out of his pocket and adds to the letter that Anna will give a birth to his baby. He tells to Anna that he has to leave before dawn and embraces her.

At that moment Kilman appears and tries to persuade his son not to go to war. If his grandfather hears about this he will be very concerned for Nikolai. Kilman says to his son that, even though he applies for the mobilization, the Committee will not send him to the war front. Kilman emphasizes to Nikolai, who does not believe him, that they are living in such an epoch. Then Kilman incites Anna to ask Nikolai not to leave. Nikolai tells his father that Orynbai would not have forbidden his son to go to war. Nikolai requests his family to forgive him and bids farewell to Anna with an embrace.

The scene changes to Yongjin's underground hut. Yongjin is reading the letter of Nikolai. Kilman and Sunyok listen to the content of the letter. Nikolai says in his letter that Anna will give a birth to his baby and asks them to receive her as his wife. The narrator appears and reveals that Anna joined the Kim family, then indicates that a man makes an abrupt appearance in the autumn after several years from that time.

The background of the tenth scene is at noon on a bank where one can see the yellow ears of the ripe rice. Tired farmers appear on the bank and Haeson, Liza and Sunyok spread a mat on the ground to prepare lunch. All look very cheerful because of the good harvest, but they become sad when they begin to converse about returning again to their hometown in the Far East. Liza suddenly stands up and points out Fiodr who is coming towards them. When Liza says that the entire village will be shaken tonight, Sunyok blames her of such crassness. All make a toast for the returning of Fiodr. Fiodr, having lost one hand, says that he has worked at a labor front. Nikolai also worked at the same brigade and lived in the same barrack. Fiodr reveals that Nikolai was crushed by trees and killed. He hands over a mascot, which Nikolai used to attach to his shirt, and says he was told it is a gift from his wife. While Kilman cannot control himself and staggers, Sunyok moans and falls down on the ground. At that moment, Orynbai comes running and out of breath to announce that Anna had an easy delivery with the help of Halima. The sound of a newborn spread throughout the steppe.

The narrator appears and says that the baby was himself. While he thanks his grandparents and his mother for having raised and educated him, the curtain falls.

The content of “Memory” starts with the description of circumstances, which the Soviet Koreans faced in Kazakhstan. The continuing conflicts between Kim Yongjin and Pak Piotr become mute by the death of Ondol, son of Piotr, and this provides a clue to the development of the events. They have serious trouble with the problem of segregation experienced in the reality of the forced deportation. Nikolai, grandson of Yongjin, applied to fight in the war for the Soviet Union. He thinks of the USSR as his motherland, but when finally accepted he is sent to a labor front because of his Korean ethnicity. The Soviet Koreans felt they were kept at a distance from other ethnicities of the Soviet Union. The drama comes to a conclusion in the scene where Orynbai announces the good news of the easy delivery of Anna’s child to those grieving after hearing the tragic news of Nikokai’s death. The dramatic composition of “Memory” is made up of a contrastive structure. While human complications are reconciled by the death of Ondol, the disappointment and feeling of despondency caused by ethnic segregation are consoled by the easy delivery of Anna. In other words, “Memory” is based on the paradoxical circumstances, that through death hope is revived.

Contrary to novel writing, a dramatic scenario is designed for the presentation on stage. Therefore it has to function satisfactorily as a playbook in expectation of its performance. In this scenario, the setting of characters is distinct. The composition of the scenes is also elaborate to such an extent as the time, space and behavior are enlarged and deployed imaginatively. But it can be indicated as a defect that the explanations about the scene placement and the description of the characters are insufficient, and the conversations between characters are sometimes incongruous. Nevertheless, these facts enable the producer to mobilize his imagination and provide foundations upon which to add his own creative and artistic flair to the original work. The conflicts occurring between the members of the aristocratic class, represented by the family Kim Yongjin, and the proletariat class, represented by the family Pak Piotr, are too artificial. The events happening since the departure of Nikolai are not developed in depth, and all questions are solved easily in turn. Moreover, due to the artificial solution concocted by combining the unfortunate and happy circumstances, caused relatively by of the death of Nikolai and the birth of the new child, the author fails to obtain literary tension in “Memory”.

We mentioned previously that “Memory” is a scenario written in Koryo mal. However, if we consider the aspects of vocabulary used in “Memory”, besides the confusion between the Koryo mal and the standard Korean, there appears the common phenomenon of borrowing words from Russian. This is the linguistic phenomenon of a transitional period caused by the frequent contacts and cultural exchanges with native Koreans since the independence of Kazakhstan. This perhaps indicates that the Koryo mal is being standardized. We will investigate in a separate article the linguistic characteristics shown in “Memory”.

#### **4. The forced deportation and damaged life of Soviet Koreans**

Writers express their standpoints through the characters of a work, who wear the masks of the author. We can thus consider “Memory” is created by the personal will of Son Lavrentii, who tries to remember historical facts of the forced deportation of Soviet Koreans. Son Lavrentii’s concern about ethnic questions is clearly shown in the process

of his creative activities. His intention can be acknowledged in the below citation from the short story entitled “Samgak’hyongui myonjok”(Surface of Triangle). The content of this citation becomes a direct motif, which sets up the theme of “Memory”.

He reminded of the matter in which he has heard shouts and cries of people whose ethnic identity was unknown in Jambul station, one such rainy day in autumn a few years ago. The authorities took them in the truck and put them in a dried bush of camel thorn and tamarisk. Those people wearing a cotton jacket and white clothes lost their self-respect, and shamelessly, grabbed the boots of the drivers and policemen imploring them to return where people live. They said that in a cold place where blows cold wind, children and old people will be all frozen to death and even the young men could not endure until the following morning. The drivers disengaging themselves from the imploring hands grasping their boots said that they are ordered to put them right there and they could not do anything in a different way. If they go against the order, they might be shot to death... The old man reminded of the next day. He, the shepherd and his wife driven by curiosity and fear and approached in the night to the place, where happened the horrible affair. They became to see a white hill made of the back of people. The sacks covered the hill. Beside it there were hips of white rice, which they might pour out from the sacks. Even though his wife said something, but he didn't retort. He guessed right on the terrible fact the young people surrounded with their backs the old men and children and protected them from the cold wind. Hearing sounds of people, the backs started to move. The hill collapsed. In the bright light of the dawn, they could see unknown people. Two young numbed men crawled to them and asked where people live. The old man remembers of the fact that his wife took off her scarf and gave him. He covered the back of a man with it and said him that people live in the distance. And he and his wife explained them that they were told a ban not to have relationship with people newly brought. The hill is completely felt down and women with children and old people came out of there. The shepherd brought those severely numbed people to their winter dwelling and set a fire and boiled water to give them... Koreans have settled before arrival of the winter. They have built with spades and sickles brought with them from far away, several underground huts. Strong smokes of escaped mishap and hope for future were raised from the huts. They have resisted.

The first scene of the first act is created from the above citation. Through the description of a retrospection of a Kazakh couple, the author describes in full under what circumstances the Soviet Koreans spent their first night in Kazakhstan. He exposes two facts in the work. At first, he accuses the Soviet authorities of inhumane conduct. Second, he describes the local Kazakh people at the deported land who rendered the humane assistance for Koryo saram against the order of said Soviet authorities. Whether the cited description is fictitious or fact, such an experience in the forced deportation is one of the ethnic legends transmitted by Soviet Koreans.

Son Laverentii belongs to the second generation of Soviet Koreans in Kazakhstan, therefore he did not experience personally the forced deportation. What makes him cling to the fictive content of this short story, which could be related as just a transmitted or imaginative story? Firstly, as the word “forced deportation” suggests, it is because of the damages caused by the inhumane and immoral policy of the Soviet authorities, which the Koryo saram experienced. Secondly, it compensates the Soviet Koreans morally for the

deportation by divulging figuratively before the masses the miserable state of affairs caused by deportation. There can be no doubt that this type of forced deportation was an inhumane affair. In this context it follows naturally that this experience transmits, from generation to generation, as an ethnical legend for Soviet Koreans. This phenomenon was brought about by the inhumane conduct of the Soviet authorities, which deported the Koryo saram, and of the deep-rooted mental damage experienced in the deported land. To leave the painful past of the Soviet Koreans to posterity as an historical precept, the author of "Memory" makes a pointed complaint, to this given society through drama, against the injustice of the forced deportation. He does this by providing the fictional content concerning the vast empty plain, and the Soviet warning to the local Kazakh people not to have any contact with the deported Koreans.

It is true that the deported Koreans received aid from the Kazakh people at the very early period of the deportation. This is certainly an important experience, which will be remembered by Soviet Koreans long time. However, it is not true that the Soviet authorities abandoned Koreans on an empty steppe like domestic animals. Despite this the narrator of the above citation describes gruesomely the setting of the relocation as "They said that in a cold place where blows cold wind, children and old people will be all frozen to death and even the young men could not endure until the following morning.", it is contradictory to "He was reminded of the matter in which he had heard shouts and cries of people whose ethnic identity was unknown in Jambul station, one such rainy day in autumn a few years ago." related at the beginning of the citation. In fact, as the city of Jambul is located in the southern region of Kazakhstan, it is not so cold and the weather in October is rather mild. Such non-real experience based on the author's subjective point of view rather than objective facts, is often found in the development of "Memory". This is caused by author's careless planning of dramatic plots in which he would like to reflect simply the tragic humanity that the Koreans have endured. Such tragic content described in "Memory" plays an important role in creating an ethnic sympathy amongst Soviet Korean readers belonging to younger generations. These new generations did not experience the deportation so it is difficult to accept, not being a direct victim, the contents of "Memory" without criticism. The intention of the author is to pursue the maximum effect of drama through the tragic description of the circumstances of the event. However, in the light of historical fact, it is obviously an intellectual fallacy. The drama like any other literary genres is a creative work based on the fictive aspects. However, any historical fact or experience should not be neglected in literary works due to its fictive aspects. An author has to accept the fictive aspects in literature, which are illogical and unreal, but also has to understand that literature requires propriety of reality. When an author seeks for excessive reality, the work may become an historical piece. If the author insists only on artistic fictive aspects, it will bring a fundamental error in a work, which is based on an historical theme. If the historical reality and artistic fiction were adequately harmonized, "Memory" would have a better persuasive power as a drama scenario.

However, we cannot deny that this fictive experience, supplanted in history by some Soviet Koreans, has influenced either directly or indirectly the mentality of the public. In the dramatic scenario "Memory" we examine how the experience of the forced deportation is portrayed literarily, and what significance this has for Soviet Koreans.

(Halima grasping Haeson's hand, motions her to go together. Haeson does not know what to do and looks up into villagers' faces.)

*Orynbaï:* (To Hailima in Kazakh) What are you going to do in the world? (Halima does not reply.) It seems that you have forgotten what [they] have warned us...

*Halima:* There was no any warning about baby. This baby shivers with cold and we have to take the baby to home and serve him even some hot water.

The lines above reflect the content such as “(…) And he and his wife explained them that they were told a ban not to have relationship with people newly brought.” described in the “Surface of triangle” and cited in the preceding page. However this is far different from facts shown in archives and testified by witnesses. According to the contents of “Report No. 11” of the Meeting of Bureau of Central Committee of the Communist Party signed by L. Mirzoyan, secretary of Central Committee of the Communist Party on August 23, 1937, we can ascertain the fact that Kazakhstan had finished all preparations to receive the deportees. Moreover, Soviet Korean witnesses during the deportation confirmed that the local authorities provided deportees with adequate accommodations and other necessary conveniences upon their arrival. Their contact with local inhabitants was unrestricted and their relationships were very amicable. Even if the deportation plan was perfect and local people were friendly, it was no doubt very hardship for Korean deportees who were forced to start their lives over. Why did Soviet Koreans in the Far East have to be deported to Kazakhstan? The words below may suggest, in fragments, such reasons.

*Pitotr:* What did you do good deed for people? Due to such people like you, we have hard time. Because you have got along with Japanese, we were deported here. Do you think I am wrong?

*Yongjin:* Nobody knows the truth about it. All what you said are lies and defamations. When times go by, everything will be brought to light. You will then become to know all about it.

Why does the author of “Memory” decline to comment directly on the historical facts about the background of the deportation? If this problem is not brought clearly to light, even in a drama the sufferings caused by it cannot have any persuasive power. This dramatic scenario was written in 1997, when not only were the historical facts about the forced deportation entirely disclosed, but also there was an absence of previous Soviet censorship. If we consider the social conditions of that time, the author’s lukewarm attitude towards inaccuracies shown in the work is caused either by the lack of historical consciousness or by his passive consciousness as a writer. The author disregards historical background such as the feudal land system, which Korean peasants faced early twentieth century, and the colonial land policy, from which Koreans suffered under Japanese occupation. These are some conditions, which made Koreans immigrate to the Soviet Far East. By averting his eyes from the political cause the author of “Memory” cuts out historical consciousness for the audience. Son Lavrentii pays no special attention to this and solves this problem by the words of Yongjin “Nobody knows the truth about it. All what you said are lies and defamations”. This is not to be considered as a simple question of writing style. In fact, both in the Soviet Far East and in Kazakhstan after the forced deportation jealousy, hostility, and the general reputation of Koreans caused many innocent Koreans to fall into snares. Some Soviet Koreans would inform Soviet authorities of any ethnically concerned words or behaviors of their neighbor Koreans. Consequently, many innocent Koreans were imprisoned in a labor camp for these crimes or sentenced to death.

Of course the cause of the forced deportation is not limited to the contributions of some pro-Japanese Koreans, as introduced by Piotr in the above dialogue with Yongjin. However, it is certain that the simple reply of Yongjin, who does not give any socio-political circumstances of that time, cannot obtain any persuasive power in the work. This can be ascribed to the author's limit of capacity who does not really concern himself with the true situation of Koreans and whose historical consciousness was ambiguous. "Memory" is a work based on an historical theme. If the author had tried to harmonize the historical reality and literary imagination in an attempt to translate the Korean ethnic emotional echo into drama, "Memory" might have more strong appeal. Yongjin says nobody knows the reason of the deportation, the possible cause under the circumstances at the time of deportation being the suspicion of pro-Japanese Korean spies. In fact, there are some reasons in Piotr's indication in the above citation. Besides the political situation mentioned in the "Resolution No. 1428-326SS", which was taken as a measure to address the possibility of Korean Japanese agents, we can take military and economic reasons into consideration as well.

When China was menaced by Japanese aggression in 1935, China wanted to sign a treaty of mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union. However, Stalin judged that it was too early to accept the proposal and he merely promised to aid China to such an extent as would not incite the Japanese. However, when the Japanese policy of invasion was uncovered, the Soviet Union felt the threat of aggression and concluded a non-aggression pact with China on August 21, 1937. The influence of this pact could be seen as a military reason. For an economic reason we can think of an agricultural policy to use Koreans, who were experts in rice, to develop the rice farming in Central Asia. Among these reasons the most important and direct cause, which made the deportation necessary, is the fact that some Soviet Koreans communicated secretly with Japanese agents. Despite the hardships, which Korean deportees have experienced they have succeeded in accomplishing a lot in Kazakhstan. However, they were also segregated from the Soviet society.

*Nikolai:* I was really fiercer than a tiger. I was mad to bear that. They send Kazakh to the front. Why they do not send us Koreans? We were four persons and my friends were older than me. However, they said that we were too young and sent us back home.

As we can see above, 17-year-old Nikolai, together with three other people older than he, wanted to participate in the Second World War and volunteered for service at the Military Committee of Mobilization. Nevertheless, the Committee refused them under the pretext that they are too young. Nikolai feels isolated by the Soviet authorities, which discriminate against Korean men. For Koreans this is also an unforgettable experience imposed by the Soviet Union. Soviet Koreans were taken for agents of Japan and they were treated as an unreliable ethnicity. With few exceptions they were forbidden to participate or organize any political activities, and, moreover, the freedom of residence was subject to restriction. It is natural that younger Korean generations ask themselves why they have to be segregated, without any just cause, from society.

*Nikolai:* (After a moment) Why we came to here, a strange place? Why they deported us from Far East to here? (A moment)

*Youngjin:* Please, listen to me. From now on, do not ask such question anymore to anybody.

*Nikolai:* Why do I do so?

*Yongjin:* (Short moment) It is because that many people who tried to know the truth have lost their life. (Moment) So, don't question about it, please. (Moment)

*Nokolai:* Despite that Kazakh can enter a war the Committee restricted us to serve at a battlefield. The war is still continuing and we have to participate in the war to save our country form the Fascists.

There is no concrete answer to the question of Nikolai, who experiences the feeling of alienation by the behavior of Soviet authorities. His grandfather Yongjin, before a distorted historical reality, simply keeps silent to Nikolai's urgent question. It is not clear whether Yongjin knows the reason of the deportation or does not. However, he acts as if he knows the reason of the deportation, but keeps silent to save the life of young curious Koreans like Nikolai. Judging from Yongjin's reply "It is because that many people who tried to know the truth have lost their life," we can suppose that he knew the cause of deportation. As the project of deportation was carried out secretly, ordinary people could not know the official reason. However, every Korean could guess in some extent the cause of deportation. In fact, many Koreans who tried to find out the reason of deportation have been killed or were excluded from Soviet society. They were those Korean intellectuals, who confronted the Soviet authorities in order to rehabilitate the disadvantageous conditions caused by the deportation. Under such social circumstances the Soviet authorities withdrew the citizenship documents from most Koreans at the time of deportation. The freedom of residence was deprived and the Soviet Koreans were then geographically isolated from their motherland of the Korean peninsula. Under this miserable situation Koreans were treated differently from other ethnic groups and kept at a distance. In a Soviet Union composed of multiple ethnicities the deportation made Nikolai feel despair for life. Despite that, the Soviet Union, which Nikolai consider as "our country", becomes a paradoxical being. Nikolai's want to be recognized as a citizen of the Soviet Union stands against the viewpoint of the old generation of deportees who were rather passive and conservative.

*Yongjin:* If you live long enough, you will know the cause and all other things. You will certainly become to know it. If not, we old generation do not need to keep silent about it! By keeping silent, we can save the life of young people like you. I don't think that I can live until that time. How wonderful it will be if everybody could know the truth! I just wish it.

*Nikolai:* Then even you grandfather don't know it?

*Yongjin:* (Moment) I don't know.

(.....)

*Kilman:* The battlefield and the war, what are you taking about in the world? I don't want to make you upset. That's why I will tell you frankly. Probably the Committee will not send you to the battlefield. You'd better not to go to the Military Committee of Mobilization.

*Nikolai:* Why so does it?

*Kilman:* Why? They do not send Koreans to the war. Because they do not believe in us. They don't believe in Koreans.

*Nikolai:* They don't believe in us?

*Kilman:* Yes, ...

*Nikolai:* No, it is impossible.

*Kilman:* Yes, it is possible, of course possible. We are living in such epoch.

The forced deportation was certainly a severe trial for Koreans who became a type of scapegoat. As we can see in the above citation, Nikolai wants to volunteer for the war at the Military Committee of Mobilization to protect his country from the Fascists. His father Kilman explains, however, that the Soviet authorities distrust Koreans and that he will be refused. At last Kilman blames the situation of distrust on an historical event from a certain period. The first document on the non-confidence in Koreans by Russia is the report of Unterberger published in 1912. In his report, Unterberger suggested that Koreans in the Far East could be used as agents of Japan. The contents of his report were told distortedly and played up. We suppose that this finally played a preponderant role for the Soviet authorities, which decided the deportation of Koreans in 1937. The conflict between the image of the Soviet Union, which Nikolai considers as his motherland and the policy of deportation of the Soviet Union, which restricts the lives of Koreans, threw the population into great confusion. The Korean peninsula, which the deportees consider as their motherland, has finally disappeared from reality due to the Soviet policy of deportation, and it became a memory in their heart to where they can never again return.

*Piotr:* Who doesn't want on earth to return to one's native place? How the situation would be developed in the days to come? I wish to know in what condition we could live... What our grandchildren would tell us in a later day. We can imagine that if they will be lucky, they might return to the native place of their ancestors.

*Yongjin:* Nevertheless, how come you are so talkative? You don't need to speak of such words here. Uselessly you could be accused of.

The native Far East is the only place where the effected Soviet Koreans could seek consolation. The reality of the land in which they found themselves, where they are ethnically segregated, does not allow even a hope to return again to the Far East. The dream of the Korean deportees was to see the very day when their children or grandchildren could find peaceful times and return to their ancestors' native place. Until even 1986, when the Perestroika and Glasnost movements have started, the Soviet Koreans could not publicly express such words as "motherland", "fatherland" and "native place" in reference to the Korean peninsula or Soviet Far East. Therefore, such words could be used only as an object to symbolize the Soviet Union.

Many Koreans, who looked back with nostalgia to their ancestors' motherland were liquidated by the Soviet authorities or were weeded out from the Soviet society. Since the forced deportation in 1937, the Soviet Koreans became an ethnic group in the Soviet Union, which has been segregated and homesick.

*Fiodor:* (He drinks...) Yes, I was in the front, in a labor front. Have you ever heard of such front? It is also called as "labor army".

(.....)

*Kilman:* No, it is impossible. I am sure that he went to a battlefield. He is fighting in a battle... He wrote in his letter that ...

*Fiodor:* Please listen to me. Nikolai told everything in detail. The Committee told him to send to a battlefield, but he was brought to Ural. He has been cut woods there. I met him there. I met him just by chance. We have worked together and have lived in the same barrack.

Nikolai's persistent request to protect his country, the Soviet Union, from the Fascists was finally accepted by the Military Committee of Mobilization. However, against his desire he was sent to a labor front in Ural and was put to work as a woodcutter. Kilman, who thought that his son Nikolai was fighting in a battle, heard the news about his son from Fiodor who in turn lost a hand in an accident at the labor front. Having heard from Fiodor that his son Nikolai was segregated from other ethnic groups and, instead of being sent to a battlefield, sent to a labor front where he was killed in an accident, Kilman abandons himself to deep despair.

Though the Soviet Koreans succeeded in establishing through many difficulties a new base of life in Kazakhstan, they become finally an ethnic group who are not treated as full citizens of the Soviet Union but wander on the outskirts of Soviet society. The old wound of social oppression, which the Soviet Koreans received in this period, has been healed only many years later when they received citizenship in the Soviet Union.

My mother was short and small. When she got married, new relatives in law called her "aegi" (babe, darling). If there were such name, it would be difficult to write it in Russian. Because Russian do not have such letter as "ae". By the way, she had no citizenship document. (.....)

For example, until 1949, the Soviet Koreans deported from the Far East to Kazakhstan had not the citizenship certificate. They had only a document similar to the resident permit. In another words, it was a document, which indicates that you are registered at this point of residence and that it is not good or more accurately say it is forbidden for you to live in another place leaving your new native place. At last, in 1949, such simple and clear order was abolished. The Soviet Koreans could enjoy the freedom of moving. In consequence, as the life has shown, the new place became indeed precious as native place.

As mentioned in the citation from "Surface of triangle", the damaged life and homesickness of Koreans caused by the deportation were recovered after that citizenship

was conferred upon them. It is mentioned in the above citation that citizenship was conferred upon Koreans in 1949. However, no archive has been found so far to confirm this matter. According to witnesses, some Koreans received their documents in the train right after their arrival in Kazakhstan. Others had it with them since the Far East. At the time of deportation the Soviet authorities had withdrawn the citizenship documents from the Koreans to be deported. Then person responsible for each train kept the documents. Therefore, we cannot deny the possibility that some Koreans received the documents in an illegal way from the responsible person at the time of arrival in Kazakhstan. Some Koreans, who were living at a distant place from the administrative organs at the time of collection of the documents, were not asked to submit their documents to the authorities. These Koreans evidently had their documents with them. After the arrival of the train in Kazakhstan, the collected documents were kept in a safe belonging to each working unit or collective farm to which the owners belonged. The authorities did not return these to their Korean owners until new documents were issued in 1953 to 1954.

With regard to these witnesses, it is an obvious intellectual fallacy that the documents were issued in 1949 as mentioned in the above citation. The issuing of citizenship documents meant that the social status of Koreans was elevated to some extent and the life of deportees was well settled. In fact, in 1954 the Korean newspaper, the *Lenin kichi*, was nominated as a republican paper of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and Koreans finally started to play an important role in various fields of Kazakhstan society including politics. Kazakhstan was no longer the land of sorrow and tears to the Korean deportees, but rather a precious new native place for them. By the “Zakon o gumanitarnoi reabilitatsii politicheskikh jertv kollektivnoi repressii” (Law on the rehabilitation of political victims by collective repression) promulgated on April 14, 1993, the honor of the Soviet Koreans was rehabilitated. Even the loss of material goods and mental stress caused by the deportation could be compensated.

## 5. Conclusion

We investigated the literary realization of the forced deportation of Koreans in Soviet Far East to Kazakhstan in 1937 illustrated in the play “Memory”. “Memory”, written by the Koryo saram dramatist Son Lavrentii, is a recent Korean literary work written in Koryo mal, used by Koryo saram, in Kazakhstan. It contributes greatly to the preservation of the Koryo mal, which has been disappearing drastically in recent decades. The term Koryo saram in Kazakhstan stands for those Soviet Koreans deported by force from the Soviet Far East to Kazakhstan in 1937 by Stalin. The spoken Korean dialect used by these deportees is known as Koryo mal.

“Memory” describes vividly the process of the initial stage of settlement of deported Koreans from 1937 to 1942. “Memory” consists of 2 acts in 10 scenes, and the main characters include the landed class family Kim Yongjin, the proletariat family Pak Piotr, the Kazakh shepherd family Orynbai, sexually liberal Liza and so on. In describing the living conditions of these people, Son Lavrentii communicates to us the true effects that the deportation had on those people involved. By confronting the audience with scenes of these Koreans being torn from their homesteads and psychologically crushed by the

Soviet authorities through segregation, the spectator is forced to step back and witness for oneself the inhumane treatment of these people.

Each character is distinct and the composition of the scenes in “Memory” is as elaborate as the time, space, and action that unfolds on stage can be while allowing for individual interpretation. Insufficient description on the background of the scenes and poor explanation for the actions of the characters are clearly a defect of “Memory” as a dramatic work. The dramatic scenario, contrary to the novel, is an art form designed for presentation on stage. Therefore the scenario has to function satisfactorily as a playbook. Such defects force the producer to use his own imagination and add creative artistic aspects to the original works. Luckily, thanks to the interpretation of the producer of the Republican Korean Theatre of Musical Comedy, the creation of the dramatic atmosphere and scenography at the first performance of “Memory” was excellent.

Another problem that can be pointed out in the composition of “Memory” is that the conflicts that occur between the characters are too artificial and the problems are not developed gradually. Instead they are solved far too quickly. Moreover, the stereotyped solutions to the problems that combine artificially misfortune and happiness, which conclude unnaturally as a solution to the conflict, means that “Memory” fails to obtain literary tension. In other words, the author often describes the deportation with scenes based on exaggerated nationalistic emotions rather than facts. In literary works, if the author pursues reality excessively their efforts lead to a work based not on history but on fiction, which is a drastic limit to a work such as “Memory”. If the historical facts and artistic license were adequately harmonized, “Memory” would have more persuasive power as a dramatic scenario. Of course drama is a creative work like other literary genres. Nevertheless, certain historical facts or experiences cannot be neglected. As authors may admit fictitious aspects of the non-logical and non-real in literature, they must also bear in mind that literature requires a realistic base.

The merit of Son Lavrentii having arranged a play, which depicts the effects of this tragic deportation should not be underestimated due to the problems of dramatic composition. He allows the young Soviet Korean generation to experience visually their national history, and makes them recall the reality of the forced deportation, which has gradually faded from public memory. The play condemns the injustice of the forced deportation which was only uncovered recently. “Memory” makes future generations remember the national hardships experienced by Soviet Koreans, who were isolated and distanced on the pretext of being Japanese spies, and the help given to them by the Kazakh people.

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